

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)

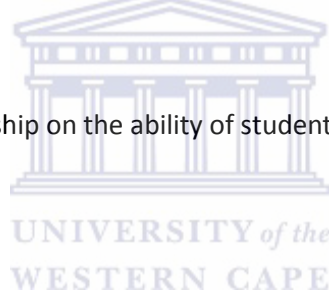
1. Please introduce yourself and your post in student leadership
2. What is the history of student politics at Makerere University, focusing on structures and participation?
3. How do student leaders at Makerere University relate with political parties in Uganda, focusing on party structures and membership?
 - 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)

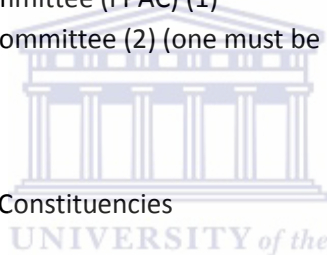
The Disabled (4) (2 females and 2 males)

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.

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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"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Youth wing/league of a national party	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Student organisation aligned to a political party	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
National students' association (non-aligned)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<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"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My political party has established a student organisation/student branch on campus	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Student concerns are included in my political party's manifesto / policies	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My political party has a desk or official dedicated to support student leaders	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Student leaders like me are in the party's leadership positions	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Other (please specify)

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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"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<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"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<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"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
University games and sport (e.g. football, water ball, tennis)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Governing bodies (e.g. SCR, GRC, Guild cabinet)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
International student society (e.g. Tanzanian Students' Assoc; Sudanese Students' Assoc.)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Cultural students' association (e.g. Acholi Students' Assoc; MAK Nkobazambogo)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Student media (e.g., The Makererean; Campus FM)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Voluntary students' associations (e.g. Leo's Club; Rotaract; Red Cross Society)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Political organisation (e.g. Makerere branch of DP, FDC, NRM, UPC)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Faith (e.g. St. Augustine; St. Francis; Muslim Students' Assoc.)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Students' Halls of Residence	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Special interest, social and wellness groups (e.g. Private Students' Assoc; Wildlife Society)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Other campus-based club or organisation	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<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"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Civil society organization / Media / Advocacy body / NGO (e.g. AI, Rotary)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Sport club or artistic organisation / cultural organisation	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Church / Mosque / Faith-based community	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Religious / Faith-based youth organisation (e.g. YMCA)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>