

**AN EXAMINATION OF THE ROLE OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS  
IN THE DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS OF UGANDA 2005-2017:  
A CASE STUDY OF AFRICA LEADERSHIP INSTITUTE.**

**BY**

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**DECLARATION**

**I Mutebi Marvin Keith declare** that this proposal under the topic “**AN EXAMINATION ON THE ROLE OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS IN THE DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS OF UGANDA 2005-2017: A CASE STUDY OF AFRICA LEADERSHIP INSTITUTE**” is original work and has never been published or submitted for any award in any higher institution of learning here or anywhere else.

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**APPROVAL**

This proposal has been approved for the award of the degree of Master of International Relations and Diplomacy of Nkumba University.

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS/ ACRONYMS**

AFLI	: Africa Leadership Institute
ANC	: African National Congress
COSATU	: Congress of South African Trade Unions
CS	: Civil Society
CSO	: Civil Society Organisation
DGF	: Democratic Governance Fund
EAC	: East Africa Community
FG	: Focus Groups
GBA	: Ghana Bar Association
INGO	: International Non-governmental Organisation
LCs	: Local Councils
MP	: Member of Parliament
NGO	: Non-governmental Organisation
NRM	: National Resistance Movement
PPAs	: Participatory Poverty Assessments
PSP	: Parliamentary Scorecard Project
TASO	: The Aids Support Organization
UGX	: Ugandan Shilling

## **ABSTRACT**

The purpose of this study was to examine the role of NGOs in the democratisation process of Uganda 2005-2017. Descriptive survey method was used to attain the objective of the study. The study was conducted by using the Africa Leadership Institute as a case study. Respondents were executives of NGOs, government officials and representatives of donor agencies. Respondents were selected through purposive sampling. Questionnaires, interviews and document review techniques were employed. The statistical tools used to analyze data were percentage, tables, graphs and charts.

The results have revealed that the role of NGOs in the democratisation process of Uganda was a recent development where NGOs have spent considerable time in service delivery activities. As far as the contributions of NGOs in the area are concerned, it is insignificant. NGOs have faced many challenges many of which arise from government. The NGO-state relation in the area in Uganda was not smooth for various reasons. There were also instances where NGOs were engaged beyond their mandate especially in the political activities. The government of NRM has enacted NGO Act in 2006, which governs NGOs in Uganda. Its immediate impact was negative while in the long term its effect seems to be yielding positive results.

## **OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS**

### **NON GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATION:**

Non-governmental organizations, commonly referred to as NGOs, are usually non-profit and sometimes international organizations independent of governments and international governmental organizations (though often funded by governments) that are active in humanitarian, educational, health care, public policy, social, human rights, environmental, and other areas to effect changes according to their objectives. They are thus a subgroup of all organizations founded by citizens, which include clubs and other associations that provide services, benefits, and premises only to members. Sometimes the term is used as a synonym of "civil society organization" to refer to any association founded by citizens, but this is not how the term is normally used in the media or everyday language, as recorded by major dictionaries. The explanation of the term by NGO (the non-governmental organizations associated with the United Nations) is ambivalent. It first says an NGO is *any non-profit, voluntary citizens' group which is organized on a local, national or international level*, but then goes on to restrict the meaning in the sense used by most English speakers and the media: *Task-oriented and driven by people with a common interest, NGOs perform a variety of service and humanitarian functions, bring citizen concerns to Governments, advocate and monitor policies and encourage political participation through provision of information.* (Barr, 2003)

### **DEMOCRATIZATON:**

Democratization (or democratization) is the transition to a more democratic political regime. It also refers to substantive political changes moving in a democratic direction. It may be the transition from an authoritarian regime to a full democracy, a transition from an authoritarian political system to a semi-democracy or transition from a semi-authoritarian political system to a democratic political system. The outcome may be consolidated (as it was for example in the United Kingdom) or democratization may face frequent reversals (as it has faced for example in Venezuela). Different patterns of democratization are often used to explain other political phenomena, such as whether a country goes to a war or whether its economy grows. Democratization itself is influenced by various factors, including economic development, history, and civil society. The ideal result from democratization is to ensure that the people have the right to vote and have a voice in their political system. (Collins, 2014)

## **CIVIL SOCIETY:**

Civil society is the aggregate of non-governmental organizations and institutions that manifest interests and will of citizens. Civil society includes the family and the private sphere, referred to as the third sector of society, distinct from government and business. By other authors, civil society is used in the sense of;

1. the aggregate of non-governmental organizations and institutions that manifest interests and will of citizens or
2. Individuals and organizations in a society which are independent of the government.

Sometimes the term *civil society* is used in the more general sense of the elements such as freedom of speech, an independent judiciary, among others that make up a democratic society (Collins, 2014). Especially in the discussions among thinkers of Eastern and Central Europe, civil society is seen also as a concept of civic values. (Collins, 2014)

## CHAPTER ONE

### *1.0 Introduction*

This chapter presents the general background of the study. It presents brief background information on the role of NGOs in the democratization process of Uganda so as to see the origin of the problem. Furthermore, this chapter contains statement of the problem, the main and specific objectives of the study, research questions, and significance of the study as presented in the following sections.

### *1.1.1 Historical background*

The research is to be drawn from the perspective that NGOs have played a key role in the democratization process of Uganda since independence. NGOs in Uganda date as far back as the pre-colonial period. This will be seen in the ways communities in Uganda mobilized themselves for collective benefit. For instance associations like “Munno Mukabi”, “Wang Tic”, and “Bataka Twezikyee”. (Barya J.J, 1999) Within such associations people came together to associate and achieve common goals. However, with the coming of colonialism, we shall see that the set up and activities of such community associations changed. Different organizations evolved to resist colonial rule and demanded for better prices for their agricultural produce. Such resistance led to the introduction of greater African participation and promotion of agricultural cooperatives by the colonial government. The period 1888-1962 also saw the birth of human rights NGOs. The pre independence period saw the coming of international NGOs (charitable organizations) and religious based NGOs. (Barya J.J, 1999)

The arrival of missionaries led to the growth of religious/faith based groups, which established churches, schools and hospitals. During the period 1971-1979, Uganda was characterized by dictatorship and suppression of freedoms including the freedom to associate which stifled the growth and activities of NGOs. (Barya J.J, 1999) The period 1980 to date is characterized as the NGO decade. During this period the NGO sector has grown steadily both in number and in activity. NGOs have developed and specifically participated in the reconstruction and offered social and welfare services. In the 2016 presidential election petition, the civil society and notably the African Leadership Institute were part of the petitioners under Amicus Curie who notably contributed the democratic process of Uganda through their submissions to the Supreme

Court. Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) have come to play a significant role in Uganda in recent years. From colonial rule to 1980's there was a relatively small NGOs sector, dominated mainly by the humanitarian and evangelistic organisations such as church related organisations. Church - related organisations provided crucial services such as schools, medical care and counseling. Other NGOs such as Women's Organisations, social clubs, professional organisations were organised along interests of their constituents. Until recently NGOs were not looked upon as significant alternative providers of services to the state sector or as representing alternative policy framework to the state or private sector. (Barya J.J, 1999)

The resurgence of the neo-liberal paradigm in the political economy of the third World has made the NGOs become a critical factor in the management of political and socio - economic agenda in these countries. The neo-liberal perspectives conceive the African state as a "failed state" while the market is "imperfect" in allocation of resources in society. From this perspective, NGOs and civil society are seen a viable alternative to the "failed" state and the "imperfect market" in providing services needed by the people especially the poorest of the poor (Dicklitch, 1998). On the political side, the NGOs and civil society are seen as "vehicles for empowerment and democratization" For instance, they are seen as playing a role in creating a civic culture of pluralising the economic and political arena, and bridging the gap between the state and the unorganised masses. For this reason, donors find it easy to deal with them and channels for much needed aid to the poor to the poor people. (Dicklitch, 1998) Despite the positive role the NGOs play, they are fragmented, project - oriented, donor - driven, urban - based and sometimes, poorly managed. (Dicklitch, 1998)

Since 1986, when the National Resistance Movement came to power the NGO sector has seen tremendous growth. The growth in the NGO sector may be attributed to several factors. These include: enabling political environment, people's response to harsh economic environment; easy access to donor funding, a spirit of voluntarism increase in interest groups such as the women, youth, disabled among others and the willingness of government to incorporate some NGOs in some governments' strategic plans. (Dicklitch, 1998)

While the NGO sector has expanded enormously, its contribution to social, economic and political changes remain a subject of inquiry. Recent studies indicate that the NGOs' are



fundamentally constrained by regime impediments. For instance the government allows these NGOs which operate as gap fillers but are discouraged from performing roles that are considered "politically sensitive". This so called "sensitivity" limits their role in working for meaningful change in the political arena. To ensure control of the NGO sector, the Ugandan government put in place an NGO registration Board. The main functions are to register and to monitor NGOs operating in Uganda. (Dicklitch, 1998)

Part 8 of the Non-Government Organizations act, 2016 provides for the registration of these organizations before they embark on any projects.

Therefore, this implies that for any NGO to gain legal existence it has to be registered with the NGO Bureau. But more significant is the fact that the Bureau is under the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the membership of the Bureau includes internal security, organisation (ISO) and external security organization (ESO), both being state intelligence organizations. (Act, 2006)

In my view, since NGOs are engaged more in development - oriented activities, the Bureau should have been located in the Ministry of Finance. As pointed out earlier, the government seems to be over zealously concerned with "political sensitivity" that NGOs are perceived to portend. "Political sensitivity" is itself a hoax. There is no evidence until now to indicate that NGOs have been engaged in acts that should cause nervousness in the state arena. Let us then examine the nature of the NGOs.

Africa Leadership Institute (AFLI) is an independent, non-partisan; Pan African Public Policy NGO that also undertakes accelerated socio-economic development initiatives among rural and cross-border communities. It was registered in April 2004 as a non-governmental organization with the purpose of addressing the gap in policy research and evidence based advocacy required to influence policy and appropriate program interventions resulting in improved human well-being and democracy. In resolving pressing problems affecting ordinary people, AFLI endeavors to bridge the disconnect between leaders in decision-making with their electorates and other stakeholders. This ensures that those who are mandated to provide services do so while the rights holders make use of those services to improve their quality of life. AFLI tracks MPs and Parliament's performance and uses the information obtained to strengthen public scrutiny of leaders and governance institutions so as to enable citizens to hold their leaders to account. In

order to do these civic engagements, AFLI partners with media professionals, civil society organizations and influential publics. (AFLI, 2004)

### ***1.1.2 Contextual background***

Currently NGOs are one group of players who are active in the efforts of international development and increasing the welfare of poor people in poor countries. NGOs are working both independently and alongside bilateral aid agencies from developed countries, private-sector infrastructure operators, self-help associations, and local governments. It is a few NGOs that have been engaged in the democratization process. This has been mainly because of the way the government has handled NGOs that have actively engaged on the democratization path. The government has in recent times closed NGOs that have been involved in this process and an example is ActionAid. However the environment is currently friendlier if compared it to the past years when Uganda was led by military and authoritarian regimes. The current trend however is more of advocacy as NGOs have created various projects for democratic advocacy so as to consolidate democracy. The challenge today is that the democratization process has been politicized so much by politicians at the lead of the process. This has frustrated the role of NGOs as they cannot publically support these actors less they appear to be engaged in partisan politics. (Makara, 2016) Centre for Basic Research Kampala.

### ***1.1.3 Theoretical background***

A change has occurred to democracy. An entire discourse has been transformed as a result of recent logical and moral shifts in the methods of research and the ontologies of theory. Democracy is now a body of knowledge unlike that we have seen before. By democracy I mean the entirety of human knowledge about the subject, the way we think about it as a whole and the way we institutionalize or measure what we think are its most basic tenets. Today democracy is, for example, being described differently to the way that Dahl (Dahl, 1956 ), Sartori (Sartori, 1957), Schumpeter (Schumpeter, 1942 ), Macpherson (MacPherson, 1978) and Dewey (Dewey, 1916) described it in their own works and in their own times. In the modernization theory of democratization; democracy is beyond holding a general election every after a period of time.

Seymour Martin Lipset's classic article that was elaborated in his 1963 book Political Man (Lipset, 1960) is modernization theory's foundational text. His underlying thesis "the more well-to-do a nation, the greater the chances that it will sustain democracy" set the stage for one of the

most fruitful and long-lasting research agendas in the social sciences. Although often mocked by both supporters and critics, Lipset's argument was actually fairly sophisticated. He claimed that economic development sets off a series of profound social changes that together tend to produce democracy. He noted, for example, that wealthier societies tend to have higher levels of education and urbanization, more sophisticated and varied means of communication, larger middle classes, and greater social equality and mobility. All of these things, Lipset argued, are associated with, and necessary for the emergence and proper functioning of, democratic political institutions. Lipset's assumption is that the Democratization Process does generate development that cuts across all spheres of life for a normal citizen. NGOs in Uganda receive big funding from the developed states. Therefore, there is need to examine Ugandan NGOs in the democratization process and their contribution to the holistic development of Uganda. (Sorensen, 2001)

Before defining the term democratization one must understand what democracy is. Parrott (Potter, 1997) defines *democracy* as a "political system in which the formal and actual leaders of the government are chosen within regular intervals through elections based on a comprehensive adult franchise with equal weighted voting, multiple contentions, and secret balloting." Dawisha (Dawisha, 1997) also mentions the importance of civil liberties, freedom of expression and access to multiple and competing sources of information. By briefly conceptualizing democracy, it will be clearer to analyze the democratization term.

Democratization is a change in political regime enabling movement towards a democratic direction. Grugel (Jean, 2002) defines democratization as a transformation of the political system from non-democracy towards accountable and representative government.

Dawisha on the other hand expands the definition of democratization as; it begins with set of free and fair elections for a nation-wide level. The free and fair elections must be accompanied by civil liberties and political rights and it must be established of both state institutions and intermediate Non-Governmental Organizations that mediate between the state and citizens.

Potter\_(Potter, 1997) sets democratization on seven types;

1. Liberal democracy,
2. Partial democracy,

3. Authoritarianism,
4. Direct democracy and
5. Participatory democracy,
6. State
7. Civil society (NGOs).

The reason of giving the concept of state and civil society is that they are the locomotives of the democratization process as well as they are the main actors of the following political regimes. In order to clarify the categorization of Potters, it will be useful to give brief definitions of these concepts.

***A state***

*This* is characterized by an ensemble of institutional patterns and political organizations-coercive, administrative, legal- distinguished from other organizations in society by having capacity to monopolize the legitimate use of violence within a given territory and promotes a sense of national identity and common citizenship. (Potter, 1997)

***Civil society***

The space of voluntary human association and also the set of relational networks formed for the sake of family, faith interests and ideology.

The aim of Potter (Potter, 1997) to categorize the political regimes into five is to determine the levels of democracies undergoing the process of democratization. Therefore with a change of political regime and transformation from one to another shows us the direction of transition for is it a democratization process or not. (Potter, 1997)

***Liberal Democracy***

This is a type of political regime in which binding rules and policy decisions are made by representatives that are accountable to community by free, fair and competitive elections. In a liberal democracy, citizens have right to criticize all levels of political bodies and have right to create independent associations (Potter, 1997)

***Authoritarianism***

This is a political regime that is shaped by the state leaders who is not accountable to its citizens. The competitive elections are not a characteristic of this type of regimes. The civil society in this

kind of regime is not independent and criticizing the governmental bodies has possible legal consequences. (Potter, 1997)

### ***Partial Democracy***

This is where accountability to citizens is more or less qualified in this kind of regime and non-elected establishments in the state like military have an impact on elections and the authority of government. The civil society has a right to criticize however their actions are monitored by the government closely. (Potter, 1997)

### ***Participatory Democracy***

Similar to liberal democracies, in this kind of political regime citizens have a right to participate in the decision-making process. More than the liberal democracies, in these kinds of democracies the participation of the citizens is not limited just to voting. Democratic accountability extends beyond government. It is also important to mention that there has not yet an example of such a democracy. (Potter, 1997)

### ***Direct Democracy***

In particular periods, citizens have a right to participate on law making processes, conflict resolutions, and choose representatives in any kind of representative bodies including the local authorities. This kind of democracy was seen in the Ancient Greek and there is no such example in the contemporary world. (Potter, 1997)

Democratization is an ongoing process. Dawisha (Dawisha, 1997) highlights the process as “to a certain extent, all states, even those that call themselves, and those that are recognized by others as democratic are still evolving, either towards or away from democracy. Hence, by giving these concepts of democratic regimes, we can have a clearer view on the process of democratization. In today’s world only three regimes of the five are having examples and these are liberal democracy, partial democracy and authoritarianism. As it is mentioned in the beginning of this part, democratization is a progression which is a process of transition from one regime to a democratic or a more democratic one.

Various scholars are accepting the process as moving directly to liberal democracy model, but it is possible for a controversial and authoritarian regime to shift to a partial democracy or in the case of a “jump” as Potter (Potter, 1997) claims, from authoritarian regime to directly liberal

democracy. The process can be problematic because, rather than not passing from the partial democracy to jump directly to liberal democracy can cause a reaction of reverse. It means there can be a possibility to jump back to an authoritarian regime.

The process of democratization and transition to a democratic structure involves three steps. Gill (Gill, 2000), conceptualizes the steps as;

1. Regime breakdown,
2. Democratic transition and
3. Democratic consolidation.

A successful democratic transition must comprehend all steps and must gain stability and durability at the end. However, these three dimensions of transition will be analyzed in the following parts of this chapter. Hence, the third dimension democratic consolidation is the concept of this paper. The role of NGOs on democratization is more vivid and important in the democratic consolidation process. As the definitions of democratization become more controversial, the approaches to democratization also vary. In order to widen our perspective on democratization it will be helpful to determine the main approaches of democratization. There are four major approaches that is;

1. Modernization theory,
2. Path-dependency,
3. Structural approach, and
4. Transition theory

***Modernization Theory:***

This is a process of social mobilization in which democracy follows economic development, wealth accumulation, and functional differentiation. Basically, this theory emphasizes that democracy is a natural consequence of socio-economic development of a state. Potter (Potter, 1997) claims that modernization approach is associated with the liberal democracies or it is a necessity for a successful democratization. Assessing NGOs via the modernization theory is not a very useful method. When we consider that the main initiative of the theory is liberal economy and socio-economic development, NGOs are only guarantors of check-balance system for controlling the government.

### ***Path-dependency Approach***

The political culture of the former authoritarian regime is institutionally embedded in the political leadership, civil society (NGOs) and population of the state. Lane (Tatum, 2009) states that the transition period is almost impossible with a fresh start.

### ***The Structural Approach***

This focuses on long-term process of historical change. Structuralism identifies the factors that are distinctive to particular cases. It also emphasizes the power structures which are relative class power, state power and external power. State is analyzed by the class relations and the role of external actor (the transnational relations with democratic states and such) is important to the democratization process. (Gill, 2000)

### ***Transition Approach***

Under this approach democratic transition is held by conscious, committed actors; on condition that they possess a degree of luck and show of willingness to compromise. According to scholars like Archie Brown and Ghia Nodia (M, 2001), the elite commitment to democracy is the key. Rustow (Jean, 2002) ascribes the process through a political struggle on three phrases; liberalization, transition and consolidation. Grugel (Jean, 2002) claims that transition approach highlights the micro- processes of regime change, transition and democratic consolidation, yet they have also been criticized being elitist, empirical and voluntaristic. To sum up, transition theory is based upon elite behavior.

As it is seen in these four approaches, there is a lack of an NGO role on democratization. The democratization studies concentrated on the role of political transformation and political society. Therefore the role of NGOs on democratization will be analyzed in the last phrase of democratization, which is called the democratic consolidation process.

