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Full Length Research Paper

Uganda and the refugee problem: challenges and opportunities

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Uganda is one of the top refugee hosting countries in Africa and the world. It has been praised as a generous country with progressive refugee policies and laws that reflect the country's national, regional and international obligations. However, a number of challenges ranging from increasing refugee numbers, protracted refugee situations, the burden of hosting of refugees, to limited resources and little international support threaten Uganda's hospitality. This article looks at the major refugee protection challenges that confront Uganda. It further addresses some of the emerging opportunities which if seized could provide effective protection to the refugees. Finally, the paper concludes with policy implications.

Key words: Refugees, refugee problem, challenges, opportunities, Uganda.

INTRODUCTION

The UNHCR's Annual Global Trends report notes that by the end of 2017, Uganda was hosting 1.4 million, the highest number in the country's history. Uganda was the 3rd largest refugee hosting country in the world (after Turkey and Pakistan) and the largest in Africa (UNHCR, 2018: 3). By the December 2018, this number had reduced to 1.1 million after the biometric verification exercise done by Office of the Prime Minister (OPM) and UNHCR (OPM and UNHCR, 2018). The majority of these refugees come from neighboring countries and the wider region, South Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi, Somalia, Rwanda, Kenya, Ethiopia and Eritrea among others.

Uganda is located in East Africa neighboring Kenya, Tanzania, South Sudan, Rwanda, and Democratic

Republic of Congo (DRC). Her location makes it the favorite country for those in search of asylum in the region. Uganda is well known for its open door policies (World Bank Group, 2016; Ahimbisibwe, 2018). Uganda adopted the settlement approach in responding to refugee crisis as opposed to camps in countries like Kenya (Bagenda, Naggaga, & Smith, 2003). This has made the country relatively hospitable for asylum seekers and refugees. With the exception of certain refugee nationalities, Uganda generally has pursued an "open door policy" to many refugees fleeing their countries of origin. From the late 1950s to early 1980s and 1990s to today, Uganda's policy can be characterized as open and welcoming to the majority of refugees.

According to UNHCR, "Uganda is over all welcoming of

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refugees. The admission rate is one of the highest in the world, and Uganda is unique in the region in hosting refugees. Refugees are kept in refugee settlements where are supposed to be self-reliant. Those in the settlements are provided land, which they can till for a living. According to Government policy, refugees who are self-sufficient are allowed to stay in urban areas and those who need humanitarian assistance reside in settlements" (UNHCR, 2011).

This paper argues that although Uganda has been praised as a generous country, a number of challenges ranging from increasing refugee numbers, protracted refugee situations, the burden of hosting of refugees, limited resources and little international support threaten the country's hospitality. The paper however believes that there are several emerging opportunities which if seized could provide effective protection to the refugees.

The paper is structured as follows: The next section explains the methodology and subsequently the paper looks at a brief history of refugees in Uganda and analyses the major refugee protection challenges and opportunities. It concludes with policy implications.

METHODOLOGY

Qualitative approach was adopted for this study in both data collection and analysis. This study is based mainly on secondary materials collected from various sources. The data was collected from documentary materials such as textbooks, journals, magazines, newspapers, government reports and the internet sources. And in terms of analysis of data, the study used descriptive and analytical techniques. Therefore, the research was based on systematic analysis of content of documentation. The data collected was subjected to textual analysis.

Brief history and origin of refugees in Uganda

Uganda's experience with refugees started during the Second World War when Europeans displaced by the war were settled on its territory (Gingyera Pinycwa, 1998: 5). These refugees included 7000 prisoners of war mainly from Poland but also from Germany, Romania and Austria among others. They were settled at Nyabyeya in the present day Masindi district and Kojja (Mpunge) Mukono district. This influx was soon followed by numerous refugees generated by unrest in the aftermath of the various struggles for independence in neighboring countries (Gingyera Pinycwa, 1998: 5).

In the 1950s, Kenyans staged an armed rebellion against the British colonial government. The colonial government ruthlessly suppressed the armed Mau Mau anti-colonial movement. A number of Kenyans fled into Uganda as refugees. The conflicts in Zaire/DRC in the 1950s and 1960s in the aftermath of Independence and Lumumba's assassination in 1961 forced thousands of Congolese to flee into Uganda. Many of them were settled in Kyaka 1 in present day Kyenjojo district. The

political turmoil in Rwanda forced Rwandan Tutsi to flee the country in 1959 and early 1960s. They fled into neighboring countries Uganda, Tanzania, Congo and Burundi. They were allocated pastoral land and settled in Nakivale, Oruchinga in Mbarara District (now Isingiro district). Others were settled in Rwamwanja, Kyaka and Kamwengye in Kyenjojo and Kabarole districts (Mulumba and Olema, 2009: 10).

