

**THE CONTRIBUTION OF UGANDA POLICE FORCE (UPF) IN THE 2016
PARLIAMENTARY AND PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS**

A CASE OF ENTEBBE MUNICIPALITY, WAKISO DISTRICT

BY

KWESIGAK EDSON

2015/AUG/MSS/M218722/WKD/KLA

**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF POST- GRADUATE STUDIES
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT OF THE AWARD OF**

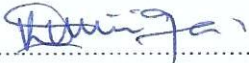
A MASTER'S DEGREE OF SECURITY AND STRATEGIC STUDIES OF

NKUMBA UNIVERSITY

OCTOBER, 2018

DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation has been composed solely by me and that it has not been submitted, in whole or in part, in any previous application for a degree. Except where states otherwise by reference or acknowledgment, the work presented is entirely my own.

Signed 

Date: 22/10/2018

Kwesiga K Edson

APPROVAL

This is to certify that this dissertation has been submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of a master's degree of security and strategic studies of Nkumba University with my approval as University Supervisor.

Signed: **Date:**

Miss Abaho Ann

DEDICATION

I also dedicate this work to my parents who first taught me the value of education and critical thought.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I first of all, to the Almighty God be the glory for His faithfulness to me and without whom I would never have come this far.

I wish to thank my supervisor; Ms. Abaho Ann for her support and continued guidance during this research study.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	i
APPROVAL	ii
DEDICATION.....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS	v
LIST OF TABLES	ix
ABSTRACT	xi
CHAPTER ONE	1
1.0 Introduction	1
1.1.0 Background to the study.....	1
1.1.1 Historical Background	2
1.1.3 Conceptual background.....	8
1.1.4 Contextual Background.....	9
1.3 General Objective	12
1.4. Specific Objectives	12
1.5 Research Questions	12
1.6 Significance of the Study	12
1.7 Scope of the study.....	13
1.8 Conceptual framework.....	14
1.9 Definition of key Terms	15
2.1. Introduction	16
2.2 Literature Survey	16
2.3 The performance of the Uganda police force in 2016 elections.....	16
2.3.1 Escorts election materials.....	20
2.3.2 Protection of voters and voting process:	21
2.3.3 Mitigate violence and Investigate criminal and election offenses:.....	21
2.3.4 Enforcement of laws and codes of conduct.....	22
2.3.5 Providing escort teams to the candidates	22
2.4. Challenges the police force face during the election process.....	24
2.5 The different strategies the police force can utilize in enhancing a smooth election	29

CHAPTER THREE.....	30
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....	30
3.0 Introduction.....	30
3.1 Research Design.....	31
3.3 Study Population.....	32
3.4 Sampling techniques and procedures.....	32
3.4.1 Sample Size Determination.....	32
3.5 Data Collection Methods.....	34
3.5.1 Primary data collection.....	34
3.5.2 Interview Guide.....	35
3.6 Validity and reliability of instruments.....	35
3.7 Data Collection Procedures.....	36
3.8 Data processing and Analysis.....	36
3.9. Ethical considerations.....	36
3.10. Limitations to the study.....	37
CHAPTER FOUR.....	38
PRESENTATION, INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION.....	38
4.0 Introduction.....	38
4.1 Socio demographic characteristics of the Respondents.....	38
4.1.1 Sex of the respondents.....	38
4.1.2 Age of the respondents.....	39
4.1.3 Highest level of education attained.....	39
4.1.4 Occupation of the respondents.....	40
4.2 Effectiveness of the role police forces in the general election.....	40
4.2.1 The Police was involved in the management of public order during the electoral process.....	42
4.2.2 The Uganda police was responsible for the security of political participants during the electoral process.....	42
4.2.3 The Uganda police play the role of custody and escorting election materials during the electoral process.....	42
4.2.4 The Uganda police was mandated to protect voters during the electoral process.....	43

4.2.5 The police was responsible for the mitigation of electoral violence during electoral process	43
4.2.6 The Uganda police was charged with the role of investigating electoral offenses during the electoral process.....	43
4.2.7 The Uganda police are responsible for accompanying presiding officers	44
4.3. Challenges facing the police in the electoral process	47
4.3.1 The Uganda police face a challenge of parallel security agencies	47
4.3.2 The Uganda police face limited awareness of the electoral laws of the country	48
4.3.3 The Uganda police face a challenge of eruption of electoral violence	48
4.3.4 The Uganda police face a challenge of corruption involving police officers	48
4.3.5 The Uganda police face a challenge of inadequate funding of police operations for elections	49
4.3.6 The Uganda police lack effective training in managing security during elections	49
4.3.7 The Uganda police suffer a lack of professionalism of its officers during the electoral process	50
4.4 Strategies of enhancing Police role in electoral process	52
4.4.1 There is need to sensitize and educate the the public about the police role	53
4.4.2 There is need to punish police officers who engage in electoral processes	54
4.4.3 There is need to prohibit quasi-military organizations during the electoral process	54
4.4.4 There is need to improve on the situation crime prevention techniques to develop capacity to manage elections.....	54
4.4.5 There is need to train the police on democratic values, rule of law and crisis management	55
4.4.6 There is need to establish joint operations command with other security agencies	55
4.4.7 There is need to equip and strengthen the political crimes unit to streamline police role in the electoral process.....	55
CHAPTER FIVE	59
SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	59
5.0 Introduction	59
5.1 Summary of the findings	59
5.1.1 Performance of police force in the 2016 parliamentary and presidential elections	59

5.1.2 Challenges the Police face during the 2016 parliamentary and presidential elections	59
5.1.3 Ways of enhancing Police role in electoral process as proposed by the respondents	60
5.2 Conclusion.....	60
5.3 Recommendations	61
5.4 Areas for further study	61
REFERENCES	62
APPENDIX I: structured questionnaire.....	66
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE (Police Officers).....	72
APPENDIX III: Documentary review checklist	73

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3. 1: Study Population Table.....	32
Table 3. 2: Sample Size table	33
Table 4. 1 :Sex of the respondents	38
Table 4. 2: Age of the respondents	39
Table 4. 3: Education level of the respondents.....	39
Table 4. 4: Occupation of the respondents	40
Table 4. 5: Performance of police forces in the general elections	41
Table 4. 6: Mean and standard deviation on the Effectiveness of the role of police force in election process.....	45
Table 4. 7:Challenges facing the police in the electoral process	47
Table 4. 8: showing the mean and standard deviation of challenges of the police during the electoral process.....	51
Table 4. 9:Strategies proposed by respondents in enhancing Police role effectiveness in electoral process.....	53
Table 4. 10: showing the mean and standard deviation on the strategies to improve the police role during the electoral process	57

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CCEDU - Citizens' Coalition for Electoral Democracy in Uganda

CEON-U- The Citizens Election Observers Network – Uganda

CRD– Civil Rights Defenders

DP – Democratic Party

DPP- Peoples Progressive Party

EC- Electoral Commission

EMB - Electoral Management Body

FDC- Forum for Democratic Change

FHRI - The Foundation for Human Rights Initiative

GF- Go Forward

HURINET - Human Rights Network-Uganda

NRM – National Resistance Movement

OSIEA - Open Society Initiative for Eastern Africa

SF – Security Forces

UPC – Uganda People's Congress

UPDF – Uganda Peoples Defense Forces

UPF - Uganda Police force

DPP -Directorate of Public Prosecutions

ABSTRACT

The study is about an evaluation of the contribution of Uganda police force (UPF) in election process: a case of Entebbe municipality, Wakiso district (2015-2016) and it was guided by three objectives which included; to find out the effectiveness of the role of police force during the election process, examine the challenges that the police force faces during the election process and propose the different strategies of enhancing a smooth electoral process.

The research is descriptive in nature. Out of the 133 respondents selected, 120 respondents participated in the final study implying that the study had a 90% response rate. A structured questionnaire, interview and documentary review were used to collect data and SPSS version was used for analysis of the data.

Findings indicates that 74.2% of the total respondents strongly agreed that it is the police's role to manage public order during the electoral process, a majority of 83.3% strongly agreed that the Uganda police is responsible for the security of political participants during the electoral process, 91.7% strongly agreed that the Uganda police play the role of custody and escorting election materials during the electoral process while 61.7% strongly agreed that Uganda police is mandated to protect voters during the electoral process. On challenge of parallel security agencies during the electoral process, 59.2% strongly disagreed. On limited awareness of the electoral laws of the country, 50.8% agreed, majority 65% strongly agreed that Uganda police faces a challenge of eruption of electoral violence while 56.7% agreed that the Uganda police face a challenge of corruption involving police officers. A 60.8% disagreed that there is need to sensitize and educate the public about the role of police, 62.5% agreed that there is need to punish police officers who engage in electoral offenses, 66.7% agreed that there is need to prohibit quasi – military organizations during the electoral process while 55.1% agreed that there is need to improve on the situation of crime prevention techniques to develop capacity to manage elections,

The recommendations included: Investigating the formation of troublesome election vigilante groups, a need for continued training of the Uganda Police Force on the various fields relating to the election security management and the entire electoral process, investigate and prosecute police officers involved in violence during the electoral process and adequate provisions to enhance the welfare of the police during the electoral process be put in place.

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Introduction

Elections are the only legitimate means by which a government in a democratic country may obtain authority to govern (Nowak and Sigmund 1993). Elections were derived from the basic republican idea that people are supreme in a republic, and a government is subordinate to the will of the people (Richard, 1975). Accordingly, the people have an inherent and sacrosanct right to give consent to a government and to withdraw such consent. The consent to be governed is expressible in the power conferred upon the people by the notion of sovereignty, to elect their leaders periodically, in a free and fair process, and in a secure environment (Staffan 2006).

Uganda is one of the emerging democracies of the world. The 56 years of independence, have been characterized by challenges but also moments of hope that things would move to the right direction. A series of elections have been held as a way trying to nature democracy by a way of allowing citizens take part in decision making processes though a number of questions regarding the manner in which elections are conducted and involvement of security agencies continue to pre-occupy minds of many actors.

What should be underlined is that, occasionally legitimate concerns about safety during the electoral process and the legitimacy of the outcome of elections are quite often raised (Staffan, 2006). The reason is that the high level of involvement of security agencies both formal and informal affects the process in one way or the other. The experience has been that; the mode of involving Security agencies and how they carry out their duties in the electoral process are part of the possible sources of insecurity and consequently undermining the credibility of election outcome (HURINET, 2015). This study evaluated the role of security agencies in electoral process in Uganda. In doing so, the study examined the conduct of the Uganda Police Force before, during and after the 2016 general elections.

1.1.0 Background to the study

Uganda gained independence in 1962 through a peaceful transition from colonial rule to self-rule. At the time of independence, there was a lot of optimism that the country was heading towards attaining a brighter future in which the citizens would be able to determine their governance system. This was a moment free from uncertainties but rather filled with the drive

and spirit of togetherness across the country. However, by 1966 the country was already falling apart, characterized by sectarianism, ethnic divisions and civil strife.

The years 1966 to 1979, Uganda had been besieged by moments of brutality and civil wars which affected institutions of governance and constitutional order. In 1980 following the overthrow of Idi Amin the first elections were held under a multiparty arrangement (Ndifuna 2015). These elections were controversial, ill-managed and the results were contested, not in courts of law but rather by a five year bush war that left about 800,000 people dead and hundreds displaced. In 1986 the National Resistance Movement under the leadership of Yoweri Kaguta assumed power. The NRM government came with a lot of vigor and enthusiasm to rebuild the country and to mend the state that had been shattered by extreme authoritarianism and economic malaise. The process began by promulgating a new constitution, institutional building and developing programs geared towards revitalizing the economy (Museveni, 1997).

Following the promulgation of the 1995, the process to democratizing the country started with second and third elections (1996 and 2001). These elections were held under a single party system called movement system with little participation from political parties. However, the political space was later opened in 2005 paving way for multiparty politics in the fourth and fifth elections in 2006 and 2011 (Ndifuna, 2015). Examining the history of elections in Uganda, elections have been a nightmare to the democratization process and a source of violence and civil strife. However, this has been attributed to the manner in which elections are organized, the spirit in which they are held, the misunderstanding of electoral process by both state and non state actors (HURINET 2015).

1.1.1 Historical Background

Although elections were used in ancient Athens, in Rome, and in the selection of popes and Holy Roman emperors, the origins of elections in the contemporary world lie in the gradual emergence of representative government in Europe and North America beginning in the 17th century (Adams and Grofman, 2005). At that time, the holistic notion of representation characteristic of the Middle Ages was transformed into a more individualistic conception, one that made the individual the critical unit to be counted. For example, the British Parliament was no longer seen as representing estates, corporations, and stakes but was rather perceived as standing for actual human beings. The movement abolishing the so-called “rotten boroughs” (Ray 1971) and

the electoral districts of small population controlled by a single person or family that culminated in the Reform Act of 1832 (one of three major Reform Bills in the 19th century in Britain that expanded the size of the electorate) was a direct consequence of this individualistic conception of representation. (Budge, 1994)

Once governments were believed to derive their powers from the consent of the governed and expected to seek that consent regularly, it remained to decide precisely who was to be included among the governed, whose consent was necessary. Advocates of full democracy favored the establishment of universal adult suffrage (Laver and Sergenti, 2011). Across Western Europe and North America, adult male suffrage was ensured; almost everywhere by 1920, though woman suffrage was not established until somewhat later e.g., 1928 in Britain, 1944 in France, 1949 in Belgium, and 1971 in Switzerland (Nowak and Sigmund, 1993).

During the 19th and 20th centuries, the increased use of competitive mass elections in Western Europe had the purpose and effect of institutionalizing the diversity that had existed in the countries of that region (Bem 1972). However, mass elections had quite different purposes and consequences under the one-party communist regimes of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union during the period from the end of World War II to 1989/90. Although these governments held elections, the contests were not competitive, as voters usually had only the choice of voting for or against the official candidate. (Nowak and Sigmund, 1993)

At the beginning of this 21st century to date, the mode of managing affairs of the State chosen by a great majority of countries on the planet is democracy, whether it is the direct form practiced in the city-states of ancient Greece or in its current representative form, citizens have always resorted to elections to implement democracy (Thorley, 2005). Better still, since the third wave of democratization which began in Southern Europe in the mid-1970s, elections have become the major feature of democracy to the extent that not only is it impossible to imagine a democratic regime without elections which are held regularly, reasonably competitive and transparent in nature (Huntington, 1991).

Violence in elections went beyond the United States. It has occurred in Honduras as well and other parts of the world. While most Hondurans will observe that there is not a history of

electoral violence in their country, in 2013, Honduras experienced a spate of such violence, principally directed at candidates and members of the opposition (Nghah, 2016).

Electoral violence is no doubt not only prevalent but dominant in Africa especially in the last two decades. (Staffan, 2006). In other words, it has spread in tandem with the relative entrenchment of representative democracy and has been attributed to contestation over the rules governing elections. In addition to these are more fundamental systematic and structural causes.

In Africa, it is no longer possible to plan elections without adequate attention to the issue of violence. For many politicians, evolving strategies for using violence and counteracting some marks the first step to determining how serious a candidate is about contesting at a forth coming election (Khadiagala 2010). Conflict and tensions have therefore been palpable during election years in nearly all Africa's new democracies (Bekoe 2010). Studies indicate that 19-25percent of elections in Africa are tainted by violence. DoniaBekoe has therefore noted that recurring electoral violence may be attributed to widespread systematic grievances and tensions over land rights, employment and ethnic marginalization.