### ***1.1.4 Conceptual background***

There were many proponents of Modernization Theory, **such as, Walter Rostow, W.A. Lewis, Talcott Parsons, and Daniel Lerner.** They all felt that the rest of the world needed to look to the Western model of modernity and pattern their society like the West in order to progress. (Sorensen, 2001) Proponents of modernization theory have successfully established statistical links between indicators of modernization and the existence of democracy. The theory of

modernization as an explanation for democratization has demonstrated great explanatory power concerning developments in unlike countries. It is therefore also constantly under debate. The core of the 'new institutionalist' argument is that institutions have an independent effect not only on policies, but also on the quality and sustainability of democracy. This is the point where NGOs come into the picture. NGOs are independent institutions that according to the modernization theory have a role to play in the democratization process of any country because they comprise the civil society. The association between NGOs and the democratization process should therefore be qualified by the way in which NGOs structure solutions to the problem of collective action. NGOs have two facets in the study of democratization. The first overlaps with the already existing roles, and the second is comparable to modernization theory. (MacPherson, 1978)

Democratization is conceptualized by Gill, 2000 with three main phases, *breakdown, transition, consolidation*. In order to assume a state that is successful at democratization process, the state has to fulfill all these three phases. These three phases have their own characteristics and key factors.

### ***Breakdown***

Gill ascribes the regime breakdown as the deconstruction and possibly disintegration of the old regime. This can be related with the 1981-1985 NRA war in the Luwero triangle in Uganda. Carothers (Carothers, 2002) sees this phase as a crack in the ruling dictatorial regime. A similar approach is coming from Schmitter and Schneider, 2004 that they are calling this process as political liberalization of authority.

Ekiert, 1991 describes the first stage of democratization as following;

*“The first stage of democratization is characterized by the rapid disintegration of existing political institutions, the further aggravation of economic dislocations, the proliferation of various political movements breaking into the political arena and the establishment of transitory power arrangements in which opposition forces acquired varying degrees of access to the official political process and institutions.”*

As it is seen in the definition of Ekiert there are several indicators that affect the process of regime breakdown process. Gill also mentions these components. He categorizes these components into four captions as, economic crises, political mobilization, international pressure



and regime disunity. (Gill, 2000) The countries that have experienced regime breakdown generally have economic crises. These economic difficulties have often affected the two segments of the state which are the political elite and the regime itself. In that sense the Uganda's economic vulnerability can be shown as an example. In the last three decades of the NRM regime, Uganda has experienced the economical inefficiency.

### **Political mobilization**

The component refers to the incapability of the regime to control the popular mobilization in such times like economic crises. The general attitude of the authoritarian regimes to the population is trying to control their mobilization by making them depoliticize. An example is the actions of the Ugandan State during the walk to work campaigns. The regime seeks to control the population by governmentally managed institutions such as trade unions, sport associations, women groups and such. However in times of economic suffrage, the regime has very limited chance to control society, as a conclusion the political mobilization of the society is inevitable.

In another example in Uganda, in recent times the Regime has had to deal with different demands from Trade Unions and noticeably is the Medical Personnel's Strikes and not forgetting the Teachers' industrial action. (Gill, 2000)

### **The role of international actors and their pressure among the regime.**

Gill states that rather than the existence of international actors, the important thing is their mediated role with domestic institutions. Whether their interaction with a war or their influence with international non-governmental organizations; the international actors have significant role on regime breakdown scenarios. An important reason of such interferes is the economic concerns. The different regime types with different economic habituations are generally tried to be controlled by the other actors of the international arena. Also these kinds of interferes to the regime which has probability to breakdown are generally done via the promotions of democracy and human rights concepts. (Gill, 2000)

### **Regime disunity**

This refers to disunity of political elites of the current regime. This kind of disunity generally occurs in the times, when a personal dictator or a charismatic leader does not agree with his elites or forecast intended competition from his counterparts. The Clearest example of this is in 2015, When the Leader and founder of NRM President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni fired his longtime friend Amama Mbabazi from government after having worked together for over twenty years.

(New vision, 2015) In such a scenario, the regime is controlled by a group of elite who come mostly from different institutions and different levels of the governmental body. This institutional difference eventually causes of cracking the ruling authority. (Gill, 2000)

### ***The Transition Phase***

The second phase of democratization is the transition process. Stradiotto and Guo (Stradiotto, 2010) are explaining the transition process by taking consideration of Linz, O'Donnell, Schmitter and Cortona as such:

*“A democratic transition is therefore the interval between an authoritarian polity and a democratic one. In defining democratic transition, the transfer of power is usually identified as the key element which by definition equals to democratization.”*

They also emphasize that transition consists of two major actors:

1. The ruling elite and
2. The society that votes for it.

One of the key points of transition is the successor of the authoritarian regime that wants to be considered as the democratic one. The new regime definitely protects the rights of opposition, human rights, and civic rights, freedom of speech, and free access to information and also tries to support free and fair elections in a multi-party system. This is an exact replica of the period between 1995 to 2006 when Uganda adopted the multi-party system. (Stradiotto, 2010)

According to Stradiotto and Guo, a transition can happen in two versions; violence-based and non-violence-based. The first one can conclude with a possibility of war but the second kind, because of its negotiated structure avoids violence. However, in a scenario of a coalition of the political elites; has the possibility of creating competing structures on the new political institutions. Hence, if the relations of new government and opposition tighten, democratic consolidation process would be harmed because of the struggle or worse the new political elite can choose the path of autocracy once again. (Stradiotto, 2010)

One must understand that, as Carothers determines the states that are in transition to democracy has often been inaccurate and misleading. Some of these countries have hardly democratized at all. Carothers generalizes this kind of countries position as a gray zone. Gray zone term refers to

countries that are neither dictatorial nor clearly headed towards democracy. (Carothers, 2002) Hale carries this assumption even further and states that, although the scholars are analyzing the transition process both toward and away from, there is also a possibility of regime cycling. The states that are unable to have transition and consolidation phases improperly can have recycling regimes which consist of democratic transition to authoritarianism and as a result, revolution comes following. (Henry, 2005)

### **Democratic Consolidation**

Democratic consolidation is a necessity to call a state successful at democratization. Before giving the definition it is important to mention in what kind of situations we examine democratic consolidation. As it is mentioned earlier, democratic consolidation is the third phase of democratization. The phrase “the only game in town” (Henry, 2005) refers to the importance of democracy. It means, democracy becomes the only game in town when, even in the face of severe political and economic crises, the overwhelming majority must use parameters of democratic procedures in any further political change. This is the necessity of consolidation in the perspective of what Rustow calls habituation in which the norms, procedures and expectations of democracy become internalized by government, organizations and society in a state. The habituation of democratic norms must be internalized in five dimensions in a state.

Linz and Stephan (Stephan, 1995) give these five dimensions as;

1. Political society,
2. Rule of law,
3. State bureaucracy,
4. Institutionalized economic society and
5. Non-governmental organization.

Linz and Stepan underline two surmountable obstacles that are threatening the consolidation process as ethnic conflict in multinational states and economic unrest of the population. (Stephan, 1995)

Schedler gives the definition of consolidation as the challenge of preventing authoritarian regressions and securing the survival of the new democracies. However, while he is giving this description he adds that the definition above is impressively unclear. (Schedler, 1998) He proposes that in a broad and detailed definition creation, the term would be analyzed within different perspectives. Democratic consolidation hence, has several indicators and each scholar

has different perspectives about consolidation of democracy. Hanson emphasizes the role of political culture or NGOs to support democratic institutions for democratic consolidation. In that sense Diamond gives a broad explanation to democratic consolidation as;

The process by which democracy becomes so broadly and profoundly legitimate among its citizens that it is very unlikely to break down. (Diamond, 1994)

It involves behavioral and institutional changes that normalize democratic politics and narrow its uncertainty. The normalization requires the expansion of citizen access, development of democratic citizenship and culture, broadening of leadership recruitment and training, and other functions that NGOs perform. As Rostow, Linz and Stepan; Diamond also emphasize the importance of adaptation of democracy for establishment of consolidation. Diamond gives the importance of norms and behavior on three dimensions (elite, organizations and mass public) of a state.

Diamond categorizes the role of norms and behavior on three dimensions as following;

**Norms and Beliefs:** In order to have a functional democratic consolidation process, the elite of the state which consists of leaders of government, business and social organizations must believe the legitimacy of democracy. And their beliefs must be manifested by their public rhetoric and ideology. In the level of organizations, all political parties, social movements and interest groups must certify in their charters the legitimacy of democracy and the rule of law or in the minimum level do not reject. In the third level which is mass public, at least the biggest percentage of the society must believe democracy and at the smallest percentage of it prefers an authoritarian governmental body. (Hanson, 2002)

**Behavior:** The elite of the state must act according to rule of law and must accept the norms of democracy. Furthermore the political elites must definitely not use the military power in order to gain political advantage. In the organizational level, they must avoid violent, unconstitutional and anti-democratic methods when they pursue their political goals. In the mass public level, the mass movements, parties and organizations must promote illegal and unconstitutional methods to express themselves. (Hanson , 2002)

## ***1.2 Statement of the problem***

NGOs play different roles at different stages of the democratization process: democratic transition and democratic consolidation. In democratic transitions, NGOs play a major role in mobilizing pressure for political change. NGOs are a crucial source of democratic change. NGOs are also considered to play a key role in the consolidation of democracy, in checking abuses of state power, preventing the resumption of power by authoritarian governments, encouraging wider citizen participation, and public scrutiny of the state. In the democratization process, NGOs are probably more essential for consolidating and maintaining democracy than for initiating it. (Barya J.J, 1999)

The performance of NGOs is unsatisfactory. (Barya J.J, 1999) Despite the presence of many NGOs in Uganda, their contribution towards consolidation of democratic values has been insignificant. (Barya J.J, 1999) With the role of NGOs cut out to be consolidation of the democratic values in the democratization process, NGOs have instead criticized the state for lack democratic values hence NGOs failing to consolidate the democratic values. Such blame games between NGOs and the State initiated the researcher to undertake the study in this area, thus this study examines the role of NGOs in the democratization process of Uganda using the African Leadership Institute as the Case study.

## ***1.3 Objectives of the study***

### ***1.3.1 General Objective***

The main objective of the study is to examine the contributions of NGOs to the democratic process of Uganda.

### ***1.3.2 Specific objectives***

1. Assess the historical role of participation by the African Leadership Institute in the democratization process of Uganda.
2. Examine the contemporary contributions of the African Leadership Institute with regard to the democratization process of Uganda.
3. Identify factors that constrain NGOs from discharging their duties and responsibilities to the democratization process of Uganda.

4. Find ways which will enhance the capacity of NGOs in the promotion and maintenance of the democratization process.

### **1.3.3 Research questions**

In addressing the issues mentioned in the statement of the problem, the research answers the following questions:

1. Does the African Leadership Institute have a historical role in the democratization process of Uganda?
2. What are the contemporary contributions of the African Leadership Institute with regard to the democratization process of Uganda?
3. What factors constrain NGOs from discharging their duties and responsibilities to the democratization process of Uganda?
4. What are the ways to enhance the capacity of NGOs in the promotion and maintenance of the democratization process?

## ***1.4 Scope of the study***

### **1.4.1 Time scope**

The study will cover a period of 12 years from 2005-2017. The researcher believes this is a reasonable period for the democratization process in Uganda; and the period when Uganda adopted the Multi-party political system.

### **1.4.2 Geographical scope**

The study will be carried out in Uganda particularly with the African Leadership Institute (AFLI). Uganda is bordered to the east by Kenya, to the north by South Sudan, to the west by the Democratic Republic of the Congo, to the south-west by Rwanda, and to the south by Tanzania. The southern part of the country includes a substantial portion of Lake Victoria, shared with Kenya and Tanzania. Uganda is in the African Great Lakes region. Uganda also lies within the Nile basin, and has a varied but generally a modified equatorial climate. The geographical coordinates of Uganda are 1.3733° N, 32.2903° E

Due to time and resource constraints, the research was not based on comprehensive study of all NGOs involved in the democratisation process of Uganda. Therefore, the study was limited to

the Africa Leadership Institute. The area was selected purposely because the Africa Leadership Institute is situated in Kampala, Uganda

#### **1.4.3 Content scope**

The study will present a brief background about NGOs in Uganda and also examine their role. This will enable the study to determine what role the African Leadership Institute has played in the democratization process of Uganda.

#### **1.4.4 Interviewee scope**

The researcher will use questionnaires to collect information from the respondents on the role of AFLI in the democratization process of Uganda. The study will be carried out among the target population of the study comprising of 15 respondents comprising 8 males and 7 females. The target populations are people who have worked with AFLI

#### ***1.5 Purpose of the study***

Many people in Uganda do not know the role of NGOs. Most people align NGOs to charity activities and when they see NGOs in democratic matters they criticize them as being partisan and playing politics. This study comes in to align the comprehensive role of NGOs in the democratisation process of Uganda so that people have a clear idea on the extent to which NGOs participate in the democratisation process of Uganda. The study also serves the purpose of helping me obtain my master's degree of International Relations and Diplomacy from Nkumba University.

#### ***1.6 Significance of the study***

The study will add knowledge to the world of international relations while benefiting many stakeholders including the following:

**To member states government**

The study intends to provide a source of documentation for whoever wants to know about the role of NGOs in the democratisation process.

**To other academicians**

The study will help them gain knowledge about the extent to which NGOs have contributed or failed in the democratization process of Uganda.

**Policy makers**

Policy makers in the different ministries in Uganda, international Government organization such as the World Bank, IMF, donors and other regional bodies will find it useful in understanding different challenges that NGOs are facing in their role towards the democratisation process of Uganda.



## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.0 Introduction**

The very exact aim of this chapter is to create a general framework on the notions of democratization and Non-governmental Organisation. In that sense, the first part of this chapter will be focused on the democratization definitions, the key actors of democratization and several approaches of democratization which will be useful on explaining the 2005-2006 political transition period in Uganda. The second part will consist of the structure of democratization that will explain the three main processes; breakdown, transition and democratic consolidation so as establish which part of the process NGOs have to play.

#### **2.1 Objective One: To assess the historical role of participation by the Africa Leadership Institute in the democratization process of Uganda.**

The Africa Leadership Institute was established in 2004 as a company limited by guarantee and later registered as Non-Governmental Organization under the Laws of Uganda. AFLI has implemented the Parliamentary scorecard and Civic engagement project since 2007.

Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) have come to play a significant role in Uganda in recent years. From colonial rule to 1980's there was a relatively small NGOs sector, dominated mainly by the humanitarian and evangelistic organisations such as church related organisations. Church - related organisations provided crucial services such as schools, medical care and counseling. Other NGOs such as Women's Organisations, social clubs, professional organisations were organised along interests of their constituents. Until recently NGOs were not looked upon as significant alternative providers of services to the state sector or as representing alternative policy framework to the state or private sector. (Dicklitch, 1998)

The resurgence of the neo-liberal paradigm in the political economy of the third World has made the NGOs become a critical factor in the management of political and socio - economic agenda in these countries. The neo-liberal perspectives conceive the African state as a "failed state" while the market is "imperfect" in allocation of resources in society. From this perspective,

NGOs and civil society are seen a viable alternative to the "failed" state and the "imperfect market" in providing services needed by the people especially the poorest of the poor (Dicklitch, 1998). On the political side, the NGOs and civil society are seen as "vehicles for empowerment and democratization" For instance, they are seen as playing a role in creating a civic culture of pluralising the economic and political arena, and bridging the gap between the state and the unorganised masses. For this reason, donors find it easy to deal with them and channels for much needed aid to the poor to the poor people. Despite the positive role the NGOs play, they are fragmented, project - oriented, donor - driven, urban - based and sometimes, poorly managed. (Dicklitch, 1998)

Since 1986, when the National Resistance Movement came to power the NGO sector has seen tremendous growth. The growth in the NGO sector may be attributed to several factors. These include: enabling political environment, people's response to harsh economic environment; easy access to donor funding, a spirit of voluntarism increase in interest groups such as the women, youth, disabled among others and the willingness of government to incorporate some NGOs in some governments' strategic plans. (Dicklitch, 1998)

While the NGO sector has expanded enormously, its contribution to social, economic and political changes remain a subject of inquiry. Recent studies indicate that the NGOs' are fundamentally constrained by regime impediments. For instance the government allows these NGOs which operate as gap fillers but are discouraged from performing roles that are considered "politically sensitive". This so called "sensitivity" limits their role in working for meaningful change in the political arena. To ensure control of the NGO sector, the Ugandan government put in place an NGO registration Board. The main functions are to register and to monitor NGOs operating in Uganda. (Dicklitch, 1998)

Part 8 of the Non-Government Organizations act, 2016 provides for the registration of these organizations before they embark on any projects. (Act, 2006)

Therefore, this implies that for any NGO to gain legal existence it has to be registered with the NGO Bureau. But more significant is the fact that the Bureau is under the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the membership of the Bureau includes internal security, organisation (ISO) and external security organization (ESO), both being state intelligence organizations.

NGOs work in a multitude of sectors in Uganda, with the highest sector of concentration being education & training. While historically predominant in the service delivery sphere, from the mid 90's several NGOs became active in advocacy, policy influencing and rights work. In practice the operating environment for NGOs in Uganda is reasonably tolerable. Externally, the key constraint to NGO work is inadequate funding and interference to some of their work especially by state security groups. (Barr, 2003).

There are two main characteristics that distinguish NGOs from other organizations or similar establishments: First that NGOs are not motivated by the search for monetary profits; and secondly, they have a charitable purpose that leads them to fundraise from the public or grant institutions. Like firms, NGOs are organizations that are working towards specific goals. They mobilize resources including human and financial in order to produce 'services', which are typically not sold to beneficiaries. (Barr, 2003).