Gingyera and Pirouet observe that the new wave of refugees into Uganda came in 1955 from the then Anglo-Egyptian condominium of the Sudan. The Anyanya movement that involved South Sudanese fighting for self-determination led Sudanese to cross into Uganda in search of refuge. Some 80,000 southern Sudanese crossed into Uganda after an army mutiny in Sudan (Gingyera Pinycwa, 1998; Pirouet, 1988). Most of them were settled in West Nile in North Western Uganda. Following the 1972 Addis Ababa Agreement, the Sudanese refugees were repatriated.

The Sudanese influx resumed from 1983 to 2005 when the Sudanese People's Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA/M) were engaged in armed rebellion against the Khartoum Government. The majority started to return to South Sudan in 2005 after the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA).

Since the 1990s, the country also received a number of refugees from Burundi, Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Kenya. According to Uganda's settlement policy, refugees are required to live in settlements where they can be assisted. However, a good number of refugees live in urban areas where they look after themselves without any assistance from the UNHCR and her implementing partners.

In 1994 and after the Tutsi refugees returned to Rwanda, Hutu refugees crossed into Uganda, DRC, Tanzania and Burundi. According to UNHCR, by February 2016 there were 17,176 Rwandan refugees in the country UNHCR, 2016b). Rwandan refugees are settled in Nakivale, Oruchinga, Kyaka II and Kyangwali refugee settlements. Other Rwandan refugees are secondary movers –those that came from neighboring countries such as Tanzania and Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) following the forced repatriations of 1996/1997, and who faced persecution upon return because of their previous flight and then fled to Uganda (Karooma, 2014: 11). Rwandan asylum seekers (both Hutu and Tutsi) continue to come to Uganda claiming persecution, human rights violations and dictatorship in Rwanda.

Although around 2000 the UNHCR and the Ugandan government implemented a repatriation programme for Congolese refugees, many more Congolese refugees have fled into Uganda due to the conflicts in the Eastern part of the country. According to UNHCR, Uganda hosted 240,000 Congolese refugees by December 2017. This number was estimated to stand at 300,000 by the end of 2018 (UNHCR, 2018b). However, although the majority of Rwandan refugees repatriated in 1994 after the

genocide and the taking over by the Rwandan Patriotic Front, many still maintain relatives and property in Uganda (Mulumba and Olema, 2009: 10). Kenya again generated refugees in 2007/2008 due to violence following the 2007 elections. They crossed into Eastern Uganda and were hosted in refugee settlements while others were self-settled in urban areas.

A new influx of South Sudanese refugees took place from December 2013 when fighting broke out in South Sudan between the Government and the opposition. South Sudanese refugees have continued to flee into Uganda since and their number stands at more than 1 million as of January 2018 (UNHCR, 2018a).

Challenges of refugee protection

As a top refugee hosting country in Africa and the world, Uganda is faced with a number of challenges as it receives and protects refugees. In addition, Uganda is struggling to provide services to her own population. Interrogating the challenges affecting Uganda is important in understanding the quality and quantity of protection of refugees on her soil.

These challenges are one way of understanding the burden faced by poor refugee hosting countries. The presence of refugees comes with economic, environmental, security, political and diplomatic challenges that influence the decisions and policies on refugees. For example, states might adopt restrictive refugee policies in an attempt to mitigate these burdens. Also donor countries and humanitarian agencies are able to appreciate the magnitude of the problems and look for ways to support host countries. Under the principle of burden sharing, states have obligations of supporting each other to meet the needs of refugees. This section interrogates the challenges of refugee protection: increase in refugee numbers, protracted refugee situation, limited resources and little international support and security and environmental burden.

Increase in refugee numbers

One of the significant challenges facing Uganda is the increase in refugee numbers. Uganda is located in an unstable region where conflicts continue to generate refugees. The conflicts in South Sudan, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Somalia and Burundi are responsible for considerable refugee flows into Uganda. For example, the South Sudan conflict has generated more than 1 million refugees to Uganda (UNHCR, 2018). Uganda is projected to host around 1.8 million refugees by December 2018 (UNICEF, 2017). The increase in refugee numbers is putting much pressure on the country's resources and social services. The Guardian reported that "… the unprecedented influx from South Sudan

coupled with food shortage, drought and high unemployment means that hospitality is waning, especially in some areas where refugees now outnumber the indigenous populations" (The Guardian, 2017). The same challenge has been reported by the Uganda Government, United Nations and UNHCR. Thus, "The unprecedented surge in refugee numbers and the protracted stay of refugees in Uganda is imposing excessive pressure on overstretched state and host community resources" (Government of Uganda, United Nations and UNHCR, 2017: 7).

