

UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE



**Student Politics and Multiparty Politics in Uganda:
A Case Study of Makerere University**

by

TAABO MUGUME

2903011

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Supervisor: Dr. Thierry Luescher

DECLARATION

I declare that the mini-thesis **Student politics and multiparty politics in Uganda: A case study of Makerere University** is my own work and has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any university. All the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Taabo Mugume

February 2015



Signature



ABSTRACT

The study of student politics in Africa has evolved in the last decade from a focus on non-institutionalised student activism and student movements to institutionalised student political participation in institutions of higher education. Thus it followed a development route in which student leadership had to find new ways in which to organise their movements in institutional, national and continental political organisations to influence policy and remain relevant in students' lives. Since this study focuses on one particular dimension of this change, the study seeks to understand the relationship between student leaders in Makerere University, Kampala, and political parties in Uganda.

The specific focus of the study is on highlighting the reasons for establishing and maintaining the relationship; the arrangements necessary for the relationship to exist, and how the relationship impacts on the ability of student leaders to represent students' interests. Following an analysis of the relevant literature in line with the topic, it was decided that a mixed methods approach would be suitable for the study. Hence in-depth interviews were conducted with student leaders and leaders of national political parties and an online survey targeting all undergraduate students at Makerere University was done (as part of a larger study). Theoretically, the study adopted a framework originally proposed by Schmitter and Streeck (1999), and adapted it to study the relationship between student leaders and political parties, drawing also on the insights of studies that had previously used adaptations of the same framework to study student leadership in other contexts.

The study found a continuing historical relationship between student leaders of Makerere University and political parties in Uganda. It found that a significant number of students are members of a political party, whereby student leaders are most likely not only to be ordinary party members, but party leaders. Political parties use the student guild elections to recruit new members. As part of being members of a political party, student leaders tend to be more influential in weak political parties, in contrast to a ruling party which is more influential in student politics given its ability to provide access to government resources. Moreover, the relationship is such that student leaders from Makerere University are most likely to end up in powerful political positions in the country (e.g. Byaruhanga, 2006; Mugume and Katusiimeh, 2014); this situation corresponds to the reasons that student leaders give for establishing relationships with political parties in the first place, as most student leaders have future political ambitions. The most influential organisations in student politics appear to be political parties, followed by cultural groups on campus. The study also highlights weaknesses in formal institutional governance structures given that student leaders believe

their problems are better addressed in personal networks with members of university management staff than through the committee system.

The relationship between student leaders and political parties generally leads to positive developments such as student leadership training in democratic politics; consequently they are even able to satisfy their personal interests in the process. It is further argued that students who are not in leadership positions mostly gain indirectly from the benefits that student leaders may derive from their relationship with political parties. For example, student leaders may govern their organisation better. However the evidence also strongly shows that such indirect gains are highly compromised in cases where student leaders have future political ambitions, as they may sacrifice the students' interests in order to maintain their good reputation in the party. Since most student leaders aspire to be politicians in future, the study concludes by acknowledging that the relationship between student leaders and political parties has some positive consequences to students not involved in leadership, but they are outweighed by negative consequences. Hence it is argued in the conclusion that, taking into account the scope of this study, the relationship is largely a distraction to the student leaders rather than assisting them in enhancing their ability to represent students' concerns.



Keywords

Higher education; higher education governance; student politics; student leadership; representation; political parties; Makerere University; Uganda

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

BIA	Business Interest Association
CAES	College of Agriculture and Environmental Sciences
CEDAT	College of Engineering, Design, Art and Technology
CEES	College of Education and External Studies
CHET	Centre for High Education Transformation
CHS	College of Health Studies
CHUSS	College of Humanities and Social Sciences
CoBAMS	College of Business and Management Sciences
CoCIS	College of Computing and Information Sciences
CoNAS	College of Natural Sciences
CoVAB	College of Veterinary Medicine and Animal Resources and Biosecurity
DP	Democratic Party
EAU	East African University
ESU	European Students' Union
FDC	Forum for Democratic Change
HERANA	Higher Education Research and Advocacy Network in Africa
LAW	School of Law
MAK	Makerere University
MUPSA	Makerere University Private Students Association
NRM	National Resistance Movement
PP	Political Party
SERU	Student Experience in a Research University
SL	Student Leader
SNL	Students not in Leadership
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
SRC	Student Representative Council
UCT	University of Cape Town
UCU	Uganda Christian University
UDSM	University of Dar es Salaam
UoN	University of Nairobi
UPC	Uganda People's Congress
US	United States
UWC	University of the Western Cape

CHAPTER 1-- INTRODUCTION

Introduction and Background

Student politics generally attracted much attention and therefore a lot of work was published in the 1960s and 1970s. The scholars at the time focused prominently on student movements and student activism both in the industrialized nations of the time, such as the United States (US), and to a lesser extent on student movements in developing nations such as India and some African and Latin American countries. In the US, student movements at the time focused on key issues of the day, such as the Cold War, the Vietnam War, and the black civil rights movement. Student movements also campaigned for an end to colonialism (and, in South Africa, apartheid) in many countries around the world, more especially in Africa where the student movement was closely involved in the struggle for liberation (Altbach, 1966, p. 176; Altbach, 1967, p. 25; Munene, 2003; Byaruhanga 2006, p. 36, 60).

Rudolph, Rudolph and Ahmed (1971) and Lipset (1964, p. 135) argue that students played an important role in liberating the masses mainly from totalitarian regimes around the world. In addition Liebman (1968, pp. 169-170) indicates that students were an important political force in the 1968 movements in Mexico as students worked hand in hand with other dissident movements in the country to challenge the brutality of the state, while the ruling party claimed to be a revolutionary people's movement. The outcomes of this movement would change the political landscape of the country as it was able to show the weaknesses of the ruling regime and of using brutality to preserve its power in Mexico. Furthermore, Scott (1968, pp. 77-78) explains that students in Latin America wanted their political actions to be taken seriously by their governments and therefore some of the students, mainly student leaders, got directly involved in national politics to use the experience achieved through university politics on the national stage.

Rudolph et al. (1971, p. 1659) further argue that during the 1960s and 1970s students who hoped to make it to the national political stage discovered how important it was to get involved in university politics and this contributed to the high levels of activist recruitment in India. Altbach (1966, p. 185) posits that student groups and other formations were very important in grooming future leaders and promoting nationalist ideologies in the 1960s. While Byaruhanga, argues that generally student activism is of paramount importance not only to the institution but to the country as a whole and he outlines that "one of the key reasons for student activism is their consciousness as well as their feeling obligated to become the conscience of society especially on issues of public concern such as democracy and accountability of leaders and their constituents" (Byaruhanga, 2006, p. 139). Byaruhanga further indicates that it is due to such concerns that "students' sense of social obligation has bolstered their willingness to stand visibly, often at personal risk, demanding human rights for themselves and others, as well as changes in University administration and the larger body politic" (Byaruhanga, 2006, p. 139).

Few of the early attempts at understanding the relationship between student leaders and national politics included a focus on political parties in the wake of the student uprisings of the late 1960s. Using an example of the Communist Party in the 1960s in Western countries, it is argued that some of the ways of organising institutionalised student politics was through:

Student political clubs or branches of national political parties, including minority parties, such as the Communist party in Western countries and factional politics, in which student branches of national political parties [would] compete for student support in the struggle to control university government as well as to influence national politics. (Weinberg and Walker, 1969, p. 81)

These are some of the systemic linkages between student politics, the higher education system, and the national political system. Andersen and Pant (1970, p. 942) argue that a clear relationship existed between student politics and party politics. For example they indicated that party leaders influenced decisions on who should represent the party at university level in student elections. Conversely they also found that in their case “political parties are not the prime moving forces in student politics. Rather, they are used by student leaders who need money, present political support, as well as future political contacts to help them in their future political careers” (Andersen and Pant, 1970, p. 943). This suggests that there is a dynamic relationship at play in which resource exchange goes both ways in relation to the two groups of actors, i.e., student leaders and party leaders.

In the Andersen and Pant study of how student politics is influenced by national party politics in India, they further noted that during student leadership campaigns:

The candidates [i.e., student leaders] themselves were expected to raise a part of the sum the rest was donated by ‘friends’. Often these friends turned out to be local political leaders. Donations were not always in the form of money. Often a jeep would be loaned, or pamphlets would be published. (Andersen and Pant, 1970, p. 943)

Fendrich and Lovoy (1988, p. 782) argue that student leaders in many ways end up involved in political party activities and other activities in a society. While Lipset (1966, p. 142) indicates that even though student politics is in most cases more reformist than revolutionary, it typically represents a reflection of national politics, more especially in developing countries due to the historical relationship the student movement tends to have with ruling parties which dates back to the period of the struggle for independence. Hence it is argued that the relationship between student politics and national party politics is more explicit in developing countries than in developed countries. Similarly, Altbach (1984, p. 643) posits that because of their contribution to the struggle for independence, students in developing countries and particularly in Africa have ‘bought’ themselves a legitimate place in national politics. Uganda certainly qualifies as an example in this respect. As a result, even though many governments have tried to push students out of national politics this has frequently proved hard to do and in the process they have merely been able to reduce students’ influence at the national level. These authors highlight the different debates and provide mostly historical explanations for a general understanding of the relationship between student leaders and political parties.

With respect to Makerere University (MAK), the institution became independent from the East Africa University (EAU) in 1963 just after Uganda’s independence (Mutibwa 1992, p. 9; Musisi and Muwanga, 2003, p. 7; Sicherman, 2005, p. 57; Byaruhanga 2006, pp. 18-20). Even though the students from Makerere University have historically been criticized for having been slightly involved

in the struggle for Uganda's independence, Byaruhanga (2006) argues that the relationship between Makerere's student leaders and political parties in Uganda must not be underestimated.

The literature on student politics in Uganda emphasizes the interaction between national politics and student politics with respect to both student issues and matters of national significance. For instance, the effect of national politics on Makerere University would be felt strongly in the 1960s and 1970s, and almost led to a complete destruction of the institution during President Idi Amin's rule (Musisi and Muwanga, 2003, pp. 9-11, 14-15; Sicherman, 2005, p. 108). Following Amin's rule, Sicherman (2005, p. 128) posits that rejuvenating Makerere University began in the late 1980s after President Museveni took power. Byaruhanga (2006, p. 90) also argues that since acquiring independence, student politics in Makerere University has continuously been influenced by national politics. Student politics at Makerere University has been of such national significance that since the 1960s, the resolution of most student strikes at Makerere has involved the State House i.e., the Office of the President. Most student boycotts would end up in a call or a visit by the President to the University and the President making certain promises before the protest could come to an end. In this respect it has been argued that the ruling political party was most likely to make a decision favouring students' demands at MAK if the presidency of the student guild (i.e., the Makerere student government) was occupied by a candidate aligned to their party rather than from the opposition party. In his history of student politics at MAK, Byaruhanga has therefore observed that national government's response to the demands of students has been influenced by student leaders' partisanship (Byaruhanga, 2006).

Considering the relationship between student leaders and political parties, the brief overview of existing literature thus outlines different dimensions to take into account when seeking to understand ways in which the relationship plays itself out. This includes that a distinction may need to be made between the ruling party and opposition parties; levels of policy (student life, university, higher education system, national) and related focus of policy; the ways in which the relationship is established and maintained in the lived experience e.g., by political parties availing career opportunities, resources and other incentives to student leaders while student leaders promote the party ideology in exchange; and lastly, the importance of the national political context overall or 'regime politics' (Weinberg and Walker 1969, p. 82; Byaruhanga 2006, pp. 52, 106, 112).

The literature above indicates that historically the focus has been on non-institutionalised student representation and where attention has been given to institutionalised student representation such as student representative councils (SRCs) and student guilds, no study has focused specifically on the relationship between student leaders in higher education institutions and political parties in Africa and in Uganda in particular. Few scholars such as Byaruhanga (2006) and Lutaakome, Tamale and Ssenkooba (2005) have looked at Makerere University's official student leadership and the structures in place for student representation; in the process they have also provided some insight into on-campus party politics and the influence of national politics on student politics historically in Uganda. A study that looks at the relationship between student leadership and political parties at an institution such as Makerere University would therefore fill a unique gap in the above literature.

This dissertation reports on a study which attempts to understand the relationship between student leaders and political parties at Makerere University in Uganda. The study specifically aims at investigating what the reasons are for student leaders and political parties to establish a

relationship; the required arrangements to establish and maintain the relationship; and the effects of the relationship on shaping student leaders' ability to represent students. The study has a mixed methods design and uses an online-survey tool and in-depth interviews to generate data on the issues under investigation.

Problem Statement and Objectives of the Study

The relationship between student leaders in Makerere University and political parties in Uganda is a historical one; it has faced different challenges depending on the government in power since the country got its independence in 1962 (Byaruhanga, 2005, pp. 41-44). On the one hand, political parties are powerful political institutions which operate at a broad national level; student leaders at Makerere University, on the other hand, only represent a percentage of the general population of students in the country since they operate within a single institution. Student leaders, as members of a political party, only make up a small constituency among many different constituencies in a political party. The main problem here is whether given this unequal playing field, student leaders are able to represent the interests of students as a constituency in Makerere University while being aligned to a political party and whether they can influence what the political party does to promote the interests of Makerere University students.

This study attempts to explain how the relationship between student leaders at Makerere University and political parties in Uganda can be understood. This will be done by trying to answer three sub-questions namely:

What are the reasons for student leaders and political parties to establish relationships?

What arrangements are required between student leaders and political parties to establish and maintain a relationship?

What are the effects of the relationship on student leaders' ability to represent students?

Therefore to answer the above questions, the study focuses on the following objectives:

- ✓ To establish why student leaders at Makerere University associate themselves with political parties.
- ✓ To establish the arrangements required between student leaders and political parties to establish and maintain a relationship.
- ✓ To establish how the relationship shapes the ability of student leaders in Makerere University to represent students.

Rationale and Significance of the Study

The literature on student politics in higher education institutions has historically focused on non-institutionalised student representation such as student movements, activism, and student protests (Lipset and Altbach, 1966; Luescher-Mamashela and Mugume, 2014). Few studies have paid attention to the different forms of institutionalised student representation, such as a student guild, student union, or student representative council. Even fewer studies have looked at the way student

leaders relate with political parties, and no study of this kind has ever been conducted in Uganda (Byaruhanga, 2006). The very few studies in the relevant literature that have focused previously on the relationship (e.g. Weinberg and Walker, 1969) are dated and have been conducted in very different contexts. A preliminary literature review suggests that no such study exists focusing on African countries or on Uganda in particular. Moreover, it is not clear how the relationship between student leaders and political parties impacts on the ability of student leaders to represent students as a constituency. Byaruhanga (2006, pp. 77-85) indicates that student leaders in Makerere University have continuously been involved in the politics of the country. Hence as a result some of the student leaders have ended up as prominent politicians in national politics. Given the knowledge gap, the findings of this study will seek to offer new understandings about why the relationship is established and how it operates, the arrangements characteristic of the relationship, and how this relationship affects the ability of student leaders to represent students. It thus contributes to new knowledge on the relationship between student leaders and political parties, on student political representation in universities in particular and the impact of political parties on student representation and university politics.

Research Design and Methodology

According to Durrheim “a research design is a strategic framework for actions that serve as a bridge between research questions and the execution or implementation of the research” (1999, p. 29). Therefore a research design should be able to outline the steps to be followed in executing the research project. According to Creswell (2009, p. 5), it is a “plan or proposal to conduct research”. This is therefore a procedure designed and utilized by a researcher to purposefully take the necessary steps of conducting systematic research in practice. This study will use a mixed methods research approach. A mixed methods research design basically refers to an approach that uses both the qualitative and quantitative design techniques in the research process. In this study, the two types of methods will be used concurrently to be able to “determine if there is convergence, differences or some combination” in the data sets for triangulation purposes (Creswell, 2009).

To this end, the study has used in-depth interviews, which is a qualitative technique of generating actor-relative perspectives on a research question, and an online survey which is a quantitative technique. In-depth interviews have been used to offer descriptive data in the form of people’s own understandings in relation to the research problem. Respondents could therefore offer a more detailed emic account of how the relationship between student leaders and political parties takes place and in the process present their understandings of the different reasons for the relationship (Rule and John, 2011, p. 30; see Creswell, 2009). In addition, the study has used survey data from a standardized online survey that targeted student leaders and students who were not in leadership positions in MAK (Babbie and Mouton, 2001, p. 232; see Creswell, 2009). This online survey was part of a bigger study at Makerere University conducted by the Higher Education Research and Advocacy Network in Africa (HERANA) for an international research project on student engagement with democracy, diversity and social justice. The HERANA study was conducted by the Centre for Higher Education Transformation (CHET), Cape Town, between November 2013 and January 2014. The survey focused on student leaders and students in general; it included a range of questions specifically designed for, and thus directly related to the research questions of the present study.

The focus of this study has been on student politics at MAK, and particularly on Makerere University student leaders and their relationship with four political parties in Uganda, namely the Democratic Party (DP), Forum for Democratic Change (FDC), National Resistance Movement (NRM) and Uganda People's Congress (UPC). Rule and John state that "a case study is a particular instance [...], a circumstance or problem that requires investigation" (2011, p. 3). A case such as Makerere University should be distinctive. Makerere University was chosen as a case because it is the oldest and most prestigious University in Uganda, and it has the longest relationship with party politics in Uganda (Byaruhanga, 2006, pp. 18-20; Mutibwa, 1992, p. 9). In addition, given that MAK is part of the much bigger HERANA survey (for which the researcher has been acting as a research assistant), generating the data was going to be easier since the researcher would be able to utilize the logistical process funded by CHET for his own study, e.g. in terms of accessing the institution and resources (such as funding for transport costs).

The study focuses on student guild politics at the institution. The Makerere University students' guild is the student government of the institution; it is the oldest, highest and most popular structure of student representation at the University. Moreover, the student guild has enjoyed a long relationship with political parties in the country (Byaruhanga, 2006, pp. 25-29).

Uganda has approximately 38 political parties as per the 2011 general elections and of the four chosen for this study, two were formed even before independence. The parties include DP and UPC which were formed in 1954 and 1960 respectively (Mutibwa 1992, pp. 12-16; Electoral Commission of Uganda, 2013), while the NRM and FDC were formed after Uganda's independence in 1986 and 2004 respectively (FDC, 2013; NRM, 2013). According to the Electoral Commission of Uganda (2013) the seats each political party won in the latest 2011 national parliamentary elections are as follows: DP 12 seats, UPC 9 seats, NRM 263 seats and FDC with 34 seats. Hence they are ranked as the top four political parties in the country, with the NRM as the ruling party. Hence they were selected for the study, in addition to their historical significance in the politics of Uganda. The study has investigated the extent of their support among student leaders in MAK. According to Rule and John (2011, p. 7), studying Makerere University as a single case will result in a deeper and more intensive focus which will allow this study to offer more detailed explanations as to the relationship between student leaders and these four political parties.

In addition to the online survey with student leaders and students in general, in-depth interviews with guild cabinet members, the dean of students, party leaders and student leaders of non-partisan student organisations in Makerere University have been conducted. The latter include the Rotaract Club of Makerere University (MAK Rotaract Club) and Makerere University Private Students Association (MUPSA). Purposive sampling has been used for selecting the respondents for the in-depth interviews of the study. According to Creswell (2009, p. 217) and Coyne (1997, p. 623) the main reason behind this sampling method is that it allows the researcher to choose information-rich respondents for the study. Conversely, the online survey conducted by HERANA targeted all undergraduate students at Makerere University as well as all student leaders as a sub-group of the undergraduates. This was done using a census design. The two design techniques outlined above are explained in detail in chapter three.

The researcher expects that given the information above, this research design and methods has allowed the researcher to generate data to conduct the necessary analysis so as to answer the research question proposed in this section.

Structure of the Dissertation

The thesis is divided into six chapters and each chapter is divided into subsections. Chapter one is the introduction. It introduces the background of the dissertation and outlines the main research problem. It presents the aims and objectives of this study and also gives the rationale for carrying out this study. The researcher has also briefly outlined the research design and methods used to carry out the study.

Chapter two discusses the literature review. The researcher conducted a literature review that focused on student politics and its relation to national and political party politics. This is followed by the theoretical framework for the study. It outlines the Schmitter and Streeck (1999) framework and the process of adapting it for this study, eventually highlighting how it is used to analyse and interpret the collected data.

Chapter three focuses on the research methodology. It outlines the research design and methods that have been used; how data was collected and analysed; as well as the ethics statement and the limitations of the study.

Chapter four introduces the analysis of the data. It introduces the data and analyses it in relation to the theoretical framework proposed in chapter two. It also begins noting findings from the study.

Chapter five continues with the analysis but focuses the discussion particularly on the research questions. It therefore attempts to answer the research questions and discusses the findings and their implications. Findings have been discussed in terms of the theory as well as the existing literature.

Chapter six is the conclusion. It gives a summary of the whole study and reiterates what has emerged from the findings of the study in relation to the research question for this study. Furthermore, the chapter proposes areas for further research and reflects on the limitations of the study.

CHAPTER 2--LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This chapter is divided into two main parts. The first part outlines what is known of the history of student politics, student movements, activism and protests as it applies to this study. It pays attention to the different debates around student politics historically - first internationally, then in Africa, and eventually focusing on Uganda and Makerere University in particular. It shows how student politics interacts with national politics and in particular how student leaders interact with political parties. One of the findings of the review is that recently there is a notable shift in the literature from an almost exclusive focus on non-institutionalised student politics to institutionalised student politics as an international trend. This first part of the chapter ends by reviewing the literature on student politics, political parties and student leaders, representation and its forms; then it ends with a discussion of literature about the noticeable enabling and disabling conditions of representation. The second part of the chapter proposes a theoretical framework used in the study. The Schmitter and Streeck (1999) framework was originally developed for the study of Business Interest Associations (BIA). The discussion reviews earlier studies of student politics that have adopted and used the framework, and it proposes a way of adapting the framework for the purposes of this study.



The academic study of student politics dates at least back to the 1960s, coinciding with growing student unrest across developing and developed countries. The literature thus highlights a historical period of mainly student activism and a focus on the role of student movements; a period in which the activity of student politics within many institutions of higher education was predominantly non-institutionalised (Altbach, 1967; Lipset and Altbach, 1966; Munene, 2003). In its wake came an international trend of institutionalising student politics especially in the late 1960s and 1970s which generated considerably less studies (Luescher-Mamashela, 2010; Luescher-Mamashela and Mugume, 2014). Scholars have outlined different reasons for allowing student representation in institutional governance which include the notion that student representation improves the quality of decisions made and also that by students participating in governance it means they will more readily accept the outcome of decisions. It is argued that students will have a strong sense of ownership of the decisions made. Institutionalised student participation in the way in which they are governed also means student representatives can diffuse potential conflicts as long as they command the legitimacy of the student population (Amutabi, 2002; Klemenčič, 2011; Luescher-Mamashela, 2010). Institutionalising student leadership therefore refers to institutional management allowing the participation of students in the governing of the institution and this may include for example elected student leaders attending meetings of governing bodies and committees within the institution, such as Senate, Council and many more; for example student representatives in the residences collaborate with particular structures within the institution such as the office of the dean of students to deal with any problems that may be raised by resident students (Luescher-Mamashela, 2010; Mugume and Katusiimeh, 2014).

Student politics has historically been influenced by party politics in different contexts internationally. It is strongly argued that during the period of non-institutionalised student politics, party politics influenced the resolution of concerns of students expressed in the form of activism and student movements. For example during colonial rule, nationalistic political parties sided with student leaders in the fight for independence (Andersen and Pant, 1970; Lipset, 1966). After institutionalising student politics, space has been created within institutional management mainly within the structures of management to ensure that students can be involved in the way their institutions are run and the relationship with political parties thus creates a different set of dynamics (Luescher-Mamashela and Mugume, 2014; Mugume and Katusiimeh, 2014). Therefore in the contemporary political environment where multi-party democracy has become wide-spread internationally, political parties which are at the core of democratic leadership have also become influential at institutions of higher learning (Coy and Pratt, 1996). Even in countries that have not gone through national democratisation processes along the model of Western democracy such as the People's Republic of China, political parties are still highly influential in university politics, as for example the Chinese Communist Party, which recruits members from among students on the university campuses (Guo, 2005).

Student Leaders and Political Parties

As much as the process of institutionalising student politics through formal representation has allowed students to organise at institutions of higher learning, students still organise also nationally, for example in national student unions or associations. The institutionalisation of representation may also have a national dimension, in that formal student representatives are included in national (or even supra-national) policy-making bodies. In some countries, however, the institutionalisation of student politics and organising still remains a challenge. According to Shin, Kim and Choi (2014) the Korean government, for example, does not allow nation-wide student unions as a way of avoiding the level of destabilisation such an organisation or union can have if given such power. Conversely in Europe, students have been allowed to form unions at all levels, basically from the institutional (or even sub-institutional) level all the way to the continental level, as evidenced in the European Students' Union (ESU) (Jungblut and Weber, 2012; Klemenčič, 2012).

In relation to African students on the continent, some countries have embraced the practice of student organising groups, for example by forming institutional or national unions, even though in a few countries this remains a challenge (Fongwa and Ngeke, 2014; Luescher-Mamashela and Mugume, 2014; Mugume and Katusiimeh, 2014). Just like in Korea some states on the continent fear the ability of students to organise. Institutions of higher learning have taken different routes on the continent: in some countries institutions have followed the government policy as requested by the state, by banning student unions even in the institutions. Even where it is nationally allowed, some institutions have taken various routes of either enabling or restricting student organising, for example, by allowing students to organise only to a certain extent. In Uganda for example potential student leaders in some institutions such as the Uganda Christian University (UCU) have to go through a vetting process before being able to run as candidates in student elections. The process gives the institution considerable power in deciding who becomes the guild president of the institution; moreover institutions of higher learning founded on religious grounds in Uganda don't allow student leaders to affiliate with political parties (Mugume and Katusiimeh, 2014; UCU, 2014).

Therefore clearly the interaction between student leaders and political parties happens in different ways internationally; however it is also clear that allowing student organising, recognising student leadership structures as formal structures in institutions of higher learning, and institutionalising student representation is popular internationally and tends to increase over time (Jungblut and Weber, 2012; Klemenčič, 2012; Luescher-Mamashela and Mugume, 2014).

The literature points to recruitment as being one of the main reasons for the relationship between student leaders and political parties, even though there are also many other reasons outlined (Andersen and Pant, 1970; Byaruhanga, 2006; Weinberg and Walker, 1969). Recruitment may refer to identifying and accepting new members into the party as an initial phase of membership; it may also refer to the process within the party to recruit existing party members in certain party positions (committees or leadership positions) or selection of members to serve as party representatives in a constituency (Weinberg and Walker, 1969). According to Seligman, recruitment is not unproblematic:

Recruitment in parties is the work of groups with various interests and goals. The linkages among these groups, or small networks, outline the party structure. Since recruitment groups have their own goals, there is unequal sharing of the larger party goals. (Seligman, 1961, p. 86)

Therefore, considering Seligman's argument in light of the relationship between student leaders and a political party, it may be argued that the student leaders represent a single constituency among many constituencies in a political party, which complicates the power dynamics within the party. The following section will therefore attempt to discuss the literature on recruitment in relation to political parties and student leadership.

Party Recruitment

Weinberg and Walker (1969, p. 82) argue for two main reasons behind the relationship between student leaders and political parties. On the part of the political parties the need exists to renew party membership and leadership through recruitment of young leaders; on the part of student leaders the main consideration appears to be potential career opportunities availed in or through the political party. Weinberg and Walker therefore consider career recruitment to be one of the main 'system linkages' in the relationship between student leaders and political parties, and is facilitated through political clubs or party branches on campus. Hooghe et al. (2004) recognises the presence of youth structures within political parties and then how such structures may be linked to student leadership structures as noted above in the form of party branches at institutions of higher learning. They then argue that the main role a youth organisation within a party plays is to recruit members, even though they also hold other activities which may not directly involve recruiting members but have an indirect link to ensuring that the organisation can recruit members into the main party. Apart from youth organisations, student activism also plays a role in party recruitment. Thus, even though Rochford (2012, p. 193) pays more attention to the university and student leadership relationship, the author highlights that through student activism and unionism, many current Australian politicians had become politically active and played a role in the political battles of the 1960s and 1970s in Australian universities. Student activism introduced them to the political battlefield which also involved political parties, and in the process they have ended up becoming

national leaders. Rocheford (2012) thus highlights how national leaders have historically been groomed through their engagement with national party leaders.

According to Guo, it is not easy for political parties to recruit new members; hence “college students make excellent targets for the Party. They are well organised, easy to contact and eager to learn. They are young and thus can contribute to the Party’s cause for a long time” (2005, p. 392). Similarly, Szelényi (1987) considers the educated youth as being extremely important in the recruitment process since they are the most likely future party leaders.

Hooghe, Stolle and Stouthuysen (2004) in their attempt to understand the role played by the youth in political parties, indicate that the youth have traditionally been considered important not only for party leadership regeneration but as a membership base generally. The youth’ understanding of the current state of politics offers an insight into the future of a particular political party in general. They argue that as a result political parties create spaces for the political socialisation of the youth for them to understand, for example, the party’s ideology and also to get used to other party traditions. In addition they argue that political parties focus on the youth because having an effect on young people’s lives at an early age creates a lasting impact. The problem of recruitment is exacerbated in the case of traditional political parties: unless they are successful in recruiting, they constantly have fewer and fewer members, this means the pool from which to choose the party leadership shrinks. This is shown to be a problem emerging due to the failure by political parties to replace the ageing party members with young blood (Hooghe et al., 2004; Weinberg and Walker, 1969).

In terms of recruitment as a way of creating career opportunities for the students or youth party members, it is argued that, “if youth organisations function as a recruitment channel for the adult party, it is possible that members who were youth party members received a political career boost and competitive advantages compared to their colleagues who were recruited in some other way” (Hooghe et al., 2004, p. 201). Therefore while the party looks to recruit, the student leaders also look at the opportunity with a view towards their own future, as they may need endorsement by the party in the future for promotions in the party. Hooghe et al. (2004) further showed that party members generally would want an old member in the party, most likely a former student leader to take up the more important political positions in the party and in the process putting those old members (mostly former student leaders) at an advantage.

Through the above mentioned structures, the relationship between students and political parties does impact on student leaders in different ways. Guo (2005) argues that in China:

Since the 1990s Party organisations (branches) at universities and colleges have greatly stepped up their efforts at ideological and political work. The immediate impact of 1989 on Party organisations’ work can be exemplified by Guangxi University [where more students got involved in activities of the Party organisation. (Guo, 2005, p. 382)

The reference to 1989 highlights the repression of the student-led pro-democracy protests in China, which is generally referred to as the Tiananmen Square Massacre, and which involved many students who joined the student movement against the Communist Party government in China. Now, before the party structure at a Chinese institution of higher learning can start recruiting,

The whole recruitment process begins with the local Party organisation obtaining a quota and/or guidelines for recruiting new members from the upper level. The number of new party members recruited from the student body each year is set down by party committees at various levels in their five year plan. (Guo, 2003, p. 380)

This highlights the formalised process of the recruitment role played by party structures within institutions of learning and also shows the limited control that student leaders have over the process in the case of this example, since it is the party that even decides the numbers of new members to be recruited. In the case of Poland, the importance of the role played by student leaders in shaping Polish national politics can be noted even before the period of democratisation (1950s and 1960s). This highlights a historical relationship between student leadership in Poland and national politics (Antonowicz, Pinheiro and Smużewska, 2014).

Representation

The discussion of the literature in this chapter has begun by noting the growing significance of, and scholarly attention paid to institutionalised student representation; this coincides with the spread of multi-party representative democracy after 1989 in Eastern Europe, parts of Asia and Africa. Thus, it would be important to understand the different ways in which representation actually takes place as part of considering the relevant literature. This will help in understanding how the literature informs the impact of the relationship between political parties and student leaders whereby the latter are meant to be representing both the student constituency and the interests of the party concerned.

Antonowicz, Pinheiro and Smużewska (2014) argue that the democratisation process in Poland was accompanied with a transformation in higher education legislation to allow student representation in institutions of higher learning nationwide. This led to the formation of two main student bodies in the country namely the Association of Polish Students (ZSP) and the Independent Association of Students (NZS). They came to compete against each other in national politics as NZS worked with the new Solidarity Movement, while ZSP worked with the Communist Party:

In essence, this meant that student leaders were more accountable to political parties (and their vested interests) than their student peers. Political affiliation was a major source of power for ZSP and NZS, providing their formal leaders with a respectable position on the domestic political scene. Yet, this proximity to party politics was the main reason why, for the most part, student leaders failed to advocate students' interests, including their active role in policymaking. (Antonowicz, et al., 2014, p. 475)

Antonowicz et al. (2014, pp. 476-478) offer an example of the Student Parliament of the Republic of Poland (PSRP) which was formed in 1995 after five years since the dawn of democracy in that country. This brought the different student organisations in the country together to represent students' interests nationally. The formation of RPSRP was a result of the intense influence of party politics on the prevailing student organisations at the time (ZSP and NZS). Hence through a bottom up process, a form of 'movement' made up of students from different student organisations in the country emerged in the process which was against the intense influence of party politics on student

organisations. The group advocated for a more independent student voice which would express pro-students' concerns rather than the concerns of the political parties they affiliated to. As noted above PRSP was formed and it was able to maintain its independence from political party affiliation hence able to use the membership base to influence government showing "PSRP's direct engagement in policymaking while working on the new HE legal framework; interestingly, the new legislation was prepared by rectors and students under the political patronage of the Polish president himself bypassing the Ministry of Science and Higher Education" (Antonowicz et al., 2014, p. 478).

Therefore having noted above high levels of party influence on student leaders, the last quote shows how well organised students are able to influence policy in a country if they decide to work together in the interest of the whole student constituency.

The case of Poland analysed by Antonowicz et al. (2014) illustrates different aspects of the student-party relationship in student leaders' attempts to represent students. The following discussion focuses on trying to understand the concept of representation in its different forms. In the process, it seeks to conceptualise different ways of representing and how that influences the ability of the representatives to represent.

Forms of Representation

Representation has historically been conceptualised in various ways and one of the major scholars, Hannah Pitkin, argues that representation "... means the making present in some sense of something which is nevertheless not present literally or in fact" (Pitkin, 1972, p. 9). Representation in other words, involves representing one or something which is absent. While Lavallo, Houtzager and Castello (2005) highlight that for understanding representation the autonomy of the representative has to be considered and his or her genuine commitment to the interests of the represented. Therefore from the view point of representing the interests of the represented, those who are represented have to be part of the process in one way or another. Political representation refers to when an individual or a group of people stand for or act on behalf of the other individual or group of people (Heywood, 2002; Vieira and Runciman, 2008). Heywood (2002) and, Vieira and Runciman (2008) categorise representation in four ways.

Heywood (2002) outlines the trust model, delegate model, mandate model and resemblance model of representation, which will be explained further in detail.

According to Heywood (2002, p. 225) the trust model refers to a form of representation where by the representative is trusted with the responsibility of acting in the interest of the represented. Therefore the representative is empowered to interpret what is in the interest of the represented and then makes a moral judgment call on behalf of the represented. Critics of the model argue that it gives the representative a lot of power hence it can be easily abused, as the representatives can begin to promote their personal selfish interests while arguing that they are the interests of the represented person or group (Heywood, 2002). The delegate model refers to a "person who is chosen to act for another on the basis of clear guidance or instructions" (Heywood, 2002, p. 225). This is almost the opposite of the trustee model. The representative's personal judgment does not apply but rather conveys the views or interests as presented to him or her by the represented. Hence the delegate becomes an ambassador. Critics of the model argue that it breeds narrowness since it focuses on the constituency rather than the nation at large hence emphasising narrow group

interests rather than national interests (Heywood, 2002). The mandate model on the other hand relates to a modern understanding of a political representative. While the trust and delegate models considered a representative as an individual, with the emergence of political parties the mandate is given through the party. When the political party wins an election, it means it has got the mandate of the population to implement its policies. Politicians or political representatives are therefore considered to be representing their constituencies so long as they stay loyal to the political party and its policies rather than what the constituency in singular may want. However the critics of the model point to its over focusing on the voting behaviour of the electorate, assuming that voters are always rational and well informed, which may not be the case (Heywood, 2002). The resemblance model refers to a representative who actually shares the sameness or likeliness with the group he or she represents. This may mean same race, religion and gender (Heywood, 2002). However this is still looking at representation in narrow terms and as a result the interests of the represented may not actually be promoted since for example, even though the representative may be of the same race or gender, he or she may be of a different social class and thus look at the concerns of the represented in a different way.