NGOs have their roots in voluntarism and philanthropy. This is to say that they are founded to serve the needs of poor people and marginalized groups. In fact in the USA, they are commonly referred to as Private Voluntary Organizations (PVOs). Most were founded by individuals or groups of people giving of their time and money for a certain cause. For example, World Vision was started by a certain Rev. Bob Pearce, who as a journalist, he was moved by the plight of Korean orphans and wrote back to his church in the States to say he was issuing a cheque and they had to ensure it does not bounce. That effort to stop Pearce's cheques from bouncing marked the beginning of a now world-famous NGO which is one of the leading agencies in development and humanitarian relief operations in all the continents of the world. Back at home, UWESO was formed as an effort by Uganda women to save orphans. TASO was formed as a support mechanism for persons living with HIV/AIDS. The story goes on. NGOs mobilize millions of people to give of their time and money to help others, rebuild or strengthen communities, their coping mechanisms and resilience. In this country, people infected and affected by HIV/AIDS owe their support mechanisms to the philanthropy of NGOs. A central strength and distinguishing characteristic of NGOs is additionality, or their ability to mobilize and bring in additional financial, technical and sometimes political resources, particularly where the state is weak or absent. (Kwesiga JB & Namisi, 2006)

Globally, NGOs shift as much as US\$5 billion. In this country, NGOs bring in as much money as what the World Bank brings annually; or what is forgiven in debt relief initiatives. This is mostly seen in complex humanitarian disasters, such as wars, droughts, floods, etc. They provide emergency relief and rehabilitation giving food, provide or fix water and sanitation systems, offer health care, reconstructing infrastructure, etc. In Uganda, it is estimated that NGOs, mainly are faith-based organizations, provide up to 40% of health services which amounts to about \$6 per capita out of the \$12 spent on health per person. These 'fire-fighting' services/interventions are critical to re-establishing lifelines (lifeline Sudan is a name of an emergency relief operation by NGOs) and setting the stage for making long-term development possible. Evidence suggests that there is high level of funding channeled through NGOs. (Authority), 2015)

NGOs have acquired the reputation of being “carers of last resort”, operating in marginal areas geographically and socially, providing such services as micro-finance, conflict resolution and peace-building. In this respect, research has shown that in some areas, NGOs reach people which are not being reached effectively by either the state or the market – a situation commonly referred to as state and market failure. The state can fail due to poor governance, lack of resources, or other reasons. Market can fail due to poor infrastructure, poverty (which drastically reduces profitability which diminishes the market motive for providing goods and services). In Uganda services to minorities such the Batwa are provided almost exclusively by NGOs (ADRA and Oxfam in the case of the Batwa). In some case, however, NGOs can be providers of first preference, particularly where some NGOs command more resources than official agencies/government departments. In this country, there are NGOs which have annual budgets larger than those of Government ministries and are often turned to by those departments for help. This is true in emergency relief, among others. (Lewis and Wallace 2000)

The other distinguishing characteristic is that NGOs make development participatory. Wide and inclusive participation, despite being costly in terms of resources, has a lot of intrinsic value: it increases ownership which results in more, as well as better quality services from service providers; it informs decision making, making more responsive to the needs and expectations of the poor, it identifies resources available locally that can be put to better use. The Uganda Participatory Poverty Assessments (PPAs) resulted in a better understanding and an enriched

definition of poverty beyond income, they helped communities develop and implement community action plans for poverty reduction. (Lewis and Wallace 2000)

Advocacy for better and just policies programs and practices. Progressively NGOs have come to the realization that the way they have been approaching development can at best be described as achieving limited results. “They have come to the sad realization that, although they have achieved many successes, the systems and structures that determine power and resource allocations locally, nationally and globally remain largely outside their sphere of influence” Their work was likened to patching up wounds without addressing the root causes of the problem. (Kwesiga JB & Namisi, 2006)

A debate about how to engender social economic transformation has since been raging. Issues of justice have replaced welfare. A new tenet has emerged: the need to change power relations, policies at local, national and international levels. NGOs are now active in trade, putting a human face to globalization and structural adjustment policies, campaigns for debt relief, gender and the girl-child, landmines, land, dams and rivers, legal aid, guarantees/protection for human rights, the rights-based approach to development among others. (Barr, 2003)

This way, NGOs are trying to make state power and market forces work to the advantage of poorer groups. They are reclaiming benefits that ordinarily go to middlemen. They build more social capital, exploring alternative models of production and exchange that are less costly in terms of the environment and promoting social values in the market setting. They talk of double bottom lines for businesses: do well and do good, have socially responsible bottom lines, give back to the community, support men and women to combine their market and non-market (unpaid work) roles to redistribute profits with social purpose (Lewis and Wallace 2000: 3). This way they are increasing / leveraging for development. The growth of NGOs has changed the character of international relations, broadening their scope, multiplying the number of participants and sometimes outflanking the formal protocols of international diplomacy (Caldwell 1990).

According to Edwards (1993), “if it were possible to assess the value of all such reforms, they might be worth more than their financial contributions.

According to Clark (1992) the combined influence of NGOs and public opinion has initiated major policy changes on several issues including the production of a code of conduct for marketing baby milk, the drafting of an international essential drugs list, global warming, debt relief, modification in structural adjustment regimes. NGOs have been strategic and effective in the democratization process. They are also effective at providing civic education that enables ordinary people to know and demand for their rights and entitlements. (Clark, 1992)

In my view, since NGOs are engaged more in development - oriented activities, the Bureau should have been located in the Ministry of Finance. As pointed out earlier, the government seems to be over zealously concerned with "political sensitivity" that NGOs are perceived to portend. "Political sensitivity" is itself a hoax. There is no evidence until now to indicate that NGOs have been engaged in acts that should cause nervousness in the state arena. Let us then examine the nature of the NGOs. (Barya J.J, 1999)

**2.2 Objective two: To examine the contemporary contributions of the African Leadership Institute with regard to the democratization process of Uganda.**

The rise of NGOs in Uganda is seen as a fight against statism and despotism. That is the true wider perception of the general public at large. However, the roles played by NGOs are more than just driving away despotism. It cannot nevertheless be argued that NGOs did not partake in the struggle for independence and democratization in Uganda. On the Ugandan level, NGOs have been more focused on the repressive regimes and governments that have not been observing the subjects’ individual rights and freedoms. The targets of the NGOs have been the institutions that have not been keen in adhering to the rights as enshrined in constitutional documents and other forms of recognizable legal regimes. NGOs perform many fundamental functions in an attempt to create an ideal relationship between the subjects and their governments. This section will delve in the role that fall under the gamut of NGOs. The most outstanding roles played by NGOs include; limiting the power of the state, challenging government abuses of the authority,

monitoring human rights and the rule of law, monitoring elections, educating citizens about their rights, building a culture of tolerance and civil engagement, agitating for the inclusion of minority groups in political processes, opening and pluralizing the flow of information and building constituencies for economic and political reforms. (Okuku, 1997)

The NGO phenomenon, in its contemporary sense, is a recent phenomenon in Uganda's socio-political development. Apart from the church, the rise of NGOs involved in the discourse on democratization, political and civil liberties in Uganda are a recent occurrence. In fifty years of Uganda's independence, the country witnessed seemingly endless terrorism and human rights abuses. Several regimes in succession denied the Ugandan people their fundamental liberties. Freedom of speech was suffocated; lives lost, arbitrary arrests and detentions were the order of the day. Though there was pretense of a multi-party system between 1981 and 1985, the political party in power denied the existence and operation of any form of autonomous organisations within civil society not allied to it. Lack of these facets in society led to the rise of NGOs concerned with political and civil liberties (Okuku, 1997).

Second, the rise of NGOs, as in Kenya, is a result of the increased funding that changes in the policies of donor countries made available. They also sprouted on the crest waves of international sympathy that came Uganda's way after the fall of the regimes of Idi Amin and Milton Obote II that were notorious for human rights abuses. From just a few in the 1980s they turned into a massive movement in the 1990s. In civil society literature, it has been suggested that NGOs have a unique position in society in that it can reach the people, educate and empower them hence enabling them to assert themselves and struggle for the democratisation of the socio-political space. By looking at the practices of the civil liberties NGOs, their organisational capacities and how they relate to the Ugandan State, the capacities of selected human rights NGOs to the extension of civil liberties are analysed, contributing to the democratisation process. These include the Uganda Human Rights Activists (UHRA), Foundation for Human Rights Initiatives (FHRI) and Action for Development (ACFODE) among others. These organisations have tried to translate the civil/political rights into a political culture with very limited success. All the three organisations were formed in the 1980s and 1990s reflecting the growing concern with human rights issues as part of the democracy question. In organisational terms, the UHRA is faced with internal power wrangles that led to the breakaway of FHRI. Both UHRA and FHRI,

have personal rule by the founder leaders, suffer from donor dependence, have limited spread countrywide and there is general hostility from the State towards their activities. This has led to their limited capacity to empower the population. ACFODE on the other hand, although focused on empowerment of women, has been limited to urban areas (Okuku, 1997).

This has been worsened by their focus on micro-elements rather than upon macro-dimensions of the economy, governance and social services. They have emphasised projects rather than programs (Barya J.J, 1999). This has resulted in their rather dismal contribution to the democratisation process. A study on Ugandan NGOs, discounts the automatic association often made between liberalisation and democratisation (Dicklitch, 1998).

NGOs as important actors within civil society are allowed to function as long as they 'fit' within the liberalisation agenda, fulfilling a gap-filling role, particularly of poverty alleviation rather than empowerment or advocacy. In this regard, more telling about their limited capacity to contribute meaningfully to the democratisation process is their practices. NGOs have been compelled to exercise a significant amount of self-censorship to avoid confrontations with government. Unlike NGOs in Kenya which were central on attacks on state restrictions, Ugandan NGOs have avoided 'controversial' issues such as army abuses and the political restrictions associated with the 'movement' system. NGOs in Uganda are not supposed to be bastions of democracy as this role is assumed to be taken care of by the increasingly statist LCs. (Dicklitch, 1998).

The state has appropriated the themes of the democracy question including human rights, good governance and accountability often by setting up organisations for their fulfillment. For instance, the Uganda Human Rights Commission (UHRC) investigates human rights abuses and the Inspectorate of Government (IGG) ensures accountability in public service. The findings of these organisations are not pushed to the logical conclusion. The Ugandan NGOs are strictly controlled by the state. As in Kenya, the state exercises significant control over NGO activities through the NGO Registration Board Statute that stipulates conditions for registration and deregistration. The NGO Bureau is filled with members of the state. The regime does not hesitate to clamp down on vocal critics such as political parties and the regime (Dicklitch, 1998).



According to Sheila Kawamara, Coordinator of the Uganda Women Network (UWONET), as quoted in Human Rights Watch-Uganda Report, however: 'They (Government) often remind us of our registration, which requires us to be non-political, non-partisan, non-everything' (HRW-Uganda, 1999). The government has interfered in civil society activities without any critical response from the NGOs, the church and other civil organisations. As HRW Uganda, observes, '... society in Uganda continues to be effectively prevented from addressing some of the most pressing human rights issues in Uganda, namely the political restrictions which operate under the movement system (HRW-Uganda, 1999:109). Apart from this open control, the state has responded to NGO activism in ways that have been suggested by Fowler (Fowler, 1993:50).

Members of the regime can create their own NGOs.

In Uganda, the members of the regime have not only created their own organisations, but the state has created bodies to act as 'NGOs'! In 1993, the government, for instance, established the National Association of Women's Organisations in Uganda (NAWOU), which is facilitated by the Ministry of Gender and Development. The state also has attempted to form an all-encompassing NGO forum, the National Council of Voluntary Social Services (HRW-Uganda, 1999:110). This distorts the contributions the NGOs could make to the democratisation process in the Uganda. (Dicklitch, 1998).

The result has been the emergence of an NGO sector that is a political and dependent on foreign donors with lack of coordination of its own autonomous activities. Such a sector is currently incapable of bringing pressure to bear on the state and keeping it accountable. However, as Dicklitch (1998:155) notes 'the fact that NGOs exist and that they are engaged in some advocacy and empowerment projects is, however, a positive sign'. On the whole the NGOs contribution to the democratisation process in Uganda has not been salutary in comparison to Kenyan NGOs. NGOs face obstructions from the State and they are in themselves very fragmented and donor dependent. (Dicklitch 1998:155)

In an attempt to put checks, counterchecks and balances on governmental institutions in Uganda, NGOs have been at the fore-line. The major goals to be achieved under this head are liberal democracy and political economy. The two cannot be gained without firstly challenging abuses

posed by the governments on its subjects and secondly agitating for the rule of law. Scholars have argued that in recent transitions, the most vocal opponents of authoritarian rule are the middle classes in Uganda. These middle classes have been the major architects in the fight for formal democracy in various states. These middle class citizens have ended up forming NGOs. Therefore NGOs are part and parcel of these middle classes. (Makara, 2016)

It must be remembered that immediately after independence period in Ugandan, the concept of single-partyism crept in. The concept had been implanted by British. The British had argued that single party regimes ensured that there was unity and solidification of leadership that was required for the day to day running of governments. Therefore, this concept was left planted and actually took root in many Uganda. Modern aspect of democracy however required that a fundamental characteristic of multi-partyism be part of the Uganda. Various NGOs agitated for the same in the 2005 referendum. This is the form of modern democracy that still remains rife and acceptable today. (Makara, 2016)

For democratization to occur there needs to be in place institutionalized mechanisms by which the citizenry may use in case they require changing leadership and power-holders. The institutionalized mechanisms would provide channels through which the people would hold the governments accountable, either through regular competitive elections. The institutions would also mean that the rule of law is followed. NGOs have ensured, and continue to ensure that they advocate for the presence of such institutionalized mechanisms. Emphasis on legal democracy has been at the lips of numerous NGOs across Uganda. (Makara, 2016)

NGOs have also been seen to agitate for the redistribution of the economic sphere in Uganda. Prior to their arrival and active service, there had been disenfranchisement of economic resources to social classes and political hegemonies. National resources in terms of public coffers and aid were never fairly distributed. The arrival of the NGOs however has altered the game rules and plans and there is now equitable or near equal distribution of wealth amongst the subjects. Rural dwellers and urban underclasses have always wanted fairer and more just opportunities. They require social peace, respect for the rule of law. They need education opportunities without discrimination of any nature. The answer has always lain with NGOs.

Democracy, fundamental rights and freedoms, justice and the rule of law are closely intertwined. None would exist independent of the other. In democratization therefore, respect for human rights fall at the core. The current improvement in the realm is majorly attributable to NGOs. (Makara, 2016)

NGOs have been recognized in the realm of legal mobilization and the change of public perception on rights and fundamental freedoms. NGOs have now become tools for collective social responsibilities, an aspect that has been recognized. It must be understood that the rights and fundamental freedoms that are in place today have a long history. Originally they were mere claims but later evolved to be rights that are inalienable. Even after their recognition as such, the rights still suffered a setback in the nature in which they were applied. The civil and political rights were treated as supreme compared to other classes of rights. This clearly meant that breaching of the first class rights was more serious than breaching rights that fell outside the first class. The NGOs never remained quiet over this differential treatment of the rights. Currently, all the rights enjoy equal status. Civil and political rights and social-cultural rights enjoy equal status. (Makara, 2016)

It is evident that NGOs are capable of pressuring states to institute protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms. This they have done successfully. NGOs have played the role of documenting reports on human rights abuses experienced during civil wars. The documentation aids in the post-conflict transitional justice processes. In the post-conflict environment, NGOs have always advocated for accountability of the governments or any other natural or corporate persons that partake in the insurgency or unrest. In so doing, the role of booking accountability is concomitant with advocating and fighting for the observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms. The NGOs have thus been instrumental in requiring governments to investigate past violations of human rights. Where the institutions mandated to investigate such violations are reluctant, NGOs with resources at their disposal undertake such duties and demand justice on behalf of the victims of violations. Examples of such NGOs include Human Rights Watch. (Makara, 2016)

Due to the nature of contention associated with elections in Uganda, and the rest of the world also, technical issues do arise. Aspects of rigging and voter intimidation have been among the most cited factors that interfere with free and fair elections. NGOs have been alive to this fact

and have always advocated for free and fair elections. This they do by ensuring that there is transparent public awareness and voter registration. Trainings are undertaken prior the elections. The NGOs also send observers in various constituencies and stations to ensure that there are free and fair elections. (Makara, 2016)

Due to the weak institutions in the name of civil services, NGOs have been at the forefront trying to strengthen them. This is done through donations and training. Civil services have been plagued with massive corruption and nepotism. NGOs have been the watchdogs. When governmental departments that are obligated with implementing policies are tainted with corruption and nepotism there lacks professionalism in the delivery of services. NGOs raise serious questions of accountability and transparency. (Makara, 2016)

Free media is an aspiration for various democratic states. This is necessarily so due to the requirement of access to information. When the government controls all print and electronic media, then the aspect of democracy is tainted. NGOs in Uganda have advocated for free media. In alternative situations, donations are made so that there exist parallel press.

### **2.3 Objective Three: Identify factors that constrain NGOs from discharging its duties and responsibilities to the democratization process of Uganda.**

Achievement of the above roles and objects is not a smooth-sailing for NGOs in Uganda. The journey is daunting and it is not without hindrances. To begin with, funds must lie at the heart of delivery of services. Funds follow functions, as a basic and general rule. Many NGOs find it difficult to garner sufficient and continuous funding for their work. Gaining access to appropriate donors is a major component of this challenge. They may have limited resource mobilization skills locally, so instead they wait for international donors to approach them. Due to the weakness of the institutionalization in Uganda, weak NGOs have not been few. Lack of clear separation between arms of governments has been disadvantageous to civil NGOs. (Dawisha, 1997)

Lack of institutional capacities of NGOs in Uganda has thus crippled their performance in the democratization process. This poses great danger as the NGOs end up either not getting enough funds in order to undertake their duties as enumerated in their various constitutions and

memoranda. The major aspects of institutional capacity that lacks on their part are for example; accounting and professional skills in their functional skills. However, it is worth noting that there has been a major improvement in the internal structures of these NGOs. Recent surveys have shown that there is immense local support in terms of expertise in advocacy, management and strategy. Due to the exhibited general institutional incapacity within the government institutions, there has been reluctance from the western donors in the sponsorship of NGOs precisely located in Uganda. The donors now prefer to fund specific projects that are undertaken by organizations on contractual basis. (Dewey, 1916)

Another challenge that rocks NGOs is the fear of politicization. NGOs have always grappled with question of the extent of support that they should offer to subjects of the states. This has also been a question troubling the donors also. How far should the NGOs go in terms of balancing state power on behalf of the subjects? It is justifiable that NGOs have always been weary of their relationship with the state, and there is always fear of interfering with the state if there is so much involvement of these NGOs in the running of various governments. (Dewey, 1916)

Many NGOs suffer from the lack of a cohesive, strategic plan that would facilitate success in their activities and mission. This renders them unable to effectively raise and capitalize on financial support. A lack of effective governance is all too common in NGOs. Many have a deficit of understanding as to why they must have a Board and how to set one up. A founder may be too focused on running the NGO for their own purposes; however, governance is foundational to transparency. Poor or disorganized networking is another major challenge, as it can cause duplicated efforts, time inefficiencies, conflicting strategies and an inability to learn from experience. (Gill, 2000)

The more NGOs communicate with one another, with International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs) and with the community at large, the more effective all of them can be. However, many NGOs perceive INGOs as hindering or even threatening to their goals and missions. Many NGOs do not maximize the use of current technologies that could facilitate better communication and networking. More effective use of technology can assist NGOs in staying abreast of important regional, national and global concerns. NGOs often lack the

technical and organizational capacity to implement and fulfill their mission, and few are willing or able to invest in training for capacity building. Weak capacity affects fundraising ability, governance, leadership and technical areas. Many NGOs favor a “hardware” approach to development through building infrastructure and providing services instead of empowering people and institutions locally. Overall, their development approaches are not as flexible, sustainable and relevant to the community as they could be. (Gill, 2000)

Amongst the major limitations confronting the NGOs in bringing democracy at the door steps of many in Uganda lies in the fragmentation of the civil society itself. To this end it has then become difficult to harness synergies and tap from the well of civic energies. The very fact that civil society organizations have been polarized over funding rather than on strategy, ideology or principles leaves a lot to be desired. It can thus be questioned, how then can such a loose and weak civil society enhance public participation and enhance the consolidation of democracy? Gwisai writing on the Ugandan NGOs noted that;

*The commodification or commercialization of the struggle where participation in struggle becomes dependent on how much one has been paid, has to come to an end, if ever we are to prevent the money-bags and imperialists hijacking our struggles and movements let alone defeat the dictatorship (page 25)*

The above analysis therefore highlights the salience of the concept of participation and manipulation within the donor aid business. It is within the power cube matrix that one can argue that, the participation of the people and the civic leaders has been compromised by the commoditization of the whole Aid Business. Many NGOs have tended to be more inclined in what one might term politics of the purse and belly. To this end, the struggle for democracy in Uganda has been heavily influenced and compromised. It has also been argued in greater circles that, some NGOs enjoy the status quo so as to remain relevant thus ultimately getting more donor aid through the democracy aid assistance funding. (Gill, 2000)

According to Campbell (as cited in European Partnership for Democracy, 2009:5), “Democracy cannot be imported, it also cannot be exported. But it needs to be supported”. Be that as it may, the very idea of supporting democracy and democratization should be critically analyzed and viewed with a critical eye as it is also fraught with many hiccups in terms of eroding autonomy

of the receiving organizations in terms of policy formulation, organizational autonomy and strategies. The fact that it is the donor in the Global West who calls the shots emerges as a major limitation in terms of autonomy in strategies and alliances that a receiving organization can adopt. (Gill, 2000)

The Ugandan case has also reflected that NGOs have an urbanized density; this therefore hampers the participation of the larger population that resides in the rural areas. In cases where these organizations visit the rural areas, it can be argued that the participation of the people is conditioned either through invited or closed spaces. Such limitations therefore affect the success of the protest movement given the burgeoning emergence of a disengaged middle class in the urban areas which has a more *laissez faire attitude* orientation. It is this middle class that do not see any significance in mass mobilizations, strikes, civil disobedience, demonstrations, and boycotts and stay always. The failure by the NGOs to preach the gospel of change and democratization so as to convert this emerging elitist class has also posed major challenges to the success and realization of the democratization process in Uganda. (Gill, 2000)

The widening rather than shrinking of the space between the poor and the rich has therefore affected the success and participation of the masses in the democratic struggles in Uganda. In brief, the space for engagement has been narrowed due to the disengagement and burnt out (tiredness) by the masses mainly the middle class. Resultantly, the working poor and the unemployed have been the ones who are only left at the forefront pushing for the democratization agenda. Lack of collective action by citizens to occupy civic spaces have also dwindled the prospects of ushering in new democratic institutions and practices in the governance of the country. Gaventa opines that, “spaces are seen as opportunities, moments and channels where citizens can act to potentially affect policies, discourses, decisions and relationships which affect their lives and interests. Citizen participation and engagement is also conditioned on the civic energy and space that the state can create.