The increase in refugee numbers also threatens government policy of allocating land to refugees. Given that land is a fixed resource, and the already high population growth in Uganda, it is highly unlikely that this model of land allocation can be sustained in the long run (Ahaibwe and Ntale 2018). Already government has reduced the size of land given to the new arrivals of South Sudanese refugees. According to Ahaibwe and Ntale (2018), "Land size per refugee household has already been reduced from 50 × 50 m to about 30 × 30 m in order to accommodate new arrivals." This situation gets worse with the continuous influx of refugees fleeing conflicts in neighboring countries. Reducing the size of land given to refugees will negatively affect the self-reliance strategy where refugees are required to grow their own food and supplement the rations distributed by humanitarian agencies.

Furthermore, the increase in refugee numbers has the potential of causing tensions between refugees and host communities, as competition for land and social services increases (Relief web, 2018; Refugee Law Project, 2014). A similar observation was made by the EU Ambassador to Uganda who in January 2018 noted that it was only a matter of time before more violence spilled into the refugee settlements (Ahaibwe and Ntale, 2018).

Protracted refugee situations

UNHCR defines a protracted refugee situation as "one in which refugees find themselves in a long-lasting and intractable state of limbo. Their lives may not be at risk, but their basic rights and essential economic, social and psychological needs remain unfulfilled after years in exile. A refugee in this situation is often unable to break free from enforced reliance on external assistance" (UNHCR, 2004: 1). UNHCR further notes that a protracted refugee situation is one in which 25,000 or more refugees from the same nationality have been in exile for five or more years in developing countries (UNHCR, 2004: 2).

According to the World Bank (2016: 71), "Uganda is faced with a large number of refugees caught in protracted situations, unable to return to their countries of origin, sometimes for decades". It further argues that "most of the refugees in Uganda are in a situation of protracted displacement with limited prospects for a

durable solution" (World Bank, 2016: 6). Examples of refugees trapped in a protracted refugee situation in Uganda include Congolese, South Sudanese and Somalis. Other refugee nationalities like Rwandans, Burundians, Eritreans and Ethiopians have stayed in Uganda for long. However, their numbers are below 25,000, the UNHCR figure used in defining protracted refugee situations.

Protracted refugee situations present a challenge to countries of asylum hosting permanent refugees without any foreseeable solution to their plight. In a situation where international support is limited, host countries are faced with a dilemma of responding to the needs of refugees. They have responded by restricting refugee rights, encampment, restricting movement and employment (UNHCR, 2006: 114-115; Milner, 2009). Such an approach is a violation of refugee rights and an abdication of states from their international obligations (Milner, 2009; UNHCR, 2006).

Protracted refugee situations are fueled by the continuous conflicts and fruitless peace processes in countries of origin. In Burundi, the conflict has persisted with President Nkurunziza showing no signs of leaving power. There are signs which suggest that Nkurunziza is consolidating himself in power. A referendum that could keep him in power until 2034 is being planned in May 2018 (Daily Nation, 2018). All this is happening as the peace process under the mediation and facilitation of President Museveni of Uganda and former President Benjamin Mkapa of Tanzania has stalled (Kasaija, 2016).

The conflict in South Sudan that erupted on 15th December 2013 has shown no signs of abating. Despite the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) led peace process to end the conflict, fighting continues in several parts of the country. The August 2015 peace agreement between South Sudan People's Movement/ Army in Government (SPLM/A) and forces loyal to former Vice President Riek Machar (South Sudan People's Movement/Army in Opposition) has been violated several times. All the developments leave little hope for the peaceful resolution of the conflict in South Sudan and the reduction of forced displacement.

The previous examples are a reminder that refugee movements and protracted refugee situations will continue in the near future as long as conflicts continue and peace processes do not bear fruit. It also means that the search for durable solutions like voluntary repatriation will remain a challenge.

Limited resources and little international support

Uganda has limited resources and little international support. Being a top refugee hosting country in Africa and the world, it faces demands in meeting the needs of a large number of refugees. In fact Uganda's open-door asylum policy and progressive development-oriented

model presents a challenge, requiring additional international support. The unprecedented surge in refugee numbers and the protracted stay of refugees is imposing excessive pressure on overstretched state and host community resources (Government of Uganda, United Nations and UNHCR, 2017: 7). On the other hand, Uganda has one of the fastest growing populations in the world at an annual growth rate of 3.28% by 2018 (World Population Review, 2018). This means that Uganda also faces major challenges of meeting the demands of its nationals.

As already mentioned, one of the principles of refugee protection is burden sharing where states assist each other in looking after refugees (Milner, 2000). According to Amnesty International, "In line with international human rights and refugee law, states have obligations to provide support to each other to host refugees. This is known as the principle of responsibility sharing" (Amnesty International, 2017: 5). This principle makes it possible to ease the burden of hosting refugees, especially in developing countries.