Vieira and Runciman (2008) explain representation as identification, the Principal-agent representative, Mandate, trustee. Vieira and Runciman (2008) argue that 'trustee' representation is somehow explained in a similar way as in Heywood (2002) - a form of representation where the agent is trusted with the power to make decisions on behalf of the represented. It is noted that "trustees are, in this respect their own persons"; it has been argued that in a real legal sense trusteeship should not be considered as a form of representation (Vieira and Runciman, 2008, pp. 74-75). According to Vieira and Runciman (2008, p. 74) 'mandate' representation refers to a form of representation whereby the principal has to be consulted constantly by the agent to ensure that the agent does exactly as instructed by the represented, similar to Heywood's (2002) ambassador as discussed above (delegate model of representation). The representative in this case acts as an extension of the represented and the challenge is that since the representative is not supposed to independently think and act in the interest of the represented, it becomes very mechanical and therefore inconvenient. Representation as identification refers to the form of representation that takes place when someone identifies with the actions of another person, "in a way that gives that individual a stake in the other's actions" (Vieira and Runciman, 2008, p. 80). Therefore the main reason behind being represented should be that the person who claims to be represented (principal) must identify with the agent. For example, a member of parliament who stands in support of the gay community may identify with other gay people around the country while he may not represent their particular community. Vieira and Runciman (2008) outline the 'principal-agent representative'. They explain that this refers to where the principal who may be a person or a group appoints another person to perform certain actions on their behalf. The main purpose of this kind of agreement is to ensure that the agent basically promotes the interests of the principal and these interests can be defined in a narrow sense or more broadly depending on the needs of the principal. This relationship runs both ways, from the principal to the agent and back from the agent to the principal. In addition the presence of the principal is very important in the actions of the agent, thus implying that the principal may have a level of control over what the agent actually does (Vieira and Runciman, 2008).

In relation to the principal-agent representation model, the principal may want to know how the interests of the agent match with his/her own, what other factors may influence the actions of the representative such as personal interests, expectations of the agent in the relationship.

Agents will want to know: what degree of responsibility are their principals willing to take for their actions? What level of scrutiny are they subject to? How clearly defined are their principals' interests? Third parties will want to know as far as possible, the answers to all these questions because much of their own behaviour will depend on how they understand the respective interests, liabilities and dependence of the two parties they are dealing with. (Vieira and Runciman, 2008, p. 70)

Therefore the principal, the agent and any third party who may be involved in such a principal-agent relationship will want to know the different dynamics around it.

The scholars above explain the different ways through which an individual or a group can be best represented; however they also outline the different criticisms noted under each form of representation. Heywood (2002) and, Vieira and Runciman (2008) consider trustee representation and in their explanations they show that under this form of representation there is a high level of trust between the represented and the representative, hence the representative is allowed to make decisions on behalf of the represented without constant consultation. Therefore one indicator of the relationship is that the representative enjoys a high level of autonomy in terms of decision making on behalf of the represented, since he or she is empowered to make a judgment call on what is in the interest of the represented. But it also becomes more clear that this form of representation requires a more qualified or competent representative. Given the level of autonomy, when the representatives begin to use the power entrusted to them to promote personal interests, it indicates a failure to represent the interests of those they represent hence representation is compromised. In relation to mandate representation, Heywood, (2002) and, Vieira and Runciman, (2008) argue that the representatives in this case have less autonomy since as an indicator of representation they must constantly consult with the represented given that they act as ambassadors, thus only relay decisions discussed with the represented. This indicates a high level of accountability by the representatives or less autonomy since the represented is able to constantly monitor whether the representative is actually doing what she or he is being told. Therefore in comparison to the trustee model, this may not require a very competent individual but rather someone more loyal and a better negotiator on behalf of the represented so as to push through the ideas or policies wanted by the constituency. It becomes hard for the representatives to promote personal interests since they have less autonomy and interests are strictly defined with the inclusion or presence of the represented. Failure to constantly account and listen to what the represented wants done, means representation is compromised. In relation to resemblance representation, the representative may share just some of the important variables relating to the two actors in the relationship, which may mean that given certain circumstances the representative may not represent the interests of the represented, hence compromising representation. The earlier example noted that they may be of the same race or gender while they belong to different social classes in society. Considering electoral politics, it is also noted that the interests of the electorate are the policies of the winning party in an election. Therefore if the political party as a representative or its politicians as individual representatives are not loyal to, or following the party's policies from the manifesto and implement them, then representation in that context is compromised. While in relation to the principal-agent representation, the agent is basically given permission by the principal to promote their interests but the principal has to constantly be part of the activities of the agent so as to ensure that there is control on what the agent is doing on their behalf. Hence the need for the principal to understand

the personal interests of the agent so that the agent does not use the opportunity to promote her or his personal interests. When the principal loses control over the agent or cannot monitor what the agent is doing, representation is compromised since the agent can easily use the opportunity to represent personal interests (Heywood, 2002; Vieira and Runciman, 2008).

Representation is noted above to play out in two main forms namely; trustee representation and mandate as to Vieira and Runciman (2008), or delegate representation to Heywood (2002). The two forms of representation appear to be of great importance in relation to the research question since the final sub-question attempts to understand the impact of the relationship on the ability of student leaders to represent the interests of students. Therefore in the process of representing students, there may be enabling and disabling factors or conditions to the process of representing (Heywood, 2002; Vieira and Runciman, 2008). The suggested conditions in relation to the above discussion are explained below.

Enabling and Disabling Conditions of Representation

The following discussion will focus on conditions which appear to emerge from the above discussion in relation to the ability of a representative to represent. It appears that there may be enabling and disabling conditions as explained below; most especially for each enabling condition there appears to be factors which may be disabling on the other hand. Hence the presence of an enabling condition allows or creates a suitable environment for the representative to represent while disabling conditions lead to the opposite in relation to representation.

Trust. In the context of the above discussion trust refers to the represented having confidence or faith in the representative, most especially when the representative has been given a lot of power such as to take decisions on behalf of the representative without constant consultation. Hence trust becomes an enabling condition among actors to ensure representation. This may even be more relevant to the study since student leaders are elected to represent all other students first and foremost at the institution and then off-campus, but the students may not be able to control how they are represented off-campus. The relationship between student leaders and political parties focuses on student leaders and political parties as the two main actors (principal and agent) while the students become a third party. This leaves student leaders with a great deal of power in relation to representation, hence it is important for the student leaders to be trusted by the students in general at the institution. The lack of trust compromises representation, since then students who are not in leadership positions may then carry perceptions that they are not actually being represented by the student leaders. This may result into student leaders using the opportunity to promote their personal interests rather than the interests of the students who are not in leadership, since students are third parties in the relationship. This may lead to corruption as explained below.

Corruption. This may refer to the representative using that position of power entrusted to her or him by the constituency to make personal gains at the expense of those he or she is meant to represent as noted in the discussion above. Corruption therefore compromises the activity of representation and it becomes a disabling condition in the whole process since it directly breaks the trust as discussed above.

Autonomy. This may refer to the level of independence a representative may have to make decisions on behalf of the represented as discussed above. Since this autonomy also allows the representative to think rationally about the decisions she or he makes, hence she or he has to be trusted with such power. While according to the discussion under the different forms of representation it becomes clear that the level of consultation is important so as to enable the representative to have time to listen to the concerns of those she or he has to represent. Therefore what follows from the discussion is that enabling conditions for representation should be inclusive of a level of autonomy to the representative but also a level of consultation and therefore focusing on only full autonomy for the representative or consulting the represented on each and every decision she or he has to take may end into compromising representation. Since the representative on the one hand she or he becomes very powerful and can easily abuse power or the process may alternatively become very mechanical that making a single decision may take weeks or even months.

Competence. This suggests the ability of the representative to carry out her or his duties of representation. On the one hand when given autonomy, to therefore be able to understand the dynamics of representation and the institutions of leadership so as to make the best decision for those represented; while on the other hand in the process of consultation, to be able to facilitate the process of members raising concerns and contributing possible solutions. This may require a better negotiator and a loyal representative. Therefore in every type or form of representation to be adapted by a constituency, the competence of a representative becomes an enabling condition for representation. The incompetence of a representative therefore results into compromising representation.

Ruling party and opposition party. It also emerges from evidence in the literature that actually recruiting new members is the main aim of the party while student leaders want career opportunities from the relationship. Therefore it becomes clear that the ability in the case of student leaders to represent students is in one way or the other related to whether the political parties they are affiliated to are in power or not. If in power they can represent students' interests while opposition parties may struggle to do the same. While a ruling party may be able to offer more career opportunities mainly in government for the student leaders, it may therefore be able to recruit more student leaders in comparison to opposition parties.

Having explained the suggested enabling and disabling conditions above, the discussion above started by offering an insight into a brief history of student politics generally and how it has been influenced by party politics but also traces and pays close attention to the relationship between institutionalised student leadership and political parties. It is argued above that this relationship is driven by the need to recruit on the side of the political party while student leaders also need career opportunities which they can access through the political party. The discussion finally pays close attention to representation in the context of this study by pointing out particular indicators to notice representation but also when it is compromised according to Heywood (2002) and, Vieira and Runciman (2008). This study focuses on a relationship between student leaders and political parties. However one of the research questions is to what extent the relationship actually affects the ability of student leaders to represent students hence the need to assess the enabling and disabling conditions in the last section of the discussion.

Through an analysis of the data generated the discussion in Chapters 4 and 5 attempts to assess how the above models of representation can be applied to the relationship under study. But it also attempts to understand when the interests of the represented (students not in leadership) are actually best represented. The following discussion outlines the theoretical framework, how such a framework has been used before and the process of adapting it to this study, but in relation to answering the research questions.

Theoretical Framework

This section focuses on the theoretical framework used in the study and the discussion is divided into three sections; the first section outlines the Schmitter and Streeck (1999) framework; the second section highlights other studies in which scholars have adapted the Schmitter and Streeck (1999) framework to study student representation; and the third section discusses the process of adapting the framework to this study in order to understand the relationship between student leaders and political parties in Uganda. Originally, Schmitter and Streeck developed *The Organisation of Business Interests* framework in 1981 but then later re-examined and published it in 1999 (Schmitter and Streeck, 1999). The following discussion outlines the 1999 framework.

The Organisation of Business Interests: Studying the Associative Actions of Business in Advanced Industrial Societies

The framework by Schmitter and Streeck (1999) was initially designed in an attempt to study the reasons why independent business investors (i.e. capitalists) in industrialized countries come together to form business organisations intended to protect and represent their interests. The framework criticises the attention given to workers by most scholars and outlines that in much of the literature while much noise is generated about the subject of workers organising themselves there is noticeable silence about the subject of capitalists organising themselves (Schmitter and Streeck 1999, p. 9). Schmitter and Streeck (1999, p. 9) note two reasons which may lead to such lack of attention. Firstly, they argue that it is as if scholars question the legality of capital owners organising themselves through organisations to protect their interests, while on the other hand employees coming together to form unions in order to protect their interest are looked at as brave or courageous. Secondly, since business owners conduct business in private and with concealment, accessing information to write about Business Interest Associations (BIAs) may become a hindrance to scholars.

Therefore given the challenges, the framework attempts to address the subject of organising capitalists and the complexities involved in such relationships. Moreover Schmitter and Streeck (1999, p. 12) argue that independent capitalists ought to compete rather than cooperate with each other and that business culture tends to lack trust between investors. Hence they argue that to understand this relationship, at least one should consider why the capitalists would want to come together given their differences, what the required organisational mechanisms are for these investors to work together in organisations that protect them to achieve their business objectives. Furthermore the question arises whether organisations formed to protect the interests of investors end up assuming control over their members in the same way organisations formed by employees, i.e., trade unions, assume control over their members (Schmitter and Streeck, 1999, p. 10). Their framework considers two potential 'logics' used in organising the above interests: a logic of

membership and a logic of influence. However in relation to these two competing logics, it is argued that BIAs should organise themselves in two ways. BIAs must, on the one hand, structure their associations to act so as to offer sufficient incentives to their members to extract from them adequate resources to ensure their survival, if not growth. On the other hand, they must be organised in such a way as to offer sufficient incentives to enable them to gain access to and exercise adequate influence over public authorities (or conflicting class associations). They have to therefore extract from this exchange adequate resources (recognition, toleration, concessions and subsidies) which enable them to survive and prosper (Schmitter and Streeck, 1999, p. 19).

The framework focuses on two main logics of exchange in order to explain the different levels of interaction which leads to the exchanges. It expresses how capitalists interact with the organisation and then how such an organisation which is meant to represent their interests interacts with the state, state institutions, as well as workers' organisations such as trade unions.

In addition, Schmitter and Streeck (1999, p. 19) explain that the logic of influence had also been classified in an earlier 1973 study in relation to specific activities referred to as 'administrative rationality' and 'representative rationality'. Administrative rationality can be referred to as the 'logic of efficient implementation' which relates to how specific results are achieved with "certainty and economy" while involving properties such as "reutilisation of operation, specialisation of functions, directness of communication and speed in decision making" (Schmitter and Streeck, 1999, p. 19). This directly refers to the relationship between the investors' organisation and state institutions responsible for making and implementing policies which may affect the organisation. Hence the process is close to the logic of influence. Representative rationality on the other hand can be referred to as 'the logic of goal formation':

Which involves a flexibility of operations (sufficient) to suit the needs of different membership groups, a duplication of functions in order to build checks and balances into union control, a multiplicity of communications in order to allow the maximum possible interchange and collation of opinion, and a holding back of decision-making until every view point has been expressed. (Schmitter and Streeck, 1999, pp. 19-20)

This directly refers to the relationship between the individual capitalists or their firms as members of a particular investors' organisation and the process of reaching decisions within the organisations which are agreeable to the different investors. This is therefore close to the logic of membership.

The Logic of Influence and Membership

The logic of influence relates to how organised interests influence policy processes and how such influence can be directed, directly at the state, or at other state institutions or to actors such as the trade unions in the case of the workers' relation to BIAs. The framework outlines that in the process attention is given to factors such as the rules of the game, access, the institutional frame work, political culture and many others. The framework focuses on detailed explanations of factors or variables which influence the relationships. Specific circumstances can then explain the national and sector specific conditions of the relationship (Schmitter and Streeck, 1999, pp. 19-39).

The logic of membership is meant to outline a number of factors which can affect members of the business community. It relates to how members get involved in the formulation of goals they design

to protect their interests. These goals are then promoted by the BIA on behalf of its members. The framework offers the following variables: membership numbers, equality, competition, interdependence, heterogeneity, turnover, social cohesion, profitability and growth (Schmitter and Streeck, 1999, pp. 19-24). Figure 1 shows this relationship in the two outlined logics, i.e., membership and influence, and how the different actors theoretically interact.

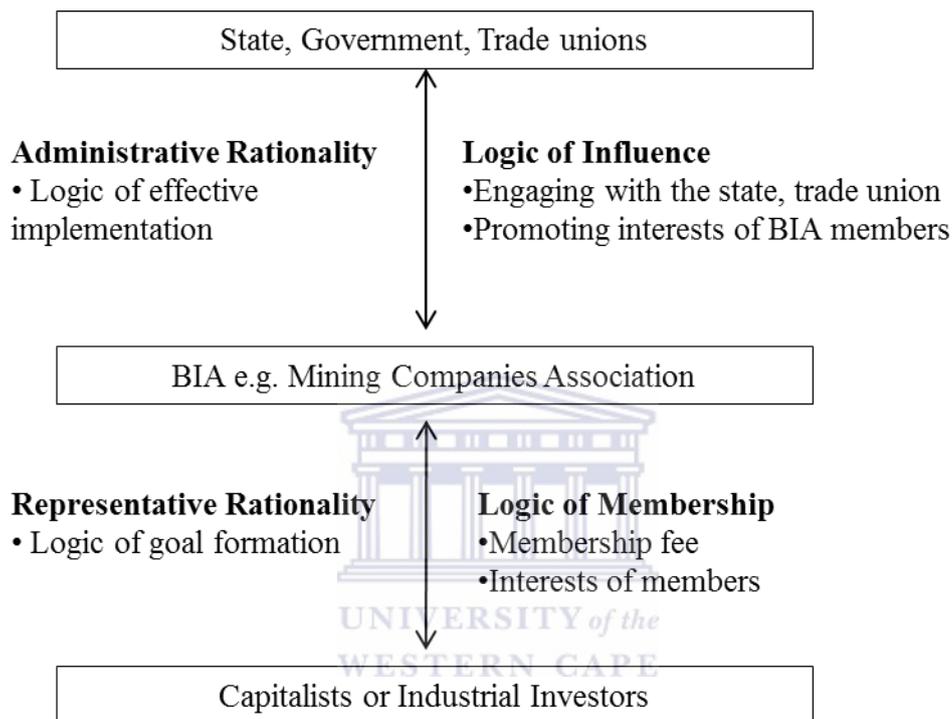


Figure 1. The relationship among capitalists, the firm (BIA) and the State, state agencies, trade unions

Figure 1 illustrates how the different actors associate considering the two logics of association. The Figure indicates that capitalists or investors may form a BIA which can protect their interests as members. The BIA therefore ensures that the interests of its members are promoted and defended before other actors and that is referred to as the logic of membership. Thus, the interests or agendas of members are set and then advocated for by the BIA. These interests are mainly directed at the government and other institutions and organisations within the State as well as trade unions. The BIA intentionally influences, for example, policy positions in favour of its members and that is referred to as the logic of influence as indicated in the figure above. Through a representative rationality, goals are formulated by the members of a BIA which are then defended by the BIA and this is referred to as the logic of goal formation, while the different sufficient ways used to ensure proper implementation and thus to achieve the set goals are referred to as the logic of effective implementation.

In relation to Figure 1 above, the framework further offers a more detailed outlook of the relationship through a matrix by paying close attention to the two sets of logical alternatives noted above. Therefore Schmitter and Streek (1999, p.20) argue “attending to all of these would involve an association in four types of activity: Participation for Members, Representation of Members, Services to Members and Control over Members – each with a corresponding type of modal “good”. Thus, the framework outlines four types of associative actions and related types of goods in the matrix. The goods may be solidaristic, public, monopolistic, selective or authoritarian in nature. It is argued here that as associations structure themselves organisationally to provide only one “logic” of social action they transform themselves, at the extreme, into another type of social organisation (Schmitter and Streek, 1999, p. 20). Such organisations in relation to the modal “good” include a club, movement, government and a firm respectively. Figure 2 shows the above explained relationship in more detail, outlining the struggle in the nature of business associations as they act as intermediates between firms and state agencies. On the one hand, BIAs must reward members while they must also get resources from them which are used by the BIA to survive and be able to influence other actors in the process. It shows the transformation of an association in these circumstances.

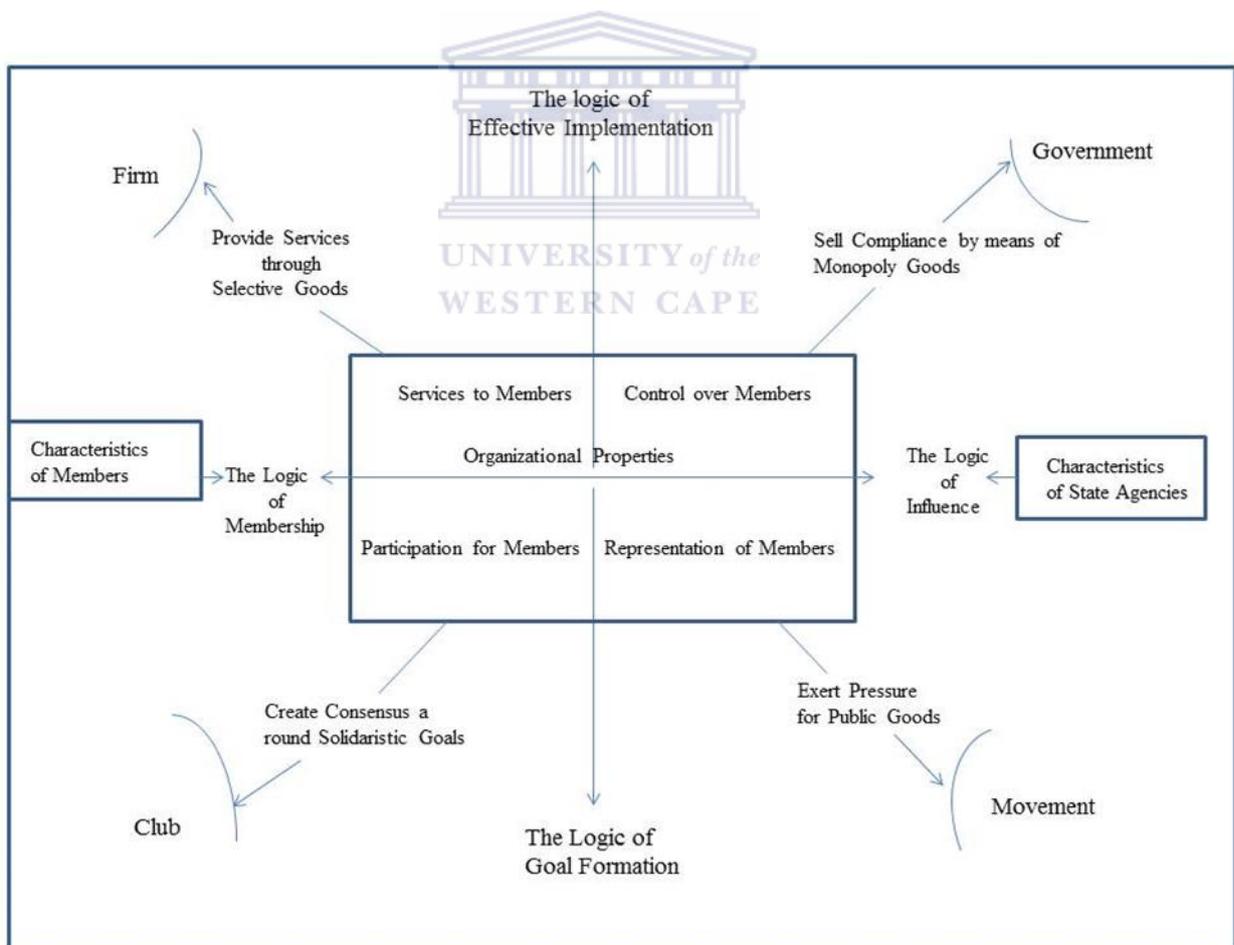


Figure 2. The competing logics of associative action affecting organisational properties

Source: Schmitter and Streek (1999, p. 21).

Figure 2 illustrates a theoretical relationship between the two sets of logical alternatives. Attending to all of these would involve an association in four types of activities and four corresponding goods at the extreme, as named above.

Organisation Autonomy

It is argued that organisation autonomy in this context refers to the supply of resources required for the organisation, such as a BIA, to survive and grow (i.e. inputs) plus to be able to decide its objectives and also decide on the best ways or strategies to utilize [to realize] such set goals (i.e. outputs). Furthermore organisational autonomy in political interest associations or in the case of BIAs is embedded within their membership. In relation to BIAs, the logic of increasing or maintaining autonomy is embedded in three main strategies:

- 1. They can make the supply of resources by members a formalized obligation enforceable in law (constitutional imposition of regular due payments, employment of professional rather than voluntary staff, compulsory membership);*
- 2. They can complement the more or less voluntary contributions of their members by selling products or services in the market; or*
- 3. They can turn to other "sponsoring environments" for subsidization. The most likely sources of subsidization for political organisations is, of course, the state. (Schmitter and Streeck, 1999, p. 49).*

Having outlined the original Schmitter and Streeck (1999) theoretical framework above, this framework is now being adapted to study the relationship between student leaders and political parties. It has been used in this manner before by other scholars to study student representation, particularly in higher education in Europe and more recently in Africa. The adaptations and use of the framework are now discussed briefly ahead of proposing a way of using it in the present study.

The Study of fzs

Jungblut and Weber (2012, p. 47) used the Schmitter and Streeck (1999) framework to study the development of the German student union, "freier Zusammenschluss von StudentInnenschaften" (fzs) from the time of its formation in 1993 to 2010. Since fzs was the main national students' union, they considered the logic of membership in their study by assessing the multi-level memberships for student union organisations at the local level and union membership within an academic institution, and the organisational structures of unions (at local level or institutional level). Therefore as individual students became members of unions at the local level, unions joined fzs which is a

collective of interests of local unions at the national level (Jungblut and Weber, 2012, pp. 49-50). Jungblut and Weber (2012, pp. 53-54) argue that the study of FZS highlights the two competing logics of membership and influence. This is through FZS members whom it represents; to gain membership, members pay a membership fee which then keeps the organisation going (logic of membership). Then FZS represents their interests as members. As a student union, FZS interacts with the State and other public authorities/institutions (in-terms of a logic of influence) to promote its members' interests. Jungblut and Weber further explain the main areas of development for FZS in relation to the two logics and they include: ideology and membership development with regards to the logic of membership, and communication and internal organisation with regards to the logic of influence. They argue that the concept of goal formation and effective implementation as outlined in the Schmitter and Streeck (1999) framework can be aligned to the two areas of communication and organisation respectively. The logic of influence is utilised in discussing the different levels of policy formation in German's higher education, and how students are represented in such settings. Figure 3 further shows relations in FZS.

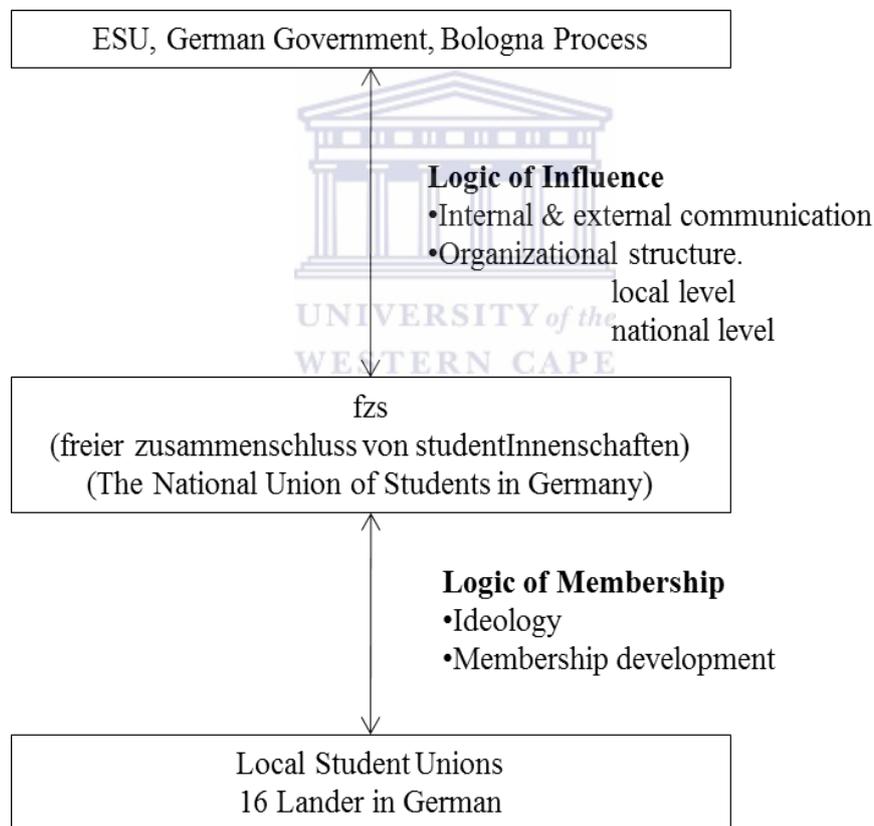


Figure 3. The relationship among local student unions in Germany, FZS and the German State, ESU or EU policy making bodies

Figure 3 illustrates how the different actors associate considering the logics of association in the relationship. It indicates how students at institutional level join local student unions, which also then join the national students' union (FZS). FZS then ensures that the interests of members (students)

are protected at the national level through the two logics namely; the logics of membership and influence.

The Study of Student Representation in Europe

Klemenčič (2012, pp. 2, 7) introduces the special issue in the *European Journal of Higher Education* by using the Schmitter and Streeck (1999) BIAs framework to try and explain why, but also to compare how students are represented by various student organisations in Western Europe. She explains that the formation and structure of organisations representing interests vary depending on the interests of members and also how the organisation interacts with the state and other political actors, and public authorities. Klemenčič explains that through the logic of membership, students in Europe are represented by National Students Associations. As members students contribute to the determination of the organisation's structure, resources, political agenda, mode of action and output (Klemenčič, 2012, p. 7). In terms of the logic of influence, these student associations take with them the decisions made by their members and engage with State institutions such as the Ministry of Higher Education and other national and continental actors in their respective countries. Therefore they represent the interests of their members and also interact with other actors who possess the influence and power to ensure that student demands and interests are represented, for example, during policy formation and implementation. She also uses the framework to show the systems of student interest representation and intermediation in Europe. However Klemenčič does not comprehensively refer to the matrix by Schmitter and Streeck (1999), most especially in relation to the logic of goal formation and the logic of effective implementation even though they are implicit in the organisational properties of these student organisations. Figure 4 expresses the relationship.

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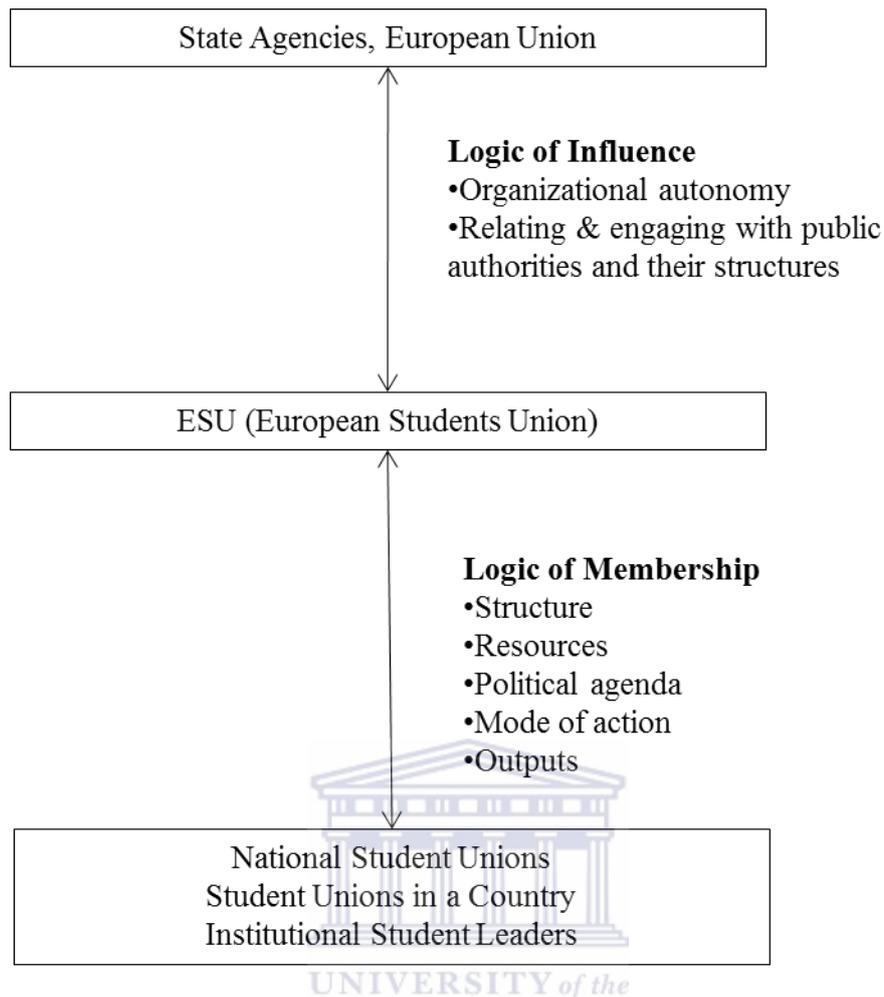


Figure 4. The relationships among the student unions of a country (institutional student political organisations and student unions in a country), ESU and, EU and its States

Figure 4 illustrates how the different actors associate considering the logics of association in the relationship. It indicates how national students' unions in Europe are represented by the European Students Union (ESU) which ensures that their interests are protected at the European level through the two main logics of membership and influence.

The Study of Student Representation in Higher Education in Africa

Finally Luescher-Mamashela and Mugume (2014, pp. 511-512) use empirical data from nine African countries to explain how student representation has evolved by means of a shift from non-institutionalised to institutionalised student politics as a current trend, both at institutional and systems level in African higher education. In an attempt to understand the new relationship between political parties and student politics on the continent and how that relationship impacts on the representation of students, they propose using the Schmitter and Streeck framework (1999) which they apply to the relationship in the process. They argue that there is a high level of resource exchange, both material and non-material, from both actors-i.e., student leaders and political parties

in the relationship. They propose that this mutual resource exchange influences the student leaders' level of autonomy of representing the interests of students and they argue regarding the different levels of resources exchange that, "they produce four types of associative actions which respectively may be called, participation of student leaders, services to student leaders, representation of student leaders, and control over student leaders" (Luescher-Mamashela and Mugume, 2014, p. 511). Participation of student leaders refers to student leaders being part of the political party's structures and activities, and in the process advancing students' interests. Services to student leaders may refer to the exchange of material and non-material resources. Representation of student leaders refers to the political party taking on the role of representing student interests, and Control over student leaders refers to the loss of autonomy by student leaders in the process of exchanging resources (Luescher-Mamashela and Mugume, 2014, p. 511). These four associative actions suggested by the authors are discussed in more detail in the process of adapting the Schmitter and Streeck (1999) framework to this study.

Having outlined the different studies which have utilised the framework to study student representation previously, the following discussion focuses on how the Schmitter and Streeck (1999) framework can be adapted for this particular study, which attempts to understand the relationship between student leaders and political parties with specific reference to the case of Makerere University.



Adapting the BIA Framework to This Study

As shown above, the Schmitter and Streeck (1999) framework has already been used before by Higher education scholars in Europe who have focused on student unions in continental Europe at institutional, systems and even continental level. They have shed light mainly on how such unions at State level or continental level have been able to interact with their members and also how they influence national and continental policy decisions in the interest of their members (Jungblut and Weber, 2012; Klemenčič, 2012). In addition, a study by Luescher-Mamashela and Mugume (2014) on student representation in African higher education offers a more detailed insight into how the Schmitter and Streeck (1999) matrix can be valuable to studying the relationship between student politics and political parties. Considering the different studies in which the framework has been used, the study by Luescher-Mamashela and Mugume appears to be more relevant to this study, since it focuses on student leaders and multiparty politics on the African continent, since this study focuses on Uganda and Makerere University. The different studies discussed above set a platform for this study and how it can then utilise the same framework to study the relationship in more detail at a single institution i.e., Makerere University.

Considering the way this framework has been used before to study student representation, it is clear that the Schmitter and Streeck (1999) framework can be adopted for this study in parts to study why and how student leaders associate with political parties. The focus on student leaders is due to the fact that they statutorily represent students. Even though students in Higher education institutions don't subscribe as members represented by student leaders, but rather are represented by the elected student leadership as a body, as soon as they are registered with the institution. Therefore membership of an institutional student body/union is not exclusive to certain groups of students in the institution. Another variation is that student leaders here are not associating with each other to

form a political party but they are a small group or constituency within a political party; they are neither the main nor a controlling group of a political party. Furthermore, students are a transient group; new students join while others graduate and leave the institution every year. Student leaders have even shorter generations in that a typical term of office lasts only for one year. The membership of official student leaders in the party therefore changes rapidly. Finally the original framework focuses on business associations while political parties cannot be categorised as business organisations. This means that many of the associative actions and the properties discussed in the matrix of the original framework have to be adapted and the implications of such adaptation have to be considered in order to have a valid framework for the study.

The adapted framework seeks to retain its initial main logic while studying how interests are organised and promoted, albeit by studying the associative actions of student leaders and political parties (rather than those of capitalists and BIAs).