Africa possesses a rich history of democracy of the one party strategy rooted in authoritarian governance asymmetries. For instance, President Robert Mugabe had ruled Zimbabwe with an iron fist (staffan, 2006). The ruling Zimbabwe African National Union –Patriotic Front (ZANU – PF) was dominated by war veterans of the war of independence who constituted its militia wing and were tactfully deployed alongside the regular police personnel especially in the rural areas to intimidate and brutalize people suspected to be sympathizers of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) opposition led by Morgan Tsvangirai to acquiesce. Since 2000 following the introduction of multi-party democratic reforms, political repression has heightened and elections since then have been awash with violence (Chiviru, 2012). The parliamentary and presidential elections of 2008 were plagued by state sponsored intimidation and violence in which over 253 deaths were recorded (Smith 2011) and this resulted in the homeless and displaced of many Zimbabweans. ZANU-PF had raised youth militias that operated in rural areas and urban slums. As the country considered elections in 2011 that were eventually postponed, dozens of MDC youths were arrested and charged with public violence, a sizeable number were shot and stabbed while hundreds were hounded out of their homes while MDC properties were destroyed with impunity (Smith, 2011). It was established in a May 2010 report by the Crisis in Zimbabwe

Coalition that ZANU-PF re-launched “Operation Surrender” used in the 2008 elections as a strategy to arm- twist MDC supporters into backing ZANU-PF. The party militia had been training youth at designated bases and unleashing violence on villages (IRIN, 2010). Thus, electoral Violence was systematically used to close the political space, influence the outcome of the election and guarantee political power for ZANU-PF (Ngah, 2016).

On the other hand, Post-election violence represents a challenge of electoral outcomes and spontaneous protests that turn violent are an expression of disappointment and despair with the management of elections (Ngah 2016). These violent protests represent a vote of no confidence in electoral management system and the adjudication process. The Kenyan experience in electoral violence is well connected also to the dominance of President Jomo Kenyatta and Daniel Arab Moi one party state structure that gave way only in the 1990s. The independent multi-party system symbolized by Jomo Kenyatta’s Kenya African National Union (KANU) gave way to a one party system under KANU in 1964 (Ngah, 2016). These political parties were built on ethnic plurality complexities of Kenyan society. Thus KANU was an umbrella for majority Kikuyu and Luo while the minorities took shelter under KADU consisting of Kalenjin, Luhya and Giriama (Khadiagala, 2010). The 1992 and 2007 elections witnessed over 1000 deaths and several hundreds of thousands displaced (Bekoe 2010). The violence was designed to prevent opposition voters from casting votes at the ballot thereby altering substantially the outcome of the election. With that incident, violence was introduced into the electoral politics of Kenya and the process of institutionalization of ethnically induced violence during elections was firmly begun (Ngah, 2016). The electoral victory of Mwai Kibaki as President in 2002, defeating KANU was a product of resilient negotiation and coalition efforts of 14 small parties that agreed to present Kibaki as a single candidate. The National Alliance Party of Kenya (NAK) produced the Rainbow coalition that defeated KANU’s Uhuru Kenyatta (Akintunde, 2007). But the honey moon was to be soon disrupted because Kibaki failed to enact a new constitution within 100 days of assuming power as was contained in the memorandum of understanding signed in the formation of NARC as a prelude to appointing Raila Odinga as Prime Minister (Ngah 2016).

In another East African country, Tanzania’s elections since 1957 until 1990 were dominantly held under Tanzanyika African National Union (TANU) and were relatively peaceful (Ngah, 2016). However in the 1995 general election held, with the introduction of multiparty politics,

electoral violence launched itself unto the political scene with ferocity (Nghah, 2016). Both the 1995 and 2000 general elections witnessed assaults, murder, disruption of campaign rallies, fighting, malicious damage to property and even bombings (Schwartz, 2001). The electoral violence is attributed to political repression, lack of faith in electoral management bodies and the adjudication process, uncompromising attitude of politicians and the incumbent determination to retain power at all costs (Nghah, 2016).

Uganda presents another classical example of state sponsored electoral violence arising from a culture of violence due to military rule and the militarization of politics in the additional wake of prolonged military rule (Ake, 1991). The elections of 1962, 1980, 2001, 2006 and 2011 were all marred in widespread violence. All these elections witnessed electoral violence and intimidation including kidnapping (Nghah, 2016). The 2001, 2006 and 2011 general elections witnessed torture, extrajudicial executions, arbitrary detention, abduction and kidnapping, arrest without warrants, beatings, and personal humiliation by stripping to nakedness, killings, shootings, death threats and threats of beating. Chasing away voters from polling stations on the pretext that they were non-Ugandans or under age and malicious damage to property all characterized the elections in 2011 (Schwartz, 2001). President Yoweri Museveni of the National Resistance Movement (NRM) had raised and trained youth brigades and militia that terrorized supporters of Uganda Peoples' Congress (UPC) the main opposition party by visiting on them all forms of violence in the build up to election (Foley, 2001).

1.1.2 Theoretical Background

The researcher adopted the systems approach to explain the relationship between security and electoral process. This is because security agencies in performing their functions that lead to the desired goal of preventing or suppressing election-related violence operate in an electoral subsystem. Hungarian Biologist Ludwiig von Bertalanffy originally proposed systems theory in 1928. The system approach was first developed in the biological and social engineering sciences before it was adopted by social scientist in explaining social and organizational phenomena. Easton David (1965) utilized the approach in his System Analysis of Political Life. Daniel Katz and Robert Khan (1966) also used the open system approach in studying the Social Psychology of Organizations. The central tenets of the systems theory can be summarized as follows; a system can be perceived as a whole with its parts and their interdependent relationships, a system

has its boundary and can be viewed in terms of its relationship with other systems, systems have sub-systems and are also a part of a larger system called supra system. For the purpose of this study, the electoral activities take place in an electoral subsystem, which exists in a political supra-system. A system can be regarded as either open or close (Koontz 1980). A system is regarded as open if it exchanges information, energy, or materials with its environment and this is bound to happen with biological or social system; it is regarded as closed if it does not have such interaction with the environment.

According to Katz and Khan (1966). A system interacts with its environment in terms of process that involves input, conversion, and output of energy, information and materials. A system tends to re-energize or modify itself through the process of information feedback from the environment. In their explanation ((Katz and Khan, 1966)stated that “*The entropy process is a universal law of nature in which all forms of organization move towards disorganization or death*”. This framework perceives an organization as an open system consisting of interdependent parts that are in continuous interaction with the environment. From this interaction, organizations draw inputs in the form of people, raw materials, money and information. These are transformed into outputs, which are exported back to the environment. This interaction with the environment is therefore necessary for organizational survival (Onah, 2008).

The researcher adopted this approach because problems such as security issues are considered not only in terms of securing lives and properties, but also in terms of the objectives and goals of the total electoral subsystem. This implies that the researcher is also concerned with the objectives of the total subsystem, rather than objective of any component within the subsystem. The system theory emphasizes that an organization which functions as a whole comprises components or units which function jointly to achieve the goals of the organization. It conceives an organization to be functional when all the units or components are also effective and efficient. Its justification is in the functional interrelatedness of parts that enthrone the criterion of efficiency that is seen as an imperative for organizational survival and goal achievement. David Easton (1965) propounded this theory to justify his definition of politics as the authoritative allocation of values. For him, the political system is a set of human interaction through which values are allocated authoritatively. Five concepts were introduced in the so-called political

system advocated by Easton or we may call it conversion process, they are environment, input, conversion, output and feedback. The theory's primary aim is to show interdependence of a system in such a way that any dysfunction in one of the parts affects the whole. The political system was seen essentially as a system of converting inputs into authoritative decision (Miller 1971). To arrive at authoritative decision, the system takes input, demand and support. Demands are claims on how values are allocated. Support according to him exists when the environment backs up the system or is favorably disposed to it. Output emerges from the system in the form of authoritative decision and there is a process of feedback. Feedback is a process through which the system adapts its self to the environment by modifying its behavior and changing its interest structure (Miller 1971).

1.1.3 Conceptual background

This study takes the electoral process as operating within a subsystem with different constituent components that function independently yet cooperatively in order to deliver credible elections (the electoral commission, political parties and organization act 2005). Elections are undertaken under the framework of constitutions and electoral laws. Thus, national parliaments are constituent parts of an electoral subsystem. The provisions of a constitution and of laws relating to elections are implemented by an electoral management body, which in Uganda is known as the independent electoral commission. The independent electoral commission is thus also a constituent part of the electoral subsystem. It organizes and supervises the conduct of elections in Uganda. The aspects of security are undertaken by Uganda police, by which they are annexed to the electoral subsystem as implementing agencies of laws relating to the conduct of electoral officials, candidates, supporters and voters in elections (amendment act, 2015). The Uganda police force was the lead security agency in providing security. It provided polling constables at all polling stations, escorted election materials and generally secured the electoral environment. The political crimes management department of the Uganda police rendered invaluable services during the electoral process countryside. The police involvement in election is justifiable due to the fact that election process is tense.

Elections are contested by political parties, pressure groups, and individual politicians which make them constituent components of the electoral system. The Courts of law adjudicate election-related controversies; they are therefore constituent parts of the electoral

subsystem. Civil Society Organizations and the Media shape and aggregate views of the people and convey messages on their behalf. The voters constitute the environment, which produces inputs, namely voting and choosing candidates, and gives support to the electoral subsystem through compliance with electoral laws and regulations and acceptance of election results or decisions by courts. The people also give their input to the electoral subsystem if they show dissatisfaction with outcome of an electoral process through peaceful demonstrations, which are security agencies should secure and facilitate, or riots, which the security agencies should suppress. However, when police force suppress peaceful demonstrations, they clog the input side, which results in a disequilibrium and chaos in the electoral system. The proper functioning of each of the components involved in the electoral system results in an equilibrium, which is measured in political stability. As such, for peaceful electoral processes, the Uganda police work must be seen to work within particular confines in which they should prevent or suppress, instead of perpetrating misconduct.

1.1.4 Contextual Background

In Uganda, the police are supposed to police the election process deriving her mandate from the Police Act of 2006. The Police Act goes a little beyond the restricted charter provided by the Constitution. The Act amended in late 2006, the Act mandates the police to: protect the life, property, and other rights of the individual; maintain security within Uganda, enforce the laws of Uganda; ensure public safety and order; prevent and detect crime in society, perform the services of a military force when empowered to do so by the Police Authority and perform any other functions assigned to it under the Act and from this the police comes into the electioneering process.

The Ugandan Constitution 2005, pictures a police that is “nationalistic, patriotic, professional, disciplined, competent and productive”. It mandates the police to protect life and property, preserve law and order, prevent and detect crime and cooperate with civilian authority, other security agencies and with the population generally. During an election, the police is supposed to among others, Safeguard the security of the lives and property of citizens during the campaign and voting, so that citizens will not feel unsafe on account of holding, associating with or expressing a political opinion, ensuring the safety of electoral officers before, during and after elections; Providing security for candidates during campaigns and elections, ensuring and

preserving a free, fair, safe and lawful atmosphere for campaigning by all parties and candidates, without discrimination, maintaining peaceful conditions, law and order around the polling and counting centers, providing security for electoral officials at voting and counting centers; and Ensuring the security of election materials at voting and counting centers and during their transportation thereto (Electoral Commission Uganda, 2016).

At national level, the Constitution of Uganda 1995, Presidential and Parliamentary Elections Acts (2005), Political Parties and Organizations Act (2005) and the Electoral Commission Act (1997) govern the electoral process. The national legal framework on elections mandates the Electoral Commission (EC) to work with the Police to ensure a free and fair election and keep peace and order.

The Guidelines for Law Enforcement Officials and/or security officers during the National Elections provides a summary of what is expected of every law enforcement security agent in the country during elections. It provides that:

“In the course of securing elections, law enforcement officials must enforce the laws regulating the elections, and conduct themselves in accordance with the law; as well as follow the due process of law, respect human rights at all times. Security officer refers to a member of the national security agency i.e. the Uganda Police Force (UPF).....” (National Elections guide Book, 2016).

Arguably, the guidelines which are a ‘restatement of existing laws/codes of conduct in as far as they are relevant to the process’, call for the rule of law, respect for the constitution, nonpartisanship, professionalism and supremacy of human rights and discipline as the Uganda police engage in keeping peace during elections. In essence, these principles, rules and procedures are the yardstick or threshold below which the Uganda police should not operate. This is so because the Uganda Police Force is a creation of the Constitution of 1995. Under Article 211 (3), the constitution defines the character that must be inherent of Uganda Police Force; ‘nationalistic, patriotic, professional, disciplined, competent and productive’ made up of ‘citizens of Uganda with good character. The Police Act Cap.303 as a matter of emphasis also recalls the functions of Uganda Police Force. To this end, the Police Act stipulates the police

code of conduct that sets ethical standards to which the police must adhere to while on duty as well as accountability mechanisms available to discipline any illicit actions by police officers.

In terms of elections, section 16 of the Political Parties and Organizations Act prohibits any police officer from being a founder, promoter or other member of a political party or organization; officer in a political party or organization; speaking in public or publishing anything involving matters of political party or organization controversy; or, engaging in canvassing in support of a political party or organization or of a candidate standing for public election sponsored by a political party or organization. The section provides a fine or/and imprisonment up to one year for contravention of the above prohibitions (Police Act, 2006).

The Uganda police as the security enforcers have to ensure the respect, and promotion, of the rule of law. This involves enforcing the law and respecting its due process that is following laid down rules and procedures in enforcing the law. Accordingly, the police must not only know which laws regulate which elections, but must, diligently, enforce those laws without fear or favor, and must do so within the law. Further, in dealing with public disorders or riots, they must respect the principles, rules, and procedures relating to the use of force/firearms. At no time should they act arbitrarily, instinctively, or outside the law or the legal process. The Uganda Police Force are the first points of reference in settlement of disputes amicably between two warring parties where possible before they proceed to the courts of law. In the same vein, they are anticipated to help settle the disputes during the electoral process without recourse to excessive force. In undertaking the electoral policing role, the Directorate of Public Prosecutions (DPP) helps the police and the judiciary to prosecute the electoral offences as provided for under the various laws (HURINET, 2015)

1.2 Statement of Problem

The contribution of the police in the management of elections occupies an important and strategic position in the election process, and, by implication, the consolidation of electoral democracy. Since security, especially police plays a significant role in organizing democratic elections, their actions and inactions could make or mar elections (Tope, 2012). Throughout the pre-election and after election period, the police was involved in facilitating a number of illegal activities such as selling of ballot papers to candidates during party primaries as witnessed in Lwengo, Sembabule and other places across the country, this was accompanied by unleashing of

brutality and intimidation to supporters of candidates which did cost the image of Uganda Police Force forcing many to begin questioning the capacity and credibility of the institution to deliver a peaceful, credible, free and fair election (HURINET, 2016). It is therefore against this background that the researcher seeks to evaluate the contribution of police force in the election process in Entebbe Municipality

1.3 General Objective

The objective of this study is the evaluation of the contribution of Uganda police force in 2016 parliamentary and presidential elections.

1.4. Specific Objectives

- (i) To assess the performance of police force on their roles during the 2016 parliamentary and presidential elections in Entebbe Municipality
- (ii) To identify the challenges that the police force faced during the 2016 parliamentary and presidential elections in Entebbe Municipality
- (iii) To propose different strategies to Uganda Police Force for enhancing a smooth electoral process.