**2.4 Objective Four: To seek solutions which will enhance the capacity of the African Leadership Institute in the promotion and maintenance of the democratization process?**

The first and most basic role of an NGO is to limit and control the power of the state. Of course, any democracy needs a well-functioning and authoritative state. But when a country is emerging from decades of civil wars like Uganda, it also needs to find ways to check, monitor, and restrain the power of political leaders and state officials and this is provided in the Preamble of the Constitution. NGO actors should watch how state officials use their powers. They should raise public concern about any abuse of power. They should lobby for access to information, including freedom of information laws, and rules and institutions to control corruption. This constitutes a second important function of NGOs as discussed above; to expose the corrupt conduct of public officials and lobby for good governance reforms. Even where anti-corruption laws and bodies exist, they cannot function effectively without the active support and participation of civil society. (Diamond, 1994)

A third function of an NGO is to promote political participation. NGOs can do this by educating people about their rights and obligations as democratic citizens, and encouraging them to listen to election campaigns and vote in elections. NGOs can also help develop citizens' skills to work with one another to solve common problems, to debate public issues, and express their views. An NGO can help to develop the other values of democratic life: tolerance, moderation, compromise, and respect for opposing points of view. Without this deeper culture of accommodation, democracy cannot be stable. These values cannot simply be taught; they must also be experienced through practice. We have outstanding examples from other countries of NGOs especially women's groups that have cultivated these values in young people and adults through various programs that practice participation and debate. (Diamond, 1994)

An NGO also can help to develop programs for democratic civic education in the schools as well. After dictatorship, comprehensive reforms are needed to revise the curricula, rewrite the textbooks, and retrain teachers in order to educate young people about the crimes of the past and teach them the principles and values of democracy. This is too important a task to leave only to officials in the education ministry. An NGO must be involved as a constructive partner and advocate for democracy and human rights training. (Diamond, 1994)

NGOs are arenas for the expression of diverse interests, and one role for an NGO is to lobby for the needs and concerns of their members, as women, students, farmers, environmentalists, trade



unionists, lawyers, doctors, and so on. NGOs and interest groups can present their views to parliament and provincial councils, by contacting individual members and testifying before parliamentary committees. They can also establish a dialogue with relevant government ministries and agencies to lobby for their interests and concerns. And it is not only the resourceful and well organized who can have their voices heard. Over time, groups that have historically been oppressed and confined to the margins of society can organize to assert their rights and defend their interests as well. Another way an NGO can strengthen democracy is to provide new forms of interest and solidarity that cut across old forms of tribal, linguistic, religious, and other identity ties. (Diamond, 1994)

Democracy cannot be stable if people only associate with others of the same religion or identity. When people of different religions and ethnic identities come together on the basis of their common interests as women, artists, doctors, students, workers, farmers, lawyers, human rights activists, environmentalists, and so on, civic life becomes richer, more complex, and more tolerant. NGOs can provide a training ground for future political leaders. NGOs and other groups can help to identify and train new types of leaders who have dealt with important public issues and can be recruited to run for political office at all levels and to serve in provincial and national cabinets. Experience from other countries shows that NGOs are a particularly important arena from which to recruit and train future women leaders. (Diamond, 1994)

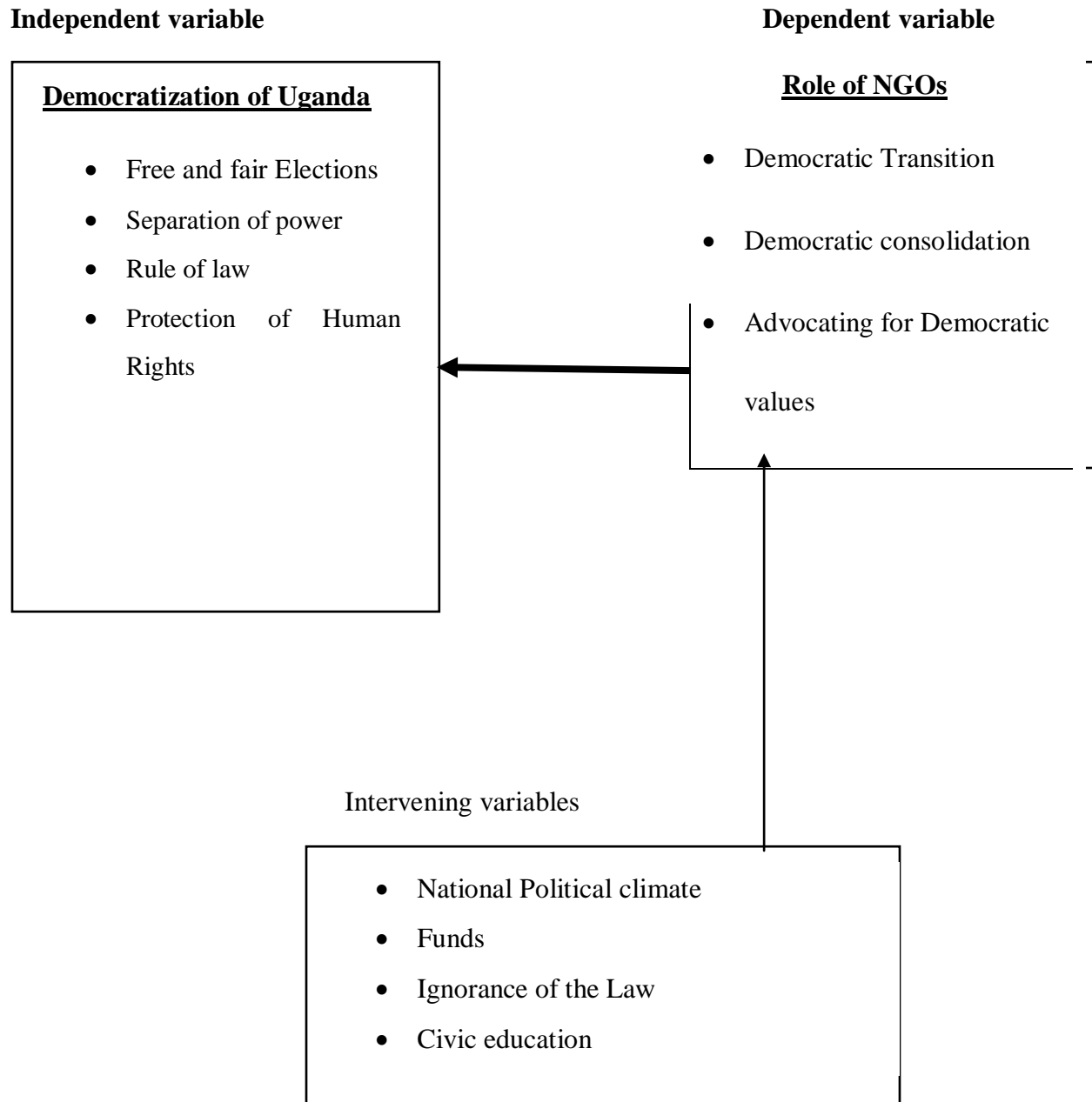
NGOs can help to inform the public about important public issues. This is not only the role of the mass media, but of NGOs which can provide forums for debating public policies and disseminating information about issues before parliament that affect the interests of different groups, or of society at large.

As earlier discussed NGOs have a vital role to play in monitoring the conduct of elections. This requires a broad coalition of organizations, unconnected to political parties or candidates, that deploys neutral monitors at all the different polling stations to ensure that the voting and vote counting is entirely free, fair, peaceful, and transparent. It is very hard to have credible and fair elections in a new democracy unless NGOs groups play this role. (Diamond, 1994)

Finally, I want to stress that an NGO are not simply in tension with the state. NGOs are in fact independent of the state. In fact, by making the state at all levels more accountable, responsive, inclusive, and effective and hence more legitimate a vigorous NGO strengthens citizens' respect for the state and promotes their positive engagement with it. A democratic state cannot be stable unless it is effective and legitimate, with the respect and support of its citizens. NGOs check, monitor, but also a vital partner in the quest for this kind of positive relationship between the democratic state and its citizens.

## 2.4 Conceptual framework

Figure 1:



**Source:** (Watson, 2007) and modifications by the researcher

To sum up this chapter; was specifically about the democratization and NGO concept. I mainly focused on the definitions of democratization and the approaches to democratization. Finally, I briefly give information about the three phases of democratization, the breakdown, transition and

consolidation. As it is seen in this chapter, democratization mainly, focuses on the political transformation of the states and NGOs seem to be part of the democratization process as a subtitle and supporting factor. Especially, the transition period is less likely analyzing with NGOs and the approaches to democratization. In this sense, it is very difficult to analyze NGOs with a democratization approach. The general attitude to NGOs in democratization concept is mainly major on the process of democratic consolidation phase, by scholars of democratization studies. Hence, the framework of this thesis will be shaped on the role of NGOs on democratic consolidation. Subsequently, the next chapter will be about the NGOs and its role on democratic consolidation.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

The purpose of this chapter is to describe and explain the methodology deployed in this study. The first part of the chapter provides an overview of the research approach and the design chosen, explaining the rationale for those. Later two leading approaches, quantitative and qualitative approaches will be briefly introduced and explored more on the selected approach. The second part will explore the selected research design, which is a case study design and explain why. The chapter will also present a step-by-step process of data collection and its interpretation, and challenges and limitation during the time of fieldwork. As doing research is related to human being, the author finds it important as well to include what kinds of ethical consideration are taken in this chapter.

#### **3.2 *Research design- Case study***

Using case studies for research purpose remains one of the most challenging of all social science endeavors (Yin, 2009). As a research method, the case study is used in many situations, to contribute to our knowledge of individual, group, organizational, social, political, and related phenomena. A research strategy is influenced by how reality is being perceived (Ryen, 2000). To choose the right kind of research methods is important when one is to come up with unbiased and objective result of the research. Therefore after careful consideration the Researcher chose the research design of case study where a qualitative and quantitative methodology is employed for the collection of data. Researchers collect data about participants using participant and direct observations, interviews, protocols, tests, examinations of records, and collections of writing samples. Qualitative interviews, focus groups discussion have been the main methods, along with critical document analysis.

To specify the researcher's question more clearly, it is important to begin by simplifying how AFLI attempts to influence or promote democracy values and why AFLI is engaged in this, what are the constraining factors behind this endeavor. As my research seeks to understand what are the roles of NGOs in the democratization process of Uganda.

### **3.2.1 Study population**

(Parahoo, 1997) defines population as the total number of units, from which data can be collected, such as individuals, artifacts, events or organisations. Burns and Grove (2003:213) describe population as all the elements that meet the criteria for inclusion in a study. (Burns, 2003) defines eligibility criteria as a list of characteristics that are required for the membership in the target population. The criteria for inclusion in this study were:

1. Registered NGOs. The official NGO Registry at the Ministry of Internal Affairs shows that by close of 2009, there were 8,385 registered NGOs in Uganda and about 13,500 by the end of 2017.
2. Project officers employed by the NGOs
3. All working staff, who are also registered officers working in the Civil Society

### **3.2.2 Sample**

(Polit, 1997) defines a sample as a proportion of a population. The sample was chosen from NGOs with Headquarters in Kampala. A carefully selected sample can provide data representative of the population from which it is drawn.

### **3.3.3 Sampling size and selection**

(Holloway, 1997) assert that sample size does not influence the importance or quality of the study and note that there are no guidelines in determining sample size in qualitative research. Qualitative researchers do not normally know the number of people in the research beforehand; the sample may change in size and type during research. Sampling goes on until saturation has been achieved, namely no new information is generated (Holloway, 1997). In this study I concentrated on the African Leadership Institute.

The study will use the Yamane formula of sampling because the target population from which the sample size is to be determined is more than 5% of the study population hence the study will use the Yamane (1967:886) formula of sample determination.

The sample size will be determined using the following formula by (Yamane, 1967)

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e^2)}$$

$$n = \frac{75}{1 + 75(0.05^2)}$$

$$n = \frac{75}{1 + 75(0.0025)}$$

$$n = 63$$

**Where**

n = Sample size

N= Population size

e = margin of error at 95% confidence level

### **3.3.4 Sampling process**

(Burns, 2003) refers to sampling as a process of selecting a group of people, events or behaviour with which to conduct a study. (Polit, 1997) confirms that in sampling a portion that represents the whole population is selected. Sampling is closely related to generalizability of the findings. In this study the sampling was non-probable and purposive. According to (Parahoo, 1997), in non-probability sampling researchers use their judgment to select the subjects to be included in the study based on their knowledge of the phenomenon. Purposive sampling was used in this study. Parahoo (1997) describes purposive sampling as a method of sampling where the researcher deliberately chooses who to include in the study based on their ability to provide necessary data. The rationale for choosing this approach was that the researcher was seeking knowledge about AFLI's project on making MPs accountable under the PSP which is a key vehicle in democratic consolidation.

### **3.4 Data collection**

Data Collection is an important aspect of any type of research study. Data collection can be derived from a number of methods, which include interviews, focus groups, surveys, telephone interviews, field notes, taped social interaction or questionnaires and finding and analyzing of relevant documents (Mcfaul, 2001)

Data collection for this master thesis was primarily done during my field research visit to AFLI head office in Mbuya, Kampala, which lasted about 2 weeks in May 2018. During field research,

the researcher interviewed persons both individually and in groups as recommended by individuals who not only engaged but also understand the contemporary democratization process. The researcher also has collected data from other sources such as online documents; reports and master thesis of related topics and news websites. Doing research on democratization in Uganda is challenging and time Consuming.

### ***3.4.1 Interviews***

Interviews are a systematic way of talking and listening to people and are another way to collect data from individuals through conversations (Kajornboon, 2005). According to (Kajornboon, 2005) there are many types of interviews, which include:

1. Structured interviews
2. Semi structured interviews,
3. Unstructured interviews,
4. Non-directive interview.

Yin (2007, p.107) also defined three types of case study interviews, which are;

1. In-depth interview
2. Focus interview
3. Structured interview

For the purpose of clarity, the authors normally use two types namely, structured and unstructured interview. In structured interviews, respondents are asked the same questions with the same wording and in the same sequence. And therefore this type of interview introduces some rigidity to the interview. When it comes to unstructured interviews, the interviewer does not have to follow a detail interview guide. The interview is rather like a free discussion or conversation on one or more related broad topics. The depth of discussion on the topics is also driven by the motivation and interest of the subjects and people concern. Both interview types have their own advantages and weaknesses. For this research all interview types above except structured interviews have been followed. The researcher thinks that structured interview type is not beneficial given the research method-case study- chosen and also the cultural and political context of Uganda. Questions in a case study interviews is likely to be fluid rather than rigid (J.Rubin, 2005).



Considering cultural and political context of Uganda with regards to people it is a challenge to conduct a systematically structured or rigid interview because it is often regarded as official or government related activities and thereby contribute to non-cooperation or even hostile reaction from the respondents. Most respondents claimed to have preferred informal conversation, which usually took place at informal places such as inside teashops, pubs and restaurants outside of their office hour. There are other times when the interviewer saw the situation as insecure to raise particular questions that might jeopardize the livelihood of the respondents.

### ***3.4.2 Document analysis***

Collection and analysis of documents has been the most important part of my research process. Although I already have extensive prior knowledge on the subject studied, this research has given me broader understanding particularly of the selected research questions, especially in regards to the role of NGOs in the democratization process. Most of the data used for this analysis is documents derived from Internet sources. As pointed out by Bryman, such information can be very important for researchers conducting case studies of organizations and using methods such as participant observation or qualitative interviews (Bryman, 2008). Analyzed documents include reports, research papers, master thesis and documents from Internet.

### ***3.4.3 Participant observation***

Participant observation is a qualitative method which objective is to help researchers learn the perspectives held by study populations (Mack, 2005). Bryman describes participant observation as a way of seeing through other's eyes, equipping the researcher to see as other sees (Bryman, 2008). To do participant observation, the researcher attended AFLI's youth workshops where students from different higher institutions were trained to further their knowledge on democracy. The method is distinctive because the author approaches participants in their own environment rather than having the participants come to the researcher. And the method also enables researchers to develop a familiarity with the cultural milieu that will prove invaluable throughout the project. Observing and participating are integral to understanding the breadth and complexities of the human experience. Through participant observation, researchers can also uncover factors important for a thorough understanding of the research problem but that were

unknown when the study was designed. The nature of participant observation allows flexibility to encounter unexpected issues.

### **Secondary data**

Secondary data will be collected through document reviews and other sources such as text books, business reports/ manuals, journals so as to get enough relevant information about the research topic.

### **3.5 Challenge and limitations**

Conducting research in a familiar context presented special challenges in terms of obtaining objectivity. It is impossible to be totally objective because of the research background primarily selected is related to opposition force. Therefore it is important to create distance and validity for the reader when considering the research results and analysis of this study.

The democracy in Uganda is at its early stages and thus people continue to be more or less skeptical about the motive behind reforms and amendments by the government. Therefore arranging meetings with strangers and asking questions related to democracy are always a challenge in Uganda for many decades and still the case when doing this research in nascent democratic transition period. In the context of Uganda, a country deeply infested by corruption in every level of society, cash incentives or bribery in the form of donation, has always been involved in meeting with people in the offices. These practices often bring hesitation and confusion for the author.

One interview arrangement could take up to half or a day because of facilitation difficulties and time constraint of the interviewees. A face-to-face meeting usually takes place in the evening outside the office hour and at night. This obviously required money and lengthy time thus time constraint is another limitation during this research study.

### **3.6 Ethical consideration**

Ethics has become a cornerstone for conducting effective and meaningful research. As such, the ethical behavior of individual researchers is under unprecedented scrutiny (Best, 2006). Therefore the author takes ethics a serious consideration throughout the research process. Four important ethical considerations have been taken from Michel Jay Polonsky & David S. Waller book chapter 5 (Polonsky, 2010).

The first consideration is 'voluntary participation' that there should be no coercion or the feeling of such act by the interviewee from the researcher. The author in every interview or conversation didn't force or in any way tried to influence a person whom I interviewed rather explain the role of researcher as a neutral actor and that there should be no obligation to answer the question or no negative consequence for what they just told.