Possible Changes to the Framework

The Schmitter and Streeck (1999) framework focuses on the structure of BIAs or organisations as the dependent variable. Therefore much of how BIAs relate to the capitalists individually or as firms and how they relate to the State is reliant on how they are structured or organised. Conversely, the main question for this study is directed at attempting to understand this relationship and its impact on student representation; more clearly how the relationship shapes or impacts on the ability of student leaders to represent students. Therefore, student representation will be the dependent variable in the new framework, while considering the literature on student politics or student leaders particularly in Uganda, resources (e.g., incentives in a form of material and non-material) play an important role in the interaction and motivation for establishing and maintaining a relationship between student leaders and political parties (Byaruhanga, 2006). Hence the level of resource exchange will be taken as an independent variable in the new framework since it influences power relations between actors and the level of autonomy student leaders can maintain in the relationship with political parties. It is therefore proposed that the level of autonomy impacts on the dependent variable i.e., the ability of student leaders to represent student interests.

In keeping with the above discussion mainly in relation to membership, the naming of the logics will change from the “logic of influence” and the “logic of membership” to be replaced by the “logic of influence” and the “logic of membership and interests” respectively so as to focus on aggregated interests, rather than a complete focus on membership since all registered students automatically qualify as members whose interests are represented by student leaders at a first level. Similarly given this change, while in the original matrix the associative relationship takes place among the three main actors, i.e., the capitalists, the BIA and State, state agencies, or trade unions, in the adapted framework the associative relationship takes place among student leaders (representing students), political parties (as interest association) and the State (state agencies) or university administration. Figure 5 outlines the theoretical associative relationship among the three main actors in the new framework.

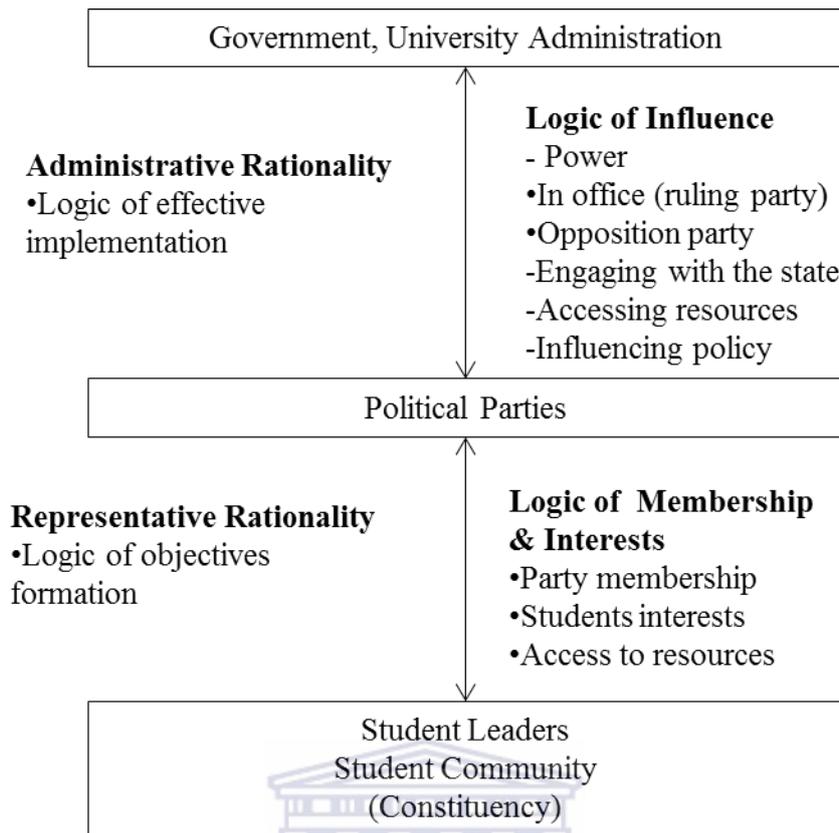


Figure 5. The associative relationship among student leaders, political parties and the state (state agencies) or university administration

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Figure 5 illustrates the competing logics of associative actions affecting aggregated interests of student leaders (SL) and political parties (PP). It shows how the different actors associate considering the two logics. The Figure indicates that student leaders advocate for the interests of the students who are members of a constituency or a student community based on the fact that it is the students who vote them into office. They therefore ensure that such interests are promoted and defended before the political party. While the party also influences state institutions to access the much needed resources, resources which are always needed by student leaders such as campaign funding, leadership training workshops and many more costly activities are considered. The outcome of this defence of student interests, is influenced by whether the political party is in power or not, since a party in government accesses more resources than an opposition party.

The relationship mapped above will result in an associative activity of four types as noted by Luescher-Mamashela and Mugume (2014, p. 511): First, participation of student leaders in the political party; second, goods and services exchange to and from the political party, whereby goods are included here because the exchange in a particular case may include more than just services plus the exchange goes both ways; third, representation of student leaders by the political party; and last, control over student leaders by the political party. Each associative action impacts differently on student leaders' level of autonomy, at times leading to more autonomy, or sometimes to less autonomy as student leaders. In relation to the Schmitter and Streeck (1999) framework, and most especially its matrix - this action theoretically involves a transformation at the extreme in which one

of the two actors, i.e., either student leaders or the political party, gains some level of control over the other actor and takes power from the other actor (thus increasing its own autonomy), or loses power to the other actor (resulting in less autonomy). The question guiding the study pays attention to explaining the ability of student leaders to represent students' interests while engaging in a relationship with political parties. Therefore understanding the circumstances under which student leaders may have more, or less autonomy within a political party, becomes important to understand when they may be able to influence party decisions or alternatively, when they may not. The above outline also indicates that access to power for the political party is important since such power in most cases relates to the amount of resources a political party may access, since resources as noted above are very important in this relationship. Figure 6 below shows the revised matrix for this study.

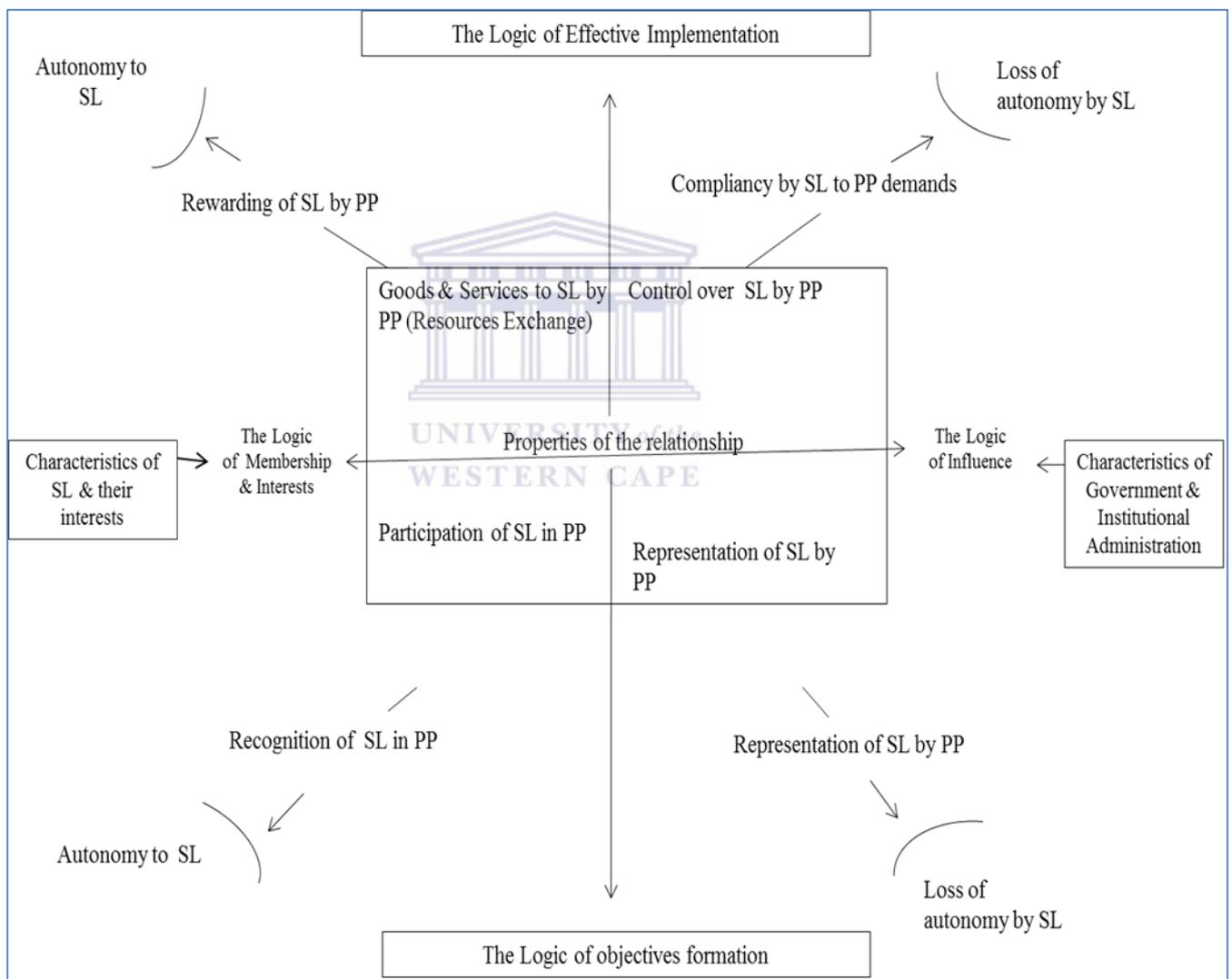


Figure 6. The competing logics of associative action affecting the relationship between student leaders (SL) and political parties (PP)

Source: Adapted from Schmitter and Streeck (1999, p. 21).

Figure 6 illustrates the relationship as argued through the framework, highlighting the four associative actions: Participation of student leaders in the political party; representation of student leaders by the political party; goods and services exchange between student leaders and a political party; and control over student leaders by the political party. Each represents a different way of associating between a political party and student leaders, even though the activities outlined above are not mutually exclusive. As a political party associates with student leaders, the relationship transforms into a logic of association in which one of the two actors - student leaders or political party, gains control over, or rewards the other actor, therefore taking power from the other actor in the process (and thus gaining more autonomy to act) or losing control/power over the other actor (resulting in less autonomy). In relation to student representation, the more power and autonomy student leaders lose, the less they are able to represent the interests of students.

The framework suggests that autonomy is influenced by resources and incentives in two ways. One way is that for example the more incentives a political party avails to student leaders in answering their demands or interests, the more control it will have over them (other factors considered constant). While the more resources a political party may perceive to be receiving from student leaders, the more autonomy student leaders will be able to enjoy even within the political party. Secondly, the more resources a political party will be able to access, the more incentives it will be able to give to student leaders and thus be able to control them or limit their autonomy. In regard to this point, it is important to note that a political party accesses more resources if it runs the government (as a ruling party) and fewer resources if it is in the opposition (Byaruhanga, 2006). Therefore as noted, the amount of resources a political party can access and distribute affects its influence or control over student leaders. The associative actions outlined above in the four types of activities are discussed in detail below along with empirically identifiable indicators to study the relationship. An attempt is made to expand on the associative actions suggested by Luescher-Mamashela and Mugume (2014) based on Schmitter and Streeck (1999), by offering a detailed explanation of the different but mutually inclusive actions in this relationship and drawing out specific actions and relations which may indicate the associative actions.

Participation of Student Leaders in the Political Party

Participation of student leaders in the political party as a type of associative action refers to the space afforded to student leaders within the political party in order to be part of the decision making process of the party. Through being part of the party's decision making structures or committees, student leaders can promote the interests of their constituency i.e., the student community. Student leaders can then be part of the different activities in the party such as voting on party policy decisions delegating more power to student leaders and more autonomy.

Hypothesis: The process allows student leaders to influence how party resources are allocated. The ability of student leaders to access party power status by participating in the party's decision making structures creates room for student leaders to actually increase their power. Indicators include: Student leaders as members of the party's Youth League or Women's League; student leaders as part of other decision making structures in the party such as the National Executive Committee (NEC) or delegates with voting rights in the party's structures (such as at a national delegates conference); student leaders having a desk or a designated office within the party and also with a party official responsible for its day to day running. This may be located in the party's head office; it

can also be run by student leaders through which they can influence decision making policy in the party.

Representation of Student leaders

This refers to the representation that the political party affords student leaders. The political party represents students' interests on behalf of student leaders rather than student leaders representing students' interests themselves. Thus student leaders raise their issues in the party and then the party leadership decides on such issues before taking a public stand. This does not mean that student leaders cannot be part of such representation, but whether student leaders are part of the team in the party to represent their interests through the political party is a decision made by the party together with the student leaders. Therefore the 'representative' in this instance is the political party leadership on behalf of student leaders and by extension the students they represent. This associative action thus involves directing more power to the political party and less autonomy for student leaders.

Hypothesis: The process of student leaders being represented by the political party means that whether student leaders get what they wanted or not is dependent on the political party, since the party controls representation in this case. Student leaders may try to influence the political party to represent their interests but student leaders are a small constituency in the party therefore does not control representation by the party. Hence student leaders sacrifice their autonomy by relying on the party to represent students' interests resulting in less autonomy for student leaders. Even though indicators have to be considered in context, the following indicators can be outlined: Student issues or interests appear in a political party's manifesto or any other policy framework documents such as the party's budget (but in such a way as to reflect the party's ideology); student leaders' issues or interests are advocated for by the political party for example through party events, pamphlets or even protests focusing particularly on a Higher education issue; the agendas of the political party such as its activities and programmes represent student concerns and interests.

Goods and Services Exchange

This refers to exchange of the different goods and services which may be directly or indirectly afforded to student leaders through the political party. Student leaders organise the interests they plan to achieve in the process of associating with political parties. The services provided by the party in the process may include the training of student leaders (e.g., through party workshops and seminars); helping student leaders with campaign advice; for example on how to hold a successful protest so that the protest or petition can have an impact. This kind of associative action leads to empowering student leaders and gaining potentially more autonomy. However it is important to note that as political parties give student leaders incentives, they also have expectations and these may include material or non-material resources in a relationship of mutual exchange such as student leaders recruiting new members for the party; student leaders promoting the party's agenda in public; and student leaders representing the party when called upon.

Hypothesis: The process of student leaders being given goods and services or incentives by the political party directly or indirectly creates dependence even though it can be a mutually beneficial relationship. If a political party is in power, it accesses the government budget and other resources that come with being in office such as employment opportunities to its supporters, in the process

affording to satisfy the interests of student leaders. Conversely an opposition party may access fewer resources. Indicators: Student leaders getting career opportunities. Also by checking if there are former student leaders in the party who are holding party positions; student leaders being trained by the party such as; getting internships in the party, workshops and leadership courses; student leaders getting campus campaign funding and other necessary materials in the process such as campaign posters, cash, T-shirts and many more; student leaders getting public party support either as candidates or on a policy or ideological position taken by student leaders. Conversely student leaders may recruit other students as party members on campus; student leaders may publically offer support to party policies; student leaders may also use party logs and other expressions of the party's ideology during student leadership campaigns. This shows that in the process each actor gains from the relationship (by exchanging resources).

Control Over Student Leaders

This refers to circumstances whereby student leaders make their decisions following party orders. This therefore refers to student leaders exchanging their power for goods and services the political party may be willing to offer. Student leaders become captive to political party decisions and in the process accept being controlled by the political party. This associative action therefore results in loss of power for student leaders and less autonomy.

Hypothesis: This may be reliant on the power the political party possesses such as running the government whereby it may have access to more resources and therefore can offer better rewards or incentives in exchange for student leaders complying with party requests. Conversely, an opposition party may not be able to offer such rewards or incentives for the compliance of student leaders, even though as a political party it may have incentives to offer. Indicators include: Student leaders publicly taking the ideological position of a political party; student leaders getting involved mainly in off-campus political party activities such as party rallies; student leaders investing more of their time and work in promoting interests which are particular to a specific political party on or off campus; student leaders' manifestos being dictated by the political party.

In the process of this study, the adapted framework above is elaborated and applied to illustrate its ability to increase our understanding of the relationship between student leaders in Makerere University and political parties in Uganda. In keeping with the research questions of this study, the particular focus is on: (1) the reasons for student leaders to establish relationships with political parties; (2) arrangements that are required between student leaders and political parties to establish and maintain a relationship; and (3) the effects of the relationship on shaping student leaders' ability to represent students.

Conclusion

This chapter started by outlining a literature review which began with showing historical trends in student politics worldwide and on the continent, in particular highlighting the process and reasons for the shift from non-institutionalised to institutionalised student politics. Student representation is discussed internationally before attending to student representation in Uganda and Makerere University in particular, noting how student leadership has historically been constantly influenced by

national party politics. The chapter then turns attention to representation at a more conceptual level and in the process focusing on the main scholars, Heywood (2002) and Vieira and Runciman (2008) for conceptual clarification in relation to this study. With regard to the reviewed literature indicators suggest when representation is authentic (in enabling conditions) or compromised (in disabling conditions). The process of adapting the Schmitter and Streeck (1999) theoretical framework is discussed in detail, beginning with an outline of the logic of membership and the logic of influence which underpins the framework, followed by a discussion of the associative actions they propose and illustrate in a matrix. The discussion considers other studies which have adapted the framework and eventually adapts the four associative actions as follows: Participation of student leaders in the political party; goods and services exchange between student leaders and political party leaders; representation of student leaders by the political party; and control over student leaders by the political party. The next chapter discusses the methodology used in the study and the whole process of operationalizing it.



CHAPTER 3--RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter describes the research design and methodology used to undertake this study. It pays close attention to the literature that guided the way research instruments were constructed and the process to finalise data collection and analysis. It therefore provides the reasons for choosing particular methods and the process followed in interviewing the student leaders, dean of students and leaders of the various political parties. Interviews were carried out in addition to an online survey conducted among student leaders and students in general. Interviews were also conducted to help understanding the relationship between Makerere University student leaders and political parties in Uganda, in particular to try to understand how the relationship impacts on the ability of student leaders to represent students' interests. The investigation therefore relies on a mixed methods approach, involving both qualitative and quantitative research methods as noted above. This is due to the complex nature of the relationship whereby a single method or approach may not be able to address its complexity (Creswell, 2009, p. 203). The chapter discusses the design, sample and sampling procedures, the ideal and realized sample, data collection procedures, reliability and validity of the sampled data, data analysis procedures and the limitations and errors of the research project.

The study used a mixed methods approach. According to Creswell (2009) a mixed methods approach utilises the strength of qualitative research design techniques and quantitative research design techniques to implement a research project rather than to rely on a single prescriptive design which may not necessarily answer the research questions (see Creswell, 1999 and 2003). Hence the study relied on in-depth interviews as a qualitative design technique and an online survey as a quantitative design technique. A mixed methods approach also helps to eliminate the biases embedded in either of the two designs by consolidating the strength of both research designs (Creswell, 2003; Creswell, 2009). The mixed methods approach chosen here allowed for a concurrent triangulation method to be used. Hence data collection for the study used both design techniques at the same time. In this way it was possible to "determine if there is convergence, differences or some combination" in the data sets for triangulation proposes (Creswell, 2009). Therefore the online survey and in-depth interviews were carried out at the same time, and more in-depth interviews were carried out as a follow-up to solve the discrepancies and address the gaps which had been detected in the collected data (Creswell, 2009, p. 213-214). A number of methods were employed for verification purposes in the course of this study both for the online survey and in-depth interviews. These included using multiple sources of evidence for purposes of triangulation, the sequencing of data collection and analysis, and the maintenance of a chain of evidence.

Research Design

Durrheim argues that "a research design is a strategic framework for actions that serves as a bridge between research questions and the execution or implementation of the research" (1999: 29). Therefore a research design should be able to outline the steps to be followed in executing the

research project. The research question for this study attempted to understand the relationship between student leaders in Makerere University and Political parties in Uganda. As noted above, a key design feature of this study has been that it relied on a mixed methods approach to offer a credible understanding of the relationship under study. The survey research technique is a quantitative design as noted above in a mixed methods approach and it has been used in this study because it is appropriate for descriptive and exploratory purposes which rely on individuals as a unit of analysis (Creswell, 2009). The online survey technique uses a standardized questionnaire which was administered at Makerere University with undergraduate students as participants (Babbie and Mouton, 2001, p. 232). According to Creswell (2005) and Hanson, Creswell, Plano, Petska, and Creswell, (2005) surveys are good in describing trends about opinions; it was possible to identify, for example individual perceptions of both students and student leaders about the relationship being studied. In support of surveys, Babbie and Mouton (2001, p. 232) explain that careful sampling of the respondents ensures that their characteristics can be taken to represent the characteristics of the larger population group. This is in addition to careful drafting of a standardized questionnaire so as to be able to extract data in the same form from all respondents.

In this study and particularly in relation to the survey research method, students were the studied population and particularly the undergraduate students at MAK. In the survey questionnaire there were questions designed for the students who were not in leadership and for the student leaders (Appendix: H, p. 14-20 of the questionnaire). The decision to use a survey design was taken on the grounds that it would be able to extract data about similar questions from a large sample both in the case of the undergraduate students at Makerere University who accounted for approximately 94% of the student population and also from those who had been the most represented in all student leadership structures in the institution (Byaruhanga, 2006; Makerere University Annual Report, 2013, p. 8). In addition to the survey, in-depth interviews were conducted with party leaders, student leaders within the party leadership structures (so called chapters) at MAK, which is mainly the student guild leadership and student leaders of non-partisan organisations or associations at the institution, such as the Rotaract Club and the Private Students Association (MUPSA). The students who lead these non-partisan associations don't represent students in institutional structures such as university committees; but as student leaders, they engage with the guild leadership. Therefore they were included in the study because they should be more aware of how, for example, the guild student leaders engage with political parties. In relation to the above, Yeo, Legard, Keegan, Ward, Nicholls and Lewis (2003) explain that the main focus of in-depth interviews is to cover different issues or the different themes of the study for breadth and also to try to cover each issue in detail for depth. This is also supported by Babbie and Mouton (2001, p. 291) since the online-survey offers more baseline, descriptive data about the relationship through its close-ended questions particularly from the student leaders and the students who are supposed to be represented. It is clear from this perspective that in-depth interviews are important in offering the details of the relationship but also to help in triangulating the information gained from the other data collection techniques used with the different actors in this relationship. Hence for purposes of determining "convergence, difference and combination" in a mixed methods approach, the "concurrent triangulation strategy" was used as noted above to ensure that both the online survey and in-depth interviews were carried out at the same time (Creswell, 2009, p. 213-214).

Questionnaire

The study used an online survey questionnaire as a primary data collection tool. Babbie and Mouton (2001, p. 646) argue that questions should be designed in a way that is appropriate to collect data for analysis. To probe the perceptions of students and student leaders about the relationship between student leaders and the political parties, most questions used in the survey are close-ended and require respondents to select an answer from among a list of choices provided in the questionnaire. The questions were generated from the main themes emerging from the literature review and had to be conceptualised in relation to the theoretical framework. For example, through the process of reviewing the literature a high level of resources exchange was noted between student leaders and political parties in Uganda (Byaruhanga, 2006). Then resources were conceptualised in different categories and thus questions were generated which measured the actual and expected resource exchange levels between the actors in the relationship and how the students who were not in leadership positions also perceived the relationship. Therefore this was done in relation to the adapted theoretical framework (presented in Chapter 2) which highlights particular indicators of specific associative actions. For example, participation of student leaders in the political party can be noted when student leaders indicate that they are members of the leadership structures of their respective political party; also when they are allowed into National Delegates Conferences of the party, thus in general they take part in the decision making structures of the party. Representation of student leaders who are party members can be noted when the party takes the responsibility of representing the student leaders' concerns once raised in the party. These may include student leaders' concerns, for example in Higher education being added in the party's manifesto, the political party then protesting in favour of students' concerns in the Higher education sector. Goods and services exchange can be noted when there is an exchange of resources between student leaders and the political party. An example would be the political party funding student leadership campaigns, giving them posters and T-shirts. While political parties may benefit through student leaders using the party's logo during those campaigns, recruiting members for the party and many more. Lastly control of student leaders by the political party can be noted when student leaders publicly take their political party's ideological position. Student leaders may get involved in off-campus party activities such as being part of a protest march organised by their political party. This also helps in the analysis process since the data indicates the resource exchange levels. Through a reverse process the analysis will start by looking at the questions and answers provided in the survey and then logically following the steps backwards (from the theoretical framework to the topic with its research question) and whether they help to answer the main question. The online survey questionnaire is included in Appendix H.

The same applies to the structure of the questions used to guide the in-depth interviews (Appendices C-E) whereby themes were structured to begin with background information on the actors before turning to the details of the relationship - mainly by interrogating the different ways the relationship between student leaders and political parties was manifested: How the above noted resources were exchanged: What amounts were exchanged and when the exchanges took place. The interview then continued by inquiring about the effects or impact of these relations on student leaders' ability to represent students.

The online survey is divided into five sections, each section on its own page and covering a specific part of the relationship. The first section deals with student governance and here students were

supposed to select whether they were student leaders or not and then indicate the student leadership position(s) they were holding or held before at Makerere University. The second section deals with only student leaders, interrogating whether they are members of a political party and also whether such a party has a youth wing. Survey logic ensures that only student leaders complete this and the following section. The third section deals with resources exchange, namely, what student leaders got from the relationship and the expectations of their political party? The fourth section is open to all students (i.e., student leaders and students not in leadership), interrogating for example, how students generally thought student leaders represented their interests while in this relationship, and also whether the student leaders themselves thought they represented the interests of fellow students. It also interrogates issues of trust and corruption among student leaders. The fifth and last section deals with engagement with off-campus organisations such as political parties among both student leaders and students who were not student leaders. Survey logic is explained below, how the program availed specific questions to student leaders only (Appendix: H). In general both the online survey and the in-depth interviews were supposed to answer the following sub-questions:

- 1) What are the reasons for student leaders establishing and maintaining a relationship with political parties?
- 2) What arrangements are required between student leaders and political parties to establish and maintain a relationship?
- 3) What is the impact of the relationship on the student leaders' ability to represent students?

In the process of answering these sub-questions, the data from both design techniques was meant to answer the main question of the study: How can the relationship between student leaders at Makerere University and political parties in Uganda be understood?

Case Selection and Target Population

The study targeted undergraduate students. Makerere University is the oldest university in Uganda and a 2013 report shows that it had the largest number of students in the country (36,516 students) it also has a unique, historical and still on-going relationship with political parties (Alina, 2014; Byaruhanga, 2006; Makerere University Annual Report, 2013, p. 8; Mamdani, 2007). Furthermore the two most popular political parties in the country as per the 2011 general elections were selected namely; NRM and FDC, as well as the two oldest political parties which played an instrumental role in Uganda's road to independence and as shown in the literature had a relationship with student leaders at the institution i.e., DP and UPC. These characteristics make the institution distinctive in relation to the study (Burnham et al., 2008; Byaruhanga, 2006; Electoral Commission of Uganda, 2013).

The study targeted undergraduate students because they make up 96% of the student population at the institution. On top of that, all the student leaders on the guild cabinet are undergraduate students and all student leaders at other levels or constituencies and even student leaders of non-partisan associations or organisations on campus are undergraduate students (Interview with dean of students and guild student leaders, 23/10/2013; Ssembatya and Ngobi, 2014). Therefore given

that undergraduate students are the majority in the institution and also occupy all student leadership positions, they were considered the appropriate target population for the study. However, it is important to note that Makerere University was not chosen to be representative of the higher education sector in Uganda; hence the findings of this study cannot be generalised beyond this institution. Rather, as typical in qualitative case studies, the transferability of findings and conclusions to other contexts and cases is to be considered by the reader (Generalizability and Transferability, 2014).

Sampling for the survey and the selection of participants for in-depth interviews

Online-survey

A sample refers to a smaller group of respondents drawn from the population in which a researcher has an interest (Babbie and Mouton, 2001, p. 288; Burnham et al., 2004, p. 99-108). The sampling was intended at ensuring that every undergraduate student at the institution had an equal opportunity to participate in the survey. Therefore also as noted by Babbie and Mouton (2001, p. 192), it was ensured in the process of surveying that an appropriate number of students was drawn from the undergraduate students and also from the student leaders as a subset. In addition sampling was done in such a way that available resources would see the study to completion.

The online survey was set initially to target a 10% sample of the undergraduate population. This sample had a sub-sample which also targeted student leaders and extra questions were added to the survey questionnaire for only student leaders to answer. Student leaders referred to students who represented other students who were not in leadership positions; in other words, student leaders formally represent the student body in decision-making at different levels or structures within the university, such as at faculty committees, school committees. Typically they are guild cabinet members. Student leaders were sub-sampled using the survey logic feature in the on-line survey monkey software which was used for the survey. Therefore question 28 asked the respondents to choose if they were at that time or had been student leaders at Makerere University by means of the question: Please indicate if you're a current or former student leader at Makerere University? If a student selected "YES", survey logic would then take the student through the questions which were set for student leaders "ONLY" to answer, while by answering "NO", survey logic would jump all the questions set for the student leaders to arrive at the general questions for all students participating in the online survey.

Moreover, as noted above, the study relied on a census design. A census design operates by inviting all undergraduate students at Makerere University to participate in the online survey with the intention of getting a large sample of respondents so as to then be able to do the analysis in the different categories such as student leaders and students not in leadership. The design requires a close monitoring of the data collection process in order to achieve a representative sample of the various sub-groups under study (Babbie and Mouton, 2001; Krieger, 1992). The following discussion focuses on interviews.

Interviews

In-depth interviewees were purposively sampled to ensure that they were rich with the needed information (Babbie and Mouton, 2001, p. 287-288; Creswell, 2009, p. 217), so as to be able to answer the research questions raised. The dean of students is the custodian of student leadership in MAK. Whatever happens in relation to student leadership in the institution goes through his or her office (Byaruhanga, 2006; Makerere University Guild Constitution, 2011). Therefore he or she is well informed about the relationship. Student leaders on the guild cabinet were the most likely to be involved in the relationship with political parties since the literature shows that political parties are more interested in the guild president and therefore participate in guild campaigns. Moreover, for other student leaders to be part of the guild cabinet, they must in one way or another have participated in the guild campaigns to help the winning candidate (i.e., the guild president). Therefore in relation to student leaders, guild cabinet members are the most informed (and involved) among student leaders as far as the relationship with political parties is concerned (Byaruhanga, 2006; Lutaakome et al., 2005).

In addition, student leaders of non-partisan organisations on campus were targeted because they could offer more critical information about the student leaders of political organisations on campus, such as party branches (or party chapters) and the guild cabinet structure. Since they are involved in leadership as well, they are most likely to be aware of the activities of other student leaders on campus such as how guild leaders relate to political parties, and the effect of this relationship on partisan student leaders' ability to represent students' interests. With regard to the political party leaders sampled for interviews, two representatives were targeted for each of the four political parties. The study targeted those party leaders who were once student leaders at Makerere University or who, as party leaders, were involved in the day to day running of the youth league office of the party. Therefore they kept a close link with student leaders and formed the bridge in the party between student leaders and the political party.

Ethical Considerations

As Babbie and Mouton (2001, pp. 520-528) recommend, the researcher ensured that all participants participate voluntarily, as they all had to first consent to the study and for the in-depth interviewees each received an information sheet explaining the study and also received a copy of the consent form after signing (See Appendix A & B). While in the process, the researcher ensured that a significant number of the respondents selected for the study actually participated. To ensure no harm to the participants, questions that may have offended or otherwise harmed respondents were not included. Thus the original questionnaire had included demographic questions about students' gender, including their sexual orientation, which after consideration of the Ugandan homophobic environment were removed. The researcher further ensured anonymity to protect the research subjects' interests and their identity and confidentiality to the extent that all the material generated for the study is anonymized, safely kept, and only used for academic purposes. Hence to achieve this, different steps were followed to prepare and clean the data. Interview respondents are referred to using alphabetical figures such as A, B, C, in the thesis. Finally, the online survey was sponsored by CHET to carry out the HERANA study as it has been noted in the earlier discussion. Therefore the questions specifically designed for this study were inserted in the HERANA

questionnaire (i.e. questions 28-42; Appendix: H). Since the researcher was also a research assistant for CHET, this meant he was supposed to be part of the research team going to Makerere University to successfully rollout the HERANA questionnaire. Thus, implementing this particular study became easily manageable. Therefore the researcher for this particular study did not need to use a separate channel of seeking ethics clearance or permission to access Makerere University as a research site but rather used the access created by CHET. The latter process is described in the HERANA research report in detail (Luescher-Mamashela, 2014).

Administering the Questionnaire

The process of rolling out the questionnaire involved using the office of the dean of students and the directorate of quality assurance in Makerere University to first of all indigenize the questionnaire, as discussed below (see reliability and validity) and after that starting a process of creating awareness about the whole survey exercise. The awareness campaign about the online survey was conducted to sensitize the student community about the survey. This included first of all accessing emails of all undergraduate students at Makerere University through the university's IT department and sending out emails to students about the survey. In addition a poster designed for the survey was uploaded on the university website and the Facebook page. Posters were supplied in different sizes to all colleges. A few students were also temporarily employed to give out flyers at different locations on campus. Also in the emails sent out to all undergraduate students about the survey, they were invited to participate using the URL link on the posters directing them to the survey (Appendix: G). At the same time through the dean of students' office, information was passed on to student leaders requesting them to avail themselves for the in-depth interviews. As the awareness campaign went on about the online survey, a pilot survey was conducted in one of the main computer labs. This was intended to hear complaints raised directly by students after filling in the questionnaire (Babbie and Mouton, 2001, p. 244-245). The complaints noted during and after the survey included: the survey was long, and the internet being unreliable. After consulting with the university's IT department about a better internet connection in the labs and after making the possible changes to the questionnaire, it was rolled out to all undergraduate students at Makerere University. The target sample was 10% (approximately 3,000) undergraduate students. However, after two months of students participating in the survey from October 2013 to November 2013, there were only 600 responses. To encourage more students to participate, some incentives were introduced in November and offered to every student who completed the survey in a particular computer lab accessible to all students. This pushed the response rate from 600 responses to 1,318 respondents by January 2014. Prospective in-depth interview respondents were called to arrange appointments, and interviews were carried out at the same time as the survey was being conducted. Thus most of the interviews were done during October 2013. It was necessary to go back to some of the respondents and also to do more interviews, which were done in April of 2014. Data from the in-depth interviews and the online survey was stored by the researcher to ensure easy access during the analysis process but also for data security reasons, to ensure that he was the only one with full direct access to the collected data for this particular study.

Difficulties and Successes

The dean's office and the directorate of quality assurance at Makerere University were very helpful in the process of data collection. They helped in contacting the college secretaries to pass on information to students and also to put up posters in their respective colleges and schools, and in the process of accessing student leaders. However, there were challenges, especially issues raised in relation to the online survey. Even after some adjustment, there were still concerns that the questionnaire was too long, which may have discouraged other students. Also poor internet coverage was a challenge on campus and any disconnection directly affected the process of filling in the survey and in the process requiring the students to take more time on the questionnaire. This was also the first campus-wide online survey to be filled in by students in the institution, so it was somewhat challenging to get them into computer labs.

After discovering that the response rate was not improving mainly after the first two months, lunch coupons were introduced for every student who completed the online survey. So as to increase the number of respondents lunch coupons for one full meal in the university canteen were given as an added incentive for students who went to the computer labs and completed the survey. A raffle had been promised at the beginning of the online survey that participants could enter a draw which would be carried out at the end of the survey and this would include winning, an iPad, cell phones, memory sticks and airtime sponsored by CHET (Appendix G; see Pictures 1 and 2). Challenges also emerged from the incentives in two ways. Students tried to complete the questionnaire more than once either to have another lunch coupon for another day, or increase their chances of winning the raffle prizes promised at the end of the survey; or genuinely to actually complete a survey which for other reasons they had not been able to complete in full in an earlier attempt. Pictures 1 and 2 shows the prizes won in the raffle after the survey was conducted in MAK.



Picture 1. Top raffle prizes



Picture 2. Memory sticks as raffle prizes

Pictures 1 and 2 show the different prizes which were won by the students who participated in the online survey. They included: cell phones, a mini-iPad, an external data storage drive and memory sticks. The raffle had been advertised two weeks earlier and it was conducted on 17 April 2014 in the board room of the Senate Building at Makerere University as advertised. The raffle took place in the presence of students, the dean of students, the director of quality assurance and the student guild cabinet members, including the guild president, Ivan Mbowe.