1.5 Research Questions

- (i) How effective was the police force in executing their roles during the parliamentary and presidential elections in Entebbe Municipality?
- (ii) What challenges did the police force face during the election process in Entebbe Municipality?
- (iii) What are the different strategies that can be adopted by the police to enhance a smooth electoral process?

1.6 Significance of the Study

The following are some of the significant contributions that may accrue from this research finding; The study will be of great significance to practitioners, scholars and students about the role of Uganda Police Force in 2016 parliamentary and presidential elections. Practically also, this study is very significant because it will help suggest ways of how Uganda Police Force can run a smooth election.

1.7 Scope of the study

1.7.1 Subject Scope

The study is the evaluation of the contribution of the role of the police force in the electoral process in Entebbe Municipality, a case study of Uganda Police force, specifically assessing the performance of police in the 2016 parliamentary and presidential elections, to identify the challenges the police faced during the election period and to suggest different strategies of enhancing the police force to contribute in delivering a smooth election.

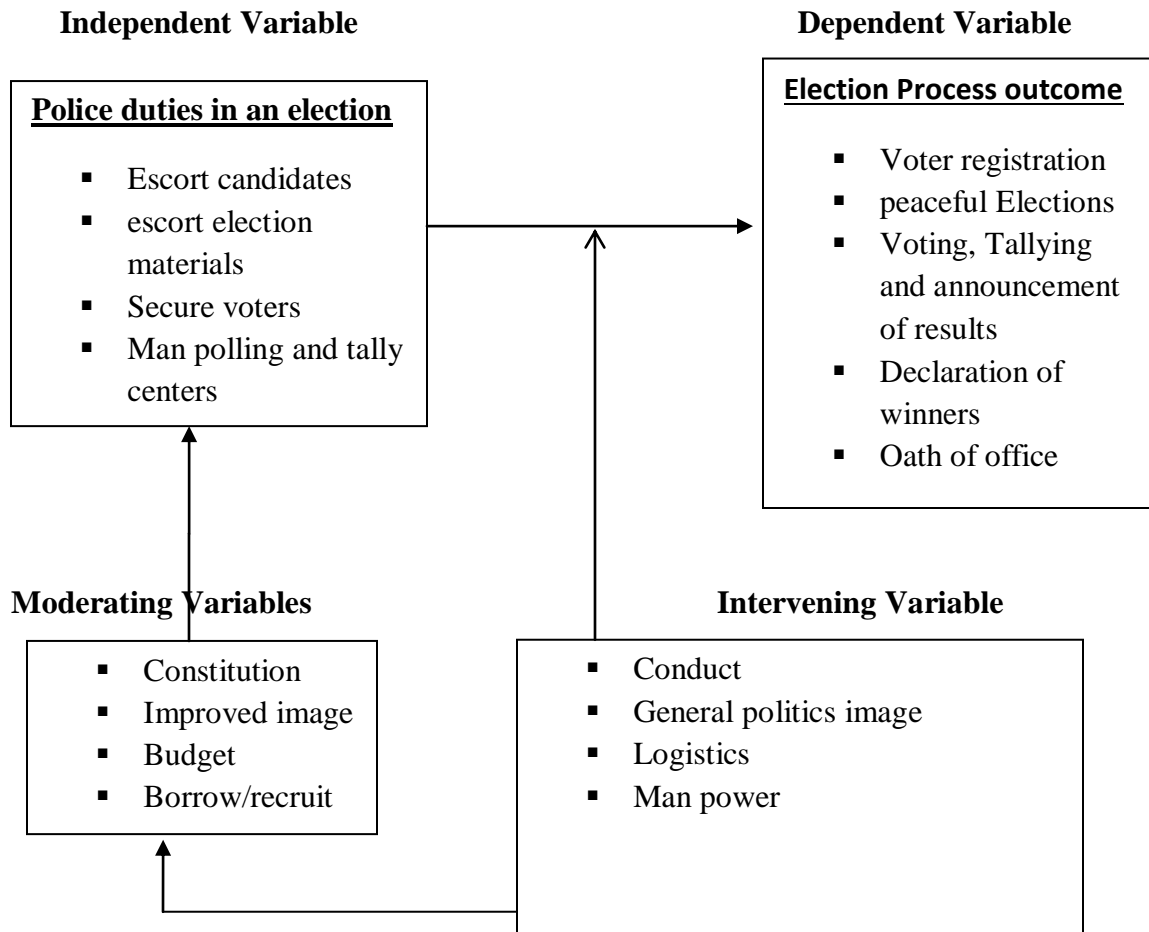
1.7.2 Geographical Scope

The research was carried in Wakiso District, Entebbe Municipality. Entebbe Municipality was chosen because it is one of the municipalities which is highly contested between the ruling party (NRM) and the opposition (DP) two specific polling stations were used as a case study (Bugonga Catholic Church Play Grounds and Entebbe Municipality Mayors Gardens) because these two polling centers are characterized by the corporate and informal classes.

1.7.3 Time Scope.

The study examined the police role during the 2015-2016 general election period in Entebbe municipality. This time frame was important to the study because it brought out the conduct of the police force in the three phases (the pre-campaign phase, the campaign and voting phase and the after the announcement of the eventual winners phase)

1.8 Conceptual framework



Researcher's model, 2018

The conceptual framework above examine the independent variable, police roles such as escorting candidates, escorting election materials such as ballot boxes and ballot papers, securing polling stations and tally centers, securing voter registration exercises, securing campaigns. The police roles are as a reflection of the conduct of the general public towards the police, the logistics and manpower available to police the election and the general political atmosphere (Intervening variables). Those duties if performed well result in successful registration of voters, successful electioneering, successful voting, tallying and announcement of results, declaration of winners, and the taking of the oath of office. However, successful elections are also facilitated by the provisions of the Constitution and Electoral Laws, from which security agencies derive their

mandate to perform their duties; by a sufficient budget and the cooperation of voters with security agencies on security measures.

1.9 Definition of key Terms

Election –Election is the process whereby an electoral chooses, by voting, officers to either act on its behalf or represent it in an assembly with a view to governing or administering (ACE, 2009). For this particular study, election will mean the 2016 parliamentary and presidential elections

Election security: Election security is the process of protecting electoral stakeholders, information, facilities or events. Security in this context means paying attention to human security and not regime security. The people should come first in all deliberations, in all planning, in all protective mechanisms. The security agencies should focus on the wellbeing of the people because they are the ‘customers’ and as thus the ‘bosses” (Marcus, 2010).

Electoral Violence: Electoral Violence means any random or organized act or threat to intimidate, physically harm, blackmail, or abuse a political stakeholder to determine, delay, or otherwise influence an election process (Marcus, 2010)

Police -Police is the function of that branch of the administrative machinery of government which is charged with the preservation of public order and tranquility, the promotion of the public health, safety, and morals, and the prevention, detection, punishment of crime

Police - A police force is a constituted body of persons empowered by the state to enforce the law, protect property, and limit civil disorder (Policy Studies Institute, 2009).

Electoral Process - is the institutionalized arrangements by means of which an election is conducted and the purpose of the election fulfilled. The term according to (Hague and Harrop, 1982).For this study, the electoral process refers to pre campaign period, the campaign and voting period and the announcement of the eventual winners’ period.

General elections. This will be used to refer to the 2016 parliamentary and presidential elections covering a period from 2015-2016

Smooth election. Free and fair an election process

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

This section reviews available literature on the role of security agencies in the electoral process; it also reviews different paradigms to general elections and the role of security agencies. In this way, the researcher was able to acknowledge the gap, which has not yet been bridged, and appreciate the works of the other researchers.

2.2 Literature Survey

A number of studies have been carried out on election violence in Africa, since Africa's elections are fraught with violence. However, not many studies focus on the role of police in those elections. In Uganda, a study was conducted on the role of security agencies in elections by Human Rights Network, Uganda, in 2015. It was entitled: *Security Agencies and the Electoral Process in Uganda: A Preliminary Report for the 2015/2016 General Elections*. The study was undertaken to establish the readiness of the Security Agencies to police election activities in Uganda, in which it assessed the availability of resources to enable effective policing of elections in Uganda, availability of critical security equipment, development of operation plans, training and competences of police commanders, and accountability mechanisms. The study was also conducted to assess the formation and structure of militia/vigilante groups and their role in the electoral process, and to ascertain the level of public trust and confidence in security institutions to police the 2015/2016 general elections.

Research Gaps

The study did not assess the performance of the police force in conducting successful elections, did not inquire into the strategies of enhancing the Electoral Process and did not identify the challenges police experienced in the previous elections. Accordingly, this study is intended to fill those gaps.

Elections in Africa

Elections in Africa in the 21st century, from all indications, seem to have a resilience that is here to stay. Even those countries, such as the Democratic Republic of Congo, that have been autocratic or in turmoil,

view elections as the threshold to cross in order to legitimize their governments, embark on different policies, and prevent public unrest.

General elections in Africa in 2008, for example, depicted the wide incidence of elections and included: indirect presidential elections held in Mauritius, Rwandan parliamentary elections held from 15 to 18 September 2008, parliamentary elections in Swaziland in October 2008, and Ghana's presidential and parliamentary elections held on December 7, 2008. In addition, parliamentary elections were held in Angola on 5 and 6 September, 2008 after a ten year postponement due to organizational and logistical problems, and in Guinea-Bissau on 16 November, 2008 (Africa Press Agency, 26 March, 2008). Parliamentary elections were held in Djibouti and Equatorial Guinea on 8 February, 2008 and 4 May, 2008 respectively. In all, by the end of 2008, major elections had been held in at least 10 African countries counting Ivorian presidential elections held on 30 November, 2008 and Guinean legislative elections held in the latter part of 2008, of these, Ivorian and Guinean leaders made clear their dependence on government and international funding for the elections. The number of elections held matter, as it shows the recognition of democratic and non-democratic leaders alike of the legitimacy elections confer, although the quality of these elections would ultimately play a role in advancing democracy in African countries or reversing it.

Kenya's elections on December 27, 2007 and the ensuing violence also provide some food for thought. Mwai Kibaki's re-election prospects were not on solid ground as he faced strong competition from his former allies; the most important opposition candidate was Raila Odinga of the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM). Kibaki's 46.4% of the vote and Odinga's 44.1% were the focus of the disputed elections. It was charged by Odinga that about 300,000 votes were falsely attributed to Kibaki in most remote constituencies and that the Western, Coast, Upper Eastern and North Eastern provinces saw vote rigging that was responsible for Kibaki's victory (Debrah, 2008). The flawed elections were also confirmed by international observers. Odinga refused to concede defeat and called for a recount or a re-run of the elections. The Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK) failed to establish the credibility of the tallying process and failed to convince all the parties and candidates, raising serious questions about the effectiveness of the election process (Debrah 2008).

But for Africa, case the issue is not whether elections take place or not rather than when they take place in what manner are they conducts, More often than not, electoral processes have been marked by irregularities and intimidation. Those who lose elections tend to complain that the process was not free and fair, thus leading to the refusal to accept results as the true outcome of the vote. For instance, recently held elections conducted in Sudan, Ethiopia, Burundi and Guinea

have widely been criticized and denounced by different players. This scenario in some countries resulted in electoral violence as was witnessed in Kenya in 2007/2008.

The maintenance of security and a conducive environment greatly supports electoral integrity by creating an atmosphere free of fear, intimidation or manipulation. This, however, relies on the neutrality and professionalism of security forces. Obviously, police assume primary responsibility for maintaining security. Particular duties of the police include protection of candidates, voters and election monitors; safeguarding of election materials and sites and maintaining law and order prior and during the polls. In some states, they also have to investigate allegations of criminal behavior by candidates and parties.

It is standard practice for most democracies to expect law enforcement agencies, particularly the police, not to engage in electoral processes, considering their pertinent role of keeping the peace. Policing agencies are supposed to be neutral and non-partisan towards political affiliations. Indeed, they are expected to conduct their duties without fear or favor of the contesting parties. In addition, they should not belong to any political party neither promote partisan views.

However, the distressing fact is that police forces are accused of failure in almost all cases of disputed elections in emerging democracies. Above all, neutrality of police officers is always questioned as they act and are seen to be agents of the governments in power.

In disputed elections, police have time and again been accused of intimidation, unlawful arrests and detention. Worse still, accusations are directed at their refusal to provide protection and for hindering freedom of expression in exercising electoral related rights such as meetings and campaigns. Systematically, they are viewed as having a hand in influencing voters, accused of using excessive force on citizens and breach of the conventional procedures of law enforcement, particularly exercising patience while handling complaints. Indeed, elections set the most difficult challenges in the career of police officers, and form a test case regarding the commitment of governments and police institutions for upholding democratic values. There are many reasons behind police failure. Some of them are deep-rooted in the history and socio-political state of the countries and seemingly sensible, while others are as a result of lack of professional ethics.

Democracy and democratic societies are associated with concepts like freedom and individual rights, whereas law enforcement and policing are often associated with concepts like control, restriction and force. Practically though, maintaining the proper balance among these diverging principles is not easily achievable, especially within a society of growing democracy. It is undeniable that incumbent governments direct police agencies. Unfortunately, in most cases the incumbent represents a single party. Therefore, in reality, it is the ruling party that governs the police force.

In some instances as in the case of Ethiopia, Rwanda and Burundi, senior police officers and leaders could have had direct association to the ruling parties, even where the laws dictate otherwise. This being the case, there is some tendency for the governments and single parties in power, their affiliates and members of the police to manipulate policing in their favour. The situation tends to worsen with the popular notion of the contesting parties being referred to as ‘opposition’ and ‘government.’ There is an obvious misconception and practice that the police belong to the government. This could imply that opposition parties are not good and, therefore, must be controlled and the incumbent government should be protected.

In view of ensuring neutrality, unprecedented commitment is required. Time and the necessary capacity is needed to transform the police. Building police institutions that meet the requirements of policing in a democratic society alongside the efforts of advancing civilized political culture is indeed a predominant solution. This involves reshaping of the conception, governance, norms and management of the police forces. It also requires a delicate balancing between exercising and advancing democratic values and maintaining secure and safe societies. Police officers’ level of professionalism has significant impact on maintaining a proper balance between the principles and requirements of democratic values and duties of enforcing the law. This process can only be achieved through institutional governance in police recruitment, education, training, leadership, remuneration, appraisal and promotion.

A well-motivated police force would ensure high level of professionalism, democratic values, and corresponding behavioral standards within the police forces. This also needs to be supported by normative and structural frameworks that enhance protection of police leaders and officers from direct interference and influence from political authorities.

From the recent polls conducted in Sudan, Ethiopia and Burundi, one could cite lack of preparedness on the part of police in handling challenging circumstances resulting in political violence. To redress such situations, police forces must be adequately equipped at all levels with information about the electoral laws, their role and that of other national players.