The second one is 'informed consent' which is to say that the participant or the interviewees fully understand what they are being asked to do and that they are informed if there is any potential negative consequence for such participation. The author thoroughly explained for what purpose the interview is and how it would be used. Only after the participant's consent the interviews were done.

And the third ethical consideration is 'non-discrimination' which is equally important when conducting research in a socially and culturally diverse and complex society like Uganda. The researcher in advance chooses the people to interview carefully with the advice of individuals who have experience in doing research in Uganda.

The last one the author takes into consideration was 'confidentiality and anonymity' which is particularly important in Uganda. At the time of research, people were still concern about their safety and thus requested for confidentiality and their name to be anonymous. There are several interviewees who requested for anonymous.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

In this forth chapter, data collected from different sources is presented and analysis and discussion is made across the collected data and the literature. Before presentation and analysis of the data, it could be important to describe the process of data collection. As indicated in the methodology section of this research the researcher intends to collect primary and secondary data through questionnaires, interviews and document reviews. Fifty questionnaires were distributed to officers of AFLI In addition, one donor agency, three government organizations and four participants within the focus groups were interviewed to collect the required data. Out of the total questionnaires distributed to AFLI, forty-two were properly filled out and used for analysis. Document review was also another method employed for collecting the required data. From those documents researches, reports, flyers, publications, brochures were the major ones. This chapter has seven sections and organized based on the research questions. The first section deals with the general profile of the respondents. The second section analyzes the historical roles of NGOs and the third section assesses NGOs contributions to the democratization process of Uganda. The identification of challenges NGOs face while discharging their duties and responsibilities constitutes the forth section.

#### **4.2 Profile of Respondents**

This section deals with presentation and analysis of the general profile of respondents across their position, experience and educational qualification. The analysis is based on the information provided by the respondents in the questionnaire.

Table 1: Profile of the Respondents

No	Education Qualification	Experience of the Respondents (In years)	Position of Respondents						Total	%
			Program Officer	Program Coordinator	Program Manager	Director	Advisor	Others		
1	BA/BSC/LB	0-2	2	1	0	0	0	0	3	7.1
		3-5	4	1	0	1	1	1	8	19
		6-10	3	2	0	2	0	0	7	16.7
		>10	2	4	1	1	0	1	9	21.4
		Total	11	8	1	4	1	2	<b>27</b>	
		Percent	26.2	19	2.4	9.5	2.4	4.8		64.3
2	MA/MSc/PhD	3-5	1	0	0	1	0	0	2	4.8
		6-10	0	3	1	1	1	0	6	14.3
		>10	1	2	1	2	0	1	7	16.7
		Total	2	5	2	4	1	1	<b>15</b>	
		Percent	4.8	11.9	4.8	9.5	2.4	2.4	<b>42</b>	<b>35.7</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>30.9</b>	<b>7.2</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>4.8</b>	<b>2.4</b>	<b>4.8</b>		<b>100.0</b>	

Table 1 illustrates the general profile of the respondents. Out of the total respondents program officers and program coordinators, collectively accounts to 61.9 percent. Program managers and directors constitutes 26.2 percent, and 7.2 percent of the respondents are advisors. The remaining 4.8 percent are grouped under others category which constitutes president, head and expert. This

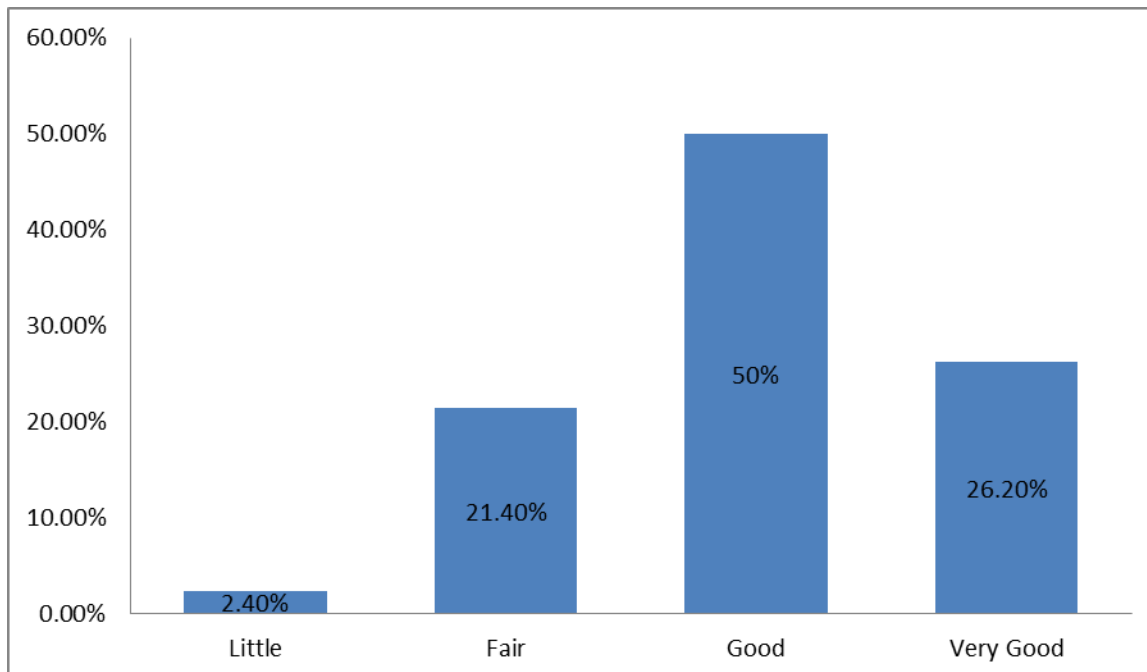
indicates that the majority of the respondents are program officers, program coordinators and directors, which constitute 80.9 percent.

Regarding educational qualification, program officers and program coordinators who are first-degree holder account for 45.2 percent and 16.7 percent have second/third degrees. 9.5 percent of directors are first-degree holder and those with second/third degrees constitute the same. All respondents from others category are first-degree holders, which account for 4.8 percent. Out of the total respondents, 4.8 percent of program managers and 2.4 percent of advisors have second/third degree. Thus, the Table 1 illustrates that 64.3 percent of the respondents are first-degree holders and the remaining 35.7 percent are second/third degree holders.

Table 1 also shows that 69.1 percent of the respondents have served for more than 6 years and the remaining 30.9 percent have experience not more than six years. The awareness or knowledge of respondents about CSOs and democratic political culture is presented in Figure 1.

From the Figure 1 below, it is possible to deduce that more than 76 percent of the respondents have good or very good understanding of CSOs and democratic political culture. This indicates that the majority of the respondents have adequate experience and knowledge to execute their respective duties effectively and to provide adequate and relevant information for the study.

Figure 1: Knowledge of Respondents about NGOs and the Democratization process



Having the brief overview on the general profile of the respondents, the next part of data presentation and analysis is based on the remaining parts of the questionnaire, interviews and documents review.

### **4.3 Objective One: To assess the historical role of participation by the African Leadership Institute in the democratization process of Uganda.**

#### **4.3.1 Historical Role of NGOs in the Democratization Process**

For the assessment of the historical role of AFLI in the democratization process of Uganda, it is appropriate to review the experience of NGOs in Africa.

Accordingly, this section has three sub-sections: the first sub-section deals with the review of NGOs in Africa and the second sub-section analyzes the democratization process in Uganda and the third sub-section assesses the extent of participation and historical contributions of NGOs in the area

#### **4.3.2 The Role NGOs in the Democratization Process in Africa**

Civil society is widely believed to have the potential to make a positive contribution to democratization in Africa and other parts of the developing world. In the liberal conception, civil society comprise mainly of NGOs which provides a vehicle through which citizens can pursue common goals, participate in and influence public affairs, and practice democratic values of tolerance, consensus building and free and open debate (Diamond, 1994). According to Hadenius and Ugglä (1996), NGOs that are internally democratic and motivated by broader societal concerns can make a positive contribution to the process of democratization by fostering pluralism, promoting democratic values and enhancing political participation.

In this session, the researcher tries to summarize the contributions of NGOs towards democratization in Africa from international development studies discussion paper by Robison and Friedman 2005. It assesses the contributions of NGOs in South Africa and Ghana in influencing government policy and legislations, widening the opportunities available to citizens to participate in public affairs, by promoting a culture of accountability and challenging the power of the state to dominate political affairs and decision-making. All two countries have

experienced some form of authoritarian rule under civilian and military regimes, and are now ruled by regimes, which have, to differing degrees, democratic features.

In the two countries under review, the emergence of formal associations representing organized collective interests first took place under colonial rule. Mass-based civil society organizations contributed to struggles for independence through their prominent role in nationalist movements, despite efforts by the colonial authorities to control and regulate their activities. These included organizations comprising peasants and workers, as well as ethnic associations representing tribal and regional interests. There was a phenomenal growth of Non-governmental organizations in both of these countries in the 1980s and 1990s, especially engaged in both service delivery and policy advocacy. In Ghana, this growth was the result of structural adjustment policies and political liberalization in many African countries. In South Africa, this process began in the mid-1980s, with large-scale support to groups and associations associated with the anti-apartheid movement. Many organizations were formed during the period of intensive political struggle leading up to majority rule in 1994, many of which were mass based, activist in orientation, and with strong links to the labor movement. They were supported because of their role either in fighting the system or in providing for the needs of black people who were not served by the state, or both. (Diamond, 1994)

### ***South Africa***

In South Africa, the state provides formal channels for public participation in policy formulation, in both national and provincial government. At various stages of the legislative process there was, during the first post-apartheid administration, extensive public consultation on proposed bills through formal and informal processes in which civil society groups played a significant role. However, while there is clearly a decline in structured engagement since the second post-apartheid administration, NGOs retain the right to seek to influence legislation through mandatory hearings and formal consultative bodies. Other approaches include lobbying, publications and informal discussions with government officials. Public protest is also at times used to pursue civil society goals. One analysis notes that, since the methods, language and style of organization used in the anti-apartheid era continue to prevail, many groups resort to confrontation if structured policy dialogue fails to advance their cause. Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the leading South African trade union federation with 1.8 million paid-up members has achieved significant policy impact on behalf of its members. It is



engaged in an alliance with the governing African National Congress (ANC) but, particularly since 1999, has often differed from the governing party on policy issues. It participates in the public policy process through a variety of formal mechanisms such as the National Economic Development and Labor Council, a parliamentary office to monitor legislation and to facilitate consultations with parliamentary committees and engagement with departments and ministries. It is regularly consulted on new legislation, often in advance of other NGOs, and provides inputs into government policy documents. Immediately before the 1994 election, COSATU played the leading role in the formulation of the Reconstruction and Development Program, an ambitious economic recovery program with strong redistributive components that was adopted by the ANC. It has encouraged the introduction of favorable labor legislation and has successfully defended subsequent attempts to dismantle these gains. COSATU has also managed to slow down plans for the privatization of state industries. Several factors explain COSATU's relative success in policy engagement with the government. These are strong internal democratic culture, prioritizing and revising policies in national congress, large membership base, and high level of independence and financial autonomy, and alliance with ANC and South African Communist Party. (Diamond, 1994)

### ***Ghana***

Research in Ghana reveals a similar picture to that in Uganda, where active policy engagement by NGOs is limited in extent and impact. Civil society groups in Ghana have a long history of critical engagement with the state; the form depends on their relationship with the regime in power, which ranges from co-optation to contestation. The Ghana Bar Association (GBA) was strongly opposed to military and autocratic civilian rule and resorted to public protest such as declarations, strikes, demonstrations and the airing of reform proposals in the media to exert influence. However, a declining membership, the decision of several lawyers to serve on extra-legal tribunals established by the Rawlings regime and growing economic hardship weakened its influence and membership. The advent of democratic government in the early 1990s created new opportunities for direct policy influence using mechanisms established by law or government action. Nevertheless, while some organizations, notably those representing lawyers and business, present views before parliamentary committees, submit memoranda on draft legislation and lobby MPs to propose legislative amendments, this is by no means the norm. Overall, the policy impact of Ghanaian NGOs is limited. (Diamond, 1994)

### 4.3.3 The Democratisation Process of Uganda

To assess the democratization of the country respondents of the questionnaire were asked to select from the list of four options ranging from Agree to Strongly Disagree. The interviewees were asked to express their opinion about the development in the area. Data collected from forty-two respondents is summarized in the Table 2.

Table 2: Democratization Process of Uganda

No.	ITEM	Frequency	%	
1	Democratization of Uganda	Disagree	17	31.5
		Strongly disagree	17	31.5
		Agree	18	33.3
		Strongly Agree	2	3.7
	<b>Total</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

Table 2 shows that 63 percent of the respondents have an opinion that the Democratization process in the country is not in good condition. Out of the total respondents, 33.3 percent agree that there is democratization while those who strongly agree are 3.7 percent. Thus, the opinion of the respondents reveals that there is considerable improvement in the area since the coming enactment of the 1995 Constitution. The improvement can be manifested by various measures government has taken to promote development of democratic political culture.

Respondents were also asked to express their views about the government in terms of promoting development of democratization of the country. To this ends, they were given a list of four options to select from and to explain their views briefly. Data collected from fifty-four respondents is presented in the Figure 2.

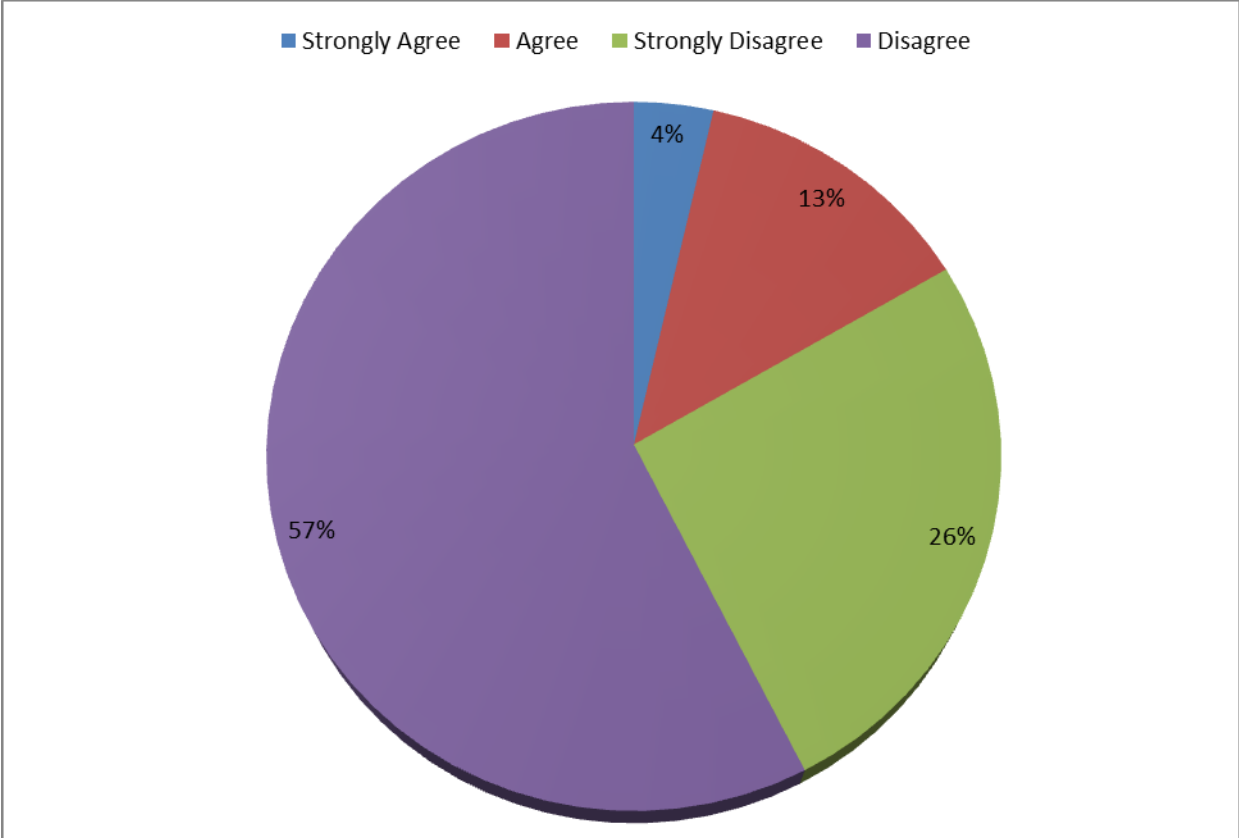


Figure 2 shows that 83percent of the respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed with the view that the government is on the right track in developing democratic political culture of the country. Explanations for their disagreement include the unreasonable amendment of the Constitution, interference with the activities of democratic institutions, enactment of new laws that restrict public participation in influencing government policies like the Public Order Management Act.

**4.3.4 Extent of Participation and Historical Roles of NGOs**

To assess the extent and historical roles of AFLI in the development of democratic political culture of the country, respondents are requested to express their opinion. To this end, they were provided with a list of five options ranging from very little to very good. This was during the focus group discussions

The response of forty-two respondents is presented in the Table 3.

No.	Item		Frequency	%
1	Extent of AFLI's Participation	Very Little	3	7.1
		Little	14	33.3
		Fair	14	33.3
		Good	10	23.8
		Very Good	1	2.4
		<b>Total</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100.0</b>
2	Historical Contribution of AFLI	Very Little	7	16.7
		Little	12	28.6
		Fair	12	28.6
		Good	10	23.8
		Very Good	1	2.4
		<b>Total</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100.0</b>

The result in the Table 3 under item 1 revealed that 73.7 percent of the respondents perceive the extent of NGOs participation in the democratization of the country as minimum. The remaining 26.3 percent see the participation as good. In line with this, 76 percent of the respondents believe that the historical contribution of NGOs in the area is minimal.

Since 1950s, there were political movements organized by unions such as students' union, teachers' union. These movements opposed the authoritarian System that resisted bringing meaningful socio-economic and political reforms in the country. Their political movement witnessed the 1972 bloodless coup, which eventually consumed the life of many people. The expansion and engagement of NGOs in promoting democracy is related with the coming of NRM in power in 1985.

**4.4 Objective Two: To examine the contemporary contributions of the African Leadership Institute with regard to the democratization process of Uganda.**

NGOs have strengths, which contribute in the democratization of the country. These strengths include expertise, initiation, network, capacity, culture of voluntarism and access to grass root level. Uganda has made important progress in the democratisation after the NRM came in to power. It is known that the democratisation cannot be established overnight and by government alone. It is a system that can be developed through participation of different actors: the state, NGOs and the society. Thus, AFLI's contribution to the democratization process of the country cannot be undermined. This sub-section tries to assess these contributions. To assess AFLI's contributions to the democratisation process of the country, respondents were provided with open-ended questions. They are requested to state activities that AFLI did in the area. Hence, the nature of the question is multiple response type, there is a chance that the respondents have provided more than one contributions depending on the projects of engagement. Accordingly, the number of responses exceeds the number of respondents. The responses collected from fifty-four respondents are presented in the Table 4.