However, this principle of responsibility sharing has been overlooked by states especially the developed North. Developing countries are faced with large refugee numbers amidst declining international support. Amnesty International argues that "It is a principle that has been undermined by repeated failures of the international community in recent years to support countries hosting large numbers of refugees. Uganda, and the refugees of South Sudan, has become the latest victims of a collective and shameful failure of international cooperation" (Amnesty International, 2017: 5). "By far the most significant challenge that Uganda's refugee response faces is the major shortfall in funding support from the international community" (Amnesty International, 2017: 16).

The UNHCR appeals for refugee funding have received little support. Amnesty International (2017: 16) observes that "donors have also repeatedly failed to provide sufficient funding to the UN humanitarian appeals for refugees in Uganda. As humanitarian appeals remain underfunded, the risks and vulnerabilities of refugees get worse as well as pressures on domestic resources" (Government of Uganda, United Nations and UNHCR, 2017). A number of examples show the dismal response to humanitarian appeals. In 2017 the UNHCR appealed for USD 674 Million for the South Sudan refugee crisis in Uganda but by January 2018 only 34% of this had been realized (World Vision, 2018: 1).

In June 2017, the Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni and the UN Secretary General Antonio Guterres co-hosted the Refugee Solidarity Summit in Kampala, hoping to use the occasion to get the attention of the international community to raise $2 billion for the support of refugees and host communities in Uganda. The summit came at a time when there were increasing numbers of refugees coming into the country and a declining amount

of resources to cater for their needs as well as increased social economic pressures on the communities that host them"(Ruhakana, 2017). But they only managed to get only $358 million (Relief web, 2018). This means that 82.3 percent of the target of two billion dollars is yet to be realized (Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung and Young Leaders Think Tank, 2017:9).

Also, "the Ugandan chapter of the South Sudan 2017 Regional Refugee Response Plan of USD 673.2 million, is only 17% funded; and ReHoPE, the component that is implemented through UN agencies has a funding gap of USD 104 million out of USD 213 million for 2017" (Government of Uganda, United Nations and UNHCR, 2017: 7). Therefore, "the dismal response from the international community has put a severe strain on Uganda, the UN and non-governmental organizations' ability to meet the needs of the refugees" (Amnesty International, 2017: 5).

As Muthoni Wanyeki, Amnesty Regional Director for East Africa, the Horn and the Great Lakes has lamented, "By failing to share responsibility with Uganda, donor countries are failing to protect thousands of refugees' lives; which is an obligation under international law." (Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung and Young Leaders Think Tank, 2017: 9).

The UN High Commissioner for Refugees Filippo Grandi has summed up the challenge facing Uganda especially with an increase in South Sudanese refugees: "We are at breaking point. Uganda cannot handle Africa's largest refugee crisis alone. The lack of international attention to the suffering of the South Sudanese people is failing some of the most vulnerable people in the world when they most desperately need our help" (Government of Uganda and UNHCR, 2017).

Security and environmental burdens

Uganda also faces security and environmental burdens of hosting refugees. On security, refugees pose direct and indirect threats for the host countries. James Milner distinguishes between these direct and indirect threats. "First there are direct threats from 'refugee warriors' and armed exiles causing a 'spill-over' of conflict…. The direct threat, posed by the spill-over of conflict and refugee warriors, is by far the strongest link between forced migration and conflict. Secondly, there are indirect threat posed by refugees, through altering, either the levels of 'grievance' or the 'opportunity structure' in a country of asylum" (Milner, 2000: 17).

From Milner's analysis, direct security threats come as a result of refugee warriors and armed exiles engaging in rebel and military activities on the territory of the host state. This brings in retaliation from the country of origin in attempts to neutralize the security threats posed by the armed refugee groups. This can lead to regionalization of conflicts.

Examples are the Rwandan invasion of Zaire in 1996 to neutralize the Interahamwe and ex-FAR living in refugee camps and Burundi's bombing of refugee camps in Western Tanzania to neutralize Hutu rebels. Uganda has experienced direct security threats as a result of refugees. In 1998, a Sudanese military Antonov aircraft bombed parts of Northern Uganda in trying to fight elements of the Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA) living in refugee camps. In 2003, the Rwandan government threatened to attack Nakivale and Oruchinga settlements on allegations that rebels were training from there (Ahimbisibwe, 2016: 873). There were rumors of massive deployment on the border with Uganda, which was denied by Rwanda although it confirmed that it would defend its security interests (Human Rights First, 2004: 24).

Among indirect security threats are refugees' involvement in crimes like theft, resource based conflicts, competition for employment with nationals among others (Milner, 2000). Among the notable causes of conflicts between refugees and host population is the competition for land. According to (Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung and Young Leaders Think Tank, 2017: 6), "The quantity of land, a major source of livelihood for refugees and nationals alike, has remained the same, causing scarcity of resources and increased tension among host communities".