Once the survey was completed, both students and university management appeared anxious to hear about the findings of the study in a form of a seminar presentation or a written report. Reporting on the survey as a whole by CHET was completed in November 2014 (Luescher-Mamashela, 2014). As far as the interviews are concerned, challenges were mainly experienced around arranging interviews with party leaders as they seemed very busy. However, much of the needed data was collected in October of 2013. More interviews were conducted in April 2014 to try and fill in any gaps that were found in the process of trying to triangulate the collected data. Hence the interviews in April of 2014 mainly focused on leaders of non-partisan student organisations (MUPSA and Rotaract Club). Overall data collection for the interviews went well and most party leaders and student leaders who were interviewed also appeared concerned about hearing the findings of the study.

Reliability and Validity

Kaplan (2004, p. 77) considers reliability in relation to questions around data quality, while Creswell (2005, p. 162) offers a more detailed approach by further considering reliability in relation to choosing an instrument that can collect data and report individual scores that are reliable and valid. Babbie and Mouton (2001, pp. 121-122) and Creswell (2005, pp. 162-164) agree on several methods that can be applied to obtain reliable data, including methods that guard against the impact of the researcher's subjectivity. Hence the steps taken included that the online survey went through a process of indigenization since the questionnaire had been used previously in the Student Experience in a Research University (SERU) study at the University of Cape Town in South Africa, as

well as in research universities that formed part of the SERU international consortium coordinated by the Centre for Studies in Higher Education at the University of California, Berkeley. The process ensured that the questions were relevant to the context of Makerere University and Uganda as a country. This was easier because the researcher himself is a Ugandan and could therefore make certain proposals which were discussed in detail with staff members and students at Makerere University to incorporate and correct the questionnaire. The process ensured that the questionnaire was not ambiguous nor had unclear questions. The piloting of the questionnaire as noted above also helped to pick-up any other problems with the questionnaire.

Reliability was therefore enhanced by using an established measure. Babbie and Mouton (2001, p. 119) and Creswell (2005, pp. 162-164) both explain that using a research instrument that has proven reliability from previous research can be helpful for purposes of reliability. In addition, processes of indigenizing the questionnaire and conducting a pilot test all served to enhance the reliability. Validity is defined by Babbie and Mouton (2001, p. 122, 123) and Kaplan (2004, p. 77) as the extent to which an empirical measure accurately reflects the real meaning of the concept under consideration. In response, the questionnaire was checked for content validity to confirm if the questions actually interrogate the relevant concepts in the research questions and resonate within the theoretical framework. Also construct validity was considered to check for the significance and meaningfulness of the scores, such as the indicators discussed above; whether for example, political parties have youth wings, whether they have structures on campus, whether such structures have student members among both the students generally and the student leaders, assessing the responses in the survey to interrogate the indicators and inform on the relationship. In relation to in-depth interviews, qualitative validity involves checking the accuracy of the findings to ensure trustworthiness, authenticity and credibility. One of the strategies used in this study was triangulating the data from different sources, as noted above. While on the other hand qualitative reliability involves confirming that the approach used by the researcher is consistent if compared to the work of other researchers and studies. Hence the researcher ensured for example, that the scripts used did not contain mistakes and themes were well defined (Creswell, 2009, pp. 190-191; also see Creswell and Miller, 2000).

Documentary Sources

In addition to the data specifically generated through the online survey and interviews for this study, existing documents and reports about Makerere University and student leadership at the institution were consulted. They include especially the Makerere University Guild Constitution (2011) and Makerere University Annual Reports (2008-2013). In addition, secondary literature relating to Uganda's political development, political parties and the historical events which have impacted on Makerere University and student leadership in particular were also consulted. Byaruhanga (2006) and Mamdani (1993; 2007) among other sources and studies were consulted especially if they focused on the institution and on student representation at various levels of decision-making. Lastly, political party documents such as party manifestos and other strategic documents were consulted including those posted online.

Data Analysis

Data is defined by Le Compte and Preissle (1993, p. 158) as referring to any kind of information which researchers can identify and accumulate and which in the process guides them to answering their research questions. Data in this study was collected using an online survey and in-depth interviews. Even though a number of studies have been conducted on student leadership in Uganda such as Byaruhanga (2006), it has been noted above that they do not focus on the relationship between student leaders and political parties in Uganda and Makerere University in particular. Therefore with the collected data, this study reports on this particular relationship in an attempt to answer the research questions by critically assessing the student leader- political party relationship considering the themes which emerge from the data and the reviewed literature, using the theoretical framework discussed in the previous chapter. Data analysis is the process of considering the research questions in relation to explanations that emerge from the data so as to confirm or disconfirm it and develop certain explanations (Le Compte and Preissle, 1993). The study uses a mixed methods design involving survey data and in-depth interviews; the process of analysing the different kinds of data collected by these design techniques is outlined below.

Survey Data

The online survey data from HERANA was used in a manner that conforms to the commitments made by CHET to the survey respondents. The data was exported from the online survey collector, i.e., the survey monkey, into the format of the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS), which was used for the analysis of the data. This software enables the researcher to run various statistical analyses including simple descriptive statistics such as frequencies and graphs on items that operationalize concepts in the theoretical framework. Bivariate and multivariate analyses are performed involving cross-tabulations. Finally, tests are performed to assist in drawing inferences from among the relationships observed in the study (Terre Blanche et al., 2006, p. 208). For ethical reasons, all survey is only presented in aggregate format so as to protect the identity of respondents (see Luescher-Mamashela, 2014).

In-depth Interviews

The researcher carefully transcribed and cross-checked transcripts of the interviews before categorizing the data into main themes and concepts by coding them for purposes of analysis in keeping with the theoretical framework. This helps to make sense of the data and also to examine the relationships among concepts which emerge from the interview material. The process of broad and fine brush coding has been informed by the literature and particularly by the theoretical framework (Neuman, 1997, p. 421) discussed above.

Limitations and Errors in the Study

There are various limitations and errors that could occur when an apprentice researcher attempts a study such as this using a mixed methods approach. They may relate to matters of sampling, data collection, data analysis and interpretation. In relation to this study, errors and limitations relate to the representativeness of the sample, as noted under data collection due to a lower than expected response rate, which in turn was due to internet problems and the survey having been the first online survey in the institution. Thus, the responses were not proportionally distributed among the different colleges; for example, there were more students from the College of Computing and

Information Sciences in comparison to other colleges, which affects the ability of the researcher to make generalizations to the institution as a whole from the findings.

Table 1

MAK Undergraduate Students by College: Targeted Sample and Actual Responses

Colleges	Undergraduate Students	Survey Responses	Percentage
CAES	2157	36	1.67%
CoBAMS	5514	38	0.69%
CoCIS	4118	453	11.00%
CEES	6780	87	1.28%
CEDAT	3004	164	5.46%
CHS	1188	20	1.68%
CHUSS	7903	42	0.53%
CoNAS	1170	71	6.07%
CoVAB	618	14	2.27%
LAW	1317	11	0.84%
Sub-total	33769	936	31.5%
Missing	0	5	
Total	33769	941	

Table 1 outlines the undergraduate student population at Makerere University in 2013 and the actual number of undergraduate students who filled in the online survey questionnaire. It is clear that the survey response was not proportionally representative of the undergraduate students in relation to the colleges. Most of the respondents were from the College of Computing and Information Sciences (CoCIS) at 11%, followed by College of Natural Sciences (CoNAS) at 6.07% and College of Engineering, Design, Art and Technology at 5.56%. These are the colleges with the highest rate of participation. The main reason for this distribution may have been that CoCIS students, given that they deal with computers most of the time, were comfortable with the survey and had better access to lab facilities since most of their classes are conducted in computer labs; it may also have been easier for them to know about the survey, to actually access it and answer the questions. Correspondingly all the colleges which scored highest are from the sciences field. This in one way or the other limits the analysis.

The analysis also relies on dummy variables which were for example created in order to be able to analyse the student leaders as a sub-sample while excluding students not in leadership for comparison purposes. This could also limit the explanations that emerge from the data. There are many different kinds of analysis that can be applied on the same dataset using SPSS to get more elaborate results which highlight the weaknesses and limitations. However for purposes of this study, frequencies and crosstabs yielded useful results to answer the research questions. Notwithstanding these limitations, the analysis in Chapters 4 and 5 is believed to be sufficiently strong to support the conclusions of this study.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the manner in which this study was designed and conducted. It discussed the design and all features that have been adhered to in order to make sure that the research has been trustworthy. It described the questionnaires used in the study, both for the in-depth interviews and the online survey. This was followed by explaining why Makerere University was selected and the sampling and data collection procedures. Ethical considerations and, successes and difficulties encountered in the process of conducting the research were discussed. Reliability and validity, errors and limitations and finally the analysis were discussed in concluding the chapter. The following chapter presents the data and the analysis conducted in the process of attempting to answer the research questions.



CHAPTER 4-- DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE FOUR ASSOCIATIVE ACTIONS

Introduction

This chapter presents the responses from the online survey conducted among undergraduate students at Makerere University and the in-depth interviews conducted with the different actors, including the dean of students, guild leaders and other student leaders of non-partisan organisations at Makerere University, and party leaders. It investigates the relationship between student leaders and political parties so as to understand the impact of the relationship on the ability of student leaders to represent students. The discussion begins with an outline of the structures of student representation at Makerere University before discussing the four main concepts or associative actions outlined in the theoretical framework, namely: the participation of student leaders in the political party, representation of student leaders by the political party, exchange of goods and services, and the control of student leaders by the political party. The discussion begins with an organogram that shows the different structures and levels of student representation at Makerere University.

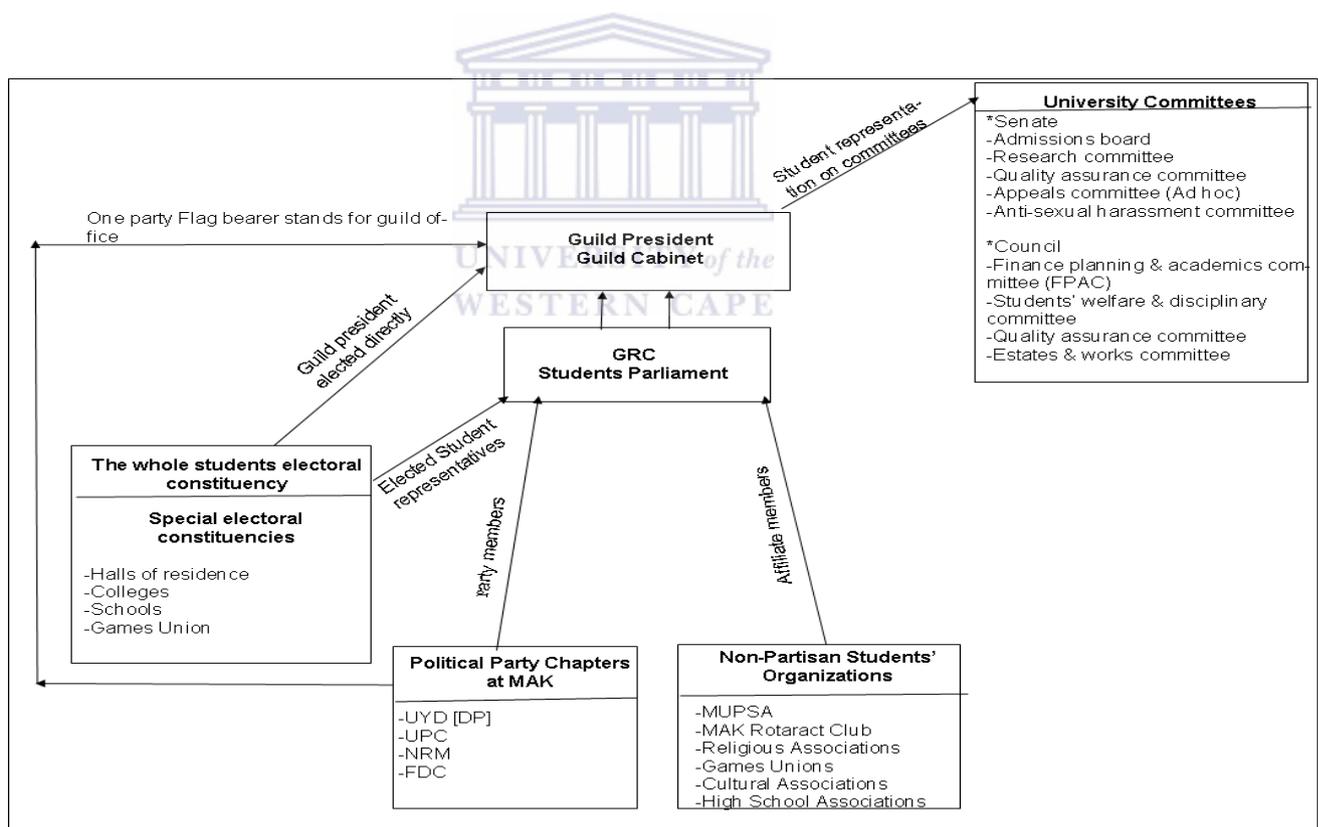


Figure 7. Organogram of student representation at Makerere University

Structures of Representation and the Electoral Process

This section explains the above organogram and goes into detail to define the structures such as the guild cabinet, the guild representative council (GRC), and other structures which represent student interests such as the non-partisan student organisations. The section also explains the political party structures in the institution and the electoral processes. It highlights a well-organised student government structure in the institution; however, whether the student government effectively represents the interests of the student constituency is a question to consider in the sections that follow. For this purpose, the focus is limited to the relationship between student leaders and political parties as outlined on the organogram above, in keeping with the theoretical framework (political party presence through the chapters).

Figure 7 therefore provides a basic organogram of the structures of student representation at Makerere University: the GRC, guild president and cabinet, the university committees on which they sit to represent students, and the different constituencies through which they are elected into office. Appendix F offers a detailed outline of the number of representatives in each student leadership structure, representatives on each institutional committee and representatives from each constituency.

The guild cabinet refers to the main students' representative body in Makerere University which represents the interests of students within the institution and nationally. All student leadership structures are formally headed by the guild president who is directly elected by students in an annual student election and who appoints the guild cabinet from members of the GRC. Every student contributes approximately 10 US Dollars (20,000 Ugandan shilling) to the guild budget (Byaruhanga, 2006, p. 25; Makerere University Guild Constitution, 2011; Interview with guild leaders and dean of students, 23/10/2013).

The GRC is constituted by student representatives from the halls of residence and from the constituent colleges of the university, in which representation is then extended to the different schools within colleges (Byaruhanga, 2006, p. 26; Lutaakome et al., 2005). According to the guild leaders and the dean of students (Interviewed, 23/10/2013), the guild cabinet has 28 members (referred to as 'ministers') and there are 96 GRC representatives (compare Appendix F). Therefore, there are two main structures of student representation in Makerere University as outlined above namely, the guild cabinet led by the guild president and the GRC which is the students' parliament.

There are other student organisations which are mostly non-partisan, such as the Makerere University Private Students Association (MUPSA) which was founded in 1997 by so-called 'private' or fee-paying students to advocate their interests (Interview with MUPSA leader, 16/04/2014). There are games unions, academic associations, district or county associations, ethnic associations and secondary school associations (Byaruhanga, 2006, p. 26-28; Interviewed student leaders and dean of students, 23/10/2013). There are also a number of charity organisations at the institution, such as the Rotaract Club of Makerere University (MAK Rotaract Club, 2014).

Finally political party chapters at Makerere University include the Forum for Democratic Change (FDC), National Resistance Movement (NRM), Uganda Young Democrats (UYD) which is a youth branch of the Democratic Party (DP) and Uganda People's Congress (UPC). These are some of the political party chapters at MAK to which some members of the GRC are affiliated and of which party

flag bearers typically contend for office in the annual student leadership election. According to the student leaders interviewed (23/10/2013) opposition parties are more popular among students if considered in relation to winning the guild presidency at MAK, mainly UYD and FDC, hence the 2013-2014 guild president was an FDC member. They argued that the ruling party NRM has always struggled to make serious inroads in terms of student support throughout its more than 25 years of rule.

In regard to the presidential electoral process, the Makerere University Guild Constitution (2011) outlines that guild elections are overseen by an electoral commission made up of students who are guided or led by a staff member. Candidates for the guild presidency go through party primaries in their respective political party chapters on campus and one party member is elected to stand as the party flag bearer; other contenders for the position may also stand as independent candidates (Alina, 2014). After about three weeks of campaigning, student elections are held and all registered students at Makerere University are free to vote. The winner of the guild presidency is then supposed to appoint members from the GRC to form the guild cabinet.

In regard to the GRC, the guild leaders interviewed (23/10/2013) confirmed that there are various constituencies through which a student can contest en route to the GRC. These include: a student can contest to represent her or his hall of residence, college or school; a student can also be elected through the games union. Campaigns and elections into all these different student leadership positions all take place at the same time.

It may be important to note that the leadership structures and the electoral process resemble the national electoral process where the presidential candidate wins party primaries first or can be independent and then he or she is elected directly. The president-elect then appoints members of parliament to form a cabinet. The country has demarcated constituencies for elections to parliament according to population size, but there are also members of parliament from other structures such as the police, the army and many more (Electoral Commission of Uganda, 2013). Hence structures of student government and the electoral system are clearly designed for student leaders to learn how things operate at national level.

Figure 7 also shows that students are represented in various institutional committees of the two main bodies which run the institution, i.e., the council and the senate, as well as in the council and the senate committees. Council committees where students are represented at Makerere University include: finance planning and academics committee, students welfare and disciplinary committee, quality assurance committee (joint committee), estates and works committee. Senate Committees include: admissions board, research committee, quality assurance committee, appeals committee (ad hoc), and anti-sexual harassment committee (see Appendix F). The committees mainly have one or two student representatives; as part of representation gender equity is seriously considered, so where two representatives are required one of the student representatives is required to be female. The same applies to the disabled (Interview with dean of students and student leaders, 23/10/2013).

The basic structure of student government outlined in Figure 7 thus provides for the main structures of student leadership, especially the guild cabinet and GRC, the committees on which they represent other students, the constituencies through which student leaders are elected, other associations on campus to represent students' interest, and the political party chapters on campus. As noted, these main structures of student representation resemble the national structures of government. Hence

the importance for student leaders to relate to a national political party, and this provides a background to the analysis that follows in an attempt to understand the relationship between student leaders and political parties.

The analysis of the data collected through the online survey and the in-depth interviews now proceeds in relation to the key concepts of the theoretical framework discussed in Chapter 2.

Participation of Student Leaders in the Political Party

In relation to the adopted theoretical framework for this study, participation of student leaders in the political party refers to the space afforded to student leaders within the structures of the political party for them to be part of the decision making process of the party. Through student leaders' participating in the decision making structures or committees, they can promote the interests of their constituency (i.e., the MAK student community). This process can therefore give student leaders more influence and potentially more space or autonomy in representing students. The different levels of participation by the MAK student leaders are discussed below.

Participation of Student Leaders in Party Structures on Campus

The different student leaders and party leaders interviewed for this study not only confirmed that political parties have branches on campus which are referred to as 'chapters' and registered with the institution as students associations, they also confirmed their importance in student government. A student leader of a charitable club at MAK emphasized "I strongly believe that national political parties are very important to the performance of the Makerere University chapters of these respective political parties" (Interview with MAK Rotaract Club student leader, 16/04/2014).

However, while the dean of students confirmed the presence of party structures on campus, he also offered more insight into how the administration views the influence of political parties on student politics at the institution:

Officially, management and council discourage direct involvement of external forces in determining the student leadership. But the university does not prevent students becoming members of associations even if they are political [such as] political parties. That is the official position. But over the years in practice the external actors have come in and as we speak now the elections of guild leadership or student leadership at all levels are heavily influenced by political parties. To the extent that now they select candidates, they sponsor candidates and so on. [The] main influence on student leadership here is by political parties and cultural groups. (Interview with dean of students, 23/10/2013)

On the one hand, the above evidence first of all confirms the presence of party structures at Makerere University and how student leadership is highly influenced by political parties. Institutional management and leadership, on the other hand, looks at the party influence on campus critically and would have preferred not to allow such influence. However, the dean of students highlights that

despite its concerns, management respects the right of students to affiliate with political organisations. Clearly, political parties are highly influential at the institution in addition to cultural groups; nevertheless even though management is concerned about such influence, it has not stopped it.



Picture 3. An advert for NRM party primaries in Lumumba and Marry Stuart Halls of residence

Picture 3 above shows an advert that also helps to highlight how crucial halls of residence can be in guild elections. In this case the advertisement is for the primary elections for NRM party candidates

in two different halls of residence (i.e. Lumumba Hall, M/Stuart Hall Complex).The poster is placed on the ground next to the student walking route from halls to the academic buildings, fixed with a stone on top to stop the wind from blowing it way. This is a popular way of students passing on information to other students at Makerere University as they walk around campus.

MAKERERE UNIVERSITY
P. O. Box 7062 Kampala Uganda
Cables "Makunika"

UGANDA YOUNG DEMOCRATS (UYD)

EXECUTIVE MEMBERS 2013/2014

S/N	POSITION	NAME	CONSTITUENCY
1	CHAIRPERSON	SSEBULIBA IVAN	EDUCATION
2	D/CHAIR PERSON	NAKYANZI RITAH DAIZY	AFRICA HALL
3	GENERAL SECRETARY	SSEGAWA MARTIN	MITCHEAL HALL
4	D/GENERAL SECRETARY	ARIBO GOERGE GIFT	BCOM
5	SPEAKER	ADONG SARAH	SOCIALSCIENCES
6	D/SPEAKER	SENYIMBA ROGERS	EDUCATION
7	FINANCE SECRETARY	NAZIRI RACHEAL	COMPLEX HALL
8	D/FINANCE SECRETARY	CADRI MUZAMILU	BCOX
9	CONSTITUTIONAL AFFAIRS	MULIRA MOSES	LAW
10	D/CONSTITUTIONAL	MUGABI CONLEY	BCOM
11	POLITICAL AFFAIRS SEC	WASWA IVAN	ARTS IN ARTS
12	D/POLITICAL AFFAIRS	KADDU ANDREW	SOCIAL SCIENCES
13	ORGANISING SECRETARY	NASSINA BUSHIRAH	EDUCATION
14	D/ORGANISING SECRETARY	KYAMULABI MARY	JICO
15	PROJECT CORDINATOR	LIAZI MOSES	MITCHEAL HALL
16	D/PROJECT CORDINATOR	KAYEMBA PAUL	BCOX
17	PUBLICITY SECRETARY	SSEWAKAMBO CAISE	EDUCATION
18	D/PUBLICITY SECRETARY	KAZIBWE HENRY (MATURE)	MUSIC AND DRAMA
19	PRODUCTION SECRETARY	SSEWANYANA ALI	EDUCATIONS
20	D/PRODUCTION SECRETARY	KAJOBA HAMZA	BCOM
21	CAMPUS AFFAIRS SECRETARY	KABUGO HENRY	07769232689
22	D/CAMPUS AFFAIRS	OPOVA MICHEAL	NSIBIRWA HALL
23	ICT AND RESEARCH	MUTAGOBWA GEOPREY	MITCHEAL
24	D/ICT AND RESEARCH	SSEMUKU BENEDICT	BBA
25	WOMEN AND GENDER	ALIMA WINIFRED	EDUCATION
26	D/WOMEN AND GENDER	NALUMU SOLOME	FEMA
27	SOCIAL AFFAIRS SECRETARY	MIVULE AXAM	CEDAT
28	D/SOCIAL AFFAIRS SEC	LUBOWA MICHEAL (SUZIX)	LUMUMBA HALL
29	MOBILISATION SECRETARY	BWOWE IVAN	UNIVERSITY HALL
30	D/MOBILISATION SEC	BAKULUMPAGI CALVIN	BFA
31	OFF CAMPUS AFFAIRS	NSUBUGA ARAFAT	LUMUMBA HALL
32	D/OFF CAMPUS AFFAIRS	LUTAYA RICHARD	FEMA
33	SECURITY AFFAIRS	BARIGYE BOB	MITCHEAL HALL
34	D/SECURITY AFFAIRS	KIBIRANGO M.	BCOX
35	ACADEMIC AFFAIRS SEC	MUSINGUZI ROGERS	ARTS IN ARTS
36	D/ACADEMIC AFFAIRS SEC	SSEMANDA MATHIUS	BIOP - 0772209207
37	PRIVATE STUDENTS AFFAIRS	SENNOGA SIMON	LAW
38	D/PRIVATE STUDENTS	ARINAITWE LAWFRANCE	SOCIAL SCIENCES
39	GRC COCUS	NVIRI SAMUEL	SCHOOL OF GENDER
40	DEPUTY GRC COCUS	NAKIYIMBA LILIAN	LIVING STONE/ LAW
41	VICE GUILD PRESIDENT	JEREMAYA KEYA MWANJE	PHARMACY
42	GUILD SPEAKER	KAYANA ARTHUR	ARTS IN ARTS
43	CHIEF WHIP	KIZITO RASHID	FORESTRY/LIVINGSTONE
44	DEPUTY CHIEF WHIP	MUSAAZI PIUS KAGAAYI	

OFFICE OF THE SPEAKER: SEMMUNJWE PAUL
 C/PERSON APPOINTING COMMITTEE: MANGO R. MUKUVE
 OFFICE OF THE GENERAL SEC: OSIAPIL LUKE
 CHIEF ADVISORS: NSIBIRWA WINSTON, MUGERWA FREDDIE M.

Picture 4. UYD (DP) chapter elected members of the MAK executive committee 2013/2014

Picture 4 shows a full list of members of the UYD (the youth wing of the DP) executive committee of the chapter at MAK elected to run the chapter during 2013/2014. On the list in the above picture, the position of a particular executive committee member can be seen, the full names and the constituency of the executive committee member.

Party leaders who were interviewed (17/10/2013, 22/10/2013) argued that even though political parties have chapters at MAK most of them are not very active. They noted that the recruitment of students into political parties increases during student election campaigns. Therefore the campaign

period is utilized by political parties to identify and recruit new members. The Makerere-based political party chapters are recognized by the mainstream parties under their respective youth wings. Most student leaders that were interviewed (22/10/2013, 23/10/2013) argued that students who are not student leaders don't understand politics or the complexities of student leadership.

The evidence above clearly shows the presence of political parties at Makerere University. The following graph will show to what extent student leaders and students not in leadership are members of party chapters on campus.

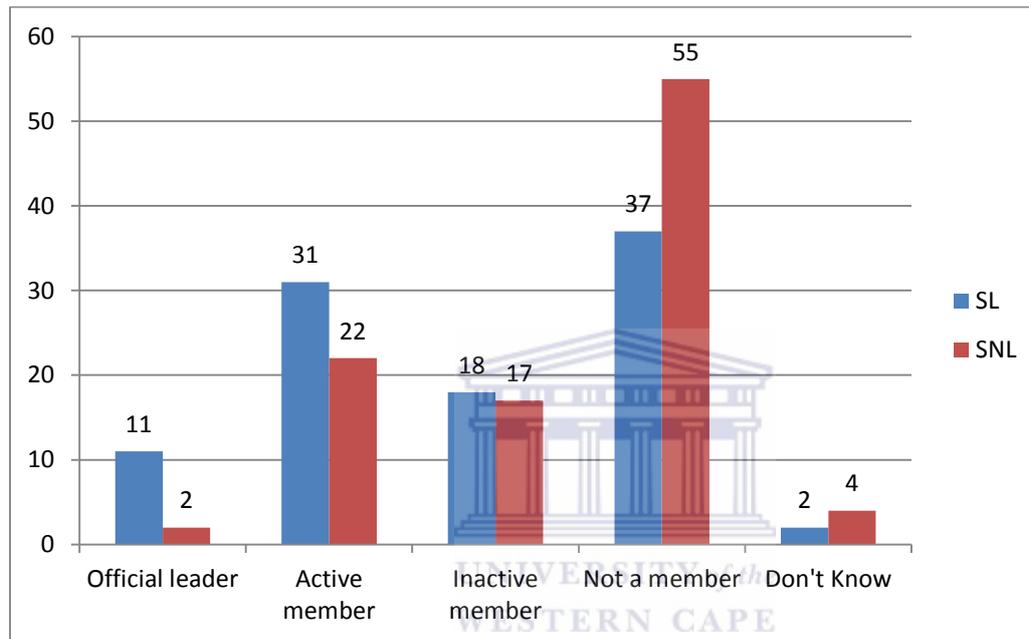


Figure 8. Student involvement in political party chapters on campus (DP, FDC, NRM, UPC)

Key: SL = student leader; SNL = student not in leadership; N for SL=109, Missing=8; N for SNL=832, Missing=79

Figure 8 highlights the extent to which both student leaders (SL) and students who are not in leadership positions (SNL) are actively involved in the activities of their respective political parties on campus. It shows that over 60% of student leaders are party members ("official leaders" 11%, "active member" 31%, "inactive member" 18%) and 41% of students not in leadership ("official leaders" 2%, "active members" 22%, "inactive member" 17%). It is noteworthy that 11% of the student leaders and 2% of the students who are not in leadership report being official leaders in their party. This shows that considering the study sample, student leaders occupy more leadership positions in comparison to students not in leadership and are more represented in party leadership. The same pattern is evident with regard to active membership (31% SL vs. 22% SNL). Finally, the majority of students who are not in leadership declare that they are not members of any party (55%) as against only just over one third (37%) of students in leadership positions.

The survey results therefore show that student leaders are more likely to be members and leaders of a political party than students not in leadership, as illustrated in Figure 8. Student leaders are also

more likely to be active as members of a political party than ordinary students. Furthermore, the analysis shows a high prevalence overall of party membership among the sampled students.

Thus, while the interview material showed evidence provided by student leaders, dean of students and party leaders of the presence of party structures on campus and their perceived importance, Figure 8 above offers more evidence to indicate the extent to which students participate in these party structures on campus. In relation to the indicators noted from the theoretical framework particularly highlighting participation of student leaders in the political party, evidence for two indicators can be noted. One being that 11% of the student leaders sampled do hold leadership posts in the party, in addition to 2% of the students who are not in leadership. Therefore student leaders for example do participate in internal party activities which may include leading the youth wing or as delegates on a conference and thus they may be able to influence party decisions. Secondly 31% of these student leaders are active members, in comparison to 22% of students not in leadership. Therefore they attend party meetings and could be called upon for example to be part of any party activities such as a seminar and in a small way, since in such instances they can freely mingle with party leaders, they could raise certain concerns as students thus indirectly influencing what party leaders think or plan in relation to institutions of Higher learning in general or that particular institution and in this case Makerere University.

Therefore in relation to the sample, there is active participation in party structures by students as noted in the discussion above. However to consider whether this level of participation highly contributes to the level of autonomy student leaders may enjoy or rather constrain them, it is important to consider what happens off-campus discussed below.

Participation of Student Leaders in Party Structures Off-campus

In relation to the question how student leaders participate in their respective political parties, it has been reported by guild leaders that they use their structures on campus to connect with the off-campus structures of their party, more specifically the youth wing of the party (Interview with guild leaders, 23/10/2013). The participation in the structures off-campus happens in different ways as noted below.

The participation of student leaders in a political party may afford them the opportunity to use party structures to represent student interests in forums beyond the university. In interviews conducted for this study, party leaders of UPC and UYD indicated that affiliated student leaders were invited to their respective national delegates conference (Interview with UPC leader B, 17/10/2013; UYD leader, 15/04/2014). For instance, a UYD party leader reported that each university chapter of UYD in the country sends three representatives to the national delegates' conference of UYD. It is clear that this form of participation provides the opportunity for student leaders to voice students' concerns at the national level; it therefore provides an opportunity of empowering them within the party structures. They may consequently enjoy a level of influence to air out certain concerns as delegates, but that may not necessarily mean they are independent or have autonomy from the party as referred to in the theoretical framework. They may have a level of authority to influence, but within the party structural confines. This may mean having more power to influence, but they may lack the independence mainly to make or influence the final decisions. Hence in relation to the context of participation being discussed, empowerment appears to be the more appropriate concept

to use. Since they may be empowered to influence the process, but not the final decision made about a particular issue.

The empowerment of student leaders inherent in forms of participation in political party structures may be expressed in different ways. According to a UPC party leader, it is mostly through influencing change (Interview with UPC party leader A, 17/10/2013). For example he explained that:

During the last national election campaigns the managers [of the building] were not allowing posters here [at the party head office]. The youth came and forced that to happen and it happened. They sat here until the manager said we are allowing [it] but please don't put [posters] everywhere. We made big posters and stuck them on walls in the building. When there was a leadership problem [within the party] again the youth came and took over the party headquarters. These guys came in the morning, overpowered one of our security guards and entered the offices, and locked themselves in until the issues they raised were heard. We had a meeting and resolved the leadership grievances they had. (Interview with UPC leader A, 17/10/2013)

At the same time, the party leader noted that the party leadership did not punish the youths from Makerere University for these actions. This highlights how student leaders can participate within a political party in different ways; not only through established party structures such as delegates conferences, but also using the methods of student activism, such as a sit-in. Moreover, it indicates that they are able to exert considerable power within political party structures. This further highlights not autonomy but influence they enjoy within party structures. As noted above, it is the party leaders who in the end resolve the problems raised; students could only exert influence and pressure. Therefore student leaders do not enjoy autonomous power but enjoy influence within party structures. Party members who know, as leaders of institutional structures, they enjoy a level of authority within the party are listened to and they may even participate in decision making structures, but they do not independently determine the final decisions made.

In relation to the established theoretical framework, it may be argued that participation of student leaders in political parties avails them additional platforms to raise student concerns and therefore increases their power and influence overall. Student leaders receive additional recognition as leaders in their respective political parties at the national level as they get groomed to replace the established elites. Thus, the UYD leader indicated that “we look at them as young upcoming leaders who should be trained and groomed into future roles of leadership in the party ...[even though] they have to prove themselves in order to go past student leadership to mainstream party leadership” (Interview with UYD [DP] leader, 15/04/2014).

Similarly, some student leaders claimed to be viewed as national leaders:

Even though I am a student leader, I am viewed in my own respect as a national leader because students' issues are not issues that are limited to a

specific age group or a specific tribe. Students are from all over the country, they are from different tribes, different nationalities, they are from different age groups; so at the end of the day being a leader of that kind of constituency puts me out as a national leader. (Interview with guild leader A, 23/10/2013)

Other guild leaders explained that it is the guild president in particular who is most recognized by the political parties and who therefore could claim to be a national leader (Interviews with guild leaders B and D, 23/10/2013 and 24/10/2013). The evidence of student leaders being recognized as national leaders in the party highlights the influence that comes with such recognition. It shows the power student leaders may enjoy as upcoming party leaders. Therefore, since the “great prize” is the guild presidency, political parties seek to influence the process of choosing the candidate who represents the party; in turn, the guild president becomes a national leader in her or his party given all the attention. Thus, another party leader argued that:

They [student leaders] are taken as serious leaders. That is why when there are campaigns in Makerere University all political parties go there to see who is strong so that they can convince them to join their party. So political parties go there to mobilize for support and recruit possible candidates to become their members. Makerere University is looked at more seriously in comparison to other universities in the country. (Interview with NRM leader A, 22/10/2013)

Makerere University does have a special status in this respect, as it is the oldest and most prestigious public university in Uganda. In many respects, it represents a microcosm of Ugandan society. In this regard a student leader argued that “because we are a public university so everything that the country faces we face; [...] everything that happens on the national scene is reflected in the institution”. This also applies to political life and leadership. “There is a perfect correlation between leaders who move from Makerere University and go to the national scene” (Interview with guild leader A, 23/10/2013). In addition to Makerere University being a microcosm or “theater of national politics”, it can be seen that student leadership is often a precursor to a career in the party and in national politics. Many prominent national leaders were mentioned in interviews as having been Makerere student leaders before: “Look at the records: Nobert Mao [who] was picked by DP [and who] is now the president of DP; Asumani Basaalirwa was scouted from DP [and he] is now president of JEMA; [and] Mukasa Mbidde is East African Member of Parliament [while] he was guild president in our time” (Interview with NRM leader A, 22/10/2013).