Table 4: AFLI's Contributions to the Democratization Process

No	Contributions of AFLI	Responses		% of Cases
		No. of Responses	% of Responses	
1	Promotion of Public Awareness and Participation	43	46.7	79.6
2	Ensure adherence to the rule of law	2	2.2	3.7
3	Contribution to Improved Policies, Laws and Programs	6	6.5	11.1
4	Contribution to Increased Capacity and Efficiency of Democratic Institutions	9	9.8	16.7
5	Complementing the Roles of Government in Democratization Process	5	5.4	9.3
6	Holding government accountable	2	2.2	3.7
7	Participating in state activities	2	2.2	3.7
8	Monitoring Democratic Processes, Rule of Law and Violations of Rights	9	9.8	16.7
9	Promoting Fair and Democratic Election	10	10.9	18.5
10	Insignificant	4	4.3	7.4
<b>Total</b>			<b>92</b>	<b>100.0</b>

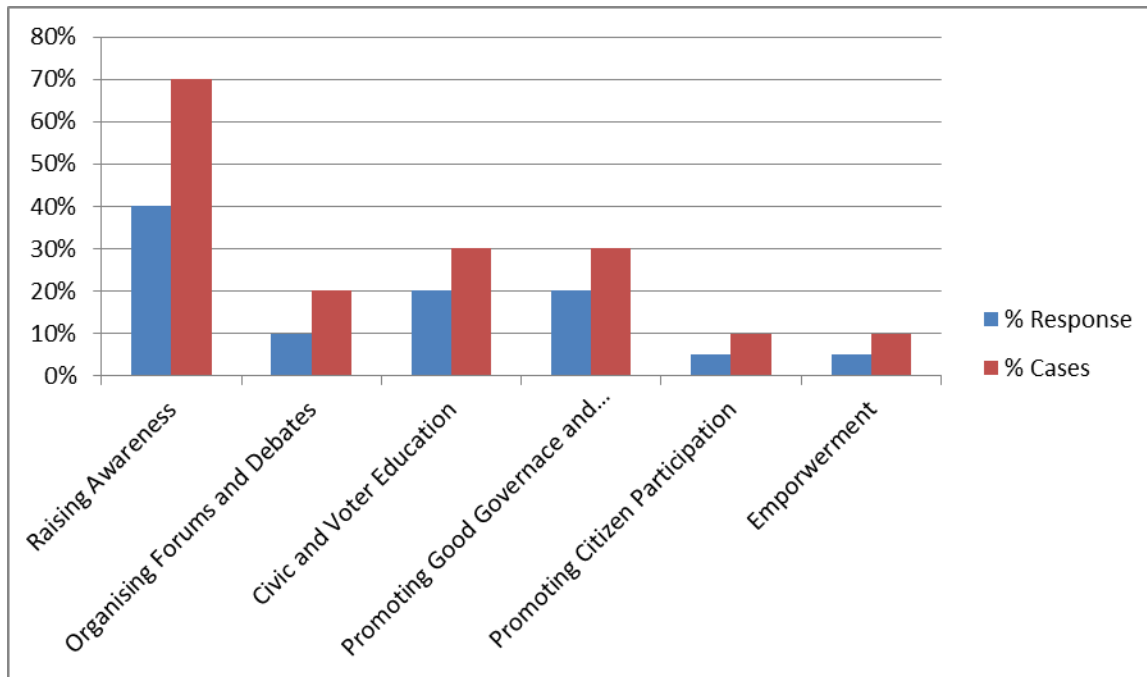
According to Table 4, the most practiced activity by AFLI is promoting public awareness and participation and the least exercised is holding government accountable. Out of fifty-four respondents, four of them see the contribution of AFLI in the democratization process of Uganda as insignificant and suggests shifting their focus towards developing culture of tolerance and compromise. Based on the response collected from 54 respondents about AFLI's contribution to the democratization process of the country, nine thematic areas are identified as shown in the Table 4

#### 4.4.1 Promotion of public awareness and participation

AFLI engaged in the democratisation process, either as core areas of intervention or as part of development activities, typically undertake awareness raising initiatives to inform public and bring concerns of their targets to public discussion forums. The thematic areas on which AFLI works in promoting public awareness covers a range of issues including right based, democracy and governance, corruption, voter education, pastoralist issues, access to justice, etc.

Figure 3 presents the opinion of respondents about strategies used by AFLI in promoting public awareness and participation.

Figure 3: Strategies used by AFLI in Promoting Public Awareness and Participation



AFLI has various strategies to promote public awareness and participation. Figure 3 shows that some of the major strategies include awareness raising, arranging forums and debates, civic and voter's education, promoting governance and democracy, enhancing culture of citizen's participation, and empowerment of marginalized groups. It also shows that awareness raising, civic and voter's education, and promoting governance and democracy as the most common activities exercised by AFLI engaged in the area.

According to Dessalegn et al (2008:81-82), major strategies are deployed by NGOs to raise public awareness. These include inter alia: publication and dissemination of Information

Education Communication (IEC) materials; dissemination of legal and other documents such as the 1995 Constitution; conducting voter education; organizing debates and forums among contending parties; organizing trainings and workshops on various issues of human rights and democracy; running radio programs on various governance and human rights issues. Apart from raising public awareness, one of the main strategy NGOs have been using to promote the participation of citizens in the area is mobilizing and empowering grassroots, religious, community and mass based organizations and marginalized groups.

#### **4.4.2 Contributions to increased capacity and efficiency of democratic institutions**

Table 4 shows that out of the 54 respondents asked about AFLI's contributions to democratisation process of the country, 9 of them have replied as AFLI to have played a role in building capacity and increasing efficiency of democratic institutions. The capacity and efficiency of democratic institutions are important factors in realizing the democratisation process of the country. Even where appropriate and pro-poor policies and laws have been put in place, lack of capacity can become a critical hindrance to their implementation. These problems are more acute at the lower levels of government administration. The engagement of AFLI in building the capacity and efficiency of democratic institutions is quite extensive. Through training, workshops, experience sharing forums, joint planning and implementation activities, and other support interventions, wide ranges of NGOs have sought to enhance the capacity and efficiency of democratic institutions to discharge their responsibilities. Summary of achievements of AFLI reveals that it has made extensive interventions in building capacity of democratic institutions. From 2005-2009 AFLI has undertaken several activities towards increased efficiency and capacity of democratic institutions:

1. Training on human rights, justice, democracy and good governance given to 25 judicial officials, decision makers, duty bearers and policy makers including parliamentarians trained with the aim of improving their capacity in effective implementation in this area.
2. Leadership training given to 100 top-level government officials. AFLI always hosts leaders on the launching of a project and an example is the launch of the Parliamentary Scorecard of 2015-2019.



3. National level dialogue forums on democratization, federalism and consensus building, leadership and management, and religious tolerance arranged for about 50 people from parliamentarians, government officials, religious leaders, diplomats, and ambassadors for example the “Face the Citizen” forum that airs on NBS television is an initiative of AFLI and DGF.

#### **4.4.3 Promoting fair and democratic election**

In the Table 4 above, 10 respondents out of 54 have mentioned that AFLI has engaged in elections in various forms. According to (Makara, 2016) NGOs in Uganda have played considerable role for the first time during 2016 election. They have been involved in election monitoring, conducting civic education programs, and organizing debates and forums among contending parties. In this case, the role of NGOs is not only limited to contributing towards fair and democratic elections but also contributing towards the democratisation process, based on dialogue, compromise, accommodation and tolerance at different levels of government administration and among public.

Muntean and Gheorghita (2005: 6-9) cited in (Makara, 2016), argue that apart from routines like drafting and promoting laws, organizing strikes, contacting officials, boycotts, demonstrations or signing petitions. AFLI has other types of interaction with the political society. These are direct involvement in elections by mobilizing the people to participate in the election, arranging roundtable discussions, participating in election monitoring and supporting certain political parties. The active involvement of NGOs in the 2016 election has mobilized and sensitized public to be active participant in the election. The contribution of NGOs in the electoral process by organizing public forums and conducting voters education has initiated and sensitized the public to make active participation in the election as a voter, as a candidate and as an observer. The Joint Religious Council organized the 2016 Presidential Debate which was a great development in our democracy.

#### **4.4.4 Monitoring democratic process, rule of law and violations of rights**

In the Table 4 above, item eight indicates that nine of the respondents stated that AFLI is engaged in monitoring democratic processes, rule of law and violations of rights. Respondents also stated that Human Rights Watch Uganda (HRWU) is the leading organization in Uganda to

monitor, publicize and report human rights violations, and fight for the people to full realization of rights under the Constitution.

Foundation for Human Rights Initiative (FHRI) is another NGO in monitoring democratic process and fighting for violations of rights. It specifically focuses on promoting the rights of the unprivileged and assists them to secure full protection of their rights under the Constitution and international human rights conventions.

#### **4.4.5 Contribution to improved policies, laws, and programs**

Item 3 of Table 4 indicates that AFLI has been advocating for improved policies, laws and programs through various ways. They address the questions of marginalized and voiceless groups, which are often excluded from the decision-making processes. Exclusion and inconsideration of the poor and disadvantaged sections of society from decision-making processes affects their lives. This can best be addressed through pro-poor government policies, laws, institutions and programs. AFLI takes considerable part in initiating pro-poor structural measures and promoting the needs and interests of the disadvantaged in various levels of government through research and advocacy. AFLI is also engaged in awareness raising and advocacy work that aims at bringing about changes or revisions in public policies, laws, and decision-making structures by directly targeting the policy and law making processes. They use various advocacy works such as public discussion, judiciary and public consultations, convincing parliament and government officials at various levels on the need for new pro-poor policies, laws and programs or review of existing ones.

#### **4.4.6 Contribution to increased access to justice**

As Table 4 above shows, AFLI is also engaged in enhancing people for increased access to justice. Respondents state that AFLI has partnered with FIDA on several occasions. FIDA has been providing free of charge legal aid service to women, particularly poor women who are victims of gender based violence. The services include legal advice or counseling, writing court briefs such as court petitions and affidavits as well as representing clients in courts. The issues most often FIDA has been providing legal aid include rape, abduction, domestic violence, marital disputes, paternity claims, pension and other pecuniary interests. To this end, nearly 250 clients throughout the country have received legal aid services from 2005 till to end of 2017. Despite the fact that the Constitution recognizes access to justice and legislative measures of

citizens, affordable and quality legal services are not available for most Ugandans. This, coupled with capacity and efficiency limitations in judicial and administrative institutions, has made access to justice the privilege of the few. The situation is particularly dire for the resource poor and other vulnerable groups. In response to this gap, an increasing number of NGOs are engaged in the provision of legal aid services in Uganda. The services of many of these organizations focus on the needs of specific social groups such as women, children and persons accused of crimes concurrently targeted by other interventions

#### **4.4.7 Complementing the role of the government in democratization process**

Item five of Table 4 illustrates that AFLI is also involved in complementing the role of government in the democratization process. Since the government cannot involve in every democratization processes and development activities, civil society plays a great role in assisting the activity of the state by filling the gap where the government is short. This helps to make those services more relevant to the poor and more responsive to democratic influences. AFLI has also assisted the government in identifying social problems, which have not been detected or addressed by the government.

#### **4.4.8 Holding the government accountable**

The opinion of respondents about AFLI's contributions to the democratization process of the country summarized in the Table 4 above shows that AFLI has been holding the government accountable. In the other part of the questionnaire, respondents were asked whether AFLI has held the government accountable where they have done wrong or prefer not to challenge. They were also asked to indicate the occurrence and explain the situation if they challenged and if not to indicate why AFLI preferred not to challenge the government while doing wrong. To this end, data collected from 42 respondents of the questionnaire is presented in the Table 6.

Table 6: Instances AFLI Challenged Government

No	AFLI Challenged Government	Frequency	%
1	Yes	32	79.2
2	No	9	21.4
3	Do not know	1	2.4
<b>Total</b>		<b>42</b>	<b>100.0</b>

According to table 6 above 79.2 percent of respondent opinion shows that AFLI has held the government in various instances. The response of 21.4 percent of the respondents reveals that AFLI preferred not to challenge government while doing wrong. From the opinion presented in the Table, it is possible to deduce the existence of AFLI challenging the state. The explanations of the respondents show that AFLI challenge government’s plans, policies and actions subsequently holding them accountable. These have negative impact on the lives of the poor and would deprive their constitutional rights. AFLI also challenges activities, policies or programs of the government for various reasons. The common grounds for challenge include being undemocratic practice, rights violation, for the sake of free and democratic election and pro-poor policies, laws and programs. The opinion of 32 respondents about the instances that AFLI have challenged the state is demonstrated in the Figure 4.

Figure 4: Instances AFLI has Challenged Government and held it accountable



Figure 4 shows that undemocratic practices, violation of rights, free and fair election and pro-poor policies are major events that AFLI is trying to influence government in a way that favors their constituencies or target groups. They use various strategies in influencing government. These include publicizing the event, imposing pressure to government, taking the case to the court, reporting to international institutions, requesting government to implement the Constitution, etc. In the item 2 of the Table 6, about 21.4 percent of the respondents reveal that there are no instances AFLI challenged the government's actions or inactions. Based on their explanation there are various reasons to do so. These include unconducive environment, fear for future existence, and misconception by government and AFLI's emphasis on complementing government.

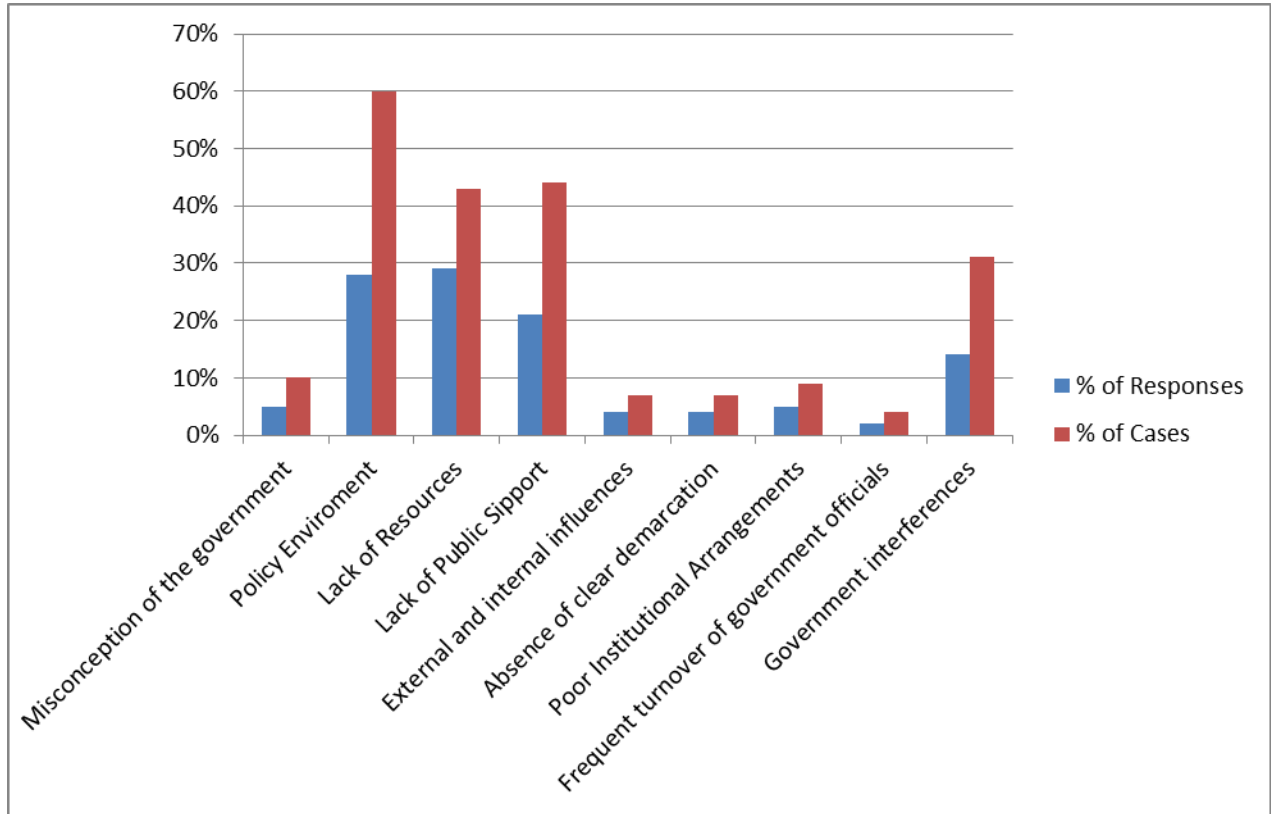
#### 4.4.9 Participating in state activities

Item 7 of Table 4 indicates that AFLI directly or indirectly takes part in Participating in state activities. Peace and development of the country are interrelated and thus, stability and progress are intertwined. With this belief, AFLI is involved in resolving conflicts and contributing to bringing peace and stability in the country. AFLI uses various methods such as training on traditional and modern methods of resolving conflicts and promoting peace and stability.

#### **4.5 Objective Three: Identify factors that constrain the African Leadership Institute from discharging its duties and responsibilities to the democratization process of Uganda.**

In this section, respondents were required to state briefly challenges AFLI ordinarily faces in discharging its duties in the democratisation process of Uganda. Consequently, the top nine factors that hinder activities of AFLI are identified by respondents and presented in the Figure 5. These major factors include misconception of the government, policy environment, lack of resources, lack of public support, external and internal influences, absence of clear demarcation, poor institutional arrangements, frequent turnover of government officials, and government interferences. These factors have implications for AFL's autonomy and determine the effectiveness of programs and projects undertaken by AFLI. It is also easy to observe from the Figure that policy environment, lack of resources, lack of public support, and government interferences are most common problems of NGOs.

Figure 5: Challenges Faced by AFLI in the Democratization Process of Uganda



#### 4.5.1 Misconception of the government

As shown in the Figure 5, 9 percent of respondents say misconception of NGOs activities and objectives by the government is a critical challenge that AFLI confronts. Thus, government as political activity regards the role of NGOs in the democratisation process of the country, especially when NGOs involve in criticism or exposure of government’s illegal acts. The misconception of NGOs and their objectives as they involve in such programs has been evident among government officials at various levels of administration. This misconception arises due to low level of awareness regarding rights and roles of NGOs and lack of self-confidence among government officials. Another reason why AFLI faces hostility from government as they involve in the democratisation process of the country could be the fact that democratization process is a

recent phenomenon. Thus, most of the founders and leaders of NGOs are intimidated by government officials and some are allegedly accused of involving in political agitation and encouraging community to claim their rights. In the post 2016 election period, the government officially accused various NGO leaders as the supporters of the opposition parties. This accusation led to the arrest of many NGO leaders and individuals working for various NGOs. Honorable David Pulkol, the Director of the Parliamentary Scorecard project of AFLI was criticized for openly supporting Amama Mbabazi the flag bearer of The Democratic Alliance (TDA)

#### **4.5.2 Policy environment**

For 60 percent of respondents in the Figure 5 the policy environment of Uganda towards AFLI is perceived as restrictive, centralized, discriminatory and non-conducive. Until 1995, the legal and political conditions were not conducive for the development of governance; advocacy and human rights centered NGOs. This is due to the Imperialism of the previous governments. The number of NGOs significantly grows after the promulgation of the 1995 constitution. The growth of NGOs was associated with creation of a more permissive legal and policy framework by the NRM government. According to a report of Ministry of Internal Affairs on 21 December 2017, the number of NGOs before the promulgation of 1995 Constitution was around 1,822. Since then the number has grown to 13,000 registered NGOs.

#### **4.5.3 Lack of resources**

As illustrated in the Figure 5, about 42 percent of the respondents stated that the lack of resources primarily finance is another critical challenge for AFLI in the achievement of their goals. They described that in some cases, lack of skilled and experienced personnel to perform certain functions is another factor that deteriorates NGOs services. The scarcity of facilities such as roads, telecom services, water and police also constrains AFLI's outreach services in remote areas and thus are isolated from their locations and target groups. Achieving the financial stability required to implement quality projects and activities, and to serve as catalysts in the democratisation process and to meet the interests of citizens, is the major challenge facing AFLI. The interview with key informants reveals that dependency of AFLI on foreign funds is due to little or no culture of voluntarism and fear of public to make financial contributions to the works of NGOs.