To a large extent, the police forces in most African countries have the potential to prevent electoral violence if they conduct intelligence gathering in a proactive manner. For this to be achieved, strict discipline within police force would be mandatory coupled with proper leadership, supervision and close monitoring of situations ahead of and during the polls and in the post-election period. Police value system needs to be enhanced, particularly with regard to being impartial and maintaining neutrality at all times. At an individual level, the police must be bound to the rule of law, moral ethics and a personal commitment to separating self-interests from those with the highest good and benefit to citizens. Lessons learned from countries that experienced electoral violence in the recent years should be applied during the coming elections in view to avoiding pitfalls that lead to loss of life, destruction of property and retrogressive development (Baffa, 2010)

2.3 The performance of the Uganda police force in 2016 elections

The Uganda Police Force is the lead security agency in providing internal security. It provides polling constables at all polling stations, escorts election materials and generally secures the electoral environment. The Political Crimes Management Department of the Uganda Police renders invaluable services during the electoral process countryside. The Police Act Cap.303 as a matter of emphasis also recalls the functions of Uganda Police Force her mandates. To this end, the Police Act stipulates the police code of conduct that sets ethical standards to which the police must adhered to while on duty as well as accountability mechanisms available to discipline any illicit actions by police officers.

2.3.1 Escorts election materials

The police have the role of ensuring the security of election materials at voting and counting centers and during their transportation thereto; it is the duty of the police and not that of political thugs to ensure that electoral materials are not stolen, hijacked, destroyed or fraudulently altered by any group or persons (Akpan, 2008). Prior to the commencement of voting, security may need to be provided at voting stations during the period between delivery of election materials

and equipment to the voting station and the commencement of voting. Wherever possible, voting stations would preferably be set up on the day before voting commences (United States Department of State, 2014). Thus, security must equally address measures to prevent theft, unauthorized destruction, tampering and manipulation of election material, systems and procedures, the addition of false or unauthorized election data or material, and fraudulent attempts to vote (Akpan, 2008). In the context of this research, Ugandan police force performed this duty where all electoral materials were transported to the offices of district registrars and polling centers and all vehicles carrying ballot papers were guarded by the police.

2.3.2 Protection of voters and voting process: Security of voting operations, on a safety level, needs to guarantee that all eligible voters can participate in voting, and vote according to their own choice, without fear of harm or intimidation. Political participants need similar guarantees that they may publicize freely their electoral programs in a safe environment. There is an equally important but different aspect to voting operations security, namely, ensuring that the ballots that are counted after the close of voting, and the election results determined from these, are a true and accurate reflection of the choices made by eligible voters when casting their vote. (United States Department of State, 2014). Safeguarding the security of lives and property of citizens before, during and after voter registration, campaigns and voting so that citizens will not feel unsafe because of holding, associating with or expressing a political opinion (Akpan, 2008).

2.3.3 Mitigate violence and Investigate criminal and election offenses: An election is a contest for legitimate power that can be described as a non-violent competition, fought within a political forum. It is important in this context to recognize that elections do not avoid confrontation, but rather, focus on its management and containment within accepted boundaries. In practice, the assurance of equitable security during an electoral process is essential to retaining the participants' confidence and commitment to an election. Consequently, security is both integral to the goal of an election and an inseparable part of the electoral process. There is no single model of elections or democracy that is universally applicable to all countries (Insight Crime, 2011). Extending on this comparison, if violence does occur, it can lead to the disqualification of players (candidates), teams (political parties), an amendment of the results or the abandonment of the competition altogether. As such, the emergence of electoral violence is not a result of the process being followed, but signals a critical departure from the accepted rules that govern the process (International Crisis Group, 2011). However given the primary mandate

of the police to mitigate electoral violence, there is overwhelming evidence of a failure in police effectively carrying out this role.(Aning and Larte, 2013) in their analysis of the 2012 elections in Ghana reported that based on their analysis of media reports, highlighted violent incidents during by-elections in such constituencies as Akwatia, Chereponi, and Atiwa. Even the presence of police did not prevent the violence from occurring.

2.3.4 Enforcement of laws and codes of conduct

The police also support the Commission in enforcement of the electoral laws and codes of conduct because the election commission staffs have no powers to carry out arrests. The relationship between the EC complaints officers and the police is thus vitally important to guaranteeing the right to an effective remedy for election-related crimes and to establishing a solid basis for their prosecution (Human Rights Watch, 2009).

Police considers enforcement of election laws and regulations as a last resort after education, engineering and encouragement have failed. This is the act of compelling citizens to observe or to comply with election laws, regulations and or obligations. In enforcing the law, use of force is usually part of the game. However, the rules state categorically that the Police should use physical minimum force to the extent necessary to secure observance of the law or to restore order only when the exercise of persuasion, advice, and warning is found to be insufficient to achieve Police objectives. Moreover, Police should use only the minimum degree of physical force necessary on any particular occasion to achieve a Police objective. The actions of the police must not cause any more damage or inconvenience than is necessary to carry out the duty at hand. Measures taken must be justifiable in relation to the importance and urgency of the duty and the other factors affecting overall assessment of the situation. Hence in deciding the use of force, the police are guided by three principles namely necessity, justification and proportionality (Mangu, 2015).

2.3.5 Providing escort teams to the candidates

During the campaign period, the Commission, in liaison with the Uganda Police, provides escort teams to Presidential candidates. The Police ensure adequate security at all the campaign venues countrywide. Ideally, the police should have no role in the electoral process beyond the constitutional role of the maintenance of law and order. However, evidence from the 2011 elections showed that when adequate preparations are not made towards elections the tendency

has been insecurity and violence. For a fact, all the respondents argued that if the police were provided with the necessary infrastructure with attendant welfare for officers and men that they would be in a position to secure the electoral process (Namutebi, 2016).

2.3.6 Public order regulation

Institute of Economic Affairs reporting on the roles of the police in Ghana elections observed that campaigns of the various political parties were coordinated so that no more than one campaign team and its supporters was allowed to remain in one region or district.. The police assigned a security detail to each of the parties throughout the campaign period and made arrangements to secure rally grounds for each political activity, as long as the parties notified the police before such events were held, as stipulated by the public order Act. Institute of Economic Affairs (2012) Notwithstanding the measures for securing rally grounds and giving close protection to party stalwarts, however, some politicians still made inflammatory statements on campaign platforms. The measures also could not prevent recklessness during political rallies by party supporters on motorcycles or keep party foot soldiers from destroying posters and billboards belonging to political opponents. Such outcomes represented a dent in the effectiveness of the elaborate security arrangements. However, in this study and related research, the public order regulation is one of the most contested roles of the police during the electoral process, In the context of Uganda on the passing of the public order management Act, strong criticism was opinioned from the inception an example;

"It is a bad law which restricts freedom of speech and expression and hinders democratic values," (Kasibante, 2013) Amnesty international added its voice among other civil society organization that "This bill represents a serious blow to open political debate in a country where publicly criticizing the government is already fought with risk," (Jackson, 2013).

Freedom House (2016) observed in its report that as general elections set for February 2016 drew nearer, police harassment of opposition candidates and their supporters increased. Electoral law changes introduced in 2015 appeared to disadvantage the opposition.

The above opinions and observation are a reflection on the perception of legitimacy of the electoral process. It should be noted that even up to date (2018) two years after the February 2016 election, there is a section of masses that have not yet come to terms with the 2016 elections. There are still people who refute the electoral results, much of this stems from the

work of the police especially in the way it handled opposition candidates and this formed the basis of how people view the credibility of the 2016 election process. Augmenting on Chukwaka (2016) view that the main purpose of the electoral process is to produce a government vested with legitimacy, the 2016 election results fell short of that as FDC presidential candidate has always argued. It could be also argued that the Public order management Act was the most controversial role of the police during the election process because the police most interfered with the process especially affecting the activities of candidates who were perceived to be of the opposition (CCEDU Report, 2016)

2.3.7 Emergency Preparedness

For the police to discharge their primary obligation of preventing crime, they should maintain regular patrols and respond to calls for service. However, much of the police time is spent in responding to calls for services from the community. To this end therefore, the police should maintain a high level of preparedness all the time to be able to respond to any emergency. It is said, a secure and resilient nation is the one with the capabilities required to prevent, protect against, mitigate, respond to, and recover from any threat to national security. The general elections can become a threat to the national security if mismanaged. The national security forces must prevent this from happening by taking myriad of steps including maintaining high level of preparedness (Mangu, 2015).

Given the above roles, The Police play a very important public interest role in every democratic election. They are required to protect all eligible citizens participating in the electoral process. Their ability to play these roles without engaging in intimidation, coercion or violence against the citizens is crucial to the success of the elections. If the police are found wanting in the discharge of these duties in any election, the citizens may not have confidence in the electoral process and may question the credibility and legitimacy of any government that emerges from the process and the lack of credible government is sine qua non for instability in a polity.

2.4. Challenges the police force face during the election process

Adekanye and Iyanda, (2011) urged out that security agencies are indispensable to ensuring the credibility of elections. They have a mandate for maintaining law and order, for ensuring that the necessary conditions of safety and security for the electoral process. However, this can only be

where security agencies are functionally autonomous of political struggles, operationally effective, accountable and when they operate in a manner that is consistent with democratic principles. Igini (2013) noted that where security agencies operate in a partisan way and/or fail to adhere to the rule of law, the credibility of elections is seriously undermined. With regard to the history of elections in Uganda, the experience has been security agencies serve as instruments of political misuse and have often been unable to guarantee public security during elections. In this regard, voting has been most times highly susceptible to fraud, which discredits the entire electoral process and election outcome (Ojambo, 2015).

2.4.1 Failure to follow set rules and Standards: Bekoe citing the case of Ghana notes that one of the biggest challenges to police role in the election process has been the unwillingness by the state to set/adhere to standards that would ensure that security agencies support the credibility of electoral processes (Bekoe, 2010). In Uganda the police has constituted a formidable obstacle to genuine transition to democracy and democratic consolidation by serving as tools of political surveillance and misuse against the opposition and political actors Within the exhaustive regulatory framework which set standards, levels and modalities for involving the security forces, it is expected that interventions of these security agencies would help prevent possible lapses which are detrimental to law and order, and/or rectify them in accordance with the applicable laws and regulations, if necessary. The misuse of security agencies to facilitate electoral misconduct portends some serious implications for the nation's security institutions and democratic consolidation and stability Ordinarily, security forces are supposed to be seen as national symbols and are actually expected to act as such by being impartial in their civil-military relations. The forces are agents and servants of the civil society. Boone, (2009) also pointed out that once the public loses confidence in the ability of security forces to provide security and ensuring their freedom of choice through the ballot box, then, there may be recourse to individual self-defense through either self-armament or joining militant groups, which will only compound the insecurity situation the nation is currently going through. At a greater level, opposition political parties and politicians/ contestants may decide to float armed wings for their parties or sponsor emergence of militia groups to provide security for them and act as balance of power or balance of terror against state security forces during campaign periods and at polling booths. In the context of the 2011 Nigerian elections, Aregbesola cited in Chukwu (2014) noted

that security agencies were unprofessionally utilized in Osun State to harass, intimidate and oppress the people whose taxes are used to pay their salaries and provide their arms.

2.4.2 Formation of parallel security agencies: Besides sponsorship of armed military forces by politicians, the realization of the potency of security forces as weapons of electoral victory has brought another negative security dimension to the electioneering process, which involves the use of fake police officers and soldiers during election days. Olufowobi and Adebayo (2004) citing the Nigerian case argue that in order to ensure a fool-proof election rigging plan, opposition politicians who have no opportunity of utilizing state security agents at the disposal of the ruling party often engage in procuring the services of fake policemen. These fake police officers wearing the normal official uniforms in order to deceive the people and provide a conducive environment for rigging through intimidation and harassment. Contrary to the above given submission, the Ugandan case indicates a common use of parallel security agencies during the election process in particular during the 2016 election, these security agencies were seen during the entire electoral process which left the electoral with undesirable results.

2.4.3 Brutality of the Police: Brutality continues to be a daunting fact with Uganda Police Force. This has been due to the high level of overzealousness by a section of individual police officers. As a result, several activists and actors have been victims and yet perpetrators continue to be free with impunity. Hence, the pre-election period was characterized with harassment, arbitrary arrests and detention of activists, politicians and journalists. Police continued to worry majority of citizens particularly supporters of the opposition political parties;

“We have continuously suffered in the hands of Uganda police, they are so inhuman, brutal, but we shall overcome, we know a day shall come when each of them will have to answer individually” (HURINET Observer Report, 2016)

The above statement is a clear indication of the rage and bitterness the citizens have with an institution, which is supposed to protect them. It demonstrates feelings of subordination and curtailment of their rights to decide on who should govern them. (Hounkpe and Alioune 2010) cited security forces involvement in the West African countries pointed out that throughout the pre-election period, the police had been mentioned to facilitate a number of illegal activities such as selling of ballot papers to candidates during party primaries. This is similar to the current

study as the same occurrences were witnessed in areas such as Lwengo, Sembabule and other places across the country. This was accompanied by the unleashing of brutality and intimidation to supporters of candidates that cost the image of Uganda Police Force forcing many to begin questioning the capacity and credibility of the institution to deliver a peaceful, credible, free and fair election.

2.4.4 Electoral Violence: Electoral violence challenge is more likely to arise when an election is seen as having the potential to bring about significant shifts in the balance of power (Bruce, 2009). In this study, related research suggests that threatened incumbents who face viable opposition will be more likely than non-threatened incumbents to use violence to win elections, particularly when their power lacks constraints (Burton, 2005). In fact, stronger, non-threatened incumbents may prefer to resort to bribery rather than violence, based on political game models and studies of four African countries (Collier and Vicente, 2012). These incumbents, however, will likely distance themselves either by directing or influencing local party supporters to act on their behalf (Anzia, 2016). However, it is important to note that for all this to take place; it must be done with the permission of police as either active participants or silent partners. In the 2016 general election in Uganda an analysis of the after by HURIPEC and Kituo Cha Katibareport (2016) citing testimonies from police officers noted that many of the police officers complained of intimidation and orders from above during their work that sometimes rendered them powerless and forced them to serve the interests of individuals. This report highlighted that this was mostly in areas where current ministers at the time originated and thus constantly influenced the work of the police in those area.

2.4.5 Corruption: Although there is a general agreement that corruption is endemic in all segments of the society, it is particularly objectionable among the police because it is their occupational responsibility to prevent and work at its elimination and not to be responsible for it (Oyadiran and Olorungbemi, 2015). To this extent, Alemika argued that Police corruption raises serious implications because the police are expected to be moral as well as law enforcement agents; secondly, the police exercise powers that have profound implications for the life, property, and freedoms of citizens, such power is contaminated by corrupt motives and the citizens feel exceedingly vulnerable, insecure and powerless. Third, police corruption is often tantamount to extortion, a form of robbery or demand with force (Alemika, 1999). In an election,

this tends to raise concern because in the eyes of ordinary citizens, the police are mandated to be impartial and corruption erodes neutrality.

Further Takirambudde (2011) citing the 2007 election in Nigeria in agreement with (Oyadiran and Olorungbemi, 2015) argued that security services played a controversial role in presidential polls. The Police were widely accused of failing to protect voters from violence and safeguard the integrity of the electoral process but turned puppets in the hands of moneybags and bigwig politicians. However, Sumantra (2002) adding his arguments to the research citing the Indian electoral process; noted that though sincere efforts were put by the police to prevent or investigate electoral crimes. Most of the cases could not be handled successfully because after elections, the police authorities come under the control of the political parties and as a result, they cannot act independently. From the above discussion it could be argued that the police is helpless in the hands of the powerful politicians who in fact are their bosses, a contradictory scenario would be the Ugandan example where the ministry of internal affairs could be vying for a parliamentary seat and he or she has the powers over their jobs.