Similarly a UPC party leader noted that “The current UPC president, Ambassador Olala Otunu, was a guild president of Makerere University; the number of politicians in parliament, at local government level, national level; the presidency; the majority have once been part of Makerere university student politics” (Interview with UPC leader B, 17/10/2013).

Thus, the interviews vividly confirm Byaruhanga’s (2006, p. 145) earlier findings that the relationship between student leaders at Makerere University and political parties or national politics in general is historical and has created a “political culture or tradition” over time whereby the majority of those who go through the university and MAK student leadership end up in one way or another

participating in the process of framing the political destiny of the country. Participation in the structures of student leadership at MAK opens doors to political leadership not only at the national level and not only upon graduation. In an interview a current guild leader indicated that he was also a DP party leader in his home district where he held the post of legal adviser at the district party committee (Interview with guild leader B, 23/10/2013). Thus, student leaders who have political ambitions beyond the university are able to ensure that they establish and maintain links to participate in political activities happening in their home areas, and these contacts can again be of use later after the completion of university education.

Conversely, the participation of student leaders in the structures of political parties off campus is also a way by which political parties try to influence student politics. Thus, while student leadership generally appears as a training ground for future political leaders (compare Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011) the role that student leaders' participation in political party structures plays is highlighted by the evidence provided above. Correspondingly, student leaders in other universities that ban political party activities on campus (such as the Uganda Christian University) rarely make the transition into national politics in Uganda (Mugume and Katusiime, 2014). Therefore participation in the political party clearly empowers student leaders in important ways as noted above with respect to the recognition given, for example, to the guild president and the historical trend whereby they are under preparation for a transition to national politics. However, the question remains if all these points seem to show student leaders as being empowered in general, whether this empowerment results in student leaders retaining their ability to represent student interests while they are elected as student representatives is a different point which is considered next.

The discussion above shows that student leaders actually don't enjoy autonomy within the party but rather they get empowered at different levels depending on the context. Considering the theoretical framework noted in Figure 2, student leaders need a level of autonomy within the party, which as noted above, they actually may not enjoy to authentically represent interests of their constituency. Evidence shows that student leaders participate in the decision making processes of their respective parties hence they may be able to represent the interests of students. Therefore it may be hard to argue that student leaders participate in the relationship with a political party only to represent their personal interests since their own interests may overlap with the interests of the general student population given that they are also students. For example, when an issue affecting all students appears in a party's manifesto, student leaders may appear to represent the interests of students generally, but on the other hand this may be an issue also affecting the student leaders themselves. Even though student leaders may enjoy a certain level of influence, the lack of autonomy means student leaders get constrained within the party since they have to follow party policy as they have less decision making powers within the party.

Student leaders with future political ambitions which require them to keep party political connections are forced to be loyal to the party leadership and in the process they may be losing their autonomy in representing the student body on issues that are unpopular or contrary to party objectives. Being a member of the party structures off-campus as explained above by a DP student leader who holds a position in the district may influence the decisions a student leader makes on campus not to fall out with the party leaders off-campus (Interview with guild leader B, 23/10/2013).

The section introduced consideration of the theoretical associative action termed 'participation of student leaders' in the political party and noted that this happens on campus and off campus. The importance of party chapters on campus has been outlined as the main structure through which the engagement between potential student leaders and party leaders meets. Also off-campus structures are discussed and how they may influence student leaders. It is noted the process leads to student leaders being empowered to influence certain party policy direction, but not having some form of independence or control over the decisions made. In addition, it has also been noted that even though student leaders achieve personal interests, it is hard to argue that they do not at all promote and achieve issues affecting students in general. However student leaders may be constrained through their participation on what they can do since the more they get involved in party politics, the more they will need to follow party protocol and policy; this is mainly due to student leaders holding political ambitions and thus expecting help from the party in the future; hence, they must keep good relations with party leaders. The following section considers show student leaders, or student issues in general, are represented by political parties.

Representation by the Political Party

The earlier discussion showed that student leaders are influential in their respective political parties such as the UPC, where they were able to forcefully influence a change in party policy or in the NRM and UYD where they are even elected into the party structures at their delegates' conferences which means, they can take up responsibilities in the party. However it was also noted that participation may constrain student leaders and in the process student leaders lose their autonomy to represent student issues in that they give precedence to party policies rather than focusing on students' issues.

Guild leaders A and B (interviewed, 23/10/2013) argued that opposition parties may not be able to influence the university, for example, if students complained about a policy, since Makerere University is a public university the ruling party has more influence on policy. Therefore an opposition party can only influence such policies through parliament, and for an issue to reach parliament it should be advocated for within the party to appear on the party agenda in the House. According to the fact that some of these parties explicitly allow student leaders into their structures creates room for student leaders to advocate for students' interests in the party. Hence students' concerns may end up on the floor of national parliament and get defended by the party of the respective student leaders raising such a concern. What the evidence suggests here is that political parties do represent student leaders' interests, but there are limitations and the above discussion points to differences, such as whether the respective political party is in power or on the opposition bench. Figure 9 below highlights aspects of the representation of student leaders and student issues by a political party as per the responses from the survey sample for student leaders.

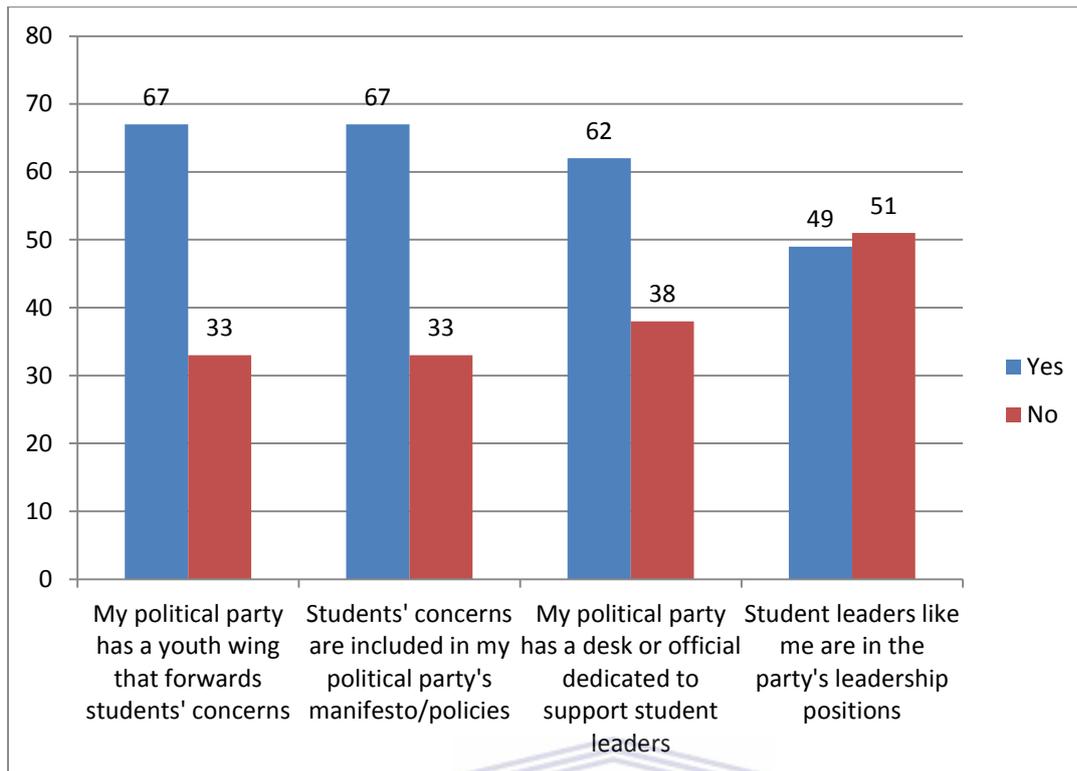


Figure 9. Does your political party represent student leaders concerns?

N=109, Missing=47 (N=Student leaders only)

Figure 9 shows how student leaders reported on ways in which they were represented by their respective political parties. 67% of student leaders indicated that their party has a youth wing which relays students' concerns to other party structures; 62% acknowledged the presence of a desk within the party that handles student leaders issues in the party; while 67% noted that students issues are actually included in their respective political party's policy frameworks and approximately 50% of the sampled student leaders noted that they were not only party members but they were also holding leadership positions in their respective parties. Therefore the analysis shows that student leaders have various ways to argue for students concerns within party structures to be taken up by the party, and that more than two-thirds of student leaders found that student concerns were indeed included in their party's manifesto or policies. The analysis therefore reflects a high level of representation of student leaders in party structures and inclusion of students' concerns in party policy documents. Hence there is considerable room for them to defend students' issues through their political parties. However, student leaders have to depend on the party because they are a small constituency within the party. Table 2 shows the sampled student leaders' responses in relation to whether their respective political parties can put pressure on university management and whether it can put pressure to change national policies.

Table 2*Party can put Pressure on University Management and can Change National Policies*

	Party can put pressure on University management		Party can put pressure to change national policies	
	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage
SL	18	17%	16	15%
SNL	37	4%	35	4%

N for SL=109, Missing=92 & N for SNL=832, Missing=796.

While Table 2 has a poor response rate to the question, it also shows that even among these few responses to the question, actually few of the students or student leaders agreed that their respective parties could put pressure on management or even change national policies. However by comparing these results with the analysis and the discussion under Figure 9 above, one can argue here that the forms of influence noted in Table 2 could be easier for the ruling party to achieve since it has been noted that Makerere University is a public university. Hence the ruling party could be able to apply some influence, while this may appear more difficult for the opposition party to achieve since it has already been noted from the interview discussions that opposition parties have no influence on institutional management (Interview with guild leader B, 23/10/2013). This also highlights a fact that no party enjoys full control over the institution; whatever form of influence it has, seems to be more indirect. This influence may indeed be exerted via student leadership (as is discussed below). Conversely, student leaders are a small constituency within a political party and therefore have less influence on party policies even though a claim can be made that they may influence issues concerning Higher education in the party. However, if one of the other bigger constituencies within a party were to go against such a policy it may not be supported by other party structures hence most likely not be implemented by the party. Therefore one can further argue that the poor response rate noted above (Table 2) could be a reflection of the low levels of perceived representation among both student leaders and students not in leadership structures.

In addition to the above, a student leader added that political parties use other spaces to also represent student leaders in the solving of problems which may be raised at the institution:

Political parties cannot solve problems which are here [at the institution] but if you put it in parliament, you're most likely to get their voice. You have to just struggle and make sure you push the issue to their level where they can come in at a more national level. The time when we took the university to court, our members of parliament who are lawyers helped us and gave us affordable legal services but also because it was about student fees, it touched the whole nation. (Interview with guild leader B, 23/10/2013)

This highlights the limitations of political parties in the process of representing student leaders' interests and this allows student leaders to consider other means of getting their issues heard, most especially if such issues cannot easily get national public attention. FDC leader A (Interviewed, 22/10/2013) argued that opposition political parties are very cautious when representing the interests of student leaders, most especially when requesting for help from the ruling party on

behalf of student leaders, since certain instances may be misinterpreted by the electorate (students not in leadership) as unnecessary compromising. Even when availing goods and services to a candidate for student leadership, the party has to appear not to be getting any help from the government, even those services an opposition party is entitled too such as security by the police. Therefore given the unpopularity of the ruling party, opposition party leaders and potential student leaders cannot appear to be using government resources, most especially during campaigns. A student leader added that:

You do not ask for police protection because if you ask for police they say you're NRM. So you have to be strategic. You have to explain to the voters [students in general] that you invited the police because of this and that reason. If misunderstood, voters turn around to say can't you see they are able to get police [which is seen as pro-government]. However if you use for example, their fellow students to protect the candidate they would say this party can look after their candidate. (Interview with guild leader B, 23/10/2013)

Even though the discussion above highlights representation of student leaders' interests by their respective political parties, this appears to be happening at a very low level as noted in Figure 9 above with almost 50% missing and on Table 2 Low numbers of student leaders responded to the question in general and among those who responded few did respond in a positive way or agreed that they were actually represented by the party. When the party is in power in the case of a public university, it is able to influence policy indirectly, thus it would be able to represent student leaders' interests in the process. Therefore student leaders would have less autonomy in the process, while an opposition party which struggles to represent students' interests would leave student leaders more empowered since they would have to try and push the students' issues to become a national issue so as to be discussed in parliament. At the institutional level student leaders appear to be constantly trying to negotiate their way to solving problems with management, mostly informally rather than through the official structures. The next discussion looks at the resources exchange between student leaders and their respective political parties.

Goods and Services Exchange Between Student Leaders and Political Parties

The literature on student leadership suggests that resource exchange is an important part of the relationship between student leaders and political parties (compare Chapter 2). Student leaders generally get help from their respective political parties during campaigns, after the campaigns and even after graduating. However, in this resource exchange relationship political parties also have expectations (Mutibwa, 1992; Bryaruhanga, 2006; Luescher-Mamashela and Mugume, 2014; Mugume and Katusiimeh, 2014). This section focuses on discussing the evidence of resources exchange between student leaders and their respective political parties at Makerere University.

Support to Student Leaders During Campaigns

A cross-section of interviewees for this study from non-partisan student organisations, guild leaders and party leaders (Interviewed, 17/10/2013, 22/10/2013, 23/10/2013) all agreed that political parties get seriously involved in the campaigns for student leadership at Makerere University. They further

confirmed that there was a variety of material and non-material resources that were given to student leaders, mainly the party candidates for the guild presidency. The support included cash, posters, training in how to campaign, nomination fees and mentoring of student leaders by influential members of the party. The latter would in most cases be members of parliament. One of the student leaders noted that “Through the many meetings we attended in the process of strategizing, they [party leaders] usually encouraged other members to take up various positions. So in that way I can say they encouraged us, they advised us on which strategy to use, these in a way become resourceful” (Interview with guild leader C, 24/10/2013).

For a potential student leader, participating in political party activities enhances their status as candidates. Thus a political party leader of FDC argued in relation to the 2013 primaries ahead of the guild president elections that “Some of us when we don’t see [the leadership qualities] in you, we even don’t go there [to Makerere University] to campaign, like the current guild president. If it was another student, some of us we would not have gone there. Because others were mediocre who were contesting. We said if it is not Adeke, we are not bringing our resources” (Interview with FDC leader A, 22/10/2013).

This also highlights the considerations party leaders make before extending the needed resources to a particular student leadership candidate. It also shows the importance of aspiring student leaders participating in party activities so as to access party resources in future.

Party leaders also outlined almost the same resources which have been noted above that they give to student leaders during campaigns:

We provide both logistical and physical support ...Printing posters and we may look after the personal needs of the campaigners, public address systems, we provide fuel in campaign vehicles... At times they tell you someone does not have a suit and we have to mobilize and make sure that the guy can have a suit anyway. Even bringing our foot soldiers to come and do the campaigning at the grass root level. ... When we have money during campaigns we give but this time [2013] the budget was stressed so we gave about 7000 posters, around 5 cars to drive the guild candidate for [about] 3 weeks. The UYD team wanted to beat our candidate and from that point we got some of our boys [not students] to come and backup our security. (Interview with FDC leader A, 22/10/2013)

The claim of manhandling the female FDC candidate (who is the current guild president) during the 2013 guild campaigns was also highlighted by the dean of students in the interview. Thus in this case, the political party even provided body guards for their candidate. A different student leader explained that “during the campaigns I was given a lot of training and also the financial support in the form of cash, posters and fliers, vehicles for transport, cash for the band and other logistics” (Interview with guild leader A, 23/10/2013).The online survey responses also offered more evidence of such support as noted in Table 3 below.

Table 3*What Support for Your Election Campaign do you get From a Political Party?*

The various goods and services provided to SL during campaigns	Actual number of SL who agree to having received this	Percentage
Posters	30	28%
Cash for campaigning	23	21%
Training in campaigning	20	18%
Rallies	19	17%
Writing a manifesto	13	12%
T-shirts	10	9%

N=109. This was a multiple response question, respondents could select as many options as they liked. Therefore each choice response is to a total of 100%.

The analysis in Table 3 shows that the category of resources which student leaders received mostly during campaigns was posters, as noted by almost a third of the sampled student leaders (28%), followed by cash for campaigning received by over 1 in 5 student leaders, and training in campaigning by almost 1 in 5. Only about 1 in 10 student leaders (9%) received T-shirts from the party as part of the party's campaign support.

Considering the above percentages it is clear that only few student leaders in the sample actually received a variety of goods and services. Political parties focus on guild leadership campaigns and on the guild presidency candidates in particular. Meanwhile those who answered the question for Table 3 also included college and school representatives, GRC members, and guild cabinet members, and it has been shown previously that about 40% of student leaders are not affiliated to any political party (Interview with UPC leader B, 17/10/2013; Interview with FDC leader A, 22/10/2013; Interview with guild leader A and B, 23/10/2013). Hence if the above percentages are looked at in that context, they actually represent a serious interest by political parties particularly in the guild presidency and thus impact on the funding for guild presidency campaigns in Makerere University. Accordingly, a UPC leader noted that the focus on the guild presidency is due to lack of funds, arguing that even though the party always intends to support and encourage these young leaders, it is always strained by the lack of resources because in the case of his party, the party had not been in power since 1985.

In addition to the resources considered in Table 3, party leaders and members of parliament also go to the university to support their respective candidates during campaigns (Interview with UPC leader B, 17/10/2013). The UYD leader who was interviewed (15/04/2014) also added that they did not really have a lot of resources and that they also supported student leadership campaigns in other universities in Uganda. Therefore they were only able to offer little in terms of funding and they focused more on training the guild candidates with their respective campaign teams on how they can win an election. Furthermore, as social democrats, UYD avoids focusing on the material things, such as their candidates showing wealth during campaigns. However a former UYD student leader (2001-2003) interviewed (22/10/2013) emphasized that this kind of support is historical at the

institution. He further outlined that former DP president Ssebaana Kizito gave them money at times to utilize during campaigns in addition to the posters. Overall, the various kinds of resources and services provided to student leaders by party leaders as outlined above during campaign empower the campaign candidates in different ways to win the leadership elections. In addition, skills passed on to the student leaders by political parties' campaign teams also help to indirectly groom student leaders for future party campaigns. Even though in the process party leaders may attempt to control student leadership candidates by convincing them for example, to use party logos on their posters to advertise the party, the exercise appears more to be an empowering one to the student leadership candidates. Although aspiring student leadership candidates get goods and services during campaigns; the party leaders of the respective political parties tend to concentrate on the candidates for the position of the guild president, mainly because they also don't have a lot of resources at their disposal and the guild presidency offers prestige to a political party. It is important to note that the support during campaigns is given directly to student leaders hence representing interests of student leaders to get into the various leadership positions. The next discussion focuses on the support student leaders get from their respective political parties after being elected into office.

Support to Student Leaders When Elected Into Office

Guild leader A (interviewed, 23/10/2013) explained that the party still guides her as a student leader and this mainly involves meeting those she considers to be her role models in the party. In the process she gets advice about how to deal with different issues, mainly the party leaders' opinions on how they would handle different circumstances in politics. Therefore the process of mentoring young leaders continues after elections. In addition to direct mentoring, a student leader who is a member of the FDC chapter at Makerere University further added that since their guild candidate won the elections, the FDC mainstream party kept in touch and they had been able to organise youth activities on campus on behalf of the party. He further indicated that they also worked together or in collaboration with FDC students from other institutions:

We usually have activities within the party, youth activities where the youth are in charge and whenever there are activities to be carried out at Makerere University, the party comes to us. These include both activities on campus but also community outreach projects whereby the party sends students as FDC members to go help out in communities.(Interview with guild leader D, 24/10/2013)

The student leaders also indicated that political parties organise conferences to help groom young leaders. For example, a student leader explained that the FDC organised a conference for student leaders in 2013 and FDC members (mainly student leaders) from Makerere University attended (Interview with guild leaders B and C, 23/10/2013, 24/10/2013). Table 4 below offers more evidence on resources exchange after elections.

Table 4

What Support do you Expect From a Relationship With a Political Party When Elected in Student Leadership Office?

The various goods and services that could be provided to SL after elections	Actual number of SL who agree to the option	Percentage
Leadership training & workshops	40	41%
The party can put pressure on university management	18	17%
Internship	16	15%
The party can put pressure to change national policies	16	15%
Cash support during studies	6	6%
Tuition or residence funding/scholarship	5	5%

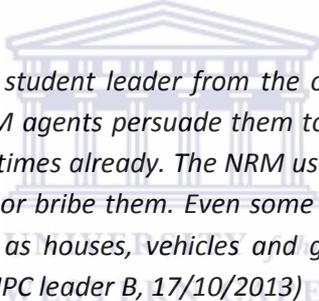
N=109. This was a multiple response question, respondents could select as many options as they liked. Therefore each choice response is to a total of 100%.

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The analysis in Table 4 shows that the student leaders sampled for this study expected a variety of goods and services from their respective political parties when elected into student leadership positions or after elections. The table shows that leadership training/workshops were at the top with 41% of student leaders expecting this, while the incentives in the middle of Table 4 above ranged from 17% to 15%. Few expected cash support during their studies (less than 1 in 10, or 6%) and tuition or residence funding/scholarship (1 in 20; 5%) were the least expected according to the sampled student leaders. These percentages all together show that the expectation of receiving goods and services by student leaders from their respective political parties does not stop after the campaigns. However, political parties clearly were expected to reduce the flow of cash and other physical goods and turn more to services after elections or when their candidate wins an election. This is shown above with leadership training topping the ladder at 41%, followed by political support, while cash took the number two spot in Table 3 above during campaign (and more than 1 in 5 received such support during elections). Thus it is expected that political parties shift their assistance to student leaders from goods and services provided during campaigns to mainly services after the elections. Also they mainly focus on those services which do not only contribute to the development of the young leaders but also those which help them govern well at the institution to send a favourable message about the party's brand as argued by FDC leader A (Interviewed, 22/110/2013). What is also clear in Table 4 (which clearly relates to Table 3 above) is how all these incentives were given to just a few student leaders which may as noted above, be due to limitations that parties face such as having little funds argued by party leaders earlier.

The student leaders and party representatives interviewed (17/10/2013, 22/10/2013) emphasized that even when political parties lost guild elections, they kept in touch with their respective chapters on campus. This was mainly to prepare for the next election since Makerere University student leadership elections are held every academic year. The explanations generally show a clear support system availed by political parties to students interested in politics, but very few actually do access these incentives since political parties focus on a small group of student leaders. Moreover, the evidence so far supports an argument that student leaders are actually being empowered through this support by the political parties rather than being controlled by their respective political parties.

Having noted the opportunities, goods and services, that political parties avail to student leaders, the FDC leader A (Interviewed, 22/10/2013) argued that even though they tried to help students with basics such as teaching them to write manifestos, the main challenge in relation to developing young leaders was that if they were called for major events such as a conference, workshop, they did not go to participate. It was highlighted in the interviews that the ability to offer goods and services is very important for parties to keep their student leaders since if students were not helped they would try to seek help from elsewhere. The UPC and FDC leaders argued that as they tried with their tight budgets to finance and groom the young leaders, the challenge was that the ruling party, i.e. the NRM, would attempt to 'poach' their student leaders and therefore recruit student leaders from other parties as noted below:



Whenever a contesting student leader from the opposition party becomes a guild president, the NRM agents persuade them to join the NRM and this has happened three or four times already. The NRM usually attempts to take them all, it tries to buy them or bribe them. Even some of the current leaders have been given offers such as houses, vehicles and good jobs so that they join NRM. (Interviews with UPC leader B, 17/10/2013)

This is also confirmed by student leaders who are members of opposition parties, arguing that they have been approached by the NRM to join, also adding that they have been promised financial rewards (Interviews with guild leaders C and D, 24/10/2013). Therefore the resources a political party may have which are also influenced to a certain extent by whether the party is in power or not, influences its ability not only to recruit student leaders but also to maintain the relationship once they have successfully contested the student elections. In this case, the NRM which is the ruling party in Uganda, stands accused of using its resource advantage to pay off and recruit the best from other political parties at the institution rather than grooming its own leaders. Therefore the above discussion shows that even after elections resources are directed at a few student leaders (especially those in the guild cabinet) but here parties give more services in comparison to physical goods given out during campaigns. This section also shows that political parties face many challenges, not only to find the resources to sponsor their respective candidates but also to keep the student leaders as other parties, especially the ruling NRM, waits to take those who have already been groomed by the opposition parties.

Support to Student Leaders When They Graduate

As noted above, many student leaders have aspirations of extending their political careers into national politics after completing their studies. The section continues with the resources exchange discussion but focuses more on the kind of support these current student leaders expect to get from

political parties after they graduate. Conversely, according to a member of the NRM, the party has also expectations in this relationship:

The NRM expects that when time for elections comes they use that structure (chapter) to build leaders for the guild presidency and other posts at the institution. Such student leaders will in time come to Delegates Conferences and they would be allowed to run for positions within the national network and they become national leaders. It is a nursery bed of grooming leaders... after Makerere University you become a national leader, then they fit you somewhere as you know government has many bedrooms. (Interview with NRM leader B, 22/10/2013)

Thus, the NRM looks at student leaders as future national leaders and space is availed within the party structures for them to grow their leadership skills. But the interviewee noted that since the party was in power, the opportunities for student leaders were not only within the party but even in government. After graduating, the opportunities of a former loyal NRM-partisan student leader were more compared to those that an opposition party could be able to offer. Table 5 shows the responses in relation to the support student leaders expect from their political parties when they graduate.



Table 5

What Support do you Expect From a Relationship With a Political Party Once you Have Graduated?

The various goods and services that could be provided to SL after graduating	Actual number of SL who agree to the option	Percentages
Career opportunities	37	34%
Selection to stand on party platform in a constituency	28	26%
Leadership position within the party	25	23%
Job in local or national government	20	18%

N=109. This was a multiple response question, respondents could select as many options as they liked. Therefore each choice response is to a total of 100%.

Table 5 shows that 1 in 3 of the student leaders in the survey sample (34%) expected to get career opportunities from their relationship with a political party, while those who expected to stand on the party platform in a constituency were over 1 in 4 (26%), those who expected a leadership position within the party almost 1 in 4 (23%) and those who eyed a job in local or national government made up close to 1 in 5 (18%). Therefore generally there are high expectations for employment opportunities through the political party. This argument resonates within the literature

on student representation in Makerere University (Byaruhanga, 2006). This is also clearly noted in the ability of student leaders to first of all keep political connections within the party and their attempt to avoid being seen as compromised leaders thus following party rules and avoiding even having formal meetings with leaders from other parties (such as the FDC guild president avoiding to meet the state president). Secondly the way student leaders try to keep their connections with their party branches at home mainly getting involved into political party structures in their respective home areas (Interview with guild leaders A and B, 23/10/2013). However just like the responses in the earlier discussion above, the response rate to the question here (Table 5) is also low which still highlights the fact that political parties focus on a few student leaders at the institution, as noted in interviews with party leaders. Therefore most notably it is the guild cabinet members who answered and chose various options due to varying levels of expectations for the different choices given in the question.

Student leaders were asked to respond to the question of the goods and services they received or expected to receive from their respective political parties and the responses were shown in Tables 3, 4 and 5. As argued, the response rate highlights the fact that political parties actually focus on guild candidates in terms of funding. It further appears that opposition parties struggle to fund campaigns for their candidates as they cannot access the kind of resources the ruling party does access. However in relation to the theoretical framework, the different types of resources, such as campaign funding, are indicators of resource exchange. It is clear here that most of these exchanges directly benefit the student leaders and not necessarily the students being represented. However, it can be argued that students who are not in leadership positions benefit indirectly from these exchanges. For example, when political parties offer leadership training to their respective student leaders, this may help them to govern and in the process they may be able to govern better, hence representing the interests of students not in leadership better.

Finally, the evidence above shows that many student leaders expected employment opportunities through their respective political parties. Hence it can be expected that student leaders would try to keep good relations with party leaders and with party structures even in their home areas. Furthermore, it emerges that a party in power can offer more opportunities in comparison to an opposition party and may even recruit student leaders in office by enticing them away from their original party affiliation by offering them resources.

What the Political Party may Expect From Student Leaders

This section discusses the evidence that focuses on what the political party may expect from the student leaders given the resources the political parties invest in student leaders during campaigns, while in office and after graduating as explained above.

Just like in any relationship there should be expectations on the part of the political party funding a particular candidate which is noted in the history of Makerere University (Byaruhanga, 2006; see Table 6). This may not mean controlling student leaders but considering what both actors can expect to gain from the relationship, they can then both willingly ensure that it can be maintained.

Table 6*What Does Your Political Party Expect From you as a Party Member and Student Leader?*

The various options a SL could choose to do for the party	Actual number of SL who choose the option	Percentages
Participation in political party activities	40	37%
Recruiting new members	36	33%
Being a disciplined member of the party	30	28%
Volunteering time and effort	30	28%
Publically defending the party's position	25	23%
Including party branding in your campaign	21	19%
Including party position and ideology in your manifesto	20	18%

N=109. This was a multiple response question, respondents could select as many options as they liked. Therefore each choice response is to a total of 100%.

Table 6 expresses the expected obligations of student leaders towards the political party as regards resource exchange. . It shows that about 1 in 3 student leaders indicated that they were expected to participate in political party activities (37%), recruit new members (33%), be disciplined party members and volunteer time and effort to party activities (28%). Furthermore, almost 1 in 4 (23%) expected to publically defend the party's position, and almost 1 in 5 to include the party's branding in their campaign (19%) and include party position and ideology in their manifesto (18%). Generally more student leaders indicated that they should give back to their respective political parties rather than receive goods and services from their parties (compare Table 6 with Tables 3, 4 and 5). In addition, while political parties gave both goods and services to student leaders, student leaders mostly promised non-material services. Table 6 shows that student leaders expected to give services to the political party mainly in the form of participation in political party activities and recruiting new members. Student leaders used logos of their respective political parties as indicated in the discussion above and more evidence for such is shown in Picture 5 below.



Picture 5. Party logos on campus

Picture 5 shows party logos on campus for the two parties; DP and FDC which have been cases for this study. The interviews with guild leader A and FDC leader A (23/10/2013 and 22/10/2013) showed that political parties ensure that their respective chapters at Makerere University use their logos rather than create new ones. More evidence points to political parties gaining from student leaders since this is a resources exchange relationship to and from the different actors as shown in Picture 5. For example, during campaigns political parties ensure that their respective flag bearers, i.e., student candidates for the guild presidency, actually promote the party image during that period by using party branding. A student leader explained that “in fact my posters did have the key, a symbol of FDC with the map of Uganda and the two fingers” (Interview with guild leader A, 23/10/2013; Picture: 5). This is also explicitly stated by the UPC leader B (Interviewed, 17/10/2013) that party candidates at Makerere University must use the party logo during the campaign for the political party’s publicity. Furthermore he noted that the party considers the whole process of campaigns at the institution a recruiting exercise period thus the party must be noticeable on campus. Hence political parties ensure that their chapters on campus use the logos of their mother parties (see Table 6).

Another student leader explained that when the candidate of a particular party wins the elections, “what happens at that stage normally is the party starts getting even more from you than you are getting from it. ... You become a public relations tool for the political party, for example if they have a function or a party campaign they will convince you to mobilize students for them on campus” (Interview with guild leader B, 23/10/2013). Thus, this guild leader argued that the relationship between a student leader and a political party changes after election, whereby the student leader now provides more support for the political party, than that which the political party actually gives

to the student leader. A party leader highlights how important it can be for the party to win the guild presidency:

Winning gives moral support to the party members because you know how people follow the guild elections, even after midnight you will hear the radio announcing who won the vote at Makerere University. So that is the motivation factor. Secondly we use it to groom leaders... We expect you [the student leader] to promote the party by providing good leadership and we also expect you to mobilize for the party" (Interview with FDC leader A, 22/10/2013).

He further explained the issue of pride because of having an FDC member as a guild president at Makerere University:

I cannot spend a week minus hearing from the guild president for advice... Telling me that for example I was trying to do this, what is your opinion? [In addition to] the guild presidency of Makerere, we have the guild presidency of other universities such as Kyambogo University, Mutesa I University, Islamic University in Uganda, the Mbale (campus) and even here in Kampala (campus). So you can always take pride in that. That means that we are having a program supported by future intellectuals. (Interview with FDC leader A, 22/10/2013)

UPC leader B (Interviewed 17/10/2013) also indicated that student leaders are expected to recruit large numbers of new members for the political party. Considering the evidence here and provided in the tables plus the fact that all these resources are directed at one particular student leadership post (guild presidency) during the campaigns, this confirms a relationship with high levels of resources exchange between student leaders and political parties.

Therefore even though political parties face many challenges as noted in the above discussion, student leadership at Makerere University is looked at by these political parties as a way of recruiting future leadership, most especially during and after campaigns, even though they also provide other services to their respective parties. Conversely, political parties invest goods and services into student leadership campaigns mainly for the election of the guild presidency, while the resources available are greatly determined by whether the party is in power or not; this also influences the opportunities for student leaders after graduating. Even after elections it is clear that student leaders still gain from the party but mainly in the form of services by which parties are grooming them for future leadership. It is emphasized that the ruling party always has more resources at their disposal in comparison to opposition parties. The next discussion attends to control over student leaders by political parties as the fourth type of associative action considered in terms of the theoretical framework.

Control of Student Leaders by the Political Party

This section focuses on discussing how political parties control student leaders as guided by the theoretical framework for this study.

The dean of students at MAK explained that the involvement of political parties in student politics came with many challenges for the institution. He argued that:

For instance one of the ills ... has been the commercialization of the elections. We would want a brilliant student who is pro-students and who knows the institution and has got the university at heart to emerge the winner. Where they should look at the characteristics of leadership then fellow students elect him or her. But [you can't win] if you don't have for example what here they call logistics so as to for example print posters, stage rallies, hire buses to take students from one hall to another, have the public address systems, buying gifts and so on... (Interview with dean of students, 23/10/2013)

The dean of students argued that this form of dependency by student leaders on political parties is a common characteristic of the relationship in Uganda. He further indicated that the resources availed by political parties to student leaders make it hard for independent candidates to compete. In addition he explained that this influence turned student politics into national politics whereby issues in national parliament which may have nothing or very little to do with the students consume all the leadership and political debates on campus. Student leaders then focus on how national problems should be resolved while forgetting the problems that students on campus are actually facing. The dean of students further outlined that “we are also observing trends; it is lucrative to be in student leadership here” (Interview with dean of students, 23/10/2013). He argued that student leadership was turning into a money-making venture for the student leaders, given the opportunities that came with it, rather than an opportunity to serve fellow students. This highlights the consequences of party politics on campus, as political parties ensure that they keep a grip on their respective student leaders.

Table 5 has shown the different goods and services student leaders' expect to gain from the relationship with political parties. The Table indicates that there are high expectations by student leaders of their respective political parties. Hence in the long run student leaders have to be disciplined party members to ensure future benefits, most especially student leaders with future political ambitions may not necessarily be “pro-students” and “have the university at heart” as the dean of students proposed. As a result the danger that exists is student leaders become controlled by their political parties in the process.

Figure 10 shows both student leaders and students not in leadership rank what they perceive are the interests that student leaders represent at Makerere University.