#### **4.5.4 Lack of public support**

From the Figure 5, it is possible to conclude that the lack of public support is another problem of AFLI. Since democratisation is a process that needs involvement of various actors, the perception of public towards AFLI fosters or hinders the process. Democracy in Uganda is a recent phenomenon, which is related mostly with the promulgation of the 1995 constitution. However the NGO sector has made significant progress in numbers and diversity, it is at its early stage, which has been getting little or no support from public in undertaking development of democracy of the country. There are various factors contributed to low level of public support. The first is that majority of Ugandans do not clearly know what their rights and responsibilities are and they do not know whether their rights are violated or not. As a result, they do not claim for the realization of their rights. Hence, the opinion of the respondents reveals that most of the people resist programs of AFLI concerned to rights and criticizing government. Another reason why AFLI has little or no support of its programs is related with history of the country as the citizens feel safer with the current government in comparison with the previous governments. Majority of people do not understand democracy and the roles of NGOs, and expect everything from only the government. Thus people resist and neglect the programs of AFLI. In most parts of the country, particularly in rural areas, it is also difficult to access target groups such as women in public meeting and conferences. Promoting gender equality under such circumstances and getting support from the public is very difficult. Moreover, diversity of languages in the country has created communication problems between AFLI and the public. The aforementioned factors could be potential reasons for AFLI's mainly focusing on promoting public awareness and participation in the democratisation of the country.

#### **4.5.5 External and internal influences**

In the Figure 5, external and internal influences have also demonstrated as challenges that AFLI faces in discharging their duties. NGOs in Uganda depend on governments and donors for financial and material resources deemed essential for carrying out activities. According to discussants in the focus groups, this dependency makes NGOs indifferent to unpopular measures even when these run counter to their stated objectives. Some key informants viewed NGOs' involvement in joint projects funded by governments as a threat to their independence and long-term survival. Further some key informants aver that NGOs involved in such a situation fail to

distance themselves from economic and social policies with negative bearings on the poor. Thus, NGOs dependency on foreign funds and governments as well as hidden agendas is a threat to NGOs' autonomy and accountability to the public.

#### **4.5.6 Lack of clear demarcation**

The lack of clear demarcation of activities of AFLI is another challenge illustrated in the Figure 5. This could be possibly due to deficiency of previous laws and regulations governing NGOs. Thus, depending on circumstances such availability of funds, sensitivity of issues and other factors, AFLI has been involved in various activities ranging from complementing development activities to advocacy activities. This seems to be solved by the 2006 Non-governments Act.

#### **4.5.7 Poor institutional establishment**

AFLI has also faced problems that may be of their own making. Very few NGOs cultivate internal democracy and some have been accused of embezzling funds. Good management practices demand that obvious key management concepts and principles such as sustainability, accountability, transparency, clarity of objectives, which are necessary for institutionalized formal procedures, are put in place. Thus, NGOs have been accused of lacking transparency and democratic internal procedures, and some even for having hidden agendas. AFLI was inactive from 2009 to 2016 as a reason of mismanagement.

#### **4.5.8 Lack of awareness about the roles of NGOs and frequent turnover of government officials**

As indicated in the Figure 5, few of the respondents stated that lack of awareness about NGOs and frequent turnover of government officials as a challenge. Lack of awareness of government officials especially at lower levels of administration regarded NGOs engagement as a partisan, which has to be handled by political parties. The frequent of turnover of government officials at various levels of administration also disrupts communication and continuation of preplanned activities of NGOs.

#### **4.5.9 Government interferences**

About 15 percent of respondents in the Figure 5 stated government interference in the activities of AFLI as a challenge for the achievement of their goals. Government sometimes directly or

indirectly interferes in activities of AFLI or it influences their democratization programs. In the other part of the questionnaire, the respondents were asked about instances that the government interferes in activities of AFLI. To this end, they were asked to choose between yes and no. They were also requested to describe the areas and extent of interference if their answer is yes. The information taken from the questionnaire filled by 42 respondents is presented in the Figure 6.

Figure 6: Instances Government Interferes AFLI’s Activities

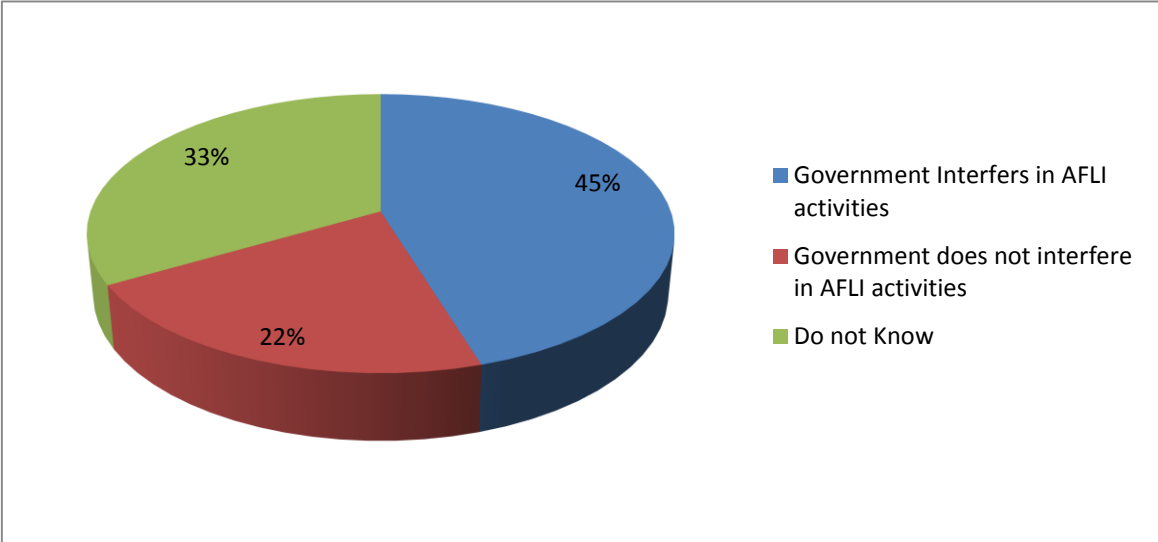


Figure 6 show that 45 percent of respondent’s opinion reveals that the government interferes in the activities of AFLI. The common reasons for interferences are misconception of NGOs as supporters of political parties and engagement beyond their mandate. This interference affects NGOs in such a way that they find it difficult to make decisions on critical issues. On the other hand, 22 percent of the respondents state that the government does not interfere in the activities of NGOs. The remaining 33 percent of them are indifferent.

**4.5.10 AFLI’s Engagement beyond their Mandate**

For assessing the circumstances under which AFLI is engaged in activities beyond their mandate or not, respondents were asked to choose between yes and no. They were also asked to describe the situation briefly if there are circumstances that they go beyond their mandate. To this end, their response is presented in the Figure 7

Figure 7: AFLI's Engagement beyond their Mandate.

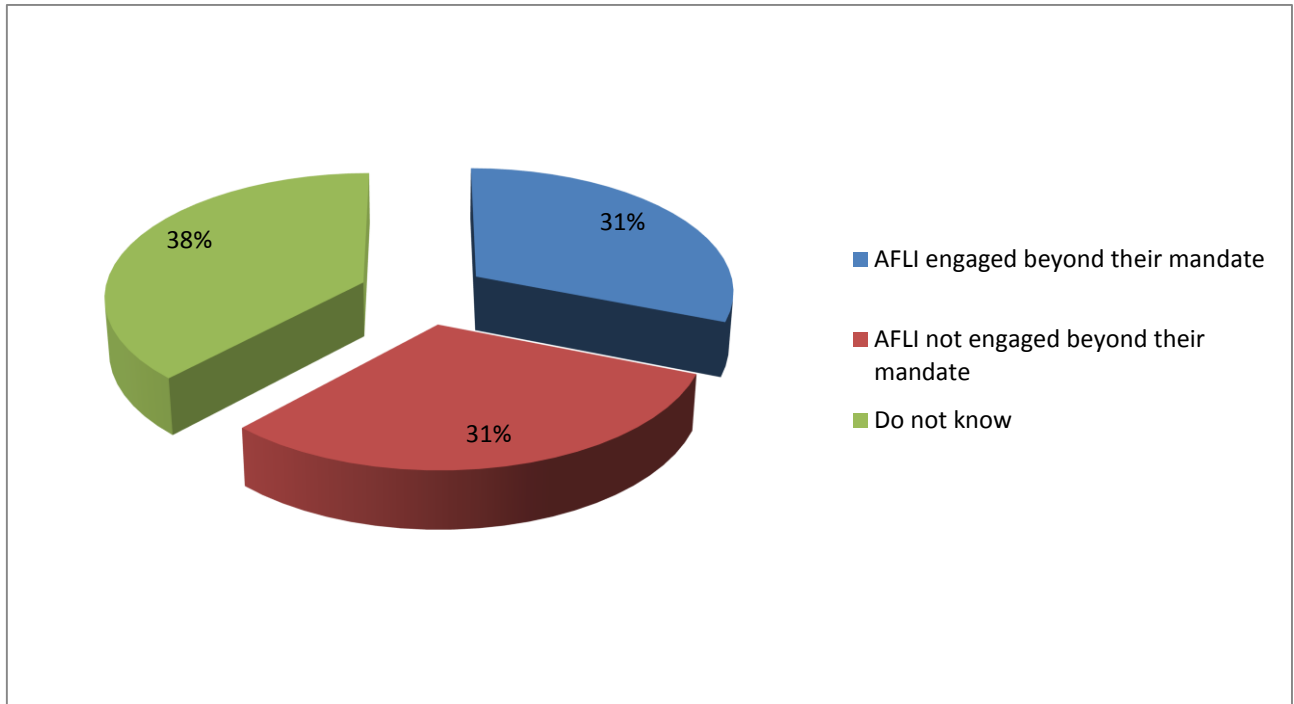


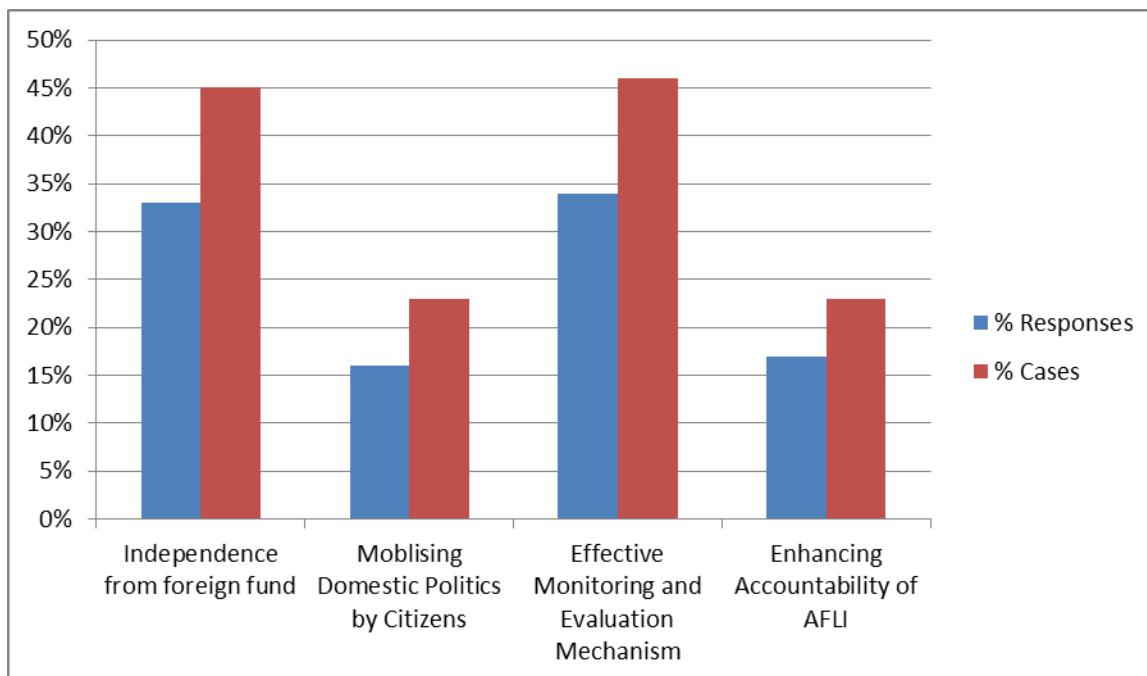
Figure 7 illustrates that those who said yes and those who said no each account to 31 percent. The rest 38 percent are indifferent on whether AFLI is engaged beyond their mandate or not. Respondents have also explained the circumstances under which AFLI gets engaged in partisan politics. As stated by them, there are various reasons for the involvement in partisan politics. The reasons include;

1. availability of foreign fund in the area;
2. lack of transparency;
3. hidden agendas;
4. factors such as approaching election time; and
5. Deficiency of previous laws.

#### 4.6 Objective Four: Seek solutions which will enhance the capacity of the African Leadership Institute in the promotion and maintenance of the democratization process in Uganda.

The respondents' view on what should be done to seek solutions which will enhance the capacity of the AFLI in the promotion and maintenance of the democratization process in Uganda is summarized into four thematic areas. The result is presented in the Figure 8. Accordingly, independence from foreign fund, effective monitoring and evaluation mechanisms, mobilizing domestic politics by its own citizens and enhancing accountability of AFLI are dominant reasons for finding a lasting solution.

Figure 10: Potential Solutions to enhance capacity of AFLI



##### 4.6.1 Independence from foreign fund

There are several encouraging features of the 1995 Constitution of Uganda for which, AFLI appreciates the government's efforts. The 1995 Constitution allows NGOs to engage in income generating activities. This can help AFLI to strengthen their internal capacity and ensure the

sustainability of their activities. The Income Tax Act also exempts NGOs from income tax, which enhances their financial capacity.

#### **4.6.2 Mobilizing domestic politics by citizens**

The government of Uganda had various rationales for the enactment of the 1995 constitution. Ensuring the rights of citizen outlined in the Constitution including the right to association is one of the reasons. Mobilizing citizens in politics will help to reduce foreign influence in the politics of the country and assure sustainability of democratization process of the country.

#### **4.6.3 Effective monitoring and evaluation mechanisms**

The previous laws governing NGOs could not create enabling environment for their operations because those laws were not formulated in such a way to accommodate diversity of NGOs, their operations and unique characteristics. The government's initiative to address these gaps is both timely and eagerly anticipated. Another positive feature is the establishment of NGO Bureau to undertake the registration and supervision of NGOs.

#### **4.6.4 Enhances accountability of AFLI**

Some respondents argued that upholding constitutionalism would help the institutions to become efficient, and avoid their shortcomings and ethical problems in the area. Respondents stressed that laws should be drafted to promote financial transparency among NGOs and increase their accountability to the stakeholders.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter has three sections. The first section summarizes the whole research. The second section presents the conclusion of the research and the last section suggests potential recommendations to enhance NGO contributions to the democratisation of the country.

#### 5.1 Summary

The main objective of the study was to examine the contributions of NGOs to the democratic process of Uganda. In achieving this objective, the study attempts to answer the following basic questions;

1. Does the African Leadership Institute have a historical role in the democratization process of Uganda?
2. What are the contemporary contributions of the African Leadership Institute with regard to the democratization process of Uganda?
3. What factors constrain the African Leadership Institute from discharging its duties and responsibilities to the democratization process of Uganda?
4. What are the solutions to enhance the capacity of the African Leadership Institute in the promotion and maintenance of the democratization process in Uganda?

Descriptive research was used for the purpose of the study. The methods employed by the researcher were conducting survey studies. The researcher, purposively selected the African Leadership Institute because its diverse structure. To collect the necessary information questionnaire, interview, review of documents were employed. The findings of the study are summarized as follows.

#### **5.1.1. Objective One: To assess the historical role of participation by the African Leadership Institute in the democratization process of Uganda.**

Before 1995, the concept of democracy was not popular in the country. It is a recent phenomenon related with coming of NRM in power and promulgation of the 1995 constitution which later provided for multiparty system of governance in 2005. In this regard, 66.7 percent of respondents perceive the democratisation of the country as good or fair. The remaining 33.3

percent of the respondents see it as little or very little. Thus, the opinion of the respondents reveals that there is considerable improvement in the area since the 2005 referendum. The improvement can be manifested by various measures government has taken to promote democratisation. These measures inter alia include:

- (i) Adoption of the 1995 Constitution that establishes a multi-party parliamentary system of government, assures freedom of association and expression, and recognizes most of the human rights elaborated under international law
- (ii) Ratifying a number of international human rights instruments
- (iii) Reforming domestic laws to harmonize with international human rights standards
- (iv) Emphasizes good governance in different policies and programs
- (v) Established democratic institutions such Human Rights Commission, and the Inspectorate of Government

The historical role and extent of participation of AFLI was also limited to service delivery until 2009. Since permissive legal and policy environment was put in place by 1995 constitution, AFLI's engagement has extended to governance, advocacy and human rights. In this regard, 73.7 percent of the respondents perceive the extent of AFLI's participation in democratisation of the country as minimum. In line with this, 76 percent of the respondents believe that the historical role of AFLI in the area is minimal.

### **5.1.2 Objective Two: To examine the contemporary contributions of the African Leadership Institute with regard to the democratization process of Uganda.**

Democratisation process of the country can be developed through participation of different actors: the state, NGOs and Society. Thus, AFLI's contributions to the development of Democratisation process of the country cannot be undermined. The major AFLI contributions are summarized as follow;

#### ***a. Promotion of public awareness and participation***

According to the responses 46.7 percent shows that AFLI is directly or indirectly undertaking awareness and public participation initiatives. The thematic areas on which AFLI's intervention include right issues, democracy and governance, corruption, voter education, pastoralist issues, access to justice, etc. Apart from raising public awareness, AFLI has been promoting participation of citizens in governance, democracy, human rights and peace building. This can



achieved through mobilizing and empowering grassroots, religious, community and mass based organizations.

***b. Contributions to increased capacity and efficiency of democratic institutions***

According to the responses 9.8 percent indicate that building capacity and increasing efficiency of democratic institutions is one of AFLI's area of intervention. They enhance capacity and efficiency of democratic institutions through training, workshops, experience sharing forums, joint planning and implementation activities, and other support interventions.

***c. Promoting fair and democratic election***

According to the responses 10.8 percent shows that AFLI has been engaged in election process in various forms. NGOs in Uganda have played considerable role for the first time during the 2016 election. AFLI was involved in election monitoring, conducting civic education programs, and organizing debates and forums among contending parties. This has initiated and sensitized public to participate actively in the election. In this case, AFLI has contributed towards fair and democratic elections.

***d. Monitoring democratic process, rule of law and violations of rights***

For 9.8 percent of the respondents say AFLI is engaged in monitoring democratic processes, rule of law and violations of rights. Respondents also intimated that HRWU, FIDA and FHRI are the leading organizations in Uganda to monitor, publicize and report human rights violations, and fight for the people to full realization of rights under the Constitution.

***e. Contribution to improved policies, laws, and programs***

AFLI has also been contributing to improved policies, laws and programs through various ways. They address the questions of marginalized and voiceless groups, which are often excluded from the decision-making processes. They engage in awareness raising and advocacy work that aims at bringing about changes or revisions in public policies, laws, and decision-making structures.

***f. Contribution to increased access to justice***

AFLI is also engaged in enhancing people for increased access to justice. AFLI partners with NGOs to provide legal aid services. EWLA provides services such as legal advice or counseling, writing court briefs such as court charges and affidavits as well as representing clients in courts.