2.4.6 Politicization of the Police: According to Varma (2009) in “democratic policing in India” argues that the Politicization of Police has emerged as another serious problem in Indian democracy. He elaborates that Political leaders very often misuse police agencies in order to sort out personal problems and intimidate their opponents. Politicians exercise considerable power through threats of transfer or make attractive offers of alternative postings. There are several instances where police is expected to exhibit neutrality in the law, take prompt action but behaved just opposite. He further noted that the Police are also used for gathering political intelligence used in countering the strategies of the opposition parties. This has led to bad performance of police in its role as neutral broker during elections. Sometimes partisan attitude of police encourages ruling parties to abuse executive power and compromises the electoral process. In addition, O’donnell (1999) argues that democratic regimes have at least two central elements, responsiveness to majorities and the protection of minority rights. This practice thus can be seen as undermining the power of the electorate and threatening democracy either as a system of majority rule, and/or as a system for the protection of minority rights as Chukwaka (2016) observed that the main purpose of the electoral process is to produce a government vested with legitimacy.

2.5 The different strategies the police force can utilize in enhancing a smooth election

2.4.1 Trough Consolidation: According to Zayyan, "consolidation is, the process of achieving broad (and) deep legitimization such that all significant political actors, at both the elite and mass level believe that the democratic system is better for their society than any other realistic alternative they can imagine (Zayyan, 2002). If the police must adequately police the election, they be felt and be believed in by all stake holders

2.4.2 Provide Police Accountability: Accountability means openness, fairness and friendliness when police is dealings with other members of the society. The police are said to be accountable, if they refuse to partake in crimes and criminality. The police are expected to act independent of the government in power. This enables them to provide security for the lives and properties of the citizens. In addition, an accountable police secures the electoral process and will never participate in any activities that will undermine the conduct of credible elections (Oyadiran and Olorungbemi, 2015). Accountability is seen as desirable in the Police at a number of levels simultaneously: Accountability to the law, the courts, to the Constitution, Accountability to democratically elected government, at central, as well as state and local government level. Accountability to the police professional code and set of standards. Accountability to the local communities, which the police serve, and to the civilian office for receipt of public complaints about the police (Akpan, 2015).

2.4.3 Prohibition of Quasi-Military Organization: The Public Order Act prohibited the establishment and or use of Quasi Military organizations and militant groups in anticipation that some unscrupulous elements might, under whatever disguise, attempted to disrupt lawful assemblies like the 2007 presidential pools. This could have constituted a threat to the smooth running of the electoral process. The police therefore, carried out a comprehensive and intelligence gathering on all groups and associations to verify if there were within such quasi-military groups; any group whose activities inimical and capable of thwarting a smooth electoral process. Oyadiran and Olorungbemi (2015) This was an important role played by the police during the April 2007 presidential poll To be sure, as Human Rights Watch had observed, "instead of guaranteeing citizen's basic right to vote freely, Nigerian government (represented by the police) and electoral officers actively colluded in the fraud and violence that marred the presidential polls in some areas. In other areas, officials closed their eyes to human rights abuses committed by supporters of the ruling party and others (Takirambudde, 2007).

2.4.4 Apply situation crime prevention techniques: According to (Verma, 2007). The police should employ Situational crime prevention techniques, ranging from election-day transportation bans to mapping polling places likely at risk for violence, helped to reduce election related violence in India (Verma, 2007). Examples of these strategies include authorities issuing identity cards and using electronic electoral rolls along with a focused police response (Verma 2009), and vulnerability mapping, which involves prioritizing the deployment of police and paramilitary forces to hot-spot polling places, which helped dampen violence in West Bengal and UP, India (Scharff 2011; Quraishi 2014). A number of similar techniques were employed in the cases studied above of effective electoral commissions. Election Day transport bans also prevented violence by stopping the movement of armed groups in Nepal, Scharff confirmed; similar techniques were used in Bangladesh in 2008 by the electoral commission to reduce violence. However, coercive policing that may be perceived as politicized may increase violence, especially when the public view the military and illegal armed groups as colluding (Naidu and Dube 2010).

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodology that was used during this study. It describes the research design, the study population, the sampling techniques and procedures, data collection methods, data collection instruments, validity and reliability, procedure for data collection, data analysis and measurement of variables.

3.1 Research Design

The study used descriptive research. Descriptive research “is designed to provide a picture of a situation as it naturally happens or occurred”. It may be used to justify current practice and make judgment and also to develop theories. For the purpose of this study, descriptive research was used to gain in-depth information that was used to find solutions to the research questions of the study. By using descriptive design, the researcher was able to gather quantifiable information that can be used to statistically analyze the target audience. Description research was used to observe and describe a research subject or problem without influencing or manipulating the variables in any way. Descriptive research was used because it provided a rich data set that often brings to light the police role based on what took place during the election period of 2015- 2016.

3.2 Area of study

The study was carried out in Wakiso District, Entebbe Municipality. Entebbe Municipality was chosen because it is one of the municipalities because it has had all the ingredients to answer my objectives and research questions in the 2016 parliamentary and presidential elections. Entebbe sits on the northern shores of Lake Victoria, Africa's largest lake. The Municipality is situated in Wakiso District, approximately 37 kilometers (23 mi) southwest of Kampala, Uganda. The municipality is located on a peninsula into Lake Victoria, covering a total area of 56.2 square kilometers (21.7 sq mi), out of which 20 km² (7.7 sq mi) is water. The coordinates of Entebbe are: 0°03'00.0"N, 32°27'36.0"E (Latitude: 0.0500; Longitude: 32.4600).

3.3 Study Population

The study population comprised some of the officers of Uganda police force, civil society officials, Electoral Commissions officials, politicians and political analysts, media practitioners, other security operatives and finally the public. The population was decided based on the case study of Entebbe municipality. The target population was 20 675 as per the voter register of Entebbe Municipality for the 2015/2016 elections. From the target population, an accessible population of 200 was chosen based on the different categories (Uganda police force officers, civil society officials, Electoral Commissions officials, politicians and political analysts, media practitioners, other security operatives and the general public)

Table 3. 1:Study Population Table

Category	Number	Percentage
Police officers	30	20
Other security operatives	15	10
Media practitioners	10	5
Civil Society	20	13
Electoral commission officials	10	5
Politicians	20	13
General Public	95	47
Total	200	100%

Source: Primary Data

3.4 Sampling techniques and procedures

3.4.1 Sample Size Determination

The sample size was determined from a target population of 200 based on Yamane (1967) formula for determining required sample size given a finite population. The sample was based on purposive sampling and simple random methods.

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

Where n = sample size

N = known population

e = error level or % 1 - percent confidence interval or alpha level.

For 0.95 confidence interval, e = 0.05.

Therefore sample size is;

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

$$n = \frac{200}{1 + 200(0.05^2)}$$

$$n = \frac{200}{1 + 0.5} = \frac{200}{1.5}$$

$$n = 133$$

Therefore the sample size based on the formula was 133 Respondents.

Table 3. 2: Sample Size table

Category	Target	Actual	Sampling technique
Police officers	20	20	Purposive
Other security operatives	10	10	Purposive
Media practitioners	10	9	Purposive
Civil Society	10	8	Purposive
Electoral commission officials	10	10	Purposive
Politicians	10	9	Purposive
General Public	63	54	Simple Random sampling
Total	133	120	

Source: Primary Data

The targeted sample size based on Yamane sample size determination formula was 133 as per the sampling based on a target population of 200. After determining the sample size of 133, questionnaires were sent to the field and only 120 questionnaires were returned and thus were included in the final discussion as the actual sample size considered for the study.

3.4.2 Sampling methods

The sample was determined by use of simple random and purposive sampling methods. The simple random sampling was used to select the general public sample while purposive sampling was used to select the other categories based on the awareness of the electoral process experiences of the 2016 elections. Some as observers such as the civil society and media while others as participants especially the police and other related security agencies, electoral commission officials and politicians.

3.5 Data Collection Methods

The researcher used both primary and secondary data collection methods.

A Primary data collection method is the collection of data that has not been previously published and is collected by the investigator conducting the research. The data is derived from a new or original research study and collected at the source, for this study, primary data was collected using a semi- structured self-administered questionnaire.

Secondary data Analysis/Review

These are data collection methods that use data that has been already collected and recorded by someone else and readily available from other sources. For this research civil society election observer reports, Electoral commission reports, newspaper articles were reviewed to add clarity to primary data collected because these are relevant given the authors were involved in the observation of the electoral process and findings from these reports were reviewed and sample to obtain the true picture of the events that took place and were relevant to the current study.

3.5 Primary data collection

3.5.1 Structured questionnaire

Structured Questionnaires are a quantitative method of research, which was advocated by Emile Durkheim (1858 – 1917). It is a positivist research method. It includes the low level of involvement of the researcher and high number of respondents (the individuals who answer the questions). The questionnaire was based on a Likert scale rate of 1 to 5. Based on strength of agreement or disagreement while a neutral point at 3. The Likert measurement that was used in the questionnaire was based on a 5 point criteria of: 1- (SA) strongly agree 2 – (A) Agree, 3 – (N) Neutral, 4-D (Disagree), 5- SD(Strongly Disagree). The questionnaire used was divided into four sections; the first section had the background information of the respondents, followed by

the three sections that were based on the three objectives.

The questionnaire because the research sought to get information from a large sample of respondents within the shortest time possible, The respondents who took part in the questionnaire were the Uganda police force, Entebbe central police station, civil society officials, Electoral Commissions officials, politicians and political analysts, media practitioners, other security operatives.

3.5.2 Interview Guide

The researcher used interview to solicit for qualitative data from the police force which was used to validate the findings from the questionnaire from the other respondents who took part in the study. The interview was used to get more information, a select group of respondents (police) were interviewed with the aim of getting the perception of the Uganda police on their role in the electoral process, 5 police official that were involved in the electoral process were interviewed and the their responses were integrated to into the study findings as indicated in chapter four of the study.

3.6 Validity and reliability of instruments

Validity is the accuracy and truth of the data findings while reliability is concerned with consistency and dependability of measuring instruments.

The concept of validity ensures that the instruments were used to yield relevant and correct data. To ensure validity data collection instruments were constructed in such a way that they had an adequate number of items and that each items or question on the scale had a link with the objectives of the study and were covered in a full range of issues that was measured. Where necessary, questionnaires were revised accordingly to suit the objectives of the study. Content validity was the main purpose of the validity testing and was done through presented the questionnaires to the supervisor for comments and amendments were made on them.

Reliability was used to measure the degree to which the instrument is the same if put under the same conditions. On testing reliability, 10% of the questionnaires were selected randomly and pretested to check for errors to ensure consistency and comprehensiveness. Further, consultations with research experts, supervisors and peers were done to review the research instruments. The

respondents who participated in the study were found to be informed and knowledgeable on the subject matter to provide reliable answers.

3.7 Data Collection Procedures

An introductory letter was taken from Nkumba University School of Social sciences to officially seek permission from the participants who took part in this research study. After permission was granted the researcher took time to introduce herself and brief the respondents as to what the study is about the questionnaires were hand-delivered to all the respondents by the researcher.

Respondents were given time to complete the instrument. To ensure an effective return rate, follow up was done personally done, Interviewed were also carried out by the research and relevant documentary review was also carried out. The researcher combined collected the findings from the three instruments to present, discuss and analyze the data collected.

3.8 Data processing and Analysis

Data Processing

Data processing is concerned with editing, coding, classifying, tabulating, and diagramming research data. Editing was carried out both during and after the process of data collection, and much of it occurred simultaneously with coding and for the in interviews the editing process began in the field. After editing the work, the researcher then summarized the responses (coding), In this research coding for the closed ended questions was straightforward while a different scheme was employed for the open ended questions that looked at different response and group them into a given criteria fit for the question asked. After the researcher entered data into the SPSS 20 Software and after entering then, the researcher checked for errors (cleaning).

Data Analysis

Data analysis was done using SPSS Version 20, it analyzed the data into descriptive statistics (tables, frequencies) while Mean and standard deviation were the main Inferential analysis tool used in the study.

3.9. Ethical considerations

The purpose of a good research is to promote knowledge based on factual findings and this can only be achieved when the researcher avoids fabrication of data, plagiarism, falsifying of information and following a strict code of conduct and not misrepresenting the research findings.

For this research, Issues to do with honesty, confidentiality and integrity during data collection and reporting research findings were adhered to the researcher during the whole process. First step was seeking clearance from the Nkumba University of postgraduate studies and the different respondents before carrying out the research.

3.10. Limitations to the study

In carrying out this research, study challenges and limitations are always inevitable;

Respondent's unwillingness to answer some questions is always a potential threat to the research study, the researcher overcame this by convincing such respondents of the utmost confidentiality of their information, and assurance that the research findings are for academic purposes only and stating out the possible advantages for the research in form the recommendation to be addressed.

On the study, there is a likelihood that the research finding may be specific to case and thus may not be applicable to the general role of the security agencies other than the police in the election process.

Despite these limitations, the researcher was able to achieve the objectives of the study and complete the research report successfully.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION, INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses the findings of the study; it examines information collected from the respondents to enable the researcher draw relevant conclusions and recommendations. The objectives of the study were the principal guiding factors used. The data was interpreted according to research objectives and research questions. Appropriate data analysis and presentation techniques were used.

The study was carried out based on 120 participants accounting for a 90% return rate from 133 targeted respondents for the study, two primary tools of data collection were utilized a semi-structured questionnaire and interview while documentary review was the secondary data collection instrument used for the study. SPSS version 20 was used to analyze the scored data from the field while Microsoft word was used to analyze the descriptive data.

4.1 Socio demographic characteristics of the Respondents

In this section, the researcher sought to find out the socio – demographic characteristics of the respondents.

4.1.1 Sex of the respondents

The researcher sought to find out the sex of the respondents and the findings are presented in table4.1.

Table 4. 1:Sex of the respondents

Sex	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Male	80	66.7	66.7
Female	40	33.3	100.0
Total	120	100.0	

Source: Primary data

On the sex of the respondents, majority 66.7% of the total respondents were male while 33.3% were female. This implies that there were more male than female's respondents and this is because there are more male involved in politics and police work than females in Uganda.

4.1.2 Age of the respondents

The researcher sought to find out the age of the respondents and the findings are summarized in table 4.2.

Table 4. 2: Age of the respondents

Age	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
18 - 25 Years	35	29.2	29.2
26 - 35 Years	30	25.0	54.2
36 - 45 Years	22	18.3	72.5
56 - 65 Years	28	23.3	95.8
66 + Years	5	4.2	100.0
Total	120	100.0	

Source: Primary data

On the age of the respondents, 29.2% were between 18 – 25 years of age, 25% were between 26 – 35 years, 23.3% were between 56 – 65 years, 18.3% were between 36 – 45 years of age while the remaining 4.2% were 66+ years of age. This implies that there were diverse age backgrounds of the respondents and this was important to know what the different age brackets sought the about the role of police in electoral process in Uganda’s elections.

4.1.3 Highest level of education attained

The researcher sought to find out the highest educational qualification of the respondents and the findings are presented in table4.3.

Table 4. 3: Education level of the respondents

Education	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Secondary Level	30	25.0	25.0
Tertiary/University level	73	60.8	85.8
Other Specify	17	14.2	100.0
Total	120	100.0	

Source: Primary data

On the highest level of education attained by the respondents, majority 60.8% were of tertiary/ University level of education, 25% had a secondary school level certificate and the remaining

14.2% were classified as others. This implies that the majority had a university education as their highest level of educational attained and coupled with the other secondary level holders , the sample was appropriate given that the primary data collection instruments was a questionnaire the required ability to read and write.