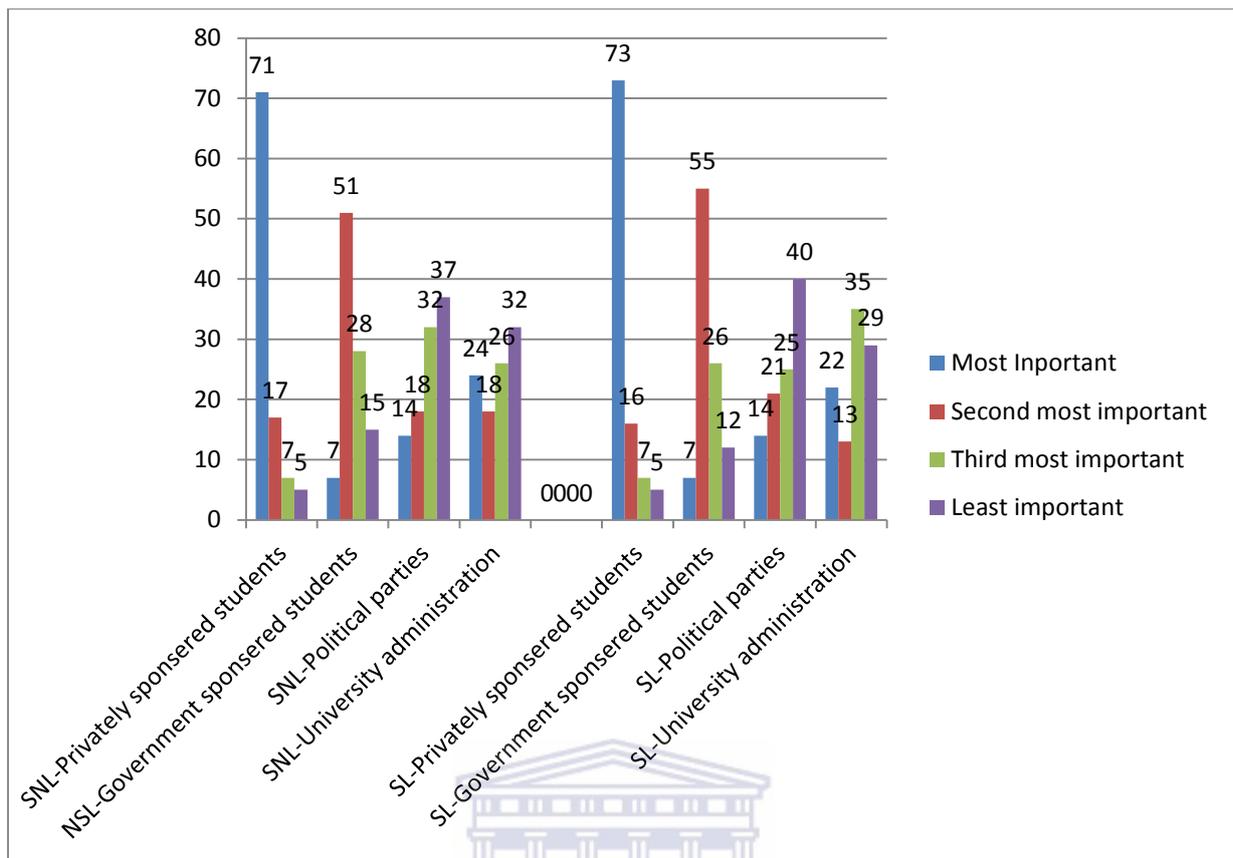


Figure 10. Whose interests do student leaders at Makerere University represent?

N for SNL=832, Missing=225&N for SL=109, Missing=28

Figure 10 shows through ranking the responses from both student leaders and students not in leadership positions whose interests they think student leaders actually represent. It shows that both student leaders and students not in leadership perceive representing students to be the most important in general. Representing private students' interests in particular is considered the most important by more than 3 in 4 students (73%) of student leaders; 71% of students not in leadership). This is followed by representing the government-funded students, which almost 2 in 3 students either consider most important or second most important (58% of students in general, 62% of student leaders). The most important interests other than those of the two types of students are political party interests. Tallying up the responses shows that 1 in 3 students consider it the most important interests to be represented after student interests and another 1 in 3 students ahead of student interests. Among student leaders, the distribution is similar, whereby just over 1 in 3 consider political party interests important after the private and government-sponsored students. The least important interests to be represented by student leaders are those of the university administration (see Figure 10). This highlights overall that there is perhaps less control of student leaders by political parties than may be feared, or if there is control it does not amount to student leaders focusing on representing party interests only. However, since holding a leadership position in a party, forces you in one way or the other to comply with certain policies within the party, this can lead to allowing a degree of control, given that one may not for example criticize the party most especially in public.

Figure 11 shows responses in relation to leadership positions held in political parties by Makerere University students in the study sample.

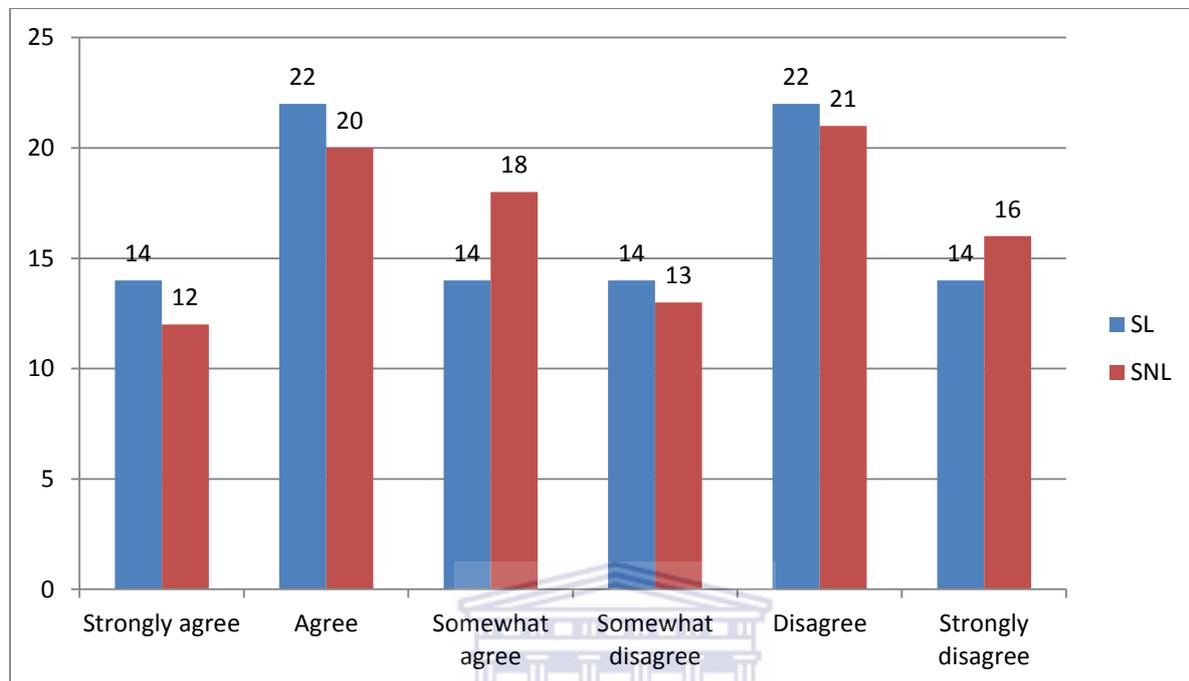


Figure 11. Student leaders like me are in the party's leadership positions (agree or disagree)?

N for SL=109, Missing=46 & N for SNL=832, Missing=629

The analysis in Figure 11 above shows that approximately 50% student leaders and students not in leadership generally agree somewhat or even strongly that they occupy leadership positions, while the rest [other 50%] indicate that they don't. An earlier discussion indicated that through student leaders' participation in party structures as leaders, they get an opportunity to influence decision making and therefore can promote or represent students' interests. Such closeness to party leaders may mean, however, that they are required to be disciplined and follow party policy, thus sacrificing or giving power to the party. Since a failure to follow party rules can then put their party leadership positions in jeopardy, this may actually involve a level of control over student leaders in the process.

There are a couple of issues which emerge mainly from the discussion in this section. First of all, there is a fear that the most competent students or candidates don't get to be elected due to the "commercialization" of student politics by external forces, and in particular the resources provided by political parties for campaigning purposes. In addition the dean of students indicated that political parties give the funding while expecting something in return from the student leaders. This has also been shown in the previous section. The dean further highlighted that the consequence of this may be control of student leaders' actions and this according to the dean directly brings national politics on campus. One of his most recent experiences in this regard has been the attempt by student leaders to fight national political party battles in the students' parliament (GRC). Student leaders from the opposition in the GRC attempted to impeach the FDC guild president (2013-2014),

while the same exercise was taking place in national parliament. In addition, it is also explained that the influence of the mother party can be noted through the ability to intervene and ensure order whenever the branch or chapter members at Makerere University have conflicts among them. Party leaders said that in most cases when issues are too contentious to resolve, the party comes in to resolve such problems. For example if one does not qualify to stand as the party candidate for the guild presidency, he or she can be informed by the mainstream party that he or she is disqualified and somebody else can be brought on board (Interview with FDC leader A, 22/10/2013 and UPC leader B, 17/10/2013).

Even though as noted above that to a certain extent political parties control the student leaders, guild leader B (Interviewed, 23/10/2013) argued to the contrary. He indicated that, for example, after a student leader has been elected into office, even though the party may have contributed resources during the election campaign, they cannot control what he or she does on campus. Hence a student leader can even swap parties after entering office, as noted above. However, the guild leader indicated that through its members in the GRC the party may have an option of proposing a vote of no confidence against the guild president, even though he indicated that he had not experienced that yet. He, however, knew of a guild president who actually crossed from one party to another after being elected into office. This was further confirmed by guild leader A (Interviewed 23/10/2013) who also argued that the party has no control over a student leader and what he or she does. However, as long as the student leader maintains the party membership, the party can discipline the student leader through the party structures off-campus, but not at the institution. Therefore, it appears that if a student leader is only focused on being a leader at the institution, he or she may not be controlled by the political party since it has very little power at the institution, more especially if it is an opposition party. However a student leader with future political ambitions has to follow the party rules thus runs in danger of being controlled by the political party in the process. Therefore, it is the long-term expectations of a student leader which may lead to a form of control by the party rather than membership per se, resource dependency, or holding office due to having been sponsored during an election campaign, for example, to become guild president for one year.

Furthermore, what resonates from the analysis is that the weaker the structures within the party, the more powerful the student leaders become, such as the example of UPC. Student leaders took advantage of the weak party leadership and attempted to fill the leadership vacuum in the party. The implication of this is that the political party ends up having less control over the student leaders as they are empowered to force the party structures to do certain changes which favour their position. However, it is important to note that even with leadership challenges in a party, student leaders do not turn into the main decision-makers in the party. They are only becoming more influential in the party leadership, but the decisions are made by the party leadership, not the student leaders. This level of influence by the student leaders relates well to the Weinberg and Walker (1969) typology which focuses on institutionalised forms of student politics. Since weak party structures are also likely to mean poor recruitment mechanisms by the political party.

It is clear from the interviews that any attempt at controlling student leaders will require some kind of “carrot and stick” method. A FDC party representative explained how important the resources can be to a party in this respect:

There are instances whereby the party does not have enough money and you find them [i.e., students] getting money from other sources to finance their campaigns. Now also those sources want something in return so as to access the privileges that come with having a guild president, such as status for the party. ...Like in any country, if you do not finance the candidate you know there are those times when that candidate feels after all ... what was the role of my party in my reaching here?(Interview with FDC leader A, 22/10/2013)

The dean of students noted that as much as political parties may try to control student leaders, the whole electoral process offers student leaders a learning experience. Furthermore, the dean explained:

We teach them things trying to re-orient [them but] some of them know it by the way that [using political parties] is only a route through which they can reach leadership. Some of them understand it very well. In fact we have had cases of students who have changed parties just towards elections or after. (Interview with dean of students, 23/10/2013)

This highlights how student leaders use political parties for their political success while at the same time trying to run away from being controlled. Another FDC leader indicated that student leaders manipulate political parties, mostly those parties with a popular brand, during campaigns, but after winning they cut ties:

I think we are now a brand as a party that talks about a better future and those who are looking at Uganda that does not stop today they want to join us. Those who think about what we call the common good and fairness want to join us but of course there are those who want to join us because we have the crowd. Those you can never rule out, like I said those after winning they are not with you. Even after leaving campus you never see them talk politics again. (Interview with FDC leader A, 22/10/2013)

Therefore students at times cut ties with political parties after elections to avoid the responsibilities (and potential control) that come with having used party resources during campaigns.

A party member explained the competition political parties go through in the struggle to recruit and support student leaders but also to control them in the process, most especially in the face of other actors who may offer them better benefits. The incentives available to a political party relate to its political influence on student leaders and that also relates to a party being in power or not. He uses the example of the ruling party, NRM, in Uganda indicating that the president is very powerful and therefore uses different tricks to win over student leaders. For example, if the president makes a policy decision which the student leaders may disagree with and they protest most especially at Makerere University,

Those student leaders will be summoned to the State House to explain to him what their demands are. Afterwards he asks the others on the delegation to leave [the room]; he wants to talk to you [the guild president]. If the person is not of strong character they break. [A former guild president explained his

encounter with the president] that the president said to him, you see now we are talking as presidents ... praising you, ... he [the student leader] would say but I'm not like you, but the president would keep insisting that we are meeting like presidents not like any one... I was also voted into office like you now let's talk as presidents. So defending that becomes a challenge. (Interviewed FDC leader A, 22/10/2013)

The argument here is that most student leaders 'break' and a deal is struck there and then for the student leader to join the ruling party with specific promises made to the guild president. This shows the power and influence that comes with a particular political party being in office.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented and analysed the data collected for the purposes of this study in terms of the four theoretical associative actions between student leaders and political parties. The analysis confirms the presence of party chapters at Makerere University and also shows that the majority of student leaders are most likely to be party members or even hold leadership positions in the party. Student leaders are active in the party even off campus. It is through their off-campus operations in the party that they are able to influence the party or to ensure that it represents them or their interests, most especially through advocating within the party to ensure that students' concerns are included in the party's policy framework. It is noted that student leaders actually become empowered in the process rather than losing autonomy as explained in the theoretical framework and also indicators relating to the framework are explicitly outlined in this section. Moreover, the chapter has shown that in the process of associating with political parties there is a clear exchange of resources between the student leaders and the political party. However a number of caveats have been noted. For example, the resources availed to the student leadership tend to be directed towards the guild presidency during the campaign. In addition as much as the political parties give goods and services to their candidates during campaigns, after campaigns political parties focus more on providing services such as mentoring and training to the student leaders and less on material goods (such as cash), which are mostly given out during campaigns. In addition, after student leaders' graduating, there is great expectation of student leaders to access other resources mainly in the form of employment opportunities. However, there is a difference in the level of resources that a party in government can provide as against an opposition party. Conversely, the relationship is mutually beneficial in that political parties also get rewarded, for example, through student leaders recruiting new members for the party during campaigns and acting in various respects as representatives of the party.

In regard to control over student leaders by the political party, it appears that in the short run if a student leader is only focused on being a leader at the institution, it may not be possible for the political party to have any control over her or him, since the party actually has very little power at the institution, more especially if it is an opposition party. However, a student leader with future political ambitions has far less independence and autonomy, as she or he has to be disciplined and follow the party line, which may result in the student leader being controlled by the political party. The political parties seem to understand the game of control quite well and the party leaders seem to be reasonable with their expectations. Since the party leaders know that not every promising

student leadership candidate may be a willing party member, as noted by one party leader that they are only willing to support a candidate who has proved his or her loyalty to the party before aspiring toward the guild presidency (Interview with FDC leader A, 22/10/2013). Hence, it is the long term expectations of a student leader which may lead to a form of control by the party, rather than party membership per se or a sense of obligation for having received campaign support. The following chapter now discusses the findings further towards answering the research questions.



CHAPTER 5--DISCUSSION

Introduction

This chapter focuses on using the evidence gathered and the analysis in Chapter 4 to discuss the relationship expressed in the following research question; “How can the relationship between student leaders at Makerere University and political parties in Uganda be understood?” This is done in three sections in line with the sub-questions of the study. The first section discusses the reasons for student leaders and political parties to establish the relationship; the second section deals with the required arrangements between student leaders and political parties to establish and maintain the relationship; and the final section considers the impact of the relationship on the student leaders’ ability to represent students.

Reasons for establishing the relationship

The earlier discussion in Chapter 4 showed that political parties focus on guild candidates and the leaders of the party chapter at MAK. It is argued here that even though political parties target guild presidency candidates, generally other student leadership candidates cannot just ignore party support given the resources some candidates receive during the campaigns. It is only wise for any student leadership candidate to try and associate him- or herself with a particular political party. It is further emphasized that even though independent candidates can stand for the guild presidency, it is always the candidates associated with political parties who win. When a so-called independent candidate wins, such a candidate will have turned independent only because of conflicts within his or her party chapter on campus. This situation may occur when the individual believes that the voting in the party primaries for her or his particular chapter was not free and fair thus he or she lost to another candidate to become the party flag bearer. In other words, not just any individual who turns up without any party connections and stands as an independent candidate can win (Interviews with guild leaders B and D, 23/10/2013, 24/10/2013).

Therefore, a guild presidential candidate who wants to ensure a measure of success will associate with a political party. The political party provides the supporters on campus to start a campaign. They are mainly its staunch supporters and in most cases they will work for the candidate during the campaign. In addition, a candidate is able to access the political party’s logistics, finances and expertise, which are extremely important when deciding on a campaign strategy (Interview with guild leader B, 23/10/2013). While campaigns for the guild presidency receive a lot of support, GRC campaigns don’t get much of the attention of a political party, given that the positive impact to the party at that level is small. Moreover, at that level, students are generally more concerned about the personal qualities of the candidate rather than the party that a candidate supports. For the guild presidency it is also noted that party members at the institution (i.e., members of the chapter) are important to be on the candidate’s side because as explained by a guild cabinet leader, they work for the party candidate and also create a positive mentality in the candidate’s camp.

Considering the evidence from Tables 3, 4 and 5 in the previous chapter, student leaders receive much support from political parties during campaigns and even after campaigns. In addition, there

are many student leaders with expectations that associating with a political party will serve their future career ambitions in politics or government. Therefore in general the rewards a student leader may get from this kind of relationship cannot easily be ignored; hence student leaders ensure they establish the relationship and participate to maintain it.

However, it is important to note that political parties also gain from the relationship. Table 6 in Chapter 4 highlights the expectations of political parties (according to the perceptions of the sampled student leaders who associate with these political parties). Political parties may expect student leaders to at least contribute in one way or another to the party, for instance through recruiting new members, promoting the party brand by using its logo while campaigning, defending the party's position or policy in public, and support in general.

Political parties recognize the importance of the youth in the country and given that Makerere University is the most prestigious university in the country, the youth generally associate themselves with it; hence the popularity of its guild president in Uganda (Interviews with guild leaders A and B, 23/10/2013; FDC leader A, 22/10/2013). The dean of students claimed that student leaders get training from the university; however, student leaders reported that this happens but only in the first two weeks of being in office. Conversely, student leaders noted that political parties offer continuous help throughout their term of office and that in addition to mentorship and training, student leaders could also access national political networks which they could even use after studying. This reinforces the findings of Byaruhanga's (2006) study that there is a popular trend in the leadership in Uganda whereby a majority of former student leaders of Makerere University have ended up as powerful politicians or in powerful bureaucratic positions in the country even with the current presence of more than 20 new universities in the country.

The interconnectedness between the interests of student leaders and the interests of the students they represent should be recognised as one of the reasons why the relationship between student leaders and political parties takes place. Therefore by considering Vieira and Runciman's (2008) principal-agent representation, providing student leaders with an opportunity for training in democratic politics they may actually govern better as a principal in the relationship and in the process represent the students better who appear as third parties in the relationship. Even though this may be an indirect common interest, it is important to notice the possible opportunity for better representation at this level due to the relationship. Thus, evidence in Figure 12 supports this argument by showing a close correspondence between the views of student leaders and students not in leadership indicating the potential of the relationship between student leaders and political parties providing an opportunity for training in democratic politics.

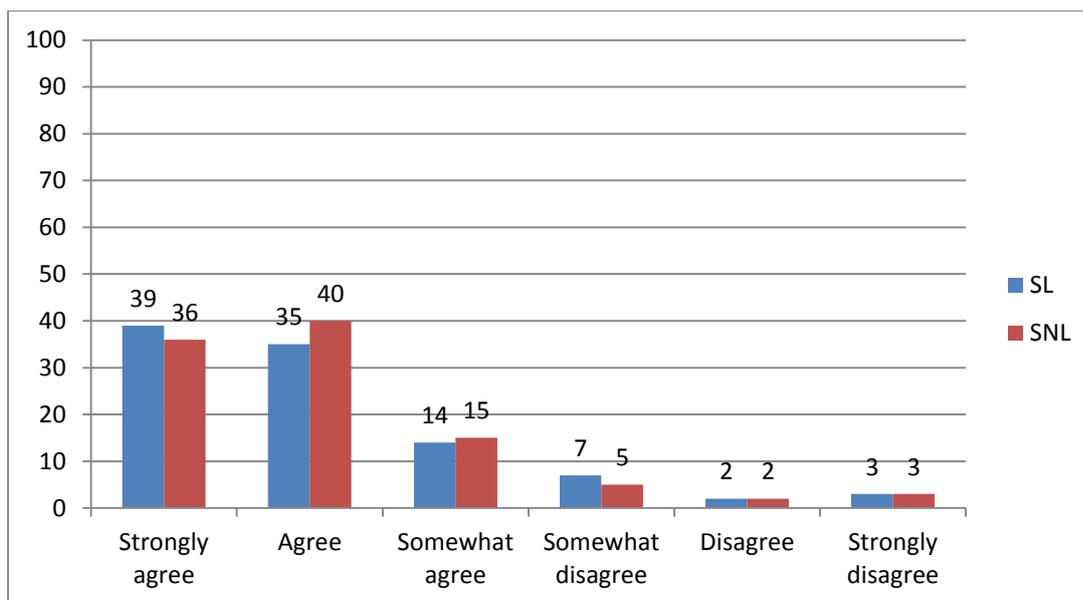


Figure 12. The relationship between student leaders and political parties affords student leaders an opportunity to be trained in democratic politics

N for SL=109, Missing=4 & N for SNL=832, Missing=80

Figure 12 shows that a significant number of both student leaders and students not in leadership perceive the relation to be of positive value to student leaders. Approximately 7 in 10 (74% of the student leaders and 76% of the students not in leadership) agreed that student leaders are afforded an opportunity through the relationship to learn about democratic politics. Even though student leaders argued that they represented student interests, meaning the interest of students not in leadership, they also shared common interests with the students not in leadership at MAK generally. As explained by student leader C (Interviewed, 24/10/2013) that when students complained about delays in publishing marks, even student leaders were included given that they also write exams. He also added that guild cabinet members get accommodation on campus therefore they could share similar problems in the residences such as water shortages or delayed buildings renovations and as a result resolving a problem for all resident students, could also be dealing with their own problem. The next discussion considers how the relationship is maintained.

Maintaining the Relationship

The relationship between student leaders and political parties involves a number of actors at different levels in different ways. Hence it is only fair to note that the issues that arise from the relationship will be contested among these different actors, most especially the two main actors in this study: student leaders and political parties. The following discussion therefore considers the contestations but also the ways through which it is maintained.

Party Chapters

The discussion in Chapter 4 outlined that party chapters are the branches of the national political parties on campus. Therefore committees of student leaders who are responsible for running such structures are supposed to comply with the requirements of their main political party. In brief they

also represent the interests of the main party on campus. As discussed above since student leaders are a very small constituency within a political party, it may not yield the required influence to drive party policy towards the interests of students at the institution. In the process of maintaining the relationship, student leaders therefore find it hard to represent students' interests through the chapters.

In relation to maintaining the relationship, the discussion in Chapter 4 shows that party branches on campus are just a means to that end. It has further been noted that through the party's youth wing, political parties are able to aggregate student concerns and include them in the party's manifestos and policy frameworks. In addition, some student leaders also hold leadership positions in their respective party structures. This highlights a well-coordinated system in which party structures do not just happen to be at Makerere University, but these structures are also used as links to allow student leaders to access other party structures in the process to participate in the political party structures. The discussion in Chapter 4 shows that party branches or chapters on campus act as infrastructure for the relationship through the associative actions taking place as suggested by Luescher-Mamashela and Mugume (2014, pp. 510-511), and in the adapted framework of the original Schmitter and Streeck (1999) framework the relationship is maintained. The necessary conditions for the chapters to exist are discussed further in detail below.

Resources Exchange

The resources exchange as an associative action requires proper structures through which it can be experienced or implemented and party chapters as noted above offer that infrastructure.

Tables 3, 4 and 5 show how resources are exchanged through the different arrangements and such resources include student leaders receiving cash, T-shirts, posters, help during rallies and campaigns.. After student leaders have been elected they also get internships and leadership training; their party putting pressure on other actors such as university management on their behalf. Also after graduating student leaders expect to get employment through their parties and to use the parties for furthering their future political careers. Table 6, on the other hand, shows how political parties also carry high expectations, for example of student leaders to recruit new party members, defend the party and loyalty to the party. The arrangements as outlined in Tables 1 to 6 ensure the maintenance of the relationship between student leaders and political parties since every participant has something to gain in the process.

As indicated in the paragraph above it is clear that resources are important in the process of political parties maintaining the relationship, even though the dean of students resents party influence arguing that the relationship has 'commercialized' student leadership at MAK. He indicated that as a result of the 'commercialization' content of the debates among student leaders on campus have to a great extent been influenced by national politics while he also argued that on the side of university management, the ruling party has indirect influence on the University since it is a public institution. Therefore party politics cannot easily be avoided or eliminated from MAK. The resources a political party has are also influenced by whether it is a ruling party or an opposition party and as such the university campus becomes a battle ground between the ruling party that has more resources and opposition parties who have less. In the process the ruling party constantly persuades opposition party student leaders to join the ruling party and as a result one can argue that the more intensive the resources exchange becomes the more student leaders may forget about representing students'

interests and focus on their personal interest, thus maintaining the relationship but compromising representation of the students who are not in leadership.

Recruitment

Evidence provided in Chapter 4 shows that recruitment is at the core of this relationship between student leaders and political parties. To the political party it is one of the important ways of renewing itself given that these upcoming elites in the country are getting the skills that can enable them to run the party. This has also been confirmed by scholars including (Hooghe et al., 2004; Rochford, 2012; Weinberg and Walker, 1969) putting recruitment at the front of the relationship. As noted in the interviews, student leaders and their party leaders consider the campaign period in particular as being a recruitment exercise period and this helps in maintaining the relationship.

Student leaders who are able to access all the benefits of membership through recruitment start realizing their political ambition with the support of those who can help them to be successful as student leaders such as winning a student leadership election. The support includes funding and other goods and services during student leadership campaigns, guidance and more assistance after student leadership elections and even after graduating. Therefore the process and actual activity of recruitment becomes the most important activity in this resources exchange relationship to both main actors. Since the negotiations between the party leaders and student leaders happen in secret student leaders do not have to inform the students who are not in leadership positions about the arrangements made to secure such funding. It then becomes easy for the process of representation to be compromised since student leaders are not mandated to report to the students in general how they relate to their respective parties.

Contesting the Role of Party Chapters in the Relationship

Even though party chapters exist they are seen in a negative way by management considering the views outlined by the dean of students. "National politics is not really about the student issues ... student issues are welfare issues, things about teaching, lecture space, fees, student relationships and many more, while national politics focuses on other broader national problems" (Interview with dean of students, 23/10/2013). Such a view of campus chapters complicates the ability to maintain them on campus.

The presence of political party chapters on campus has therefore affected the way student leaders use their influence on campus negatively, since it shows they do not then focus on students' concerns at MAK, but rather on party activities off campus which then influence activities on campus. This becomes a negative influence on the ability of student leaders to represent the interests of students on campus.

Other Issues in the Relationship

The relationship between student leaders and political parties is mediated by many other actors. The other issues which arise from the associative actions of the relationship are discussed below.

It has been discussed above that the relationship relies on an unequal playing field with the student leaders being just one of the small constituencies in the party and that kind of position does not favour the students when it comes to negotiations. This means student leaders have to do a great deal of compromising in order to relate and such compromising may result into compromising the

representation of the students who are not in leadership. While it can also be argued that this is an area of great importance in the relationship since the decision maker in the relationship is the political party, student leaders can participate and even influence decisions, but not control the decision making. Even though student leaders have an opportunity to switch parties, joining a new party as student leaders may not make any difference in their level of influence. The lack of actual power by the student leaders takes away any form of contesting for power or a real threat in terms of challenging the party's decisions hence maintaining the unequal but constant relationship from one student leadership regime to another. In relation to compromising student representation at MAK, the above discussion also links up with the problems student leaders from opposition parties' face when they win elections; For example a former guild cabinet member explained a couple of challenges:

First, since the budget of the guild was not properly funded at the time we had financial problems to reach out to students we needed to reach out to..., Second of course our government was opposition government (UYD). So we had challenges with the dean of students and that is why resources were not availed as we wanted by the dean of students, we always got little resources. (Interview with NRM leader A, 22/10/2013)

In interviews with UPC leader B (17/10/2013) and FDC leader A (22/10/2013) they explained that there is a challenge in respect of accessing MAK. This has to do with the party being in power or is the opposition. As it was explained, the ruling party can indirectly influence the institution because of the funds government directs to any public institution. This negatively affects the relationship of student leaders with the opposition parties, mostly their ability to maintain the relationship.

Furthermore to the unequal playing field between student leaders and political parties, the discussion in Chapter 4 also raises the problem of unequal opportunities when it comes to the ability to incentivize student recruitment between a ruling party and an opposition party. It has been argued that most opposition parties like UPC could not come up with enough funds to take candidates through the campaign period. This was also raised by another UPC leader that the party and other opposition parties struggled to fund their respective guild candidates at Makerere University (Interviews with guild leaders D, C, 24/10/2013 and UPC leader B, 17/10/2013). Therefore the ruling party (NRM) uses the opportunity since it has access to more resources in comparison to the opposition parties to offer better rewards to the student leaders in the process of recruiting them at the institution. The competition to recruit student leaders on the one hand gives student leaders options which could work in their favour when bargaining in one party and may allow them more influence in any party they join. However just like it has been noted above that in all political parties student leaders are not decision makers. They may influence the decision but the final decision makers are the main party leaders, therefore it does not change the power dynamics in a party. More so, since these resources exchange in associative actions between student leaders and political parties take place in secret it further compromises representation for the students not in leadership. The dean of students noted that through these arrangements...

The walls have been broken through, we must admit that one [party influence on-campus]. But we have got two approaches. 1) One is that even when the

walls are being broken here, we take solace in the fact that even with that interference the student leaders are still elected by their fellow students. We don't allow outsiders to come and vote. So for me they still remain student representatives because the voting is very closely monitored - a non-student cannot vote. In spite of the influence student leaders are still elected by students. 2) On the basis of that any student leader who is elected however badly influenced by whatever factors, is immediately recognized and then we embark on our main job here of teaching. (Interview with dean of students, 23/10/2013)

Therefore the dean acknowledges the existence of these arrangements between student leaders and political parties plus how they influence student politics negatively. However he also agreed that management accepted the situation and found a way of working around these shortcomings of the relationship to still have a legitimate student leadership in the institution. In addition to ruling party opposition party power dynamics, although there are arrangements about having party branches on campus, political parties also struggle with finding credible leaders within the branches as explained by one party leader, which affects the maintenance of these chapters.

Some of them [student leaders] do not join politics because they have an agenda after university. They want to be there for various reasons such as because of the privileges and afterwards somebody you have spent all your time grooming. After winning you will see them being put on an appointment to meet the President. (FDC leader A, Interviewed, 22/10/2013)

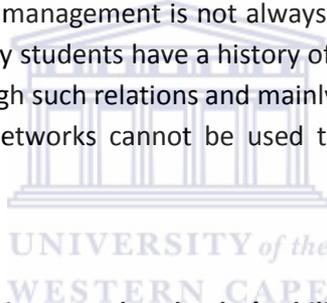
He argued that they spent money and other resources on candidates who later disappointed them by running to other political parties. In relation to this point, the ruling party appears to always have an upper hand even in convincing student leaders as noted above because of the access to finances and influence in the university which is a public institution. The discussion highlights the importance of the university management remaining neutral in the face of this relationship since as explained above the institution siding with the ruling party negatively affects the ability of the parties to maintain the relationship, but it may also compromise the process of representing students.

In addition to the above, there is also the issue of personal networks which student leaders establish with management staff to be able to present students' concerns. It has also been argued in Chapter 4 and above in this chapter that such networks are more successful in resolving problems than the institutional structures. However it is also argued that even when personal networks do not work, there are other options to force management to deliver services to students in the case of Makerere University; options which in most cases also get party support. Some of the problems experienced in the process of representing students are noted below and they are caused by members of management staff as explained here:

For example as a student leader if you go to these people its four weeks down the line students want their marks for last semester, they haven't received them. [The answer will be] we are working on them, we are working on it, please hold on. You raise other issues maybe the students are saying the food is bad, please we are working on it and they don't do much. When students wake up one morning and say we are striking, they will do something about it.

Just two weeks ago, the Law School students were not studying, the lecturers were saying they want their allowances, we tried to put it or raise it everywhere even in the Senate it was discussed. I raised it and the Deputy Vice-Chancellor himself told me you're lying we have already sorted out that and students are studying. Not until students decided to protest. We marched to the main building, the next day the Vice-Chancellor had to hold emergency meetings and then the problem was sorted. ... So we do not believe in the structures here, because everything seems to work out only when there is pressure. The structures are not functioning at all. (Interview with guild leader D, 24/10/2013)

However the student leader further noted that whenever students protest, the administrators respond positively which means to the students they can only get the results after protesting or threatening to protest and his main concern was that most strikes/protests turn violent. This low level of responsiveness noted here shows management's inability to understand students' problems and then respond accordingly. But there was also the support student leaders get from national political parties to put management under pressure. Guild leader D (Interviewed, 24/10/2013) further added that students generally think or believe that student leaders should or are meant to fight management; as noted earlier management is not always responsive to students' concerns. In addition to that, Makerere University students have a history of protesting in order to get what they want (Byaruhanga, 2006). It is through such relations and mainly the support student leaders receive from political parties when their networks cannot be used to resolve a given problem that the relationship is maintained.



Impact of the relationship on student leader's ability to represent students

The relationship between student leaders and political parties as discussed above highlights a two way effect on student leaders when critically considered; it can positively influence student leaders' ability to represent students or it may also negatively affect their ability to represent students. The discussion below also shows that there are enabling and disabling conditions to representation in the relationship under study.

Perceptions of Student Leaders' Ability to Represent Students and Reasons

The evidence from Figure 12 shows that in general approximately 74% of the student leaders and 76% of students who are not in leadership or 7 out of 10 sampled agreed that student leaders are afforded an opportunity through a relationship with political parties to learn about democratic politics of which representation is a major tenet. This evidence highlights how the relationship may positively impact on student leaders' development in a more democratic manner which can in one way or another positively influence how they relate with the students not in leadership whom they are meant to represent. The following figure highlights the perceptions of both student leaders and students not in leadership in relation to the ability of student leaders to represent students.

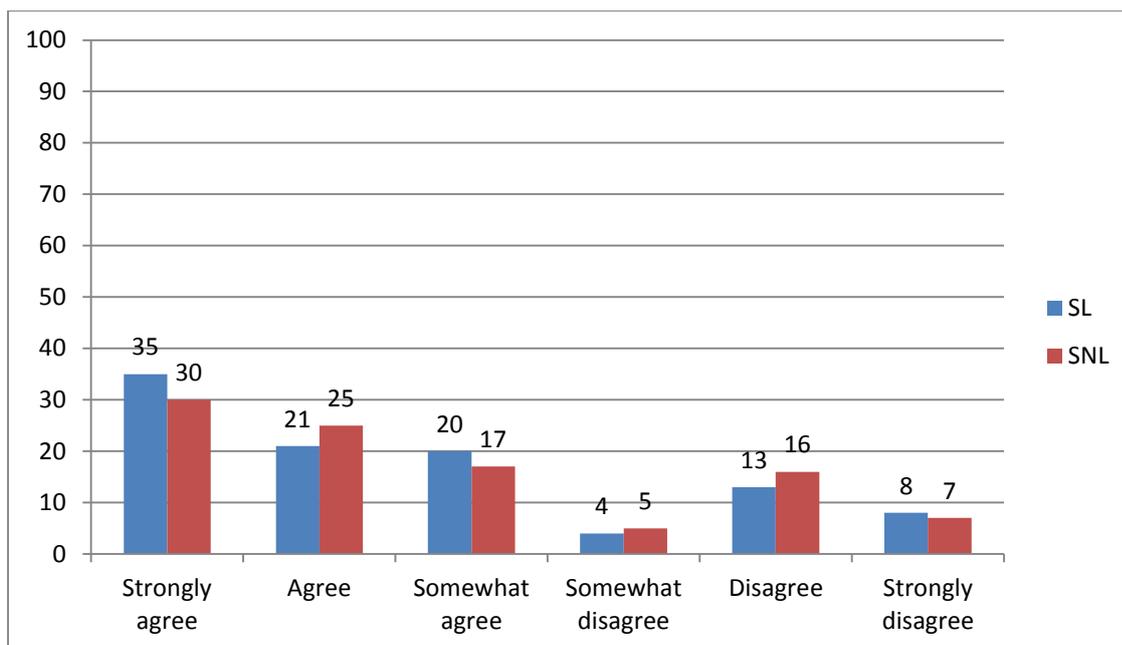


Figure 13. The relationship between student leaders and political parties negatively impacts on student leaders' ability to represent students

for SL=109, Missing=3 & N for SNL=832, Missing=71

Figure 14 shows that in general 56% ("strongly agree" 35%, "agree" 21%) of the sampled student leaders and 55% ("strongly agree" 30%, "agree" 25%) of the sampled students not in leadership agree that the relationship between student leaders and political parties negatively impacts on the student leaders' ability to represent students. This reflects high negative perceptions on the relationship by both the student leaders themselves who are involved in the relationship but also the students who are not in leadership positions even though in the earlier discussion student leaders and students not in leadership recognized what could be a positive outcome: student leaders learning how to practice democratic politics from their respective political parties in the process of engaging.