Also, the host population in refugee hosting areas is suspicious that refugees are favored at the expense of the nationals. The World Bank notes that "in Nakivale and Rwamwanja refugee settlements, hostilities arose due to a suspicion that refugees were being favored by the government of Uganda at the expense of its citizens. In 2013, a settlement commandant was killed by members of the host population in Rwamwanja while reclaiming land from them to settle Congolese refugees" (World Bank, 2016: 29). Refugees and host populations have also accused each other of grazing on others' land and destruction of crops by animals (World Bank Report, 2016: 29).

Furthermore, refugees have an impact on the environment in the host areas. Refugees depend on the environment for firewood, construction poles, cultivation and fishing in lakes, rivers and swamps. This leads to the abuse of the environment especially where refugee numbers outnumber the available resources (Whitaker, 2002). One of the impacts of refugees in settlements is the cutting down of trees (Ahimbisibwe, 2015: 301). This can be observed in Nakivale, Oruchinga and Rwamwanja settlements in South Western Uganda. There are also reports of overfishing in Lake Nakivale in Nakivale settlement (Ahimbisibwe, 2015: 301). Similar cases of environmental degradation by refugees have been reported in Northern and North Western Uganda (The Guardian, 2017).

It is hard to conclude that some challenges are more difficult than others since they are interrelated. This paper has argued that there is a link between these challenges and tackling these challenges is a source of hope in

regard to the protection of refugees in Uganda. For example, increasing number of refugees has increased refugees in protracted situations thus insufficient funding to refugees welfare due to overwhelming numbers and these have a diverse impact on environment as well as security. In addition, due to Uganda's open policy to refugees, it is difficult to control refugees. As long as the number of refugees remains high, mitigating these challenges might be challenging itself. However all hopes are not lost as the next section elucidates.

Opportunities for refugee protection

While a number of challenges exist, there are also positive developments allowing hope that refugee protection will improve in the coming years. Despite the reduction of the asylum space in the world today and challenges faced by asylum countries, Uganda has kept its borders open to many refugees fleeing persecution. This indicates that the country's resilience continues amidst the challenges. However, as already pointed out above, "this open door" policy to refugees can only survive if the international community is willing to shoulder its responsibilities and support developing countries that host millions of refugees as it is a case for Uganda, the third largest host state (UNHCR, 2018).

One of the measures would be burden sharing where the international community works closely with host states. Areas of cooperation can be supporting states in providing security to refugees through police training, facilitation of police in terms of allowances, strengthening the rule of law in refugee hosting areas, disarming and separating armed elements from genuine civilian refugees and maintaining the civilian and humanitarian character of asylum. There is need to address indirect security threats associated with refugees by promoting co-existence, harmony and good relations between refugees and local hosts. With the increasing xenophobia against refugees across the world, attention should be focused on working with states to make refugees more acceptable in the host communities. Such initiatives can include joint projects and sharing of resources and services like schools, health centers, water sources and roads. All these require sustainable funding that can be provided by donor countries and agencies.

The international community can also support host countries through the allocation of more resettlement quotas to refugees. With the increasing challenges of finding durable solutions to protracted refugee situations, Western countries need to provide more resettlement possibilities to refugees in the global south. This strategy can help in reducing the large numbers of refugees and also take them away from "the conflict theatre". Refugees normally start armed rebellion across borders in neighboring countries. Resettling them to Western countries can help prevent these armed conflicts.

Furthermore, for these positive developments to be effective and take root, it is important to address the root causes of refugees and forced displacement. Most important is the need to work closely with countries of origin and address the root causes of exile. More effort should be put on peaceful resolution of conflicts, promotion of human rights, democratization, rule of law, support to civil society, building state institutions, reconciliation, promotion of development and the strategies for addressing poverty and income inequalities. These measures can help in resolving forced displacement and sustaining changes in the countries of origin to support the voluntary repatriation of refugees, which is the most durable solution.

The new refugee and host population empowerment framework (ReHoPE)

The Refugee and Host Population Empowerment (ReHoPE) Strategic Framework is a transformative strategy and approach to bring together a wide range of stakeholders in a harmonized and cohesive manner to ensure more effective programming (Government of Uganda, United Nations and World Bank, 2017: vii). It is a response to specific challenges faced in delivering protection and achieving social and economic development for both refugee and host communities. It supports the Government of Uganda's integration of refugees into the National Development Plan II (NDPII, 2015/2016 to 2019/2020), through the Settlement Transformation Agenda (STA), thereby making the refugees part and parcel of the national development agenda (Government of Uganda, United Nations and World Bank, 2017: vii).

ReHoPE is a key component in the application of the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF), as stipulated in the New York Declaration on Refugees and Migrants (19 September 2016). It is a key building block of a comprehensive response to displacement in Uganda, led by the Government of Uganda and the UN, in partnership with the World Bank, donors, development partners, national and international nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), civil society, and the private sector, among others (Government of Uganda, United Nations and World Bank, 2017: vii).