4.1.4 Occupation of the respondents

The study sought to find out about the occupation of the respondents and the findings are presented in table 4.4.

Table 4. 4: Occupation of the respondents

Occupation	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Police officers	20	16.7	16.7
Other security officers	10	8.3	25
Media	9	7.5	32.5
Civil society	8	6.7	39.2
Electoral commission rep	10	8.3	47.5
Politicians	9	7.5	55
General public	54	45	100.0
Total	120	100.0	

Source: Primary data

On the occupation of the respondents, 45% were the general republic, 16.7% were police officers, 8.3. % were other security officers, 8.3 % were electoral commission officials, 7.5% were politicians , 7.5% were media practitioners and the remaining 6.7% were civil society official. This implies a diversity of occupational background of the respondents and this was important to capture views from different sections of society as to avoid the aspect of bias that will have resulted from one group.

4.2 Effectiveness of the role police forces in the general election

In this section, the role of the police force in the electoral process is presented and discussed.

Table 4. 5: Performance of police forces in the general elections

No	Roles of the Police in the electoral process	SD	D	NS	A	SA
4.2.1	The Police was involved in the management of public order during the electoral process	-	-	13.3	12.5	74.2
4.2.2	The Uganda police was responsible for the security of political participants during the electoral process	-	-	4.2	12.5	83.3
4.2.3	The Uganda police play the role of custody and escorting election materials during the electoral process	-	-	4.2	4.2	91.7
4.2.4	The Uganda police was mandated to protect voters during the electoral process	6.7	18.3	3.3	9.2	61.7
4.2.5	The police was responsible for the mitigation of electoral violence during electoral process	5.8	16.7	4.2	13.3	60.0
4.2.6	The Uganda police was charged with the role of investigating electoral offenses during the electoral process	21.7	6.7	2.5	17.5	51.7
4.2.7	The Uganda police are responsible for accompanying presiding officers	17.5	17.5	4.2	20.0	40.8

Source: Primary data

4.2.1 The Police was involved in the management of public order during the electoral process

On whether the Uganda police was involved in the management of public order during the electoral, majority 74.2% of the total respondents strongly agreed, 13.3% were not sure and the remaining 12.5% agreed. The findings are in agreement with the institute of Economic affairs (2012) finding that revealed that the police is responsible for the public order regulation during the electoral process. This implies that Uganda Police is involved in the management of public order during the electoral process as one of its mandates that spells out that the The Police have a big role to play in ensuring there is law and order during the electoral process and it worth noted that this mandate even without the electoral process is a reserve of the police force not only in Uganda and all over the world. But other contrary to this role the police has in certain instances been found that the Uganda Police Force has not yet embraced its constitutional *role* as an impartial enforcer (EU Observer Mission, 2016)

4.2.2 The Uganda police was responsible for the security of political participants during the electoral process

Table shows that a majority 83.3% of the total respondents strongly agreed that the Uganda police is responsible for the security of political participants during the electoral process, 12.5% agreed while the remaining 4.2% were not sure. In addition a documentary review findings revealed that the Uganda police is mandated by the electoral commission and the law to protect the political participant during the electoral process as noted in the electoral commission report, 2016;

“ The Uganda police provided escort teams especially the presidential candidates during the electoral process” (Electoral Commission Report, 2016).

This mandate is enshrined in the police mandate as enshrined in the Uganda constitution of 1995 and the police Act as general duties of the Uganda police and this therefore implies that the Uganda police was responsible for the security of political participants during the electoral process of 2015/2016.

4.2.3 The Uganda police play the role of custody and escorting election materials during the electoral process

Table shows that a majority 91.7% of the total respondents strongly agreed that the Uganda

police play the role of custody and escorting election materials during the electoral process, 4.2% agreed while another 4.2% were not sure. This is in agreement with Akpan (2008) who stressed that the police have the role of ensuring security of electoral materials at voting and counting centers by ensuring the materials are not stolen, hijacked, destroyed and fraudulently altered. This implies that the Uganda police play the role of custody and escorting election materials during the electoral process.

4.2.4 The Uganda police was mandated to protect voters during the electoral process

Table shows that majority 61.7% of the total respondents strongly agreed that the Uganda police is mandated to protect voters during the electoral process, 18.3% disagreed, 9.2% agreed, 6.7% strongly disagreed while the remaining 3.3% were not sure. This is contrary to reviewed documentation that noted that the police overstepped their constitutional mandate as they unnecessarily and excessively used force against peaceful assemblies at times relying on teargas and rubber bullets. This implies that the Uganda police partially failed its mandated role of protecting voters during the electoral process

4.2.5 The police was responsible for the mitigation of electoral violence during electoral process

On whether the Uganda police was responsible for the mitigation of electoral violence during electoral process, majority 60% of the total respondents strongly agreed, 16.7% disagreed, 13.3% agreed, 5.8% strongly disagreed while the remaining 4.2% were not sure. The findings were not consistent with findings in a report by USIP that argued that the role of mitigating of electoral violence was not done well given that violence was experienced during pre, during and post-election (USIP, 2016)

This implies that the Uganda police was responsible for the mitigation of electoral violence during electoral process.

4.2.6 The Uganda police was charged with the role of investigating electoral offenses during the electoral process

Table shows that majority 51.7% of the total respondents strongly agreed that the Uganda police is charged with the role of investigations electoral offenses during the electoral process, 21.7% strongly disagreed, 17.5% agreed, 6.7% disagreed while the remaining 2.5% were not sure. This implies that the Uganda police was charged with the role of investigations electoral offenses

during the electoral process.

4.2.7 The Uganda police are responsible for accompanying presiding officers

Table shows that a cumulative majority 60.8% of the total respondents strongly agreed that The Uganda police are responsible for accompanying electoral officers, 17.5% strongly disagreed; another 17.5% disagreed while the remaining 4.2% were not sure. This implies that one of the police roles during the electoral process is for accompanying electoral officers in carrying out their duties during the electoral process.

4.2.8 Uganda police force did not perform their functions effectively during elections

The study sought to find out whether the Uganda police force did not perform their functions effectively during elections and the findings are discussed.

Majority respondents were of the view that the Uganda police force did not perform their functions effectively during the 2015/2016 elections. They attributed this poor performance to so many reasons which included the lack of adequate funds and materials, partisanship especially to the NRM and also lack of adequate trained personnel that made them not to perform credible.

4.2.9 The lapses on the side of Ugandan police contributed to the failure/discredit of the 2015/2016 Ugandan electoral process.

The study sought to find out whether The lapses on the side of Ugandan police contributed to the failure/discredit of the 2015/2016 Ugandan electoral process and the findings are discussed here; Majority of the respondents were affirmative that the lapses on the side of Ugandan police contributed to the failure/discredit of the 2015/2016 Ugandan electoral process they argued that the Uganda Police Force (UPF) during the 2015/2016 electoral process operated in a partisan way and/or fail to adhere to their professional call as prescribed by the Police Act and electoral rules which discredits the entire electoral process and election, Notable actions of the police cited by the respondents and documentary review included:

“Ugandan police fought running battles with supporters of opposition leaders KizzaBesigye and EriasLukwago, in Kampala, during campaigning and other opposition members as some were locked inside their houses basing on the preventive arrest laws , which I think were misused by the police...” (Respondent, Politician, July, 10, 2018)

In addition documentary review findings revealed that violence involving police brutality was

widespread such as noted a Reuters report;

“.....16 civilians died in clashes between the rival supporters while six more were killed when police intervened to quell the violence. A further 10 were injured, including four soldiers, and 149 houses were burned down” (Reuters News, March 14, 2016)

The mentioned incidences mostly involved the Uganda and opposition supporters and politician which revealed partisan approach of the police therefore contributing to the failure/discredit of the 2015/2016 Ugandan electoral process

Table 4. 6: Mean and standard deviation on the Effectiveness of the role of police force in election process

No	Statement	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
9.1	The Uganda Police is involved in the management of public order during the electoral process	120	1.3917	.71356
9.2	The Uganda police is responsible for the security of political participants during the electoral process	120	1.2500	.66421
9.3	The Uganda police plays the role of custody and escorting election materials during the electoral process	120	1.1250	.44083
9.4	The Uganda police is mandated to protect voters during the electoral process	120	1.7983	1.26612
9.5	The police is responsible for the mitigation of electoral violence during electoral process	120	1.9500	1.35876
9.6	The Uganda police is charged with the role of investigations electoral offenses during the electoral process	120	2.2917	1.64187
9.7	The Uganda police are responsible for accompanying presiding officers in their discharge of electoral duties	120	2.5083	1.57713
	Valid N (listwise)	120		

Source: Primary data

Table 9.1 shows that respondents agreed that the Uganda Police is involved in the management of public order during the electoral process with mean of ($M=1.39$) and standard deviation of ($SD=0.713$). Table 9.2 mean ($M=1.25$) with a ($SD=0.66$) that the Uganda police is responsible for the security of political participants during the electoral process, table 9.3 had a mean ($M=1.25$) with a ($SD=0.44$) on the Uganda police plays the role of custody and escorting election materials during the electoral process, Table 9.4 indicates a mean ($M=1.798$) with a ($SD =1.26$) that the Uganda police is mandated to protect voters during the electoral process, Table 9.5 shows a mean ($M= 1.95$) with a ($SD= 1.35$) that the police is responsible for the mitigation of electoral violence during electoral process, table 9.6 shows a mean ($M=2.29$) with a ($SD=1.64$) that Uganda police is charged with the role of investigations electoral offenses during the electoral process while table 9.7 showed that a mean ($M=2.50$) with a ($SD =1.577$) that the Uganda police are responsible for accompanying presiding officers in their discharge of electoral duties.

It can concluded based on the mean and standard deviation results in table 9 that there was low standard deviations in relation with the mean with the Uganda police is mandated to protect voters during the electoral process with lowest standard deviation in relation the mean of ($M=1.79$, $SD =1.26$) and highest being Uganda police are responsible for accompanying presiding officers in their discharge of electoral duties with mean and standard deviation of ($M=2.5$, $SD= 1.57$), indicating a strong agreement among the respondents with variables on the role of police in the electoral process.

4.3. Challenges facing the police in the electoral process

In this section, the researcher sought to present and analyze the challenges facing the police in the electoral process.

Table 4. 7: Challenges facing the police in the electoral process

No	Challenges facing the police in the electoral process	SD	D	NS	A	SA
4.3.1	The Uganda police face a challenge of parallel security agencies	59.2	6.7	4.2	20.8	9.2
4.3.2	The Uganda police face limited awareness of the electoral laws of the country	16.7	25.0	-	50.8	7.5
4.3.3	The Uganda police face a challenge of eruption of electoral violence	20.8	10.8		3.3	65.0
4.3.4	The Uganda police face a challenge of corruption involving police officers	13.3	56.7	8.3	14.2	7.5
4.3.5	The Uganda police face a challenge of inadequate funding of police operations for elections	8.3	16.7	7.5	64.2	3.3
4.3.6	The Uganda police lack effective training in managing security during elections	9.2	45.0	28.3	17.5	-
4.3.7	The Uganda police suffer a lack of professionalism of its officers during the electoral process	4.2	5.0	15.0	43.3	32.5

Source: Primary data

4.3.1 The Uganda police face a challenge of parallel security agencies

On whether, there is challenge of parallel security agencies during the electoral process, majority of the total respondents strongly disagreed as indicated in the table. The study findings are inconsistent with documentary review analysis that showed that in Uganda the use of parallel security agencies have been witnessed, in additions the aspect of their legal status is another problem such as the crime preventers who worked alongside the Uganda police and were notoriously blamed for many electoral offences during the election process. This implies that the

use parallel security agencies operating during the electoral process though a challenge had minimal effect on the police role during election as the police even defended their use on the ground of inadequate man power to cover the entire country during the election season.

4.3.2 The Uganda police face limited awareness of the electoral laws of the country

On whether the Uganda police face limited awareness of the electoral laws of the country, majority 50.8% agreed, 25% disagreed, 16.7% strongly disagreed and the remaining 7.5% strongly agreed. The findings

This implies that the Uganda polices faces a limited awareness of the electoral laws of the country.

4.3.3 The Uganda police face a challenge of eruption of electoral violence

Table shows that majority 65% of the total respondents strongly agreed that the Uganda police face a challenge of eruption of electoral violence, 20.8% strongly disagreed and 10.8% disagreed and the remaining 3.3% agreed. Accordingly, the nature of election violence may include physical harm, intimidation, blackmail, verbal abuse, violent demonstrations, psychological manipulation, or other coercive tactics aimed at exploiting, disrupting, determining, hastening, delaying, reversing, or otherwise influencing an electoral process and its outcome.

In addition documentary review findings were consisted with the primary data findings as noted in a linking for Human rights report of 2016 as quoted:

“.....a number of electoral crimes such tearing and scraping of posters of candidates, burning of party offices, stealing of ballot papers particularly during NRM primaries. However, most of these acts were committed in the watch of police with no action. This has been a demonstration of the weak role of police to police electoral process effectively”. (Linking for Human Rights Report, 2016).

This implies that violence was a challenge faced by the police during the electoral process.

4.3.4 The Uganda police face a challenge of corruption involving police officers

Table shows that a majority 56.7% of the total respondents agreed that the Uganda police face a challenge of corruption involving police officers, 14.2% agreed, 13.3% strongly disagreed, 8.3% were not sure while the remaining 7.5% strongly agreed. The findings are consistent with Sumatra (2002) who argued that corruption is facilitated by police in conjunction with corrupt

political aspirants. In addition an interviewed respondent noted that:

“.....Corruption is an epidemic in the country and when it comes to elections its get worse, the politicians are very powerful and they will stop at nothing to win including threatening the police offices themselves”.(Respondent (Police official, July 10, 2018).

Whereas they would like to uphold the rule of law, disobeying an order from a powerful individual with connections in the corridors of power can mean a transfer to some remote village or worse still loss of the only means of livelihood. However, the reason most police officers become incorrigibly corrupt and violent is the life they live. Police officers are poorly paid, lack decent accommodation and in most cases badly lack the tools of trade. This implies that the Uganda police face a challenge of corruption involving police officers during the electoral process.

4.3.5 The Uganda police face a challenge of inadequate funding of police operations for elections

Table shows that majority 64.2% of the total respondents agreed that the Uganda police face a challenge of inadequate funding of police operations for elections, 16.7% disagreed, 8.3% strongly disagreed, 7.5% were not sure and the remaining 3.3% strongly agreed. Additionally documentary review showed that the police face inadequate funding as noted in the New Vision.

“....The minister of internal affairs was noted as saying that: “thePolice is facing a problem of manpower.... He was quoted saying that the Police also face the challenge of insufficient resources. ... “It's my responsibility to work with Parliament to raise funds for Police operations” the ministry was quoted saying. (New vision, October, 11, 2016)

The results from the above table shows that lack of adequate funds also contributed to the polices poor performance during the electoral process of 2015/16.

4.3.6 The Uganda police lack effective training in managing security during elections

Field findings in table 18 shows that a cumulative majority 54.2% disagreed that The Uganda police lack effective training in managing security during elections, 28.3% were not sure, 17.5% agreed. This implies that the Uganda police lack effective training in managing security during elections is not a major challenge in their role of the electoral process.