***g. Complementing the role of the government in democratization process***

AFLI assists the government by filling the gaps where it is short. AFLI also identifies social problems, which have not been detected or addressed by the government.

#### ***h. Holding the government accountable***

AFLI also challenges plans, policies, programs, actions or inactions of the government. These have negative impact on the lives of the poor and would deprive their constitutional rights.

#### ***i. Conflict resolution and peace building***

AFLI directly or indirectly takes part in conflict resolution and peace building of the country. AFLI has used various methods such as training traditional and modern methods of resolving conflicts and promoting peace and stability.

### **5.1.3. Objective Three: Identify factors that constrain the African Leadership Institute from discharging its duties and responsibilities to the democratization process of Uganda.**

AFLI faces various challenges in the achievement of its objectives towards development of Democratisation process of the country. These factors have implications on its autonomy and effectiveness of programs. The major challenges of AFLI are summarized as follow.

#### ***a. Misconception of the government***

For 9 percent of the respondents say the activities and programs of AFLI are regarded by the government as a political activity. This misconception arises due to lack of experience in democratization process, low level of awareness about rights and roles of NGOs and lack of self-confidence among government officials.

#### ***b. Policy environment***

For 60 percent of respondents, the policy environment of Uganda towards AFLI is restrictive, centralized, discriminatory and non-conducive.

#### ***c. Lack of resources***

According to the respondents 42 percent stated that lack of resources primarily finance is another critical challenge for AFLI in the achievement of its goals. AFLI is dependent on foreign funds. This is mainly due to little or no culture of voluntarism and fear of public to make financial contributions to the works of NGOs.

#### ***d. Lack of public support***

For 20 percent of the respondents stated little or no support from public is another critical challenge. This is due to illiteracy, lack of experience and unable to access target groups.

***e. External and internal influences***

Dependency of AFLI on foreign funds and government makes indifferent to unpopular measures. Few NGOs have also hidden agendas.

***f. Lack of clear demarcation***

The lack of clear demarcation of activities of AFLI is another challenge. This could be possibly due to deficiency of previous laws and regulations governing NGOs.

***g. Poor institutional establishment***

AFLI has also faced problems of sustainability, accountability, transparency and clarity of objectives. Thus, NGOs have been accused of lacking transparency and democratic internal procedures, and some even for having hidden agendas.

***h. Lack of awareness about roles of AFLI and frequent turnover of government officials***

Lack of awareness of government officials about roles of AFLI especially at lower levels of administration is critical. The frequent of turnover of government officials at various levels of administration also disrupts communication and continuation of preplanned activities of AFLI.

***i. Government interferences***

For 15 percent of respondents, government interference in the activities of AFLI is also another challenge.

**5.1.4 Objective Four: Seek solutions which will enhance the capacity of the African Leadership Institute in the promotion and maintenance of the democratization process in Uganda.**

In spite of the concerns of the respondents over a number of constraints on AFLI in relation to the democratization process, they also noted that there are several solutions that could be adopted. These solutions are summarized as follows;

*a. Independence from foreign fund*

*b. Mobilizing domestic politics by citizens*

*c. Effective monitoring and evaluation mechanisms*

*d. Enhances accountability of CSOs*

## 5.2 Conclusions

In light of the findings of the study the following conclusions are drawn;

1. **Objective One: Assess the historical role of participation by the African Leadership Institute in the democratization process of Uganda**

AFLI has spent considerable time in relief works and service provisioning. During the Imperialistic regimes, the legal and political conditions were not conducive for NGOs engagement in the democratization process. However, protest groups played critical roles in resisting the Imperial regimes in 1970s and 1980s; NGOs involvement in governance, advocacy and human rights was limited until 1995.

2. **Objective Two: Examine the contemporary contributions of the African Leadership Institute with regard to the democratization process of Uganda.**

Since 1995, NGOs whose functions are to enhance public awareness, to initiate pro-poor policies, to contribute to increased access to justice and pro-poor policies, to protect constitutional rights, to promote effective participation in social, economic and political aspects of the country increased. Their engagement mainly focuses on promoting public awareness and participation. Thus, the contribution of AFLI to the democratisation of the country is limited.

3. **Objective Three: Identify factors that constrain the African Leadership Institute from discharging its duties and responsibilities to the democratization process of Uganda.**

AFLI faces several challenges. These include misconception by the government, policy environment, lack of resources, lack of public support, internal and external influences, absence of clear demarcation, poor institutional arrangements, lack of awareness about the its roles and frequent turnover of government officials, and government interferences. These challenges are mainly from government. This is one of the reasons for the existence of limited number of NGOs undertaking the programs in democratisation.

**4. Objective Four: Seek solutions which will enhance the capacity of the African Leadership Institute in the promotion and maintenance of the democratization process in Uganda.**

The legal framework that assures involvement of AFLI in democratisation of Uganda has been set with the enactment of the 1995 Constitution and Non-Government Organization Act of 2006. However due to its infancy, it has been facing various shortcomings and ethical problems.

### **5.3 Recommendations**

Taking in to considerations of the findings obtained and conclusions drawn, the following recommendations are suggested:

#### **5.3.1 Objective One: To assess the historical role of participation by the African Leadership Institute in the democratization process of Uganda.**

- (i) NGOs play an important role in the democratisation process of the country. Their role in the revision of discriminatory laws such Domestic relation laws through the MIFUMI petition was remarkable. Despite this, government hardly recognizes NGOs as partners in consolidating democratic culture. Thus, NGOs need to create stronger advocacy campaigns and build strategic partnership with government.
  
- (ii) Since 1995, NGOs have made historical progress towards democratizing Uganda. Their intervention in various areas especially in promoting public awareness and participation is a considerable achievement. Despite this, democratisation needs tolerance and compromise, which are missing among majority of the public. Thus, NGOs needs to shift their focus from awareness raising to internalizing principles such as tolerance and compromise.

#### **5.3.2 Objective Two: To examine the contemporary contributions of the African Leadership Institute with regard to the democratization process of Uganda.**

- (i) Repeated studies have shown that the activities of most NGOs in Uganda are dependent on funds from donors and governments. This has implication on NGOs' autonomy and effectiveness. To meet the concerns of their target

groups and their communities, NGOs need to have its own viable source of income. To this end, they need to harmonize themselves with various international protocols as fast as possible.

**5.3.3. Objective Three: Identify factors that constrain the African Leadership Institute from discharging its duties and responsibilities to the democratization process of Uganda.**

- (i) A major challenge of most NGOs is dependency on donors for financial and material resources deemed essential for carrying out their activities. Overcoming this challenge will require the government and society to recognize the important role of NGOs. The government must realize the role of NGOs in the democratisation process. It should also establish various types of incentives. Citizens have to also take part in the activities of NGOs through participation and contribution. They should develop culture of voluntarism and financing NGOs. NGOs on the other hand should institutionalize formal procedures, which enhance sustainability, accountability and transparency. This will improve internal democratic culture, which subsequently makes appropriate disbursement of funds.

**5.3.4 Objective Four: Seek solutions which will enhance the capacity of the African Leadership Institute in the promotion and maintenance of the democratization process in Uganda.**

- (i) Even though NGOs complained about lack of enabling environment to realize the democratisation of the country, they also have significant weaknesses that hinder the development in the area. They lack a clear sense of identity; they are loose collection of groups that lack defined common objectives; they could not create strong alliance among themselves; and they are replicating programs of other NGOs. Thus, NGOs need to work on these setbacks to achieve their goals.

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## Appendix A

### Guide for Document Checklist

Item	Research Question	Information in Documents		
		Questionnaire	Unstructured Interview	Not anywhere
		Yes	No	N/A
1	Does the African Leadership Institute have a historical role in the democratization process of Uganda?			
2	What are the contemporary contributions of the African Leadership Institute with regard to the democratization process of Uganda?			
3	What factors constrain the African Leadership Institute from discharging its duties and responsibilities to the democratization process of Uganda?			
4	What are the solutions to enhance the capacity of the African Leadership Institute in the promotion and maintenance of the democratization process in Uganda?			

**Appendix B**  
**Interview Guide for Focus Groups**

**Direct questions:**

1. “What do you mean when you say . . .?”
2. “Why do you think . . .?”
3. “How did this happen?”
4. “How did you feel about . . .?”
5. “What happened then?”
6. “Can you tell me more?”
7. “Can you please elaborate?”
8. “I’m not sure I understand. . . . Would you explain that to me?”
9. “How did you handle the constraints?”
10. “How did the constraints affect you?”
11. “Can you give me an example of the constraints?”

## Appendix C

### Document Analysis Guide

1. What kind of document is this? How do you know?  
(a letter, a government document, a diary, or journal entry?)
2. When was it written? Is there a date or other information that indicates this?
3. Who wrote or created the document? How can you tell?
4. For whom was the document written or created? How can you tell?
5. Where was the document written or created? How can you tell?
6. Why was the document written? Cite the evidence indicating its purpose.
7. Does the document reveal the writer's mood?  
(Does it convey anger, happiness, regret, surprise?)
8. Does the document provide any clues about the relationship between the writer and the audience?
9. List three things the author said that you think are important help NGOs further democratization:
  1. \_\_\_\_\_
  2. \_\_\_\_\_
  3. \_\_\_\_\_
10. List two things the document tells you about democratization in Uganda
  1. \_\_\_\_\_
  2. \_\_\_\_\_
11. Write a question to the author that is left unanswered by the document in relation to democratization:  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix D

### Guide for Unstructured Interviews

#### ***1. Qualitative interview introduction***

Length: 45-60 minutes

Primary goal: To find out the contemporary contributions of the African Leadership Institute with regard to the democratization process of Uganda

#### ***2. Verbal consent***

*Would you like to participate in this interview?*

Verbal Consent was obtained from the study participant

Verbal Consent was NOT obtained from the study participant

<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>

#### ***3. Background Information***

Overview:

Invite interviewee to briefly tell me about the organization. General information about the background of AFLI

*If the interviewee openly identifies as having no knowledge about the background of the organisation*

Why is that?

*If the interviewee openly identifies as having knowledge about the background of the organisation*

#### ***4. Project experience***

Can you tell me about your project experience?

Which projects have you participated in?

Are they related to democratization?

*If not?*

Are there projects that are related to democratization?

#### ***5. Democratization***

Availability literature on democratization

Have you Read it?

Why were you reading it?

Can you tell me about your experience after reading? Positive or negative? Why?

How have impacted this knowledge onto the organisation

Do you think NGOs should participate in the democratization process?

If so, how in particular?

If you say no, then why not?

What conditions/support would the organisation need to be in place further the democratization process?

Barriers to democratization within the organisation?

### ***6. Contributions of the Organisation***

Has the organisation contributed to the democratization process?

If yes, how?

What is your experience in this regard?

Are you aware of the roles of NGOs in the democratization process?



## **Appendix E**

### **Guide for Participant Observation**

#### **Background**

I chose Participant observation because it involves informal conversations and interaction and it allows me make careful, objective notes about what I see and hear. It is a qualitative research method used in community settings which is helpful for understanding the different perspectives of participants in a project, or program. This very relevant because the research is being carried out in an organisation that implements projects.

#### **Purpose**

Summarize the evaluation questions I hope to explore with the observation.

1. How is a project implemented?
  - (i) Who takes part?
  - (ii) number of participants
  - (iii) nature of the project and implementation approach
  - (iv) timing and location of the project
  - (v) how the project is organised
  - (vi) how time is used during the project
  - (vii) roles and responsibilities of participants
  - (viii) decisions being made by whom and for whom
  - (ix) resources made available to project officers e.g. special equipment, software, among others
  
2. What information is given to project officers about:
  - (i) How, when, with whom, to do the project etc?
  - (ii) The aims, objectives and expected outcomes of the project?
  - (iii) How and from whom they can get help if they need it?
  - (iv) What learning resources they can use to help them do the project and where/how they can get access to them?

- (v) How the project fits into the demo?
  - (vi) the relevance of the democratization process
3. How are the participants behaving? e.g.
- (i) How are they undertaking the project?
  - (ii) How are project officers using help and resources?
  - (iii) How are project officers interacting with the study population?
  - (iv) What is the extent and nature of online project in virtual learning environments?
  - (v) Do project officers appear more motivated, engaged, or better prepared?
4. How are the participants interacting? e.g.
- (i) Is there dialogue?
  - (ii) Is the dialogue constructive for learning?
  - (iii) Who is talking/listening?
  - (iv) What is their body language/non-verbal information?
  - (v) Is there evidence in the dialogue that project officers are learning?
  - (vi) How are project officers learning from the dialogue? (e.g. staff-student, peer-peer discussion, group inquiry....etc.)
  - (vii) Is there evidence in the dialogue that academic staff/support staff are responding to project officers' learning needs?
  - (viii) How is feedback being given to project officers?

**Appendix F**  
**Guide for Structured Interview**

*Dear respondent,*

My name is Mutebi Marvin Keith and I am a Masters student of International Relations and Diplomacy (MIRD) at the School Of Social Sciences and in the department of International Relations at Nkumba University under the supervision of Mr. George Mugisha Barenzi. I am kindly requesting you to contribute your part in the research by providing requested information in the questionnaire. Your response will be kept confidential. My MIRD thesis is entitled as *'Examination on the role of NGOs in the Democratisation process of Uganda 2005-2017: A case study of African Leadership Institute'*. Specifically it focuses on two issues: Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and democratisation. I want to thank the respondent in advance for cooperation. Please, feel free to contact me on +256705672524 or at [mutebimarvinkeith741@gmail.com](mailto:mutebimarvinkeith741@gmail.com)

Yours Sincerely,

Mutebi Marvin Keith

**Questionnaire**

For each of the following questions you are kindly requested to provide short, precise and appropriate answer. When responding to the questions, please be specific to the project concerned with democratisation. I would like to promise you that all your information would be kept confidential and used only for the purpose of this study.

1. Position of the respondent: \_\_\_\_\_

2. Respondent's work experience

a. 0-2 years b. 3-5 years c. 6-10 years d. above 10 years

3. Respondent's educational qualification

a. O' level or A' level b. Diploma c. BA/BSC/LLB d. MA/PhD

e. Other \_\_\_\_\_

4. What do you know about Civil Society Organizations (NGOs) and Democratisation in Uganda?

a. Very Little b. Little c. Fair d. Good e. Very Good

5. How is the democratisation process in Uganda?

a. Very Little b. Little c. Fair d. Good e. Very Good

6. How is the historical contribution/role of NGOs in the democratisation process in Uganda?

a. Null b. Very Little c. Little d. Fair e. Good f. Very Good

7. To what extent have NGOs participated in the democratisation process in Uganda since their involvement?

a. Very Little b. Little c. Fair d. Good e. Very Good

8. What was the contribution/role of NGOs in the democratisation process in Uganda before promulgation of Non-governmental Organization Act of 2006?

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9. What are the contributions/roles of NGOs in the democratisation process in Uganda after promulgation of Non-governmental Organization Act of 2006?

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10. Is there any instance NGOs have held the government accountable in the democratisation process in Uganda when the government is doing wrong?

a. Yes b. No

If your answer is yes, please indicate the occurrence and explain the situation?

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If your answer is no, please indicate why NGOs prefer not to hold the government accountable while it is doing wrong?

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11. What are the strategies/approaches that NGOs are using in the democratisation process in Uganda?

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12. What are the major achievements of NGOs in the democratisation process in Uganda?

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13. How do you see the environment of Uganda towards NGOs working in the democratisation process?

a. Encouraging b. Discouraging c. Neither of both

14. How is the transparency of the government and NGOs with regard to their activities?

a. Very Poor b. Poor c. Fair d. Good e. Very Good

15. What portion of NGOs is working in the democratisation process in Uganda?

- a. Very Little b. Little c. Fair d. Significant

Please, describe your answer why so.

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16. Is there any instance that the government interferences in the works of NGOs engaged in the democratisation process in Uganda?

- a. Yes b. No

If the answer is yes, please describe the areas and extent of interference.

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17. Does the government have doubt on the activities of NGOs that are engaged in the democratisation process in Uganda?

- a. Yes b. No c. Indifferent

If your answer is yes, please state your reasons.

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18. Is there any circumstance that NGOs are engaged in activities beyond their mandate?

- a. Yes b. No

If your answer is yes, please describe the situation briefly.

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19. NGOs working in the democratisation process in Uganda have done their best so far especially in promoting pluralism of political institutions.

a. Strongly Agree b. Agree c. Disagree d. Strongly Disagree

Please, explain the reasons for your answer briefly.

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20. What are strengths and weaknesses of NGOs in the democratisation process in Uganda?

Please, state strengths and weaknesses briefly.

Strengths

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Weaknesses

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21. What are the challenges NGOs face while discharging their duty in the democratisation process in Uganda?

Please, state the challenges briefly.

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22. In terms of the democratisation process, the government of Uganda is on the right track.

a. Strongly Agree b. Agree c. Disagree d. Strongly Disagree

Please, explain the reasons for your answer briefly.

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***Thank You!***



## Appendix G

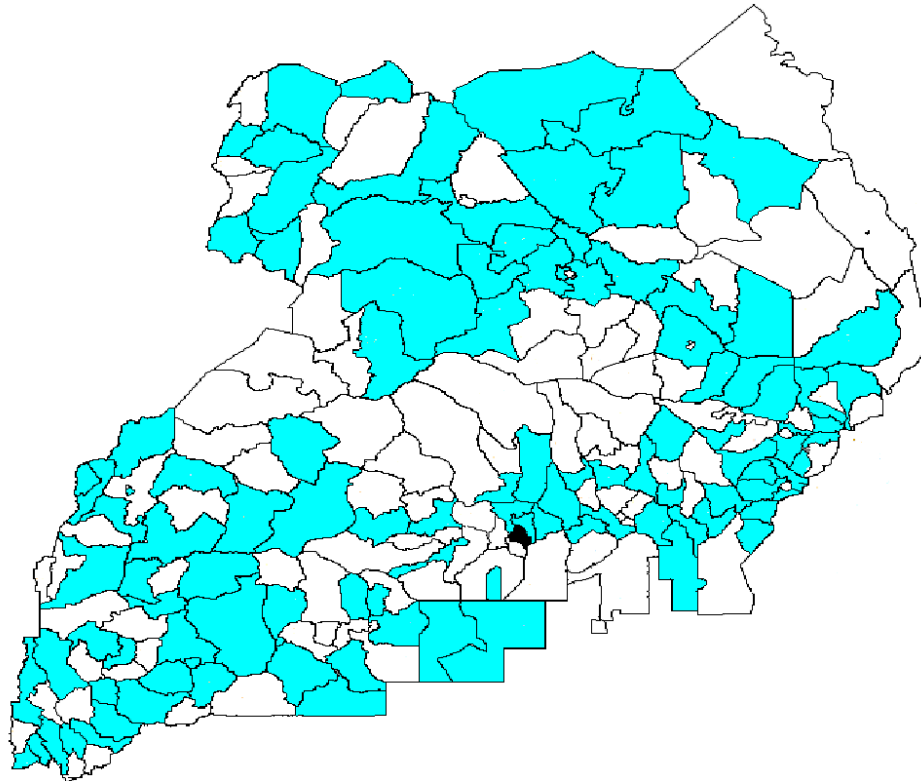
### Projected budget

Activity	Amount ( UGX)
Consultancy fee	200,000/=
Transport	150,000/=
Meals	100,000/=
Stationary	50,000
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>500,000/=</b>

### Projected time line

Formulating and approval of topic	November 2017
Supervision of research study	May 2018
Submission of research study	June 2018
Approval of research study by supervisor	July 2018

## Appendix H



Map of Uganda Showing Area of Study in Black and Blue