ReHoPE offers an opportunity where refugees and host communities' needs will be addressed. As noted above, it is common to hear of complaints by host communities that government and humanitarian agencies focus more on the refugees. This has caused conflicts between refugees and their hosts. The ReHoPE framework puts the interests of local hosts at the center of refugee programming, planning and policy making. This opens the perspective that refugees' and local hosts' resilience and self-reliance will be strengthened in line with local and national development priorities. There is also hope that refugee-host relations will be improved and that refugees become more acceptable to the local hosts.

Kiranda et al. (2017: 12) argue that "through this initiative, host communities and refugees are envisaged to build strong social ties and create a better environment for economic engagement". Gradually, surrounding districts where refugee settlements are located have started to witness improvements in public service delivery in sectors such as health and education for both the host communities and the refugees (Kiranda et al., 2017: 12). Overall, this is likely to facilitate refugee protection and integration in Uganda.

Progressive refugee regimes

Another opportunity is the fact that Uganda has progressive refugee policies and laws, in comparison to her neighbors and other African countries. Although Uganda's refugee policies and laws are not without limitations, there is a consensus that the country is overall hospitable and open to refugees. The country has been praised worldwide, including the Pope during his visit to Uganda in November 2015 (Williams, 2015). Such international recognition of Uganda's policies and efforts is an opportunity for refugees.

One of the strategies in the management of refugees is the Self-Reliance Strategy (SRS). UNHCR defines self-reliance as the ability of an individual, household or community to depend (rely) on their own resources (physical, social and natural capital or assets), judgment and capabilities with minimal external assistance in meeting basic needs. It is understood to mean that refugees are able to provide for themselves, their household and community members in terms of food and other needs, including shelter, water, sanitation, health and education, and that they can cope with unexpected events, and are no longer dependent on outside assistance under normal circumstances (2004e: 64).

Dryden-Peterson and Hovil (2004: 29) note that "the SRS was jointly designed by the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM) and UNHCR Uganda in May 1999, the culmination of a process that officially began in 1998". The SRS came as a result of the need to respond to the protracted nature of refugee situations in the late 1990s especially the Sudanese refugees in West Nile and Northern parts of Uganda. It was later extended to other refugee settlements.

The self-reliance strategy has been praised worldwide as one of the most progressive refugee policies. According to the United Nations Development Programme (2017: 2), "Uganda is praised for its progressive refugee hosting policy. Refugees in Uganda do not live in camps. Instead, they live in settlements and are provided plots of land for agricultural use to achieve self-reliance. This policy extends to all refugees, regardless of ethnicity or country of origin".

However, this self-reliance strategy has been criticized. For example, Schiltz and Titeca (2017) argue that land given to refugees is too small to provide a decent living to the refugees and the local population still officially owns

them. As a result, refugees are constantly feeling uncertain about their future in Uganda. Despite some of the short comings of this strategy, it is still the best compared to the encampment policy of a number of countries where refugees are hosted in camps with several human rights restrictions.

Furthermore, Uganda's refugee management is guided by the 2006 Refugees Act and the 2010 Refugee Regulations. These laws grant legal protection to refugees who are entitled to a number of rights that include the right to own property, freedom of movement and right to work. Other rights include right of association as regards non-political and non-profit making associations, right to access courts of law including legal assistance under the applicable laws of Uganda, rights of refugee children and of women refugees.

According to UNDP, "these rights and entitlements offer refugees a pathway to establish their own livelihoods and attain some level of self-reliance, thereby becoming progressively less reliant on humanitarian assistance" (United Nations Development Programme, 2017: 2).

The World Bank (2016: vii) shares the same view: "Uganda's refugee laws are among the most progressive in the world. Refugees and asylum seekers are entitled to work; have freedom of movement; and can access Ugandan social services, such as health and education".

This view has also been highlighted by another report. It is noted that, "Uganda's progressive legal framework has other impressive aspects: (1) opening Uganda's door to all asylum seekers irrespective of their nationality or ethnic affiliation; (2) granting refugees relative freedom of movement, administrative permits to leave and return to their designated settlements, and the right to seek employment; (3) providing prima facie asylum for refugees of certain nationalities; and (4) giving a piece of land to each refugee family for their own exclusive (agricultural) use" (Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung and Young Leaders Think Tank, 2017: 9).

It has been argued elsewhere that although Uganda has progressive refugee policies and laws, there is a gap in practice. Not all refugees are treated in a manner consistent with the country's obligations. For example, Rwandan refugees have faced restrictions in cultivation, reduction of food rations and forced repatriations. Their rights have been violated: rights to life, liberty and security of person, asylum and non-refoulement (Ahimbisibwe, 2015; 2016; 2017a; 2017b). These refugee laws and policies can only be an opportunity if Uganda respects them in theory and practice and treats refugees equally.

Refugee economy

For long, refugees have been looked at as a burden to host countries. All that is mentioned is how refugees are economic, environmental, security and diplomatic burdens. However, this view neglects the contribution that refugees make to host communities. It is this

contribution that should be seen as an opportunity by host countries.

According to Jacobsen (2002: 577), "while refugees impose a variety of security, economic and environmental burdens on host countries, they also embody a significant flow of resources in the form of international humanitarian assistance, economic assets and human capital". Jacobsen further argues that "these material, social and political resources, which she calls 'refugee resources', potentially represent an important state building contribution to the host state. Refugee resources may help develop areas of the country, increase the welfare of citizens and extend the bureaucratic reach of the state" (Jacobsen, 2002: 578).

Jacobsen reminds us that "refugees themselves bring human capital in the form of labor, skills and entrepreneurship and they are conduits of remittance flows" (Jacobsen, 2002: 578). This is similar to what Whitaker found in Tanzania, namely that "refugees also represented a source of cheap labor for Tanzanian villages. Local farmers generally hired refugees to do agricultural work, but also to build houses, tend to livestock and fetch water or firewood. Wages varied depending on the distance from the camps and the type of work. Nearly three-quarters of the time, refugees were paid with food instead of money" (Whitaker, 2002: 341).

According to Betts et al. (2017), "Evidence in the refugee settlements suggests that refugees are innovative and enterprising. They have skills, talents and aspirations". In fact refugees make a contribution to the Ugandan economy. "One of the most visible ways in which refugees directly contribute to the Ugandan host economy is by exercising their purchasing power. Refugees are regular customers of Ugandan businesses both in Kampala and the settlement areas" (Betts et. al., 2014: 16).

It has been argued elsewhere that refugees own hotels, bars, shops which are used by both refugees and host population. Refugees apart from providing manual labor, they also employ Ugandans in Nakivale settlement. There was evidence that refugees contributed to the local economy of Nakivale settlement, Isingiro district and the neighboring areas (Ahimbisibwe, 2015). This also takes place in other refugee settlements in Uganda. Betts et al. (2014) argue that host countries need to tap into the talents, skills and resources of refugees. Refugees are an opportunity to host countries. Rather than assuming a need for indefinite care and maintenance, interventions should nurture such refugee capacities. This is likely to involve improved opportunities for education, skills development, access to microcredit and financial markets, business incubation, and improved internet access, for example.

Engagement with donors

Another positive development is Uganda's engagement with donors to support refugees. As mentioned above, the country organized the refugee solidarity summit in June 2017 aimed at raising 2 Billion US Dollars. Although only $358 million was mobilized leaving a big deficit, the summit has provided a foundation for more engagement with donors. Uganda has been able to raise the issue of refugees at the international level. Such summits are necessary as a resource mobilization strategy under the principle of burden sharing.

It is important to note that developing countries host more than 80% of the world's refugees. This burden cannot be met only by the countries in the south. The rich countries in the north need to meet their obligations and provide support to refugees. Uganda has received support from among others, United States, Germany, Japan, Belgium, the European Union, Denmark, Norway, France, Italy and the United Kingdom. Such support is a positive sign of burden sharing if Uganda is to sustainably host and manage refugees. More donor support is required to cater for the increasing number of refugees.

Role of civil society

Refugee protection is not a state or UNHCR issue alone. Refugee protection requires a combined effort of all the stakeholders including civil society. The NGOs, Community Based Organizations, the churches, media, professional bodies, the business community among others have a responsibility in supporting refugees. Civil society can mobilize resources to support government and UNHCR efforts, raise awareness about the plight of refugees, engage in advocacy and speak on behalf of the voiceless refugees.

In Uganda, civil society's role in refugee affairs continues to grow. For example, NGOs have interventions, programmes and projects in refugee settlements. A number of NGOs are implementing partners of UNHCR in the refugee settlements where they assist in providing assistance and services to the refugees.

The churches are one of the actors with potential to assist refugees. For example it was reported in the New Vision of 6th March 2018 that the Seventh Day Adventist Church was fundraising for Congolese refugees in Uganda (Mubiru, 2018). The Catholic and Anglicans churched have also mobilized support for refugees. Caritas and Catholic relief services are both organizations of the Catholic Church that have provided humanitarian assistance to refugees in Uganda. The churches have also urged their followers to welcome refugees especially in the refugee hosting areas.

These messages by religious leaders are encouraging and make refugees feel welcome. Since churches have influence on their followers, they have the potential of improving refugee-host relations.

In addition, the media in Uganda has been instrumental

in reporting and writing about refugees. For example, the New Vision and Daily Monitor newspapers have been consistently writing stories and editorials on refugees. The television stations like NTV, NBS, and UBC also report and hold talk shows on refugees. This is a positive development since it sensitizes host communities about refugees, their rights, protection and the country's obligations.

The business community has started supporting refugees. For example, in January 2018, MTN, a telecommunication company has given 1 billion Uganda shillings to the government to support refugees. HAI Agency Uganda Limited in collaboration with development partners and support from Ugandan government have championed a national multi-stakeholder humanitarian campaign dubbed 'Run for Refugees' (R4R) aimed at rallying countrywide local humanitarian support to complement government and development partner efforts to provide for the needs of refugees and hosting communities (Mulemba, 2018). The Run for Refugees and host communities 2018 will involve two marathons starting with Arua on 20th May for the West Nile humanitarian group and 10th June for Kampala (Mulemba, 2018). A number of businesses companies have supported this fundraising drive. There is a potential for the business community to support refugee operations in Uganda.

Much as this paper recognizes the opportunities in existence in Uganda to spur refugee protection and integration, the burden still remains on refugee welfare as local hosts expect to benefit from humanitarian support given to the refugees. This is the only way refugees can co-exist with the host communities. The opportunities discussed above have been tested in other areas and sectors as well. For example, MTN has organized and participated in several marathons including to support the health sector in Uganda for example in November 2018, MTN organized a marathon to combat exposure of school going children to cancer from asbestos and improving maternal health at Kiswa and Komambogo health centres (Gahene 2017)

Over the last 13 years, the telecom company has supported causes like improving sanitation in Kampala, providing water facilities to the Karamoja sub-region and provision of "mama" delivery kits in Northern Uganda through marathons (https://pctechmag.com/2017/11/the-14th-annual-mtn-kampala-marathon-raised-600-million-ugx-towards-charity/).

Conclusion

This article has argued that although Uganda has been praised as a generous country with progressive refugee policies and laws that reflect the country's national, regional and international obligations, a number of challenges ranging from increasing refugee numbers, protracted refugee situations, limited resources and little

international support threaten its hospitality to refugees. However, despite the challenges, there are some emerging opportunities which if seized could provide effective protection to the refugees.

The insights in this article have policy implications. There is need to understand why Uganda continues to be an open and hospitable country to refugees despite the various challenges. A country like Tanzania used to be an open country to refugees but has since changed and adopted restrictive asylum policies (Milner, 2013). One would expect Uganda to behave the same way and adopt less welcoming refugee policies. This however has not happened. Apart from countries in the south, the asylum space continues to narrow in the developed countries. Developed countries that have resources have adopted policies that restrict entry, stay and protection of refugees. Insights from Uganda would help us understand its resilience and commitment towards refugees. This would offer some lessons to other refugee hosting countries on how to adopt "open door" refugee policies.

Lastly, policy makers at the international and regional levels need to engage with countries of origin and assist them in addressing the root causes of forced displacement. In most cases, conflicts are the leading cause of refugees. South Sudan, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Somalia, Rwanda and Burundi have been and are major refugees generating countries in the region. Although a number of actors have been engaged in the search for peace in these countries, more efforts are needed to achieve sustainable and durable peace. There is need to invest in conflict prevention and resolution. It is important to support peace building efforts in conflict affected countries. Where necessary, sanctions and other punitive measures should be put on parties fueling conflicts. In combination, all these strategies will help in addressing the burden of refugees in host countries.

CONFLICT OF INTERESTS

The author has not declared any conflict of interest

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Full Length Research Paper

Analysis of political parties' ideologies influencing public policy formulation in Uganda's Nascent Hydrocarbon Industry

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This study examined political parties' ideologies influencing public policy formulation in Uganda's nascent hydrocarbon industry. The study followed the four research objectives, research questions and hypotheses. The researcher applied a descriptive cross-sectional survey research design to guide the study. The research adopted both quantitative and qualitative approaches and data was collected from 218 respondents. The researcher collected both quantitative and qualitative data which was analyzed using descriptive and inferential statistics and thematic content analysis, respectively. The findings of the study have shown that political ideology contributes to public policy formulation in Uganda's nascent hydrocarbon industry by 20.7% and it is significant (P=0.000). It can be concluded that political parties' ideology is an important determinant to public policy formulation. It is recommended that government should ensure the question of ideology is handled from primary education level to university because it is a key factor in public policy formulation. The government should re-introduce civic education in primary schools and political education in secondary and tertiary institutions.

Key words: Ideology, political parties, public policy formulation, hydrocarbons.

INTRODUCTION

Africa was viewed as a dark, backward and poor continent, but the current discoveries and investments in abundant natural resources especially with hydrocarbons presents a new economicparadigm shift (Hickey et al., 2015). The African continent is now a strategic trade partner with developed economies whose interests have generated new policy and political debates in the young hydrocarbon industry (Taylor, 2006). Africa remains a critical continent to America, Europe and