4.3.7 The Uganda police suffer a lack of professionalism of its officers during the electoral process

Table shows that a cumulative majority 75.8 % agreed that The Uganda police suffer a lack of professionalism of its officers during the electoral process, 15% were not sure, 5% disagreed while the remaining 4.2% strongly disagreed. This was noticed especially the primaries where the police failed to investigate violence during the primaries as an indication lack of willingness to conduct themselves in a professional manner. This implies that the Uganda police suffer a lack of professionalism of its officers during the electoral process.

4.3.8 Other challenges were experienced by the police during 2015/2016 electoral process

The study sought to find other challenges that were experiences by the police during the 2015/2016 electoral process and the findings are discussed here:

On the other challenges experienced by police officials during the electoral process included: challenge of motivation, respondents noted that most police officers especially those who are located in the rural area faced had challenge of low allowance when most had been recruited from different parts of the country, the nature of election, the pressure of politics is another cited challenge whereby police officers are under pressure from politicians and their leaders to intervene as was seen in the refusal of candidates to hold assemblies especially those on the opposition side .This limits their level of performance of the police and could have a reason for the discredit of the elections by sections of observers and politicians within and outside the country.

Table 4. 8: showing the mean and standard deviation of challenges of the police during the electoral process

No	Statement	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
10.1	The Uganda police faces a challenge of parallel security agencies	120	2.1417	1.51350
10.2	The Uganda police faces limited awareness of the electoral laws of the country	120	3.0750	1.31675
10.3	The Uganda police face a challenge of eruption of electoral violence	120	2.1917	1.71643
10.4	The Uganda police faces a challenge of corruption involving police officers	120	2.4583	1.12194
10.5	The Uganda police faces a challenge of inadequate funding of police operations for elections	120	3.3750	1.06954
10.6	The Uganda police lacks effective training in managing security during elections	120	2.5417	.88779
10.6	The Uganda police suffers a lack of professionalism of its officers during the electoral process	120	2.0500	1.02777
	Valid N (listwise)	120		

Source: Primary data

Table 10 show the mean and the standard deviation on the challenges of the police during the electoral process based on 120 respondents on a 5 Likert scale with range of 1 – 5 based on strongly disagree for 1 and strongly disagree for 5.

Table 10.1 shows a disagreement on the Uganda police faces a challenge of parallel security agencies with a mean ($M=2.14$) with standard deviation ($SD= 1.51$)., Table 10.2 had of mean ($M.=307$) and standard deviation of ($SD=1.31$) on whether the Uganda police faces limited

awareness of the electoral laws of the country., Table 10.3 showed the Uganda police face a challenge of eruption of electoral violence with mean ($SD=2.19$) and a standard deviation ($SD=1.71$)., table 10.4 showed that the Uganda police faces a challenge of corruption involving police officers with a mean ($SD=2.4$) and standard deviation ($SD=1.12$), table 10.5 showed a moderate agreement that Uganda police faces a challenge of inadequate funding of police operations for elections with a mean ($M= 3.37$) and standard deviation ($SD=1.06$), table 10.6 showed that Uganda police lacks effective training in managing security during elections with mean ($M =2.54$) and a standard deviation ($SD = 0.88$) while on whether the Uganda police suffers a lack of professionalism of its officers during the electoral process with a mean ($M=2.05$) and a standard deviation ($SD=1.02$).

It can be concluded that based on the mean and standard deviation results that generally there standard was closer to the mean indicating an agreement with the assertion, on the disagreement side, the lowest standard deviation was showed Uganda police faces a challenge of parallel security agencies with a mean and standard deviation ($M=2.14, SD= 1.51$) while the highest point difference were on table 10.6 that Uganda police lacks effective training in managing security during elections with mean and standard deviation of ($M =2.54,SD = 0.88$) but also table 10.4 with a mean and standard deviation of mean ($SD= 2.4 SD=1.12$).

On the agree side, the lowest point different show a strong agreement showed in table 10.3 that Uganda police face a challenge of eruption of electoral violence with mean ($SD=2.19, SD=1.71$) while highest different was indicated in table 10.5 that Uganda police faces a challenge of inadequate funding of police operations for elections with a mean and standard deviation of ($M= 3.37, SD =1.06$).

4.4 Strategies of enhancing Police role in electoral process

In this section the study sought to find out about the ways of enhancing polices role in the electoral process.

Table 4. 9: Strategies proposed by respondents in enhancing Police role effectiveness in electoral process

No	Strategies of enhancing Police role in electoral process	SD	D	NS	A	SA
4.4.1	There is need to sensitize and educate the the public about the police role	45.0	15.8	8.3	23.3	7.5
4.4.2	There is need to punish police officers who engage in electoral processes	8.3	25.0	4.2	20.8	41.7
4.4.3	There is need to prohibit quasi-military organizations during the electoral process	14.2	4.2	8.3	66.7	6.7
4.4.4	There is need to improve on the situation crime prevention techniques to develop capacity to manage elections	23.3	8.3	12.5	8.3	47.6
4.4.5	There is need to train the police on democratic values, rule of law and crisis management	13.3	4.2	4.2	3.3	75.0
4.4.6	There is need to establish joint operations command with other security agencies	33.3	17.5	24.2	21.7	3.3
4.4.7	There is need to equip and strengthen the political crimes unit to stream line police role in the electoral process	29.2	37.5	8.3	14.2	10.8

Source: Primary data

4.4.1 There is need to sensitize and educate the public about the police role

Table shows that a cumulative majority 60.8% disagreed that there is need to sensitize and educate the public about the police role, 23.3% agreed, 8.3% were not sure while the remaining 7.5% strongly agreed. This assertion from the findings are surprising given that there is always a need to sensitize and education the public about the role but this may because the respondents feel that they are aware of the police role during the electoral process and that they is no need to

sensitize them about that. This implies that sensitizing and educating the public about the policies role is not one way of enhancing polices role in the electoral process.

4.4.2 There is need to punish police officers who engage in electoral processes

Table shows that a majority 62.5% cumulatively agreed that there is need to punish police officers who engage in electoral processes, 25% disagreed, 8.3% strongly disagreed, 4.2% were not sure. This is especially should be aimed at security forces who act in partisan and discriminatory manner as evidence as indicated in observer reports shows that many the Uganda police force acted in a partisan and discriminatory way especially against members of the opposition political parties as demonstrated during policing of public assemblies under the disguise of Public Order Management Act as many of their rallies were denied, stopped leading to violence. This implies that one way of enhancing the police's electoral role is a need to punish police officers who engage in electoral processes.

4.4.3 There is need to prohibit quasi-military organizations during the electoral process

Table shows that majority 66.7% of the total respondents agreed that there is need to prohibit quasi – military organizations during the electoral process, 14.2% strongly disagreed, 8.3% were not sure, 6.7% strongly agreed while the remaining 4.2% disagreed. The findings are line with documentary review finding especially as noted in the observer reports, they noted that during the electoral process many vigilante groups suchas the Red belts and TJ Solida had been seen as a coping mechanisms against threats posedby militia groups such as Kalangala Action Plan that had threatened to attack membersof the opposition political parties and other individuals opposed to the ruling party (Linking for Human Rights, 2016). The above assertion give credit for the need to prohibit quasi-military organizations as found among the respondents.

4.4.4 There is need to improve on the situation crime prevention techniques to develop capacity to manage elections

Field findings in table show that majority 55.1% strongly agreed that there is need to improve on the situation crime prevention techniques to develop capacity to manage elections, 23.3% strongly disagreed, 12.5% were not sure while the remaining 8.3% agreed. This can be attributed to the need to prevent crime though the police has often been accused of miss using its mandate with laws such as the public order management Act that became one of the most controversial pieces of legislation during the 2016 elections. This means that improving on the situation crime

prevention techniques to develop capacity to manage election is way one of enhancing the police role in the electoral process and it's in agreement with reviewed documentation such

4.4.5 There is need to train the police on democratic values, rule of law and crisis management

On whether there is need to train the police on democratic values, rule of law and crisis management, majority 75 % strongly agreed, 13.3% strongly disagreed, 4.2% disagreed and another 4.2% were not sure while the remaining 3.3% agreed. This is in line with reviewed documentation that asserted that

“... Effectively trained security personnel can contribute to a more secure and just environment and can also build public trust in the electoral process. Conversely, undertrained personnel can undermine security and overall trust in the process. The content of any training activities should be comprehensive and cover relevant strategic and operational aspects. It should establish a set of standards and principles on the rules of engagement for the management of public security clearly outlining what would be considered an appropriate escalation of force and establishing consequences for non-compliance” (ODIHR, 2017).

This mean that training the police on democratic values, rule of law and crisis management is one way of enhancing the police role in the electoral process.

4.4.6 There is need to establish joint operations command with other security agencies

Findings in the table shows that a cumulative 50.8% of the total respondents strongly disagreed that there is need to establish joint operations command with other security agencies, 24.2% were not sure, 21.7% agreed while the remaining 3.3% strongly agreed. This implies that establishing a joint operations command with other security agencies is not one way to enhance the police role in the electoral process.

4.4.7 There is need to equip and strengthenthe political crimes unit to streamline police role in the electoral process

Field findings in the table show that a cumulative majority 66.7% of the total respondents strongly disagreed that there is need to **equip and strengthenthe political crimes unit** a political crimes unit to stream line police role in the electoral process, 14.2% agreed, 10.8% strongly agreed while the remaining 8.3% were not sure. This means that with the establishment of such a crimes unit, there will be less need to training as they would be already trained in the

electoral process security matters. Documentary review showed that before the 2016 elections such a unit was created under the Directorate of Criminal Intelligence charged with a mandate of investigating electoral and political offences. The unit has a 24/7 call center and toll free line **(0800100112)** on which people can report electoral/political incidents. It further revealed that the unit has a secretariat situated outside the CID headquarters and has about 120 personnel (two detectives at every district) as well as a liaison officer at the Electoral Commission Headquarter whose mandate is to understand daily plans by the electoral commission and complaints from political actors. This implies that establishing a political crimes unit to streamline role in the electoral is not a way of enhancing the police role in the electoral process.

4.4.8 Suggestions of the ways the police can improve its role in managing of the security during the electoral process in future elections in Uganda

The study sought to find out Suggestions of the ways the police can improve its role in managing of the security during the electoral process in future elections in Uganda and the findings are discussed here;

Respondents provided examples of ways relevant to management of securing during the electoral process, including, electoral security training given the elections are usually heated contests therefore the security of elections is quite different from other offenses that the police usually encounter, To ensure security, a balance between deterrence and confidence building has to be found by both the police and the electoral commission officials ; and there is a need to improve peace building around election times, the multiple actors involved need to coordinate activities to avoid overlap and to identify policy gaps.

Table 4. 10: showing the mean and standard deviation on the strategies to improve the police role during the electoral process

No	Statement	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
11.1	There is need to sensitize and educate the the public about the police role	120	2.3250	1.43288
11.2	There is need to punish police officers who engage in electoral processes	120	2.2917	1.40465
11.3	There is need to prohibit quasi-military organizations during the electoral process	120	1.9000	1.38661
11.4	There is need to improve on the situation crime prevention techniques to develop capacity to manage elections	118	2.5424	1.67252
11.5	There is need to train the police on democratic values, rule of law and crisis management	120	1.7583	1.44359
11.6	There is need to establish joint operations command with other security agencies	120	2.4417	1.24884
11.7	There is need to equip and strengthen the political crimes unit to stream line police role in the electoral process	120	2.4000	1.33095
	Valid N (listwise)	118		

Source: Primary data

Table 11.1 shows that on the strategy of improving police role in electoral process, table 11.1 shows that there is need to sensitize and educate the public about the police role with a mean (M=2.32) and standard deviation (SD=1.43) , Table 11.3 shows that There is need to punish police officers who engage in electoral processes with a mean (M=2.29) and a standard deviation (SD= 1.40), Table 11.3 shows that There is need to prohibit quasi-military organizations during the electoral process with a mean (M= 1.90) and a standard deviation (SD=

1.38), Table 11.4 shows that There is need to improve on the situation crime prevention techniques to develop capacity to manage elections with a mean ($M=2.58$) and a standard deviation, table 11.5 shows that there is need to train the police on democratic values, rule of law and crisis management with a mean ($M=1.75$) and standard deviation ($SD=1.44$), Table 11.6 shows that there is need to establish joint operations command with other security agencies with a mean ($M=2.44$) and standard deviation ($SD=1.24$) while the need to establish a political crimes unit to stream line police role in the electoral process had a mean ($M= 2.4$) and standard deviation of ($SD= 1.33$).

It can be concluded on the strategies of enhancing Police role in electoral process, the mean and standard showed a mixed low standard deviation in relation to the mean with more respondents agreed, with the lowest standard deviation being in table 11.5 that there is need to train the police on democratic values, rule of law and crisis management with a mean and standard deviation of ($M=1.75$, $SD=1.44$) and highest being in table 11.2 which showed that there is need to sensitize and educate the public about the police role with a mean ($M=2.32$, $SD=1.43$). While on the disagreement side, the lowest standard deviation was seen on the there is need to sensitize and educate the public about the police role with a mean and standard deviation ($M=2.32$, $SD=1.43$) while highest being the table 11.6 the need to establish joint operations command with other security agencies with a mean and standard deviation of ($M=2.44$, $SD=1.24$).

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter consists of the summary, conclusion and gives recommendations and suggested areas for further study based on the findings of the study.

5.1 Summary of the findings

The following is the summary of the findings of the study in line with the three study objectives: to find out the role of police force during the election process; to examine the challenges that faces the police force during the election process and to determine the different strategies of enhancing the Electoral Process.

5.1.1 Performance of police force in the 2016 parliamentary and presidential elections

On whether the Uganda police is involved in the management of public order during the electoral, majority 74.2% of the total respondents strongly agreed, a majority 83.3% of the total respondents strongly agreed that the Uganda police is responsible for the security of political participants during the electoral process, a majority 91.7% of the total respondents strongly agreed that the Uganda police play the role of custody and escorting election materials during the electoral process, majority 61.7% of the total respondents strongly agreed that the Uganda police is mandated to protect voters during the electoral process, On whether the Uganda police is responsible for the mitigation of electoral violence during electoral process, majority 60% of the total respondents strongly agreed, majority 51.7% of the total respondents strongly agreed that the Uganda police is charged with the role of investigations electoral offenses during the electoral process, a cumulative majority 60.8% of the total respondents strongly agreed that The Uganda police are responsible for accompanying electoral officers.

5.1.2 Challenges the Police face during the 2016 parliamentary and presidential elections

On whether , there is challenge of parallel security agencies during the electoral process, majority 59.2% of the total respondents strongly disagreed On whether the Uganda police face limited awareness of the electoral laws of the country, majority 50.8% agreed, majority 65% of the total respondents strongly agreed that the Uganda police face a challenge of eruption of

electoral violence, a majority 56.7% of the total respondents agreed that the Uganda police face a challenge of corruption involving police officers, majority 64.2% of the total respondents agreed that the Uganda police face a challenge of inadequate funding of police operations for elections, a cumulative majority 54.2% disagreed that The Uganda police lack effective training in managing security during elections, a cumulative majority 75.8 % agreed that the Uganda police suffer a lack of professionalism of its officers during the electoral process.