Different reasons are raised by the different actors for the negative perceptions directed at the relationship. For example, in addition to the already outlined points the dean of students argued against political parties on campus indicating that "national politics is really not about students' issues" (Interview with dean of students, 23/10/2013). He argued that student leaders end up paying more attention to much broader national political problems which are linked to their respective political parties, while forgetting the actual problems at the institution faced by the students they are supposed to represent. Therefore Figure 14 above and the dean's argument towards the relationship highlight compromised representation due to the relationship.

According to FDC leader A (Interviewed, 22/10/2013) and MUPSA leader (Interviewed, 16/04/2014) both argued that currently student leadership at Makerere University is highly 'commercialized' due to the relationship between student leaders and political parties. As a result the focus of the student leaders turns to the resources they get and then representing student interests comes second. However they also argued that since even the student leaders themselves are students within the institution, at times the interests of the student leaders and the students not in leadership overlap

and in the process either by student leaders directly promoting their personal interest, or not, the students not in leadership may also gain even though this may happen indirectly. However as argued by these student leaders, due to the resources exchange, student leaders get compromised and therefore fail to represent the interests of students who are not in leadership.

A guild cabinet member noted that even though the administration was being blamed, there were problems among student leaders or the way student leaders carry out their responsibilities:

We do a lot of politicking, we come in party colours and we preach the gospel, this and the other. We speak as though we are going to take these students to heaven. We do all the talking but very little action. In the guild as you understand I'm a minister, but we don't have those projects that directly benefit the students, we do not. Even the money that is allocated to the guild, if you ask to try and understand how much of that money is surely there to benefit students it's actually very small and some of those activities that are planned sometimes never happen. At the end of the day you find that the money is spent on GRCs allowances, maybe the president's allowances etc. ... (Interview with guild leader D, 24/10/2013)

This highlights student leaders using the opportunity as representatives to push for personal interests, rather than represent students. Another student leader argued with reference to the relationship with political parties indicating that, even though the relationship may negatively affect the student leaders' ability to represent students, there were other problems representation faced which included the fact that these student leaders were also students, hence on top of representing students they had to attend lectures, do assignments and pass the exams as explained here;

I am a student myself and I study so there is the time factor trying to balance my degree and the leadership. That is a challenge and of course it's another challenge trying to deal with the different personalities in management owing to the fact that they are my seniors in almost everything. ... So it is also the day to day challenges of leadership and all the opposition you could face for different reasons (Interview with guild leader A, 23/10/2013)

The dean of students (Interviewed 23/10/2013) explained that in terms of autonomy, students have very little autonomy in their relations with political parties but also in the way they relate to the university itself since it controls the guild funds. While student leaders A and B noted during the interview that they were also intimidated by the academics mainly during meetings with academic staff, while they have a constituency to represent (interviewed, 23/10/2013). These all together highlight the hindrances faced by student leaders ensuring proper representation of students' interests in addition to those arising from the relationship with political parties.

In addition to the negative impact of the relationship, a student leader explained that:

We have had programmes, programmes which in my opinion were nonpartisan [while] the guild president found it hard to be part of yet they are benefiting students. But because these are believed to be NRM programs, the guild president has somehow decided to scrap or dodge them because she

thinks what will the party [i.e., FDC] think of her, they may wonder if she has been compromised. We have also had instances where we could have had a chance to meet the president of the country and put our case. The president is a visitor of Makerere University when he comes here but when we request the guild president to meet him, you find she is a little reluctant to buy into that [meeting the president]. She believes that when the FDC leadership finds out that she has met with the president who is NRM they will think she has been compromised. (Interview with guild leader D, 24/10/2013)

This shows a high level of influence maintained by political parties against student leaders to the level of creating divisions among members of the same party chapter, the explanation by this guild cabinet minister highlights the challenges student leaders experience in the process of trying to impress their funders (the main stream politicians) at the expense of programmes or projects which could help to develop students at Makerere University thus in the process compromising the representation of the students not in leadership. This explanation feeds into the fears raised in the earlier discussion by the FDC leader A (Interviewed, 22/10/2013) where he argued that the president of the country is good at convincing student leaders to join the NRM while promising them material goods thus the guild president as noted above avoids meetings with the president and in the process the ability of student leaders in this case to actually represent the interests of students is negatively affected or compromised, as noted by guild leader B and D, due to party affiliation.

Furthermore, a guild cabinet minister argued that:

The system we have here grooms us for the future, but it does not benefit the students we lead at this point. We are looking more ahead [towards national politics] rather than to work and solve students' problems here.... You see in government we have had scenarios where maybe guild leadership has been invited for some programmes which would be good. But because they are organised by the NRM, the invitations never reach all student leaders they get stuck on some one's desk you know. Such things have happened so that is how much the parties have affected us here. (Interview with guild leader C, 24/10/2013)

This implies that rather than serving students at Makerere University, student leaders and most especially the guild cabinet are more focused on their political ambitions after the guild leadership or their studies at Makerere University. A kind of political life that may require political party connections and loyalty to the party, and what this guild cabinet member explains is how student leaders then avoid those issues which they think can antagonize their relationship with the party. While in the process they sacrifice the much needed projects to the students they are meant to be representing. Thus in this respect, party politics compromises student representation or in relation to the research question, it negatively impacts on the ability of student leaders to actually represent students.

Enabling and Disabling Conditions to Representing Students' Interests

These refer to conditions which can on the one hand allow the student leaders to represent students, while there are also conditions which may fail the student leaders' ability to represent. Therefore the discussion to follow illustrates these conditions in relation to the study.

Trust

Heywood (2002) and, Vieira and Runciman (2008) explain trust as being at the core of a form of representation. Even though the authors explain trust in relation to full autonomy given to the representative mostly to make decisions on behalf of the represented, it is also important to note that it is just the level of trust that varies but trust is a very important variable in the activity of representation. Therefore in one way or another, there must be a level of trust however limited it might be, hence the lack of trust compromises the activity of representation. The following Figure 14 reflects on perceptions around trust among the student representatives/leaders and by the students not in leadership on the student representatives.

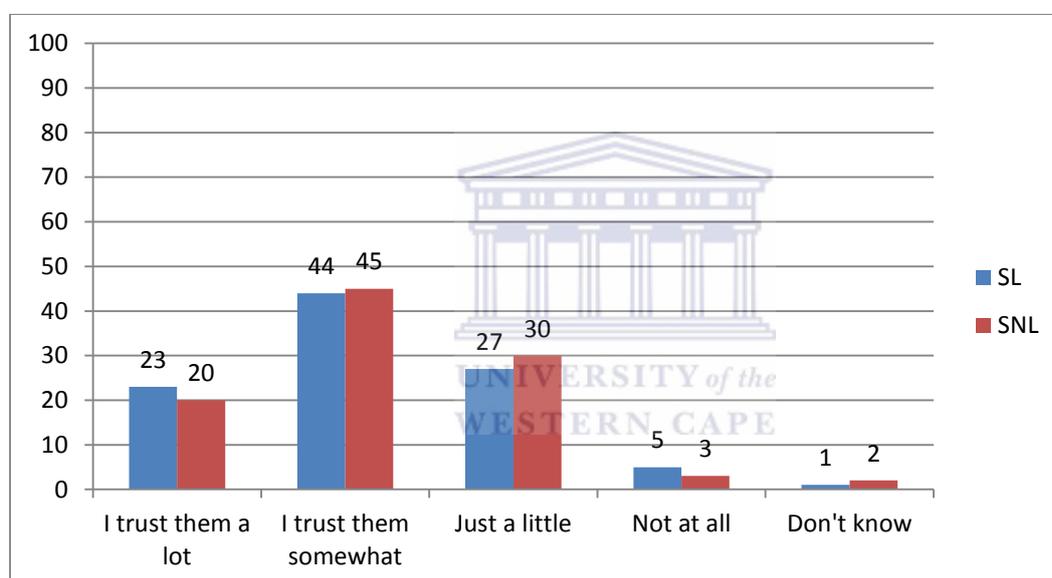


Figure 14. How much do you trust student leaders at Makerere University?

N for SL=109 & Missing=2; N for SNL=832 & Missing=64

Figure 14 shows that first; through student leaders reporting on themselves, they generally trust each other as noted at 67% ("I trust them a lot" 23%, "I trust them somewhat" 44%). Secondly and importantly; the students not in leadership also trust the student leaders as noted at 65% ("I trust them a lot" 20%, "I trust them somewhat" 45%). This reflects positively on the student leaders.

It would appear that in terms of the students' perceptions of the relationship between student leaders and political parties, there has been little negative impact on the student leaders' responsiveness or the level of trusts they enjoy. Accordingly, guild leader B (Interviewed, 23/10/2013) argued that the negative implications of the relationship were in most cases exaggerated, given that, for example; in order to be a student leader at Makerere University, you have to be popular among students. Therefore as soon as the student leader turns against the students' interests, she or he will lose popularity and so will the political party that supports him or

her. The interviewee's main point was that both student leaders and the political party will always end up safe-guarding the interests of students for their popularity. In addition, a party leader argued:

... Party leaders are not aiming for party interests but rather student interests and guild student [leaders] are Ugandans like any other Ugandan. So if the interests of the FDC party are bad, Adeke [i.e. the current guild president] would not be guild president. Therefore... those who do think she does represent students' interests are part of what we stand for, and we are also proud of her (Interview with FDC leader A, 22/10/2013)

The argument presented above by both the student leader and the FDC party leader resonates well with Heywood (2002), and Vieira and Runciman (2008), even though this does not reflect a clear 'trustee' form of representation where the representative is fully trusted to think and act on behalf of the represented or 'mandate' representation whereby they consult all the time. The level of trust most especially among the represented as noted in Figure 14 in their representatives is important as an indicator that their concerns are being represented. Hence it becomes an enabling condition for representation.

Listening

The process of representation cannot take place without basic communication, whatever the level or how often it happens is another question. Given the importance of communication in the relationship under study, a MUPSA leader (Interviewed, 16/04/2014) argued that in this relationship either student leaders had poor communication skills or they did not understand the power of communication in the process of representation. He indicated that because student leaders in most cases did not know how to communicate their message properly to the students which in his opinion had a lot to do with training or preparing student leaders for office. Students ended up not understanding the message and as a result they misunderstood the reasons behind taking certain decisions and in the end they could think student leaders were actually conniving with institutional management. He argued that these are necessary leadership skills student leaders should be getting either with the help of the administration at Makerere University or through their respective political parties. The figure below highlights the perceptions about communication between the two actors, more specifically whether student leaders listen to the students who are not in leadership.

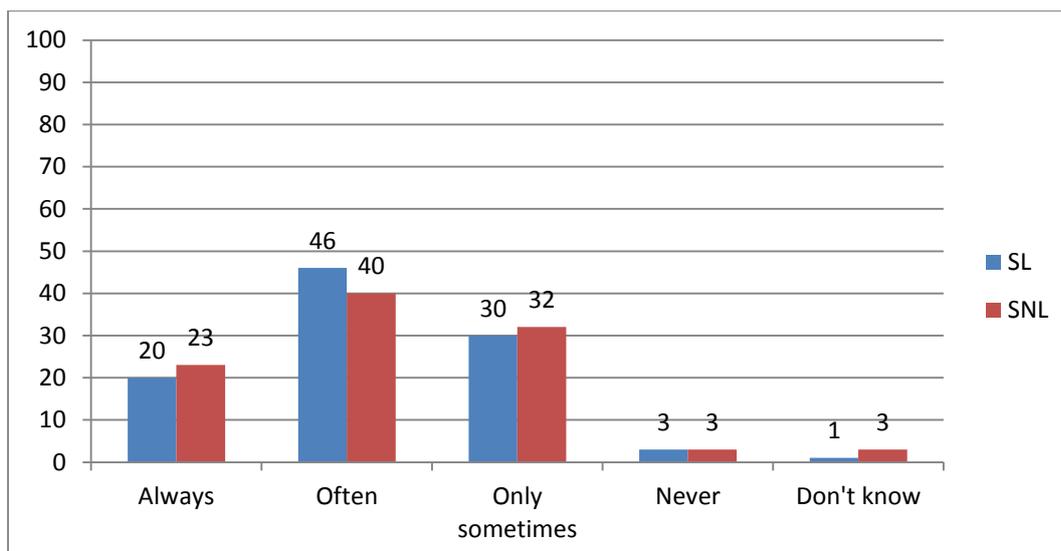


Figure 15. How much of the time do you think student leaders try their best to listen to what students have to say?

N for SL=109 & Missing=3; N for SNL=832 & Missing=64

Figure 15 shows that 66% of the student leaders agree that they listen (“always” 20% or “often” 46%) to the concerns of those they are meant to represent, while 63% (“always” 23% or “often” 40%) of the students not in leadership also confirm that student leaders do listen to their concerns. This shows therefore that there is communication between the student representatives and the represented hence it can be argued that student representatives are generally aware of the concerns of those they are supposed to represent. As an enabling condition for representation, it reflects positively on the student leaders’ ability to represent since they are most likely to know the problems faced by students not in leadership.

Considering the importance of responsiveness in the process of representing, listening becomes an important indicator since it is after the representative listening to the represented that then she or he can take those concerns to the respective authorities. Therefore evidence from Figure 15 which shows 66% of the student representatives and 63% of the represented in the sample agree that there is “always” or “often” communication thus an opportunity to listen or be listened to. It can then be argued in that there is noticeable responsiveness from the student representative. However in relation to the earlier explanation about poor communication it appears that after the listening there may be issues when it comes to for example, how student leaders respond or report back to the constituency after attending to their concerns.

Levels of Autonomy and Competence

Heywood (2002) and, Vieira and Runciman (2008) explain the two extremes of having autonomy, it becomes clear from their argument that when the representative is trusted with much power to make decisions on behalf of the represented, such a representative should be competent for such a responsibility in order to make decisions which favour the represented. While a representative without autonomy, who must also consult the represented at all times, may not need such high levels of competence but rather should be more loyal to the represented and also be able to negotiate so as to be able to carry out serious discussions with the represented individual or group

to arrive at decisions and then be able to vigorously negotiate with the relevant authorities to present the decisions reached with the involvement of those he or she represented.

In relation to the study, the earlier discussions showed that student leaders carry out their encounters with political parties in secret since students are more concerned about being represented in the university first. This means student leaders have more autonomy than the students not in leadership in how they relate with political parties. Therefore students who are not in leadership have little influence in the way student leaders relate with political parties and this then calls for more competent student leaders since they have autonomy. However the dean of students indicated that there was a challenge in relation to getting competent student leaders to win the guild elections for example (Interview with the dean of students, 23/10/2013). His reasons included the power of political parties to commercialize leadership actions and as a result, according to the dean of students, it was not always the most competent candidate who won the guild elections but rather the well-funded candidate. Covertly the dean stated that resolving a students' problem at Makerere University might just require a competent rather than a well-connected student leader. As noted earlier the issue of commercializing student politics leads to incompetent student leaders winning elections and in the process compromising representation. Student leaders may rely only on party support to resolve most students' problems, while most of these problems may not require party intervention. The issue of competent student leaders was also raised by FDC leader (Interviewed, 22/10/2013) and he argued that as a result there was severe competition among political parties for the few competent ones.

These reports show that student leaders enjoy autonomy when it comes to this relationship since the students who are not in leadership positions have little control over how student leaders relate with their respective political parties; considering the above evidence it can therefore be argued that such autonomy is not well utilized to serve the interests of students not in leadership. In addition it becomes clear from the discussion that it is important to have a balance between autonomy and competence rather than student leaders having too much of one of the two important variables to ensure that representation is not compromised.

Ruling Party and Opposition Party Dynamics

The discussion in Chapter 4 shows that the NRM which is the ruling party has an upper hand with regard to recruiting promising and even elected student leaders at Makerere University. This advantage it has been argued is due to the resources the ruling party has at hand and other opportunities it can avail to the student leaders. Even though it has been clarified above that recruitment is the main objective of political parties while it is accessing career opportunities for the student leaders, the ruling party also offers more when it comes to representation in the relationship.

According to guild leaders and party leaders interviewed (23/10/2013), the ruling party is more able to represent the interests of the student leaders compared to any opposition party if one assumes that student leaders promote the interests of the students they represent (students not in leadership). If one considers the argument, that student leaders promote their own interests in the relationship one could accept that the ruling party would be promoting the interests of student leaders. However it has been explained earlier that the interests of student leaders and students not in leadership overlap in most cases basically because they are all students in the same institution

and therefore may share the same problems on campus. If student leaders solve a problem on campus which was affecting them through the help of the political party, they would have solved a problem which was also affecting the students who are not in leadership.

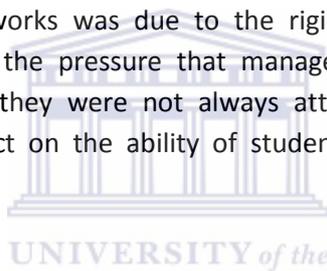
Therefore, a student leader supporting a ruling party policy impacts positively on the leaders' ability to represent students most especially in public institutions of Higher learning such as Makerere University making it an enabling condition; while supporting an opposition party may complicate the ability of student leaders to represent students not in leadership as noted in this study. Even the guild president at Makerere University was a member of the FDC which was the main opposition party in the country at the time of the study (2013-2014 academic years).

Personal Networks of Student Leaders and University Management Staff

In the process of representing students' interests, guild leader B (Interviewed, 23/10/2013) indicated that personal connections with university management staff members were more important than following the official channels (structures such as committees) since student leaders would end up frustrated. Therefore, if the administrator trusted a particular student leader, she or he could easily assist to resolve an issue. This leads to those personal networks becoming enabling conditions for the activity of representation. A MAK Rotaract Club leader (Interviewed, 16/04/2014) highlighted the fact that relying on personal networks was due to the rigid bureaucratic nature of university management and commented on the pressure that management then faced in most cases if students raised complaints, since they were not always attended to in time. Therefore those personal networks positively impact on the ability of student leaders to represent, hence they enable representation.

Corruption

Corruption was considered in the literature review (Chapter 2) in relation to the relationship under study and it was argued that it may refer to the representative using that position of power to make personal gains at the expense of those he or she is meant to represent. Figure 16 highlights the perceptions of corruption according to the views of sampled student leaders and the students not in leadership.



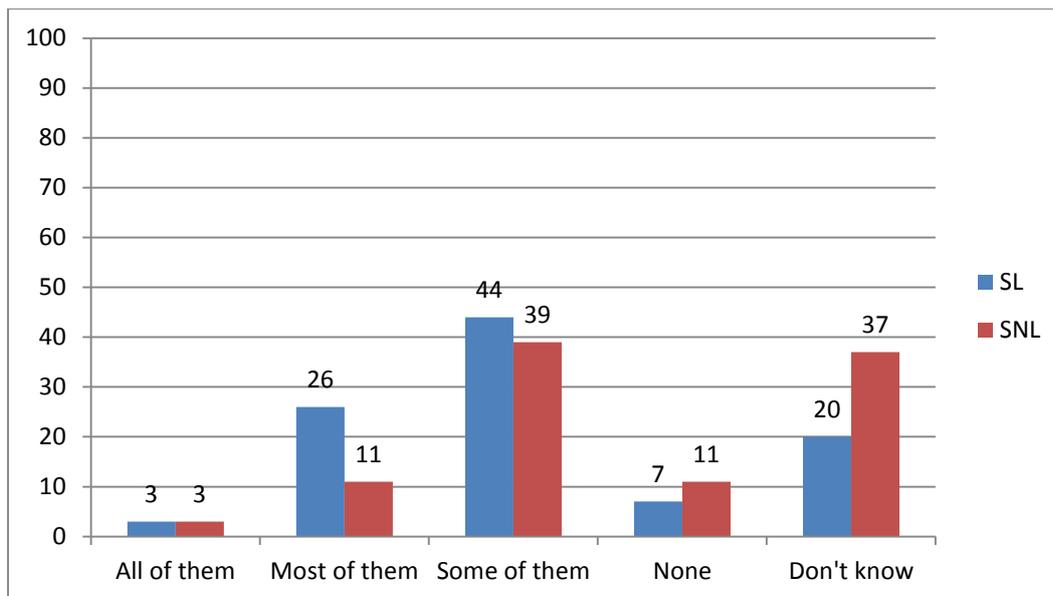


Figure 16. How many of the Makerere University student leaders do you think are involved in corruption?

N for SL=109, Missing=1 & N for SNL=832, Missing=59

Figure 16 shows that in general approximately 29% (“all of them” 3% and “most of them” 26%) of the student leaders sampled to report on themselves and their fellow student leaders indicate that student leaders are involved in corruption, even though the perceptions in terms of the number of student leaders who may be involved in corruption vary. While 14% (“all of them” 3% and “most of them” 11%) of the students who are not in leadership sampled also agree that some of the student leaders are involved in corruption which is significantly low even in comparison to how student leaders perceive themselves. This indicates low perceptions of corruption among the student leaders most especially by those they represent. Hence this may appear to be in line with the above discussion which shows high levels of trust by the represented towards the student representatives. Therefore it can be argued that looking at corruption as an indicator of compromised representation, in the relationship under study the evidence shows that representation is not compromised. However by considering the represented and the representative, 15% more student leaders think that generally student leaders are corrupt in comparison to students not in leadership. Student leaders understand how the relationship with the political parties actually works hence their responses could be more reliable in comparison to those of the students who are not in leadership. Thus more students may be involved in corruption than the students not in leadership may think. As noted in Chapter 2, corruption becomes a disabling condition to representation.

Reflecting on the Theoretical framework

The Schmitter and Streeck (1999) framework adapted for this study does not adequately deal with representation in this particular study because it explains participation in the political party and representation through the political party. Hence in the process it focuses more on the student leaders while less attention is paid to the students who are not in leadership, those who are supposed to be represented by the student leaders. Therefore in relation to the interests of students

not in leadership, it becomes difficult to assess how their concerns are raised and addressed through the political party given that they don't directly participate in the relationship. This is the main weakness of the framework. In addition, student leaders in MAK are first and foremost elected to represent students' interests in the institution therefore students not in leadership cannot easily assess the relationship their representatives may have with a political party mainly off campus. The reflection on the theoretical framework focuses on the four main associative actions which include student leaders' participation, representation of student leaders, goods and services exchange, and control over student leaders.

The theoretical framework as noted in Figure 6 focuses on autonomy (more autonomy or less autonomy) of the student leaders to represent student interests which is conceptualised as their level of independence in relation to the decisions they make. However the discussions in Chapter 4 and in Chapter 5 show a more nuanced interaction, with no single actor having full autonomy. Political parties derive their authority in the relationship independently from the many different and powerful constituencies that make up a political party, while student leaders make up a small constituency in a party. Therefore the application of the adapted theoretical framework to the study shows that there is a constant attempt by the student leaders and the political parties to gain influence one over the other. However, given that the relationship does not play out on a level playing field, political parties always have more power over student leaders than vice versa and are therefore able to influence what student leaders do. What emerges as a result is that access to power for the political parties is to ensure that they influence what student leaders do either by providing (or promising to provide) resources (at different stages in the student leaders 'career') or by taking over the representation (referred to in Figure 6 as loss of autonomy by student leaders (SL)). While student leaders on the other hand, given that the playing field is not level, whenever they are able to access power in the political parties (e.g., through participating in its structures such as committees or holding office), they are empowered to influence what the political party does (which is referred to in the framework as participation of student leaders). What emerges from the relationship then is not simply seeking control given that neither a political party nor a student leader in the relationship has full control over the other. However, given the position of political parties, they are always in a more powerful position, in that they will retain the final say over party policy decisions; whenever they are able to access power within the party, although they have been empowered, the student leaders are only able to influence the decisions within the party to a small extent; conversely student leaders' own decisions in terms of representing student interests can be swayed by the party to the extent of representing party interests at the expense of student interests.

In the framework adapted for this study, power is influenced by resources and incentives in two ways: Firstly, the more incentives a political party avails to student leaders in answering their demands/interests, the more power and thus control it will have over them [other factors considered constant]. Conversely, the more resources (e.g. prestige, recruiting members, volunteering) a political party may perceive to be receiving from student leaders, the more empowered student leaders are to maintain their independence and be influential within the political party. Secondly, the more resources a political party will be able to access, the more incentives it will be able to give to student leaders and thus able to control them, which results in empowerment for the student leaders. In relation to this point, the distinction between ruling party

and opposition party is important (Byaruhanga, 2006). Therefore as noted, the amount of resources a political party can access and distribute mainly in the form of 'incentives' affects its influence (or even control) over student leaders. More details are given below in relation to the associative actions outlined above in the four types of activities in the relationship. The discussion highlights key findings in this regard and also ways in which the theoretical framework can be amended.

Participation of Student Leaders in the Political Party

As an associative action, participation of student leaders in the political party refers to the space given to student leaders within the political party for them to be part of the decision making process of the party. Student leaders can promote the interests of their constituency i.e., the student community through being part of the party's decision making structures or committees, or holding office within the party. The framework proposes that student leaders can therefore be part of the different activities in the party such as voting on party policy decisions and through the logic of influence, gain more power in relation to policy making in government and the university administration. The hypothesis in this regard has been that the process allows student leaders to influence how party resources are allocated. The ability of student leaders to access party influence by participating in the party's decision making structures creates room for student leaders to actually possess some control over party decisions. As a result they have more power and influence and therefore are able to represent student interests better by participation in the political party. The related indicators included various structures of party-internal decision-making in which students are participating, including being a national delegate in conferences, an official in the party youth league and a member of party committees.

The discussion in Chapters 4 and 5 confirms the existence of party chapters at Makerere University and it is explained that it is through these chapters that student leaders and national party leaders relate. It has also been noted that a significant number of students are party members, however student leaders are most likely to have leadership positions in the national party and through these positions they are able to participate in party decision making bodies thus influencing party decisions. In addition, political parties indicated that their student leaders, most especially the guild presidents in institutions of Higher learning are also members of the party youth league and attend national delegates' conferences. Therefore there is enough evidence to show that actually student leaders participate in party structures; it is also noted that even though student leaders are supposed to be promoting the interests of the students not in leadership they at times promote their personal interest. This is made more possible by the power student leaders have in the process of engaging with political parties and since there is limited room for students who are not in leadership to know the details of the relationship.

Representation of Student Leaders

Representation of student leaders by the political party refers to an associative action in which student leaders give up some of their representative authority and the political party now represents students' interests on behalf of student leaders rather than student leaders representing themselves. This may involve that student leaders raise their issues to the party and then the party decides on such issues before taking a public stand and using its party-internal mechanisms to represent students. This does not mean that student leaders can't be part of such representation, but whether they are part of the team in the party to represent their interests through the political

party is a decision made by the party not the student leaders. Therefore the “representative” in this instance is the political party on behalf of student leaders. The hypothesis in this regard has been that in the process of student leaders associating with a political party the party now takes on part of the student leaders’ representative mandate and whether student leaders get what they wanted or not is dependent on the political party, since the party will to some extent control student representation in this case. Consequently student leaders sacrifice their power by relying on the party to represent their interests which involves that they have less power from a student representation perspective. Indicators include that student issues are noted in a political party’s manifesto or any other policy framework and are advocated for by the political party itself. Representation in this sense would especially be the case when such student-related party policy has been decided without the student leaders having the determining voice.

The discussions in Chapters 4 and 5 shows that representation is controlled by the political party under the associative action, however it has been noted that student leaders may have more power in political parties with weak leaders such as UPC whereby student leaders were very influential on the decisions made by the party. Given all that influence it has still been confirmed that student leaders can only influence the party decisions at different levels but the final decision is always made by the party not by student leaders. It has also been noted that being a ruling party or an oppositional party has an effect on the party’s ability to represent the interests of student leaders. The ability for a political party to resolve a particular problem at the institution may be influenced by the fact whether the party is the ruling party which, on the one hand, means it has access to more resources since the particular party manages the national budget; on the other hand, it may also mean that it has direct access to top university officials whose political party membership may have been a determinant in their appointment. In addition, Makerere University is a public university, therefore it is partly funded by the State, which allows the State a level of influence and it has been argued above that this influence can be at times used by the State to represent the interests presented by its student leaders, even though it was also indicated that such influence is always indirect. This is complicated by the extent to which the dominant ruling party (i.e., NRM) is intertwined with the State. It has been argued that an opposition party (most especially in the case of Makerere University) may not generally have the influence on university leadership enjoyed by the ruling party; consequently an opposition party will have more difficulty in representing student interests within the university.

Goods and Services Exchange

The relationship between student leaders and political parties is to a large extent characterized by the exchange of different goods and services or incentives which may be directly or indirectly afforded student leaders to access through the political party or vice versa. It has been hypothesized that the process of providing student leaders with goods and services or incentives by the political party directly or indirectly creates dependence, even though it can be a mutually beneficial relationship. Therefore student leaders will sacrifice some or most of their authority depending on the perceived value of the goods and services or incentives being given (or expected to be given) to them. The more the incentives, the less independent student leaders will be. In the process student leaders may become controlled by the political party. It has been argued further that the amount of resources a political party may be able to distribute will be reliant on whether it is in power as the ruling party or as an opposition party. If in power, it will have access to the government budget and

other resources that come with being in office, such as employment opportunities to its supporters. In the process it may be easier for a ruling party to address the interests of student leaders, while an opposition party may access fewer resources. Indicators may include student leaders being promised career opportunities upon graduation; student leaders being trained by the party, getting internships in the party, attend training workshops and leadership courses. Student leaders can get campus campaign funding and other necessary materials in the process such as vehicles, T-shirts and posters. Conversely, student leaders also have access to resources in exchange: they can recruit other students on campus as new party members for the party; student leaders can publically offer support to party policies; student leaders can use party logos and other expressions of the party's ideology for example during student leadership campaigns.

The analysis in Chapter 4 and the current chapter provides evidence to prove the existence of a resources exchange relationship between the student leaders and their respective political parties. This is shown to happen in four categories: First student leaders get resources from political parties during campaigns and these may include cash, posters, cars to drive them around and many more. In addition to the goods, they also get services such as training them on strategy in campaigns, security for the guild presidential candidate and many more. The discussion in Chapter 4 shows that it is because of these goods and services that any guild candidate who may not be linked to any political party cannot win the guild election, hence independent candidates do not win guild elections. Secondly student leaders also get goods and services after the elections; however evidence shows that at this level political parties offer fewer goods and more services. Therefore political parties focus on training them through workshops for the next student elections, in the process they don't get cash for example but training. Thirdly student leaders also mainly get services from their respective political parties after graduating from Makerere University. These include direct or indirect assistance to acquire employment opportunities. Fourthly, in this relationship political parties also have expectations from student leaders which include student leaders recruiting new party members at the institution, student leaders themselves being looked at as future elite in the party thus being trained in the process for that, promoting the party through using the party's logo during campaigns, defending the party's ideological position in public. It has been argued that it is through the resources exchange that student leaders actually get controlled by the party and in the process they fail to promote the interests of the students. It has also been argued that the political party in power has access to more resources in comparison to an opposition party. Therefore through the use of resources, the party in power can even recruit from other political parties. The process of resources exchange as noted above empowers political parties, mostly the ruling party; therefore it is able to recruit from other parties such as the example of NRM which in this study pursues student leaders from opposition parties.

Control over Student Leaders

The extreme case in the relationship between student leadership and political parties occurs when student leaders fall under the control of party leaders and thus lose their ability to represent the student interests independently. This refers to circumstances where by student leaders make their decisions following party orders or recommendations. Therefore student leaders exchange their authority for the (actual or promised) goods and services that a political party may be willing to offer. Student leaders thus become dependent upon political party decisions and in the process accept being controlled by the political party (power from student leaders). This would refer to a

classic case of a patron-client relationship. The hypothesis in this regard has been that firstly, an associative action of this nature is dependent on the power the political party possesses and the rewards or incentives it can offer in exchange for the subordination of student leaders. Indicators include: Student leaders publicly taking the ideological position of a political party; student leaders mainly get involved in off-campus political party activities such as party protests; student leaders investing more of their time and work in promoting interests which are particular to a specific political party on or off campus.

The discussion earlier in Chapter 4 has shown that political parties have expectations in this relationship hence through resources exchange they are able to control student leaders to a certain extent. However it has also been noted that student leaders may cross from one party to another either because they were actually interested in future politics after graduating hence they run away from being controlled or they received a better deal with another political party after getting into student leadership. In the case of switching parties the ruling party seems to have an upper hand given that the president of the country also gets involved in calling student leaders and presenting offers to them. The life of a student leader after graduating seems to be a major point at which student leaders can be controlled. They seem to want guarantees from their political parties that they will be able to access employment opportunities and the ruling party seems to have better offers hence complaints by the opposition parties that their student leaders are targeted by the ruling party for recruitment using incentives such as employment opportunities, but also goods such as cars and houses in order to control them. In the process creating a patron-client relationship where by floor-crossing to another party, mostly the ruling party is based on a resources exchange. It is also argued that student leaders with future political ambitions are the ones who are easily controlled by their respective political parties. Therefore political parties assess to see the ambitions of their student leaders before realistic funding because they know that it is those with future political ambitions who can be easily controlled.

Study Findings

The following discussion focuses on the findings of this study in relation to the reviewed literature and also the adapted theoretical framework. It considers the literature in order to confirm related findings and to show any contribution made by the study.

This study intended to investigate how the relationship between student leaders in Makerere University and political parties in Uganda could be understood. This was done following three sub-questions:

- ✓ What are the reasons for student leaders and political parties establishing relationships?
- ✓ What arrangements are required between student leaders and political parties to establish and maintain a relationship?
- ✓ What are the effects of the relationship on student leaders' ability to represent students?

The study confirms that the historical relationship between student leaders and political parties in Uganda which Byaruhanga (2006) alludes to in his study, still exists in perhaps an even stronger form

currently in the institution with more new political parties in the country today than before. Due to the relationship this study also agrees with the study by Mugume and Katusiimeh (2014) that the most powerful student organisations at Makerere University are political organisations or party chapters and cultural groups or associations. Also student leaders from Makerere University are still the most likely to end up as powerful politicians in the country or powerful bureaucrats, even in the face of many new Universities in Uganda since the late 1980s. Therefore this historical relationship continues with both student leaders and party leaders still able to use it in the process of renewing or replacing the political elite and the bureaucrats in the country generally. Thus, the historical recruitment function that the relationship between student leaders and political parties has performed in Uganda and in other countries as discussed in Chapter 2 continues unabatedly at Makerere University.

The study found that party membership is high among MAK students and student leaders. Two in five students (41%) and three in five student leaders (60%) belong to a particular political party as members and in some cases as leaders in the party. Student leaders are more likely leaders than students not in leadership. This corresponds with the observation that political parties target student leaders during recruitment, supporting them in their student leadership campaigns, after campaigns, and even after they graduate. It also emerges from the analysis that political parties use the guild leadership campaigns at Makerere University mainly to recruit new party members from the institution.

The relationship with political parties is so important that it is clear that a student leader cannot win the guild presidency without being aligned to a particular political party. Political parties provide the goods and services and the numbers of supporters required for a potential candidate who stands as a party flag bearer to wage a successful campaign. Overall, goods and services provided by the party differ between those availed during campaigns and after winning an election. The expectations of student leaders after graduating, and conversely the expectations of the political party in that whole process also change. Student leaders from Makerere University have historically frequently ended up as powerful politicians in the country, hence maintaining a relationship with a political party would be a wise move for a student leader who has future political ambitions. Therefore the high number of party members among students in general above highlights the importance of being aligned to a political party in order to mostly win the guild presidential elections.