5.1.3 Ways of enhancing Police role in electoral process as proposed by the respondents

A cumulative majority 60.8% disagreed that There is need to sensitize and educate the public about the police role, a majority 62.5% cumulatively agreed that there is need to punish police officers who engage in electoral processes, majority 66.7% of the total respondents agreed that there is need to prohibit quasi – military organizations during the electoral process, majority 55.1% strongly agreed that there is need to improve on the situation crime prevention techniques to develop capacity to manage elections, 23.3% strongly disagreed, On whether there is need to train the police on democratic values, rule of law and crisis management, majority 75 % strongly agreed, a cumulative 50.8% of the total respondents strongly disagreed that there is need to establish joint operations command with other security agencies, a cumulative majority 66.7% of the total respondents strongly disagreed that there is need to establish a political crimes unit to stream line police role in the electoral process.

5.2 Conclusion

Based on the objectives of this study

Effectiveness of Police role in election process

The police role during the electoral process is clearly spelt in the 1995 constitution (amended) through the various acts and while police are posted on election duty for the protection of lives and properties, protection of ballot boxes, and to ensure secrecy of balloting, the problem now is how to prevent police from brutalizing the population, disorganizing the ballot boxes which are contrary to their mandate as per the constitution.

Challenges of the Police face during election process

Based on study findings, There were several challenges such the increased formation of vigilante groups such as crime prevents with no police interest to disband them, kidnaps, arbitrary arrests , the increased securitization of security process as well as the manner in which the police acted

during 2016 electoral process. Until these questions are addressed, there will continue to exist doubts and uncertainty about the role of the police in the electoral process.

Suggested ways of enhancing the Police role in election process by respondents

Based on the study findings, the respondents advocated several avenues for the police to begin addressing the fears of the electorate as regards their credibility, capacity and neutrality in delivering a peaceful election in liaison with the electoral commission and other stakeholder in the Country as the civil society and the citizens.

5.3 Recommendations

The study puts forth the following recommendations;

There is need for continued training of the Uganda Police Force on the various notions managing electoral security entire electoral process and the importance of an election in the democratization process of Uganda.

There is need to investigate and prosecute police officers involved in violence during the pre-election, during and post-election periods to act as a deterrent to others and instill the rule of law among the police officers.

There is also a need to enhance the welfare of the police officials involved in the electoral process in terms of allowances and benefits.

Investigate the formation of vigilante groups. These have been considered a potential for violence during the general elections because they have been reported to be organized and equipped to destabilize the voting process.

5.4 Areas for further study

Due to limitations in scope and time constraints, it is not possible to address all key areas outside, but related to, the focal points of this study. The researcher has identified some key area which should be examined further;

- The effect of police conduct in an effective electoral process

REFERENCES

Adams, F, Merrill III, S, Grofman, B (2005), *A Unified Theory of Party Competition: A Cross-National Analysis Integrating Spatial and Behavioral Factors*, Cambridge University Press, 21 Mar 2005

Adebayo, P and Omotola, J (2007), Public perceptions of the 2007 Nigerian general elections, *Journal of African Elections*, 6(2) (2007).

Adekanye, B. and Iyanda, R. (2011). "Security Challenges in Election Management in Nigeria: An Overview" In Olurode, L. and Jega, A. (eds). *Security Challenges of Election Management in Nigeria*. Abuja, Fredrich Ebert Stiftung.

Ake, C (1991) Rethinking African democracy, *Journal of Democracy* 2(1) (1991).

Akintunde, J (2007), The demise of democracy in the first republic of Nigeria: A causal analysis, *Journal of African Studies*, Odu, 4(2)

Akpan, T (2015), *Election and Security Challenges in Nigeria: Experience from the Niger Delta 1999-2015*. Department of Political and Administrative Studies

Alemika .O (1999). *Police Community Relation in Nigeria; What Went Wrong?* Paper Presentation at the Seminar on Role and Function of the Police in a Post Military Era, organized by the Centre for Law Enforcement Education in Nigeria (CLEEN) Lagos and the National Human Commission.

Aning, K. and Lartey E., (2009), 'Evaluating Electoral Process and the State of Democracy in Ghana', in the *State of Democracy in West Africa*, Dakar: Gorée Institute, pp. 158-185.

Anzia, F (2016) *Political Parties and Policy Demanders in Local Elections*, Goldman School of Public Policy University of California, Berkeley

Baffa, T (2010), *Policing Elections in Countries with Emerging Democracies*, The Institute for Security Studies (ISS), Brooklyn Square, Pretoria, South Africa

Bendor, J., Diermeier, D., Siegel, D. and Ting, M. (2011), *A Behavioral Theory of Elections*. Editions. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2011.

Boone, j (2009), The U.S.A army war college guide to national security issues. Volume i: Theory of war and strategy, 4th edition

Budge, I, (1994), A New Spatial Theory of Party Competition: Uncertainty, Ideology and Policy Equilibria Viewed Comparatively and Temporally, Volume 24, Issue 4, October 1994, pp. 443-467

Burton, W. (2005). Conflict: Resolution and Prevention. New York: St Martin's Press.

Chukwuka, C (2016), Election and Electoral Process: (A Case Study of Secret Ballot System: www.doubleglist.com/election-electoral-process-case-study-secret-ballot-system-Nigeria

Collier, P, and Vicente, C (2012). Violence, Bribery, and Fraud: The Political Economy of Elections in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Public Choice* 153:117–47

Electoral Commission Uganda (2016), Polling Officers Pocket Facts - Electoral Commission Hand Book

Etkin, D, McBey, K and Trollope, C (2011), The Military and Disaster Management: A Canadian Perspective on the Issue

Hounke, M and Gueye, A, (2010), “The Role of Security Forces in the electoral process: the Case focus: MDC v Commissioner of Police and Others, 2010.

<https://www.amazon.fr/Democracy-Elections-Africa-Staffan-Lindbe>

Huntington, P. (1991), The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late. Twentieth Century (University of Oklahoma Press, Oklahoma, United States

HURINET (2015), U-End of Election Monitoring Project Report, 2015

HURINET (2016), U-End of Election Monitoring Project Report, 2016

HURIPEC and Kituo Cha Katiba report (2016), The road to 2016 citizens’ perceptions of Uganda’s forthcoming elections.

Igini, M. (2013). Election Security in Theory and Practice: Perspective of a Resident Commissioner. In Olurode, L. (ed). Election Security in Nigeria: Matters Arising. Abuja, Fredrich Ebert Stiftung.

Jackson,S (2013) Uganda public order bill is 'blow to political debate' - BBC News, An interview with *Amnesty International's* deputy Africa director.

Kasinbante, M (2013), Uganda public order bill is 'blow to political debate' - BBC News, An interview with a Ugandan MP Kasinbante Moses

Khadiagala. G (2010) Political movements and coalition politics in Kenya: entrenching ethnicity, *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 17:1, 65-84, DOI

Korthuis, A (2014), The Central America Regional Security Initiative in Honduras Working paper prepared for the Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington, USA

Laver, M and Sergenti, E (2011), Party Competition: An Agent-Based Model. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011. 292p.

Museveni, Y K (1997) Sowing the Mustard Seed: The Struggle for Freedom and Democracy in Uganda St. Martin's Press Macmillan London:

Namutebi, M (2016) Police to Ugandans: make elections peaceful, credible: 12th February 2016, New Vision.

Ndifuma, M, (2016) Monitoring the impact of security agencies during the 2016 parliamentary and presidential elections: Third quarter (April- June 2016) Report on monitoring the impact of security agencies during the 2016 parliamentary and presidential elections.

Nowak, M and Sigmund,K. (1993). A strategy of Win-Stay, Lose-Shift that outperforms Tit-for-Tat in the Prisoner's Dilemma Game. *Nature*, 364, 56-58.

Nowak,M and Sigmund,K. (1993). A strategy of Win-Stay, Lose-Shift that outperforms Tit-for-Tat in the Prisoner's Dilemma Game. *Nature*, 364, 56-58.

O'Donnell, G (1994), "Delegative Democracy", in *Journal of Democracy*, 5 (1): 55-69.

Ojiambo, A. (2015). Developmental Politics: A Review of Busia Central after Nine Years,

Olufowobi, S and Adebayo. B (2004). "Fake Police on the Prowl." Sunday punch, March 21, pp.7-8.

Public Order Management Act, 2013, 2013

Richard.Y (1975),"Attribution Theory and Voter Choice", in NA - Advances in Consumer Research Volume 02, eds. Mary Jane Schlinger, Ann Abor, MI: Association for Consumer Research, Pages: 783-792.

Scharff, M. (2011). A Path to Peace: Liberia's First Post-War Elections, 2004-2005. Innovations for Successful Societies.

Staffan I. (2006) Democracy and elections in Africa: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 227 pp., Publication Date: August 2006.

Sumantra, B, (2002) "A Culture of Corruption? Democracy and Power in India," Global Policy, 2002.www.globalpolicy.org

Takirambudde, P (2011), Nigeria: Elections Threatened by Violence and Abuse of Power

Thorley, J (2005), Athenian Democracy, Lancaster Pamphlets in Ancient History, Routledge, 2005

Trim, P (2003) "Disaster management and the role of the intelligence and security services", Disaster Prevention and Management: An International Journal, Vol. 12 Issue: 1, pp.6-15, <https://doi.org/10.1108/09653560310463801>

Verma, R (2012), What Determines Electoral Outcomes in India? Caste, Class, or Voters' Satisfaction with Government Performance? Asian Survey, Vol. 52, No. 2 (March/April 2012), pp. 270-297

APPENDIX I: structured questionnaire

NKUMBA UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF GRADUATE STUDIES

Dear Respondent,

I am **Kwesiga k Edson**, You are invited to participate in a research study on the evaluation of the role of security forces in the Election process (2015-2016), a case study of Kampala District. This is an academic research aimed at fulfilling the requirement of an award of a master degree in Security and strategic studies of Nkumba University

Your responses will be kept confidential. There is, however, the risk of a breach in confidentiality.

Your decision whether or not to participate is respected. If you have read this form and have decided to participate in this project, please understand your participation is voluntary and you have the right to withdraw your consent or discontinue participation at any time without a consequence. Your identity will not be disclosed in any published and written material resulting from the study. You will not be paid to participate in this study.

SECTION A: SOCIO DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS

Instruction: Please Tick once besides your choice

1. Gender

Male Female

2. Age

18 - 25 26 – 35 36 - 45 46 – 55 56 – 65 66 +

3. Marital Status

Single Married Others

4. Education Level of education

Primary Level secondary Level Tertiary/University Level
Others

5. Occupation / source of livelihood

.....

Instruction Key

SA - Strongly Agree, A - Agree, N – Not Sure D - Disagree, SD –Strongly Disagree

SECTION B: ROLE OF POLICE FORCE DURING THE ELECTION PROCESS

1) The Uganda is involved in the management of Public order during the electoral process.

SA A N D SD

2) The Uganda police is responsible for the security of political participants during the electoral Process.

SA		A		N		D		SD	
-----------	--	----------	--	----------	--	----------	--	-----------	--

3) The Uganda police play the role of custody and Escorting election materials during all national electoral process.

SA		A		N		D		SD	
-----------	--	----------	--	----------	--	----------	--	-----------	--

4) The Uganda police is mandated to Protect voters and during the electoral process

SA		A		N		D		SD	
-----------	--	----------	--	----------	--	----------	--	-----------	--

5) The Police force is responsible for the mitigation of Electoral violence during electoral processes in Uganda.

SA		A		N		D		SD	
-----------	--	----------	--	----------	--	----------	--	-----------	--

6) The Uganda police are charged with the role of investigating electoral offenses during electoral processes in Uganda.

SA		A		N		D		SD	
-----------	--	----------	--	----------	--	----------	--	-----------	--

7) Apart from the above role, what other roles were played by the police during the electoral process

.....

8) Uganda police force did not perform their functions effectively during elections. **Yes/NO**

.....

Why do you believe so?

.....

9) The lapses on the side of Ugandan police contributed to the failure/discredit of the 2015/2016 Ugandan electoral process. **Yes / NO and Reasons**

.....

SECTION C: CHALLENGES THAT FACE POLICE DURING ELECTORAL PROCESS

1) Formation of parallel security agencies.

SA		A		N		D		SD	
-----------	--	----------	--	----------	--	----------	--	-----------	--

2) Limited Awareness of the Electoral Law of the country

SA		A		N		D		SD	
-----------	--	----------	--	----------	--	----------	--	-----------	--

3) The eruption of Electoral Violence

SA		A		N		D		SD	
-----------	--	----------	--	----------	--	----------	--	-----------	--

4) The challenges of corruption involving police officers

SA		A		N		D		SD	
-----------	--	----------	--	----------	--	----------	--	-----------	--

5) Lack of adequate funding for police operation during elections

SA		A		N		D		SD	
-----------	--	----------	--	----------	--	----------	--	-----------	--

6) Lack of effective training of the Uganda police manage the security operation during elections

SA		A		N		D		SD	
-----------	--	----------	--	----------	--	----------	--	-----------	--

7) What other challenges were experienced by the police during 2015/2016 electoral process

.....

.....

.....

SECTION STRATEGIES OF ENHANCING ELECTORAL PROCESS

- 1) There is need to sensitize and educating the public about police role during the electoral process

SA		A		N		D		SD	
-----------	--	----------	--	----------	--	----------	--	-----------	--

2. There is need to emphasis Police Accountability through punishment of police officers who get involved in electoral malpractices.

SA		A		N		D		SD	
-----------	--	----------	--	----------	--	----------	--	-----------	--

3. Prohibition of Quasi-Military Organization formed during the time of electoral process in Uganda

SA		A		N		D		SD	
-----------	--	----------	--	----------	--	----------	--	-----------	--

4. Improve on the Situation crime prevention techniques through developing the capacity of the police force during the electoral process.

SA		A		N		D		SD	
-----------	--	----------	--	----------	--	----------	--	-----------	--

5. There is need for the police to get specialized education on democratic values, rule of law, electoral laws and crisis management.

SA		A		N		D		SD	
-----------	--	----------	--	----------	--	----------	--	-----------	--

6. Establishment of Joint Operations Command with other security agencies to better manage electoral process security.

SA		A		N		D		SD	
-----------	--	----------	--	----------	--	----------	--	-----------	--

7. There is need for Police officers to co- operate and collaborate with other role players in the electoral process.

SA		A		N		D		SD	
-----------	--	----------	--	----------	--	----------	--	-----------	--

8. Establishment of Electoral and Political crimes unit to stream line police role in the electoral process in the eyes of the public in Uganda.

SA		A		N		D		SD	
-----------	--	----------	--	----------	--	----------	--	-----------	--

9. Could you suggest some of the ways the police can improve its role in managing of the security during the electoral process in future elections in Uganda.

.....

.....

.....

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE (Police Officers)

- 1) What specific tasks did you carry out during the electoral process in 2015/16?
- 2) Did you have specific units to prepare a specific strategy for the preparation of elections?
- 3) How well was the police prepared to take part in the electoral process of 2015/16?
- 4) Did you have any problem dealing with the other stakeholders (Electoral Commission, politicians, army, Security of candidates etc.)
- 5) What are some of the challenges of the police operations in providing electoral assistance, and how could it be addressed?
- 6) What were the main challenges and top priorities to be addressed by the police to ensure a credible and successful electoral process in the future?

APPENDIX III: Documentary review checklist

Documentary Review Checklist	Yes	No	Comments
The 1995 Constitution of the republic of Uganda , Police Act	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Uganda Human Rights election 2016 report	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
The electoral Commission 2016 election report	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
The electoral process observers report 2016 general election	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Newspapers and web sources	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Published and unpolished research	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	