The study further shows that the most influential organisations on the student political platform at Makerere University, especially in guild elections, are political parties. The study shows that the university management, however, views political party branches on campus with suspicion. They first of all empower student leaders as party leaders to pressurize institutional management when for example, students want an issue resolved on campus, or when heavy punishments are imposed on student leaders; secondly, the challenge is that student leaders begin focusing more on national problems rather than student problems on campus, problems which affect the students they are meant to represent (Interviews with dean of students, 23/01/2013 and student leaders A, B, 23/10/2013).

In addition it is evident that most student leaders have future political ambitions, mainly to 'graduate' from student leadership to national political leadership. A student leader explained this process as follows: it may follow that a student leader after leading Makerere University runs for

leadership in the Uganda National Students Association (UNSA) in addition to being aligned to national party structures and local party networks in his or her home area. It has been claimed that the desire by most student leaders to maintain these connections for their future political ambitions leads student leaders to allow to be controlled by political parties and in the process they become disempowered thus compromising student representation.

The study also shows that student leaders have more influence in opposition parties and political parties that have weak structures such as UPC. This confirms the argument earlier made by Weinberg and Walker (1969). However, while student leaders may influence some of the weak political parties, generally student leaders are a weak constituency within any political party; there are other much more powerful constituencies in political parties. As a result the study shows that student leaders may influence decisions mostly in the structures of a weak political party but still the final decisions even in a weak party are made by the main political party leadership and not the student leaders. Conversely the ability of a political party to have influence at the university and its ability to reward student leaders and represent their interests is also linked to whether the party is in power (i.e. the national ruling party) or whether it is an opposition party. With the ruling party accessing the national budget more resources are thus available as rewards to the student leaders (more influence on student leaders). While the opposition political parties may not be able to offer the same rewards (less influence on student leaders).

Furthermore a trend of personalized student politics in the institution is also detected. It has been shown that formal institutional governance structures at the university are weak; student leaders indicated that problems at the institution are more easily resolved through personal networks between student leaders and management staff, rather than through the official structures such as the committees responsible for dealing with a given problem. As a result there is resentment among both student leaders and students not in leadership who argue that management does not really care when student problems are raised and in the absence of these noted personal connections, most problems have to be put on the agenda and resolved by means of student strikes and protests or a threat to strike. Therefore since student leaders find it hard to get favourable results through formal institutional channels, they turn to personal connections. In this respect, party affiliation at the institution gives student leaders more leverage in such negotiations because if these negotiations fail, party pressure also adds more pressure to management to be responsive.

In relation to student representation in particular, the study shows that the relationship certainly harbours its ambiguities. It benefits student leaders and political parties directly, while the student community may indirectly benefit from the relationship, for example as their interests may be supported by political parties on behalf of their student leaders. Student leaders gain material and non-material resources from the political party while the same applies to the party who gains through their connection with student leaders. Students in general may also gain when student leaders learn leadership skills through training and mentoring offered by the political parties.

Conversely, it is argued that the fact that most student leaders have future political ambitions they prefer to defend the party and focus more on protecting their relationship with the party rather than actually representing students' interests. This has been shown in the case of student leaders avoiding promoting projects on campus which are promoted by political parties to which they are not affiliated, since it could appear that the student leaders have been 'compromised'. Therefore the

main negative effect of the relationship mainly for student leaders with future political ambitions is that in the process student leaders are inducted into a patron-client relationship with the political party thus constantly rewarding the student leader as the student leader submits to party control.

Conclusion

In the discussion above, the researcher attempted to answer the research question, how the relationship between student leaders at Makerere University and political parties in Uganda can be understood. This has been done by starting with the sub-research questions which include firstly, considering the reasons for the relationship being established and maintained; the required arrangements for the relationship; and how the relationship impacts on the ability of student leaders to represent students. The discussion also reflects on the theoretical framework adapted for the study and indicating a need for changes to show aspects of empowerment and other distinctions that have become prominent through the MAK case study. The chapter concludes by discussing the overall findings which emerge from the study. The conclusion for the whole study follows in the next chapter.



CHAPTER 6--FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

Introduction

This study relied on the available literature on student activism, student movements, student representation and governance, seeking to make a contribution to our understanding of the way student leaders in institutions of higher learning relate to political parties. It sought to understand the relationship between student leaders at Makerere University and political parties in Uganda. To achieve that, it reviewed the literature on this relationship internationally, nationally and at institutional level. The key issues which emerged from the literature were considered, a theoretical framework was established and then data was collected in relation to the reasons why both actors get involved in the relationship, the arrangements in place and how the relationship impacts on the ability of student leaders to represent students. The next discussion begins with a brief outline of the chapters.

Summary of the Chapters

The whole study has been presented in six chapters. Chapter One offers a background to the study. This chapter highlights an important shift in student politics from non-institutionalised student politics to institutionalised student politics as an international higher education trend starting in the 1960s and 1970s. It also shows that in the case of Uganda and Makerere University in particular, the relationship between student leaders and political parties is historical. Hence given the changes in higher education in the country and Uganda's attempt to adopt multi-party politics, the study has attempted to update the current literature with an understanding of how these dynamics currently influence this relationship. The main research question is: "How can the relationship between student leaders at Makerere University and political parties in Uganda be understood?" The question has been addressed through assessing the reasons for the establishment and maintenance of the relationship, the necessary arrangements for the relationship to take place and how the relationship impacts on the ability of student leaders to represent students.

Chapter Two offers a review of relevant literature and provides a theoretical framework adapted for this study. The section illustrates the period when much of the work on student activism mainly in the 1960s and 1970s was done and how student politics intersected with the liberation struggles in the colonized territories and in the metropolitan powers. It has further shown the institutionalization of student politics in institutions of higher learning worldwide, and in Africa where the study relies particularly on the research done by Byaruhanga on student power in Africa, which focuses specifically on Makerere University (Lipset, 1964; Altbach, 1966, 1967, 1968; Byaruhanga, 2006; Luescher-Mamashela and Mugume, 2014; Mugume and Katusiimeh, 2014). The section also relies on Heywood (2002) and Vieira and Runciman (2008) to explain representation. It then goes into detail to explain the process undertaken to adapt the Schmitter and Streeck (1999) framework on business interest associations to a study of the relationship between student leaders and political parties. The framework had been adapted earlier by other scholars such as Jungblut and Weber (2012), and Klemenčič (2012) to study student representation in Europe, and by Luescher-Mamashela and Mugume (2014) to study the relationship between student leaders and multi-party

politics in Africa. The four types of associative actions adapted by Luescher-Mamashela and Mugume (2014), were improved and used for this study and they include; “participation of student leaders in the political party”, “representation of student leaders by the political party”, “goods and services exchange”, and “control over student leaders by the political party” (Schmitter and Streeck, 1999; Luescher-Mamashela and Mugume, 2014).

Chapter Three offers a discussion of the research methodology used in this study. The study used a mixed methods approach. A mixed methods research design refers to an approach that uses both the qualitative and quantitative design techniques in the research process (Creswell, 2009). Hence the study had the in-depth interview section which was qualitative and the on-line survey section which was quantitative. Through a mixed methods approach, the on-line survey and in-depth interviews were carried out at the same time to ensure a concurrent triangulation of the data collected. Mixed methods also help to “determine if there is convergence, differences or some combination” in the data sets for triangulation purposes (Creswell, 2009). Hence the on-line survey and in-depth interviews were carried out simultaneously. The chapter also outlines the reasons for choosing Makerere University as a case study site for this study and four political parties, i.e., DP, FDC, NRM and UPC. It shows and offers justification for the target samples for the online-survey and the in-depth interviews, ethical considerations, the difficulties faced and successes experienced in the research process, the data analysis process and limitations of the study. It indicates that Makerere University was chosen because it is the oldest university in Uganda; it has the largest number of students in the country (36, 516 students); and it has a unique historical and still on-going relationship with political parties (Byaruhanga, 2006; Mamdani, 2007; Makerere University Annual Report, 2013, p. 8; Alina, 2014). As for the political parties selected for the study, the DP, FDC, NRM and UPC are currently the most prominent political parties in Uganda (Byaruhanga, 2006; Electoral Commission of Uganda, 2013).

Chapter Four presents the data and the process of analysis in relation to the theoretical framework. It begins with outlining and explaining the structures of student representation and the student electoral process in Makerere University through an organogram. Then it discusses the participation of student leaders in the political party as per the theoretical framework and this is done in two ways; in relation to participation on-campus and participation off-campus. Secondly it discusses representation of student leaders by the political party. Thirdly it considers the question of goods and services exchanged, and this includes support of student leaders during campaigns, support to student leaders after campaigns, support to student leaders after graduating, and the expectations of the political party from student leaders. Lastly control over student leaders by the political party is discussed.

Chapter Five considers the analysis in Chapter Four and attempts to answer the three sub-research questions so that in the process it can finally answer the main research question for the study. It traces the reasons for the establishment and maintenance of the relationship by both actors (student leaders and political parties), then explains the required arrangements for the relationship to take place and the impact of the relationship on the ability of student leaders to represent students. The final section assesses the indicators from the literature review and also those which emerge from the data collected in interviews including student leaders and students’ views on inter alia trust, listening, levels of autonomy and competence, and corruption. It concludes that the relationship generally harbours ambiguities. However it is more of a distraction to the student

leaders and therefore has a more negative than positive impact on their ability to represent students. It then reflects on the theoretical framework adapted for the study and finally suggests particular changes in order to offer a better analysis of the relationship.

Based on the analysed data above, the following section presents a summary of the findings.

A Summary of the Study's Findings

In an attempt to understand the relationship between student leaders at Makerere University and political parties in Uganda, the study considers the available literature on the topic and adapts a particular theoretical framework to analyse the data generated in the process, below is a brief outline of the noticeable findings.

The study confirms and shows the continuing existence of the historical relationship between student leaders and political parties in Uganda as noted also in the study by Byaruhanga (2006). Due to the relationship, this study also agrees with the study by Mugume and Katusiimeh (2014) that student leaders from Makerere University are still the most likely to end up as powerful politicians or bureaucrats in the country even though many new universities have been established in Uganda since the late 1980s. Given the above, the study also shows that a significant number of students in the surveyed sample belong to a particular political party as members. In addition since student leaders are more close to the political parties and therefore are better informed about how they can be rewarded in this relationship, the study shows that they are most likely to be leaders in their respective parties in comparison to students not in leadership. The process of this relationship involves student leaders receiving goods and services from political parties during campaigns, such as funds, T-shirts, posters and transport; after the elections these may include: leadership training, workshops, while after graduating political parties may avail for example, career opportunities to student leaders. In the process of the relationship political parties also have expectations of student leaders, for example to recruit new party members, to use party logos during campaigns and support party policy in general..

The findings show that the most influential organisations on student politics at Makerere University are political parties and cultural groups, furthermore agreeing with or confirming Mugume and Katusiimeh's (2014) findings in a comparative analysis of student representation at Makerere University (MAK) and Uganda Christian University (UCU). It also shows that most student leaders have future political ambitions.

Student leaders prefer to use personalized student politics in resolving student concerns at Makerere University. It is argued that when student leaders attempt to use the formal structures of the institution, they end up frustrated. Hence they rely on their personal networks with university staff to resolve problems raised by students but when that fails they also rely on pressure that can be applied by their respective political parties and as noted in the discussion that at times due to frustration the students not in leadership advocate for strikes. It has been noted in the discussion that when strikes happen, they easily turn violent.

There are notable variations as political parties with less organised or weak structures struggle to recruit when student leaders may end up having more influence such as in the example of UPC in

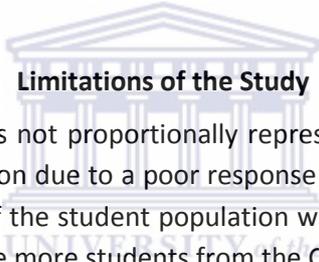
the study (Weinberg and Walker, 1969, p. 82). However, even though student leaders may influence some of the weak political parties, generally student leaders are a weak constituency within a political party, since there are other powerful constituencies in political parties. As much as student leaders may be influential in the process, the final decision even in a weak party is made by the leadership of the main political party not the student leaders. Moreover, the ability of a political party to have influence at the university and its ability to reward student leaders and represent their interests is linked to whether the party is in power (ruling party) or the opposition. Therefore the NRM has access to more resources and is able to reward the student leaders individually better as noted in the interviews. However that does not necessarily convert into the party being the most influential on campus in general. Since in terms of winning the guild leadership, with huge amounts the NRM invests in guild campaigns each year, it rarely wins the guild presidency. But it is clearly noted that the funding ability of NRM is felt during campaigns and even when it fails to win, its ability to pay off student leaders to cross from opposition parties and join NRM is demonstrated. Resources may influence mainly those who know how the exchange happens and the consequences are not known to all since the students not in leadership are not involved in the resources exchange.

The analysis shows that the relationship benefits student leaders, political parties and students not in leadership even though for the latter it is beneficial in a more indirect way. The resource exchange mainly takes place between student leaders and political parties; students not in leadership on the other hand gain for example when the party puts pressure on university management, when student leaders learn democratic leadership qualities from exemplary party leaders. These are qualities and values which student leaders may also use on campus. However, even though there are these indirect benefits to students not in leadership, it is argued that given the fact that most student leaders have future political ambitions, they prefer to defend their respective political parties and focus more on protecting their relationship with the party than actually representing students' interests. This is illustrated by student leaders avoiding to promote projects on campus which are established by leaders of other political parties (such as projects sponsored by government while the guild president is a member of an opposition party). While such projects are important for the students, student leaders fear taking a risk that can result into being suspected of compromising the party's position or ideology. It is further argued that the desire of most student leaders to maintain their connections for their future political ambitions, leads student leaders to be controlled by political parties and in the process they become disempowered. Through the resources exchange associative actions, a valid argument can be made that student leaders are inducted into a patron-client relationship. They therefore begin taking orders from the political party in a way that may at times compromise their responsibility to represent students. In relation to the impact on the ability of student leaders, what emerges from the findings is that even though the relationship makes a positive contribution to the ability of student leaders to represent students in the institution and off-campus, the evidence strongly suggests that the relationship actually negatively impacts on the ability of student leaders to represent students. In view of this study the relationship is more of a distraction to student leaders than enhancing their ability to represent students' interests.

Recommendations for Further Research

A number of potential areas for further research emerge from this study.

First of all, a comparative study of Makerere University with another university in the country would be interesting. This could show differences and similarities of the impact of the relationship on the ability of student leaders in the different institutions to represent students. Secondly a study of how the relationship between student leaders and political parties impacts on student leaders' academic performance and learning would be important. This would create evidence for developing a framework that offers academic support to student leaders rather than only focusing on giving them leadership skills. Thirdly the study has shown some problematic aspects of the relationship between student leaders and political parties; however, it cannot offer practical solutions. A future study could therefore seek to consider more directly the policy implications of findings and conclusions arrived at here, to develop system level and institutional policy framework to mitigate the negative effects of the relationship without denying the historical significance and current benefits of the association of student leaders and political parties. Lastly, since many student leaders at Makerere University end up as powerful politicians or bureaucrats in Uganda, it would be interesting to study the different practical routes they take to reach national leadership.



Limitations of the Study

The sample in the online survey was not proportionally representative of the different colleges on campus as noted under data collection due to a poor response rate, internet problems, having been the first study covering a majority of the student population while conducted as an online survey in the institution. As a result there were more students from the College of Computing and Information Sciences in comparison to other Colleges which affected the ability of the researcher to make generalizations even at Makerere University as whole. Secondly, a methodological limitation to the study may relate to the questionnaire being too long since this was one of the complaints received during the piloting of the study at Makerere University. There are respondents who did not complete the questionnaire; the researcher is of the view that it may have been a result of the length of the questionnaire consuming too much time of the respondent. This also affects the results from the study since even after the questionnaire was reduced due to the complaints received during the pilot study, some respondents did not complete the whole questionnaire. This limits the analysis of some of the questions due to a low response rate, mostly on the last questions of the questionnaire. Finally, the study utilizes an adapted theoretical framework which is even reflected upon after the analysis. It is reflected upon because the researcher recognizes a number of concepts which required revising for purposes of a better analysis.

Conclusion

The study intended to investigate how the relationship between student leaders in Makerere University and political parties in Uganda could be understood. This was done through three sub-research questions which include; the reasons for establishing the relations, how the relationship is established and maintained, and finally how the relationship impacts on the ability of student leaders to represent students. This was done relying on a mixed methods approach which included in-depth interviews with student leaders and party leaders, and an online survey conducted among all undergraduate students at Makerere University. It relied on the conceptualisation of representation according to Heywood (2002) and, Vieira and Runciman (2008) hence in the process the researcher was able to highlight the enabling and disabling conditions of representation. The study also adapted the Schmitter and Streeck (1999) theoretical framework which had also been used in other studies, to try and analyse the relationship under study.

The framework is reflected upon above in Chapter 5 after being used in Chapter 4 to analyse the relationship and two main points have been noted. Firstly, the adapted theoretical framework focuses more on the relationship between student leaders and political parties while very little attention is paid to the students who are not in leadership. Secondly, the matrix of the framework as noted in Figure 6 appears to focus more on levels of autonomy for the student leaders at its extreme yet considering the analysis it appears to be a question of power for both the student leaders and the political parties. In relation to the student leaders it appears that at the extreme of the relationship they are empowered to represent students or disempowered and thus controlled by the political party in question.

Findings from the study confirm a historical relationship which is even stronger between student leaders and political parties in Uganda today as alluded to by Byaruhanga (2006). Also as argued by Mugume and Katusiimeh (2014), most powerful student organisations at Makerere University are political organisations or party chapters and cultural groups or associations. Furthermore a high number of students at the institution are members of a political party but student leaders are more likely also to be leaders in the party compared to the students not in leadership. The relationship is so important that a student leader cannot win the guild presidency without being aligned to a particular political party due to the resources political parties avail to student leaders during campaigns. In addition, most student leaders have future political ambitions and as a result they get controlled by political parties. Student leaders also show that problems at the institution are better resolved through personal networks student leaders may have with university management staff members than the institutional structures meant to resolve such issues. While it has also been noted that the ability of student leaders to represent students was somehow influenced by whether the party they were affiliated to was in power or not. The ruling party can offer more opportunities in the process, and because it has access to more resources it is also able to use them to control student leaders. Hence student leaders have more influence in opposition parties and political parties with weak structures such as UPC.

To answer the research question: First of all the reasons for the relationship as explained in Chapter 5 included; the political party wanting to recruit new members among the students community, while on the other hand student leaders wanting to access the privileges that come with such membership which include funding during student leadership campaigns, career opportunities after graduation and further benefits for their future careers. Secondly the relationship is maintained

through party chapters on campus, through which resources are exchanged between student leaders and political parties. This includes availing goods and services to students during campaigns, availing more services after the elections and offering former student leaders mainly career opportunities by the political party directly and indirectly. Political parties on the other hand expect student leaders to recruit new members, volunteer for party work. Through this exchange, both main actors are rewarded through the relationship hence it becomes logical to maintain it. Thirdly the relationship affects the ability of student leaders to represent students in different ways, at times positively as noted through the enabling conditions such as trust, listening, while sometimes they are affected negatively mostly when student leaders get controlled by the political party and they begin following party orders instead of looking after students' interests.

Therefore the study shows that the relationship benefits student leaders and political parties directly, while the student community may benefit indirectly from the relationship e.g., as their interests may be advocated for also by political parties on behalf of their student leaders. Students in general may also gain when student leaders learn leadership skills through training and mentoring offered by the political parties. Conversely, it is argued that the fact that most student leaders have future political ambitions they then prefer to defend the party and focus more on protecting their relationship with the party than actually representing students' interests. This has been shown in the case of student leaders avoiding promoting projects on campus which are promoted by political parties they are not affiliated to since it could appear that the student leader is 'compromised'. Therefore the main negative effect of the relationship especially for student leaders with future political ambitions is that in the process student leaders are inducted into a patron-client relationship with the political party thus constantly rewarding the student leader as the student leader submits to party control. Therefore the relationship distracts student leaders in the process of representing students' interests rather than enhancing their ability to represent such interests.

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INTERVIEWS

Dean of students (Interviewed, October 23, 2013)

Guild leader A (Interviewed, October 23, 2013)

Guild leader B (Interviewed, October 23, 2013)

Guild leader C (Interviewed, October 24, 2013)

Guild leader D (Interviewed, October 24, 2013)

Former Guild leader (Interviewed, October 22, 2013)

MUPSA leader (Interviewed, April 16, 2014)

MAK Rotaract Club leader (Interviewed, April 16, 2014)

UYD [DP] leader (Interviewed, April 15, 2014)

FDC leader A (Interviewed, October 22, 2013)

FDC leader B (Interviewed, October 22, 2013)

NRM leader A (Interviewed, October 22, 2013)

NRM leader B (Interviewed, October 22, 2013)

UPC leader A (Interviewed, October 17, 2013)

UPC leader B (Interviewed, October 17, 2013)



APPENDIX A

Information sheet and consent form for HERANA Makerere University Student Experience Survey

Makerere University Student Experience Survey: Student Engagement and Democracy

What is the Student Survey?

The survey is an initiative that seeks to enhance student life at Makerere University. It is led by Dr Vincent Ssembatya, Director of Quality Assurance at Makerere University, and Dr Thierry Luescher, Senior Researcher of the Centre for Higher Education Transformation (CHET). It is part of the HERANA project "Student Engagement with Democracy, Diversity and Social Justice" that also includes the University of Cape Town, South Africa, and other African flagship universities.

What is the purpose and value of the Student survey?

The purpose of the survey is to help us to better understand your experiences as students and student leaders at Makerere University. This will assist us in improving our policies, services and practices, and to provide better support.

Who participates in the survey? What does participation entail?

This survey invites participation from undergraduate students. Participation involves completing the online questionnaire which takes about 20 minutes to complete. The questionnaire has five sections: 1) Academic Engagement and Student Life, 2) Student Governance & Leadership, Political and Social Engagement, Democracy 3) Personal Background, 4) Campus Climate, Institutional Culture, and 5) Technology and Overall Satisfaction. Because we value your time and experience, we have great prizes for those who participate and complete the survey (see below).

What about confidentiality, privacy and anonymity?

You will be asked to provide your student registration number and some background information, but you will not be personally identified and your identity remains confidential and anonymous. The results of the study will be reported only as aggregate data and it will not be possible for anyone to identify you as a respondent.

Are there incentives for participation? Is it voluntary or compulsory?

We are offering prizes to all who complete the survey. To participate in the competition for the prizes, you must enter your name and email address into the draw so that you can be contacted if you are one of the winners. The prizes include: an iPad, cell phones, memory sticks, and airtime vouchers.

Where can I get more information, make comments or complain? You can contact:

Mr Robert Ngobi, Manager: Quality Assurance Directorate via email to krobertngobi@yahoo.com
Dr Thierry Luescher, Senior Researcher: CHET, via email to thierryluescher@outlook.com.

Consent Form:

- ✓ I have read this document and understand the information.
- ✓ I understand that once I commence the survey, I may withdraw at any time.
- ✓ By supplying my student registration number, I voluntarily agree to the disclosure of some of my university records for the purpose of this survey.
- ✓ I understand that my information will be made anonymous and it will not be identifiable or traceable to me and reported in an aggregate format only.
- ✓ I understand my identity remains private, anonymous and confidential.

Date, Place and Signature



APPENDIX B

Information sheet and informed consent form for in-depth interview respondents

Interview Participant Information Sheet

Research title: Student politics and multiparty politics in Uganda: A case study of Makerere University.

You are being invited to take part in a research project. The research is being conducted for a mini-thesis, it is a requirement for a Masters in Administration, which I'm completing at the University of the Western Cape.

Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Please take your time to decide whether or not you wish to take part in this research.

My contact details and those of my supervisor are recorded at the end of this memo.

Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study is to try and understand why and how student leaders happen to interact with, establish and maintain relations with political parties in Uganda and how that relationship shapes their ability to represent students. The successful completion of the study is expected to produce new knowledge; in this regard, your participation is highly appreciated as a contribution. Over and above that, however, there are no benefits that accrue to participants.

Description of the study

The study will include interviews with adult people; it will use a mixed methods approach. In-depth interviews with key role-players will be conducted, including the Makerere University (MAK) dean of students, the MAK guild cabinet, and political party leaders of key Ugandan political parties in Uganda, i.e. the Democratic Party, Uganda Peoples' Congress, National Resistance Movement and Forum for Democratic Change.

Confidentiality

Your name will not be recorded during the interview as to maintain confidentiality at all times. I shall keep all records, including a signed consent form which I will need from you should you agree to participate in this research study, locked away at all times and will destroy them after the research is completed.

Voluntary participation and withdraw

Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary i.e. you are free to decline participation. It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. Refusal to take part will involve no penalty or loss of services to which you are otherwise entitled; and also it will not impact negatively on your position in your organisation or leadership.

If you decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep (and be asked to sign the consent form). If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time – and without giving a reason. You may also choose not to answer particular questions that are asked in the study if there is anything that you would prefer not to discuss, please feel free to say so.

Benefits and costs

You may not get any direct benefit from this study. While there are no immediate direct benefits to those participating in the study, the information I learn from you may help to inform student leaders and political parties how they are perceived by each actor in relation to resources exchange and how it influences student representation. There are no costs for participating in this study other than the time you will spend in the interview. Which will last approximately 45 to 60 minutes, you will talk within your locality and thus you will not incur extra transport costs.

Informed consent

Your signed consent to participate in this research study is required before I proceed to interview you. I have included the consent form with this information sheet so that you will be able to review the consent form and then decide whether you would like to participate in this study or not.

Questions

Should you have further questions or wish to know more, I can be contacted as follows:

Student researcher: Mugume T, e-mail: 2903011@myuwc.ac.za

Alternatively and in case of a complaint, please contact the supervisor; Dr. Thierry Luescher, email address: thierryluescher@outlook.com, tel. +27 83 350 5959.



Consent Form

Research title: Student politics and multiparty politics in Uganda: A case study of Makerere University.

The study has been described to me in a language that I understand and I freely and voluntarily agree to participate. My questions about the study have been answered.

I understand that my identity will not be disclosed and that I may withdraw from the study without giving a reason at any time and this will not negatively affect me in any way.

Participant's name.....

Participant's Signature.....

Witness.....

Date.....

Student researcher: Mugume T, e-mail: 2903011@myuwc.ac.za

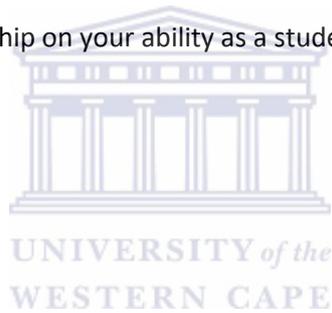
Alternatively and in case of a complaint, please contact the supervisor; Dr. Thierry Luescher, email address: thierryluescher@outlook.com, tel. +27 83 350 5959.



APPENDIX C

Draft Questionnaire for Makerere University student leaders (2013-2014)

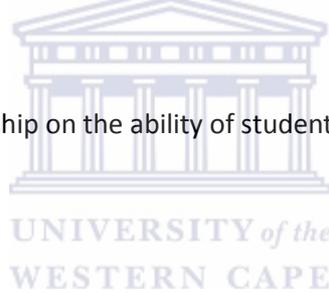
1. Please introduce yourself and your post in student leadership
2. What is the history of student politics at Makerere University, focusing on structures and participation?
3. How do student leaders at Makerere University relate with political parties in Uganda, focusing on party structures and membership?
 - 3a. How do student leaders participate in the political party?
 - 3b. How are student leaders represented by the political party?
 - 3c. How do student leaders exchange goods and services with political parties?
 - 3d. How do political parties control student leaders?
4. What is the effect of the relationship on your ability as a student leader to represent students?



APPENDIX D

Draft Questionnaire for a Political Party Leader

1. Please introduce yourself and your position in the political party?
2. What is the history of your Political party? (Background)
3. How do student leaders at Makerere University relate with your political party?
4. Why do Makerere University students or student leaders join your political party?
 - 3a. How do student leaders participate in the political party?
 - 3b. How are student leaders represented by the political party?
 - 3c. How do student leaders exchange goods and services with the political party?
 - 3d. How does your political party control student leaders?
4. What is the effect of this relationship on the ability of student leader to represent students?



APPENDIX E

Draft Questionnaire for Makerere University Administration staff member (Dean of students)

- 1 Please introduce yourself and post at Makerere University?
2. What is the history of student politics at Makerere University?
3. How do student leaders at Makerere University relate with political parties in Uganda?
 - 3a. How do student leaders participate in the political party?
 - 3b. How are student leaders represented by the political party?
 - 3c. How do student leaders exchange goods and services with political parties?
 - 3d. How do political parties control student leaders?
 - 3e. How does the administration view the relation between student leaders and political parties?
4. What is the effect of the relationship on the ability of student leaders to represent students?



APPENDIX F

Structures of Student Representation, Electoral Processes and Constituencies

1) Structures of Representation

Student Representation in Committees at MAK (Actual numbers)

Senate committees;

Senate (2)

Admissions Board (1)

Research committee (2)

Quality Assurance Committee (2)

Appeals Committee (Ad hoc) (2)

Anti-Sexual Harassment Committee (2)

Council Committees;

Council (2) (the Guild President and Vice Guild President)

Finance Planning and Academics Committee (FPAC) (1)

Students' Welfare and Disciplinary Committee (2) (one must be disabled)

Quality Assurance Committee (1)

Estates and Works Committee (1)

2) The Electoral Processes and Constituencies

Electoral Constituencies at MAK and Number of Representatives

11 Halls of Residence with (2) each

The Chairperson of each Hall is a Representative in the GRC thus (11)

28 Schools with (2)

The Disabled (4) (2 females and 2 males)

Games Union (1)

Chief Editor of the Makererian (1) (the students newspaper)

The Speaker of the House can be chosen from outside the House (1)

The Clerk and Deputy Clerk are voted by the House (2).



APPENDIX G

Makerere University Student Experience Survey Poster

The Student Experience Survey

MAKERERE UNIVERSITY

STUDENT EXPERIENCE SURVEY

HAVE YOUR SAY!

Participate in this Survey and **WIN** lots of prizes: Mini-iPad, cellphones, memory sticks and airtime.

qadsurveys.mak.ac.ug www.surveymonkey.com/s/Makerere2013

APPENDIX H

Makerere University Student Experience Survey Questionnaire [28-42]

Makerere University Student Experience Survey

Student Governance

***28. Please indicate if you're a current or former student leader at Makerere University.**

Yes

No

29. Please select all the formal student leadership positions you are currently holding and/or have previously held at university level:

Class representative

Student representative at college or school level

Student representative in a hall of residence (SCR)

Member of the Students' Guild Council (GRC)

President, Vice-President or Minister of the Students' Guild

Student representative in the University Senate, Council, or in any other high-level council or senate committee (e.g. Student Affairs Committee)

Other (please specify)



Makerere University Student Experience Survey

Student Leadership

30. How are you involved in the following national political organisations as student leader?

	Official leader	Active member	Inactive member	Not a member	Don't Know
National political party branch	<input type="radio"/>				
Youth wing/league of a national party	<input type="radio"/>				
Student organisation aligned to a political party	<input type="radio"/>				
National students' association (non-aligned)	<input type="radio"/>				

Other (please specify / or comment):

31. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
My political party has a youth wing/league that includes student concerns	<input type="radio"/>					
My political party has established a student organisation/student branch on campus	<input type="radio"/>					
Student concerns are included in my political party's manifesto / policies	<input type="radio"/>					
My political party has a desk or official dedicated to support student leaders	<input type="radio"/>					
Student leaders like me are in the party's leadership positions	<input type="radio"/>					

Other (please specify)

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Makerere University Student Experience Survey

Student Leaders and Multiparty Democracy

32. What support for your election campaign (e.g. guild elections) do you get from a relationship with a political party?

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cash for campaign | <input type="checkbox"/> Rallies |
| <input type="checkbox"/> T-shirts | <input type="checkbox"/> Writing a manifesto |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Posters | <input type="checkbox"/> Training in campaigning |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify) | |

33. What support do you get from a relationship with a political party when elected in student leadership office?

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Leadership training/workshops | <input type="checkbox"/> The party can put pressure to change national policies |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Internship | <input type="checkbox"/> Tuition or residence funding / scholarship |
| <input type="checkbox"/> The party can put pressure on university management | <input type="checkbox"/> Cash support during studies |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify) | |

34. What support can you expect from a relationship with a political party once you have graduated?

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Career opportunities | <input type="checkbox"/> Job in local or national government |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Leadership position within the party | <input type="checkbox"/> Selection to stand on the party platform in a constituency (e.g. MP, LC5, Councillor) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify) | |

35. What does your political party expect from you as a party member and student leader?

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Volunteering time and effort | <input type="checkbox"/> Including party positions and ideology in your campaign manifesto |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Participating in political party activities | <input type="checkbox"/> Including party branding in your campaign |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Recruiting new members for the political party | <input type="checkbox"/> Publicly representing your party and party positions |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Be a disciplined member of the party | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify) | |

Makerere University Student Experience Survey

Student Politics - All

36. Whose interests do student leaders at Makerere University represent?

	Most Important	Second most important	Third most important	Least important
Privately sponsored students	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Government sponsored students	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Political parties	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
University administration	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Other (please specify)

37. The relationship between student leaders and political parties: Do you agree or disagree?

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Agree somewhat	Disagree	Somewhat - disagree	Strongly disagree
The relationship between student leaders and political parties negatively impacts on student leaders' ability to represent students	<input type="radio"/>					
The relationship between student leaders and political parties affords young political leaders an opportunity to be trained in democratic politics.	<input type="radio"/>					

38. How many of the Makerere University student leaders (e.g. GRC) do you think are involved in corruption? (Or haven't you heard enough about them to say?)

- None
 Some of them
 Most of them
 All of them
 Don't know/Haven't heard

39. How much of the time do you think student leaders try their best to listen to what students have to say? (Or haven't you heard enough about them to say?)

- Always
 Often
 Only sometimes
 Never
 Don't know/Haven't heard

40. How much do you trust the student leaders / student representatives at MAK? (Or haven't you heard enough about them to say?)

- Not at all
 Just a little
 I trust them somewhat
 I trust them a lot
 Don't know/Haven't heard

Makerere University Student Experience Survey

Participation on/off campus - All

41. How are you involved in the following MAK-based organisations in this academic year?

	Official leader	Active member	Inactive member	Not a member	Don't Know
Academic (e.g. Law Students Forum, Medical Students' Assoc.)	<input type="radio"/>				
University games and sport (e.g. football, water ball, tennis)	<input type="radio"/>				
Governing bodies (e.g. SCR, GRC, Guild cabinet)	<input type="radio"/>				
International student society (e.g. Tanzanian Students' Assoc; Sudanese Students' Assoc.)	<input type="radio"/>				
Cultural students' association (e.g. Acholi Students' Assoc; MAK Nkobazambogo)	<input type="radio"/>				
Student media (e.g., The Makererean; Campus FM)	<input type="radio"/>				
Voluntary students' associations (e.g. Leo's Club; Rotaract; Red Cross Society)	<input type="radio"/>				
Political organisation (e.g. Makerere branch of DP, FDC, NRM, UPC)	<input type="radio"/>				
Faith (e.g. St. Augustine; St. Francis; Muslim Students' Assoc.)	<input type="radio"/>				
Students' Halls of Residence	<input type="radio"/>				
Special interest, social and wellness groups (e.g. Private Students' Assoc; Wildlife Society)	<input type="radio"/>				
Other campus-based club or organisation	<input type="radio"/>				

42. How are you involved in the following organisations in this academic year (off-campus)?

	Official leader	Active member	Inactive member	Not a member	Don't Know
Political organization (e.g., political party branch off campus)	<input type="radio"/>				
Civil society organization / Media / Advocacy body / NGO (e.g. AI, Rotary)	<input type="radio"/>				
Sport club or artistic organisation / cultural organisation	<input type="radio"/>				
Church / Mosque / Faith-based community	<input type="radio"/>				
Religious / Faith-based youth organisation (e.g. YMCA)	<input type="radio"/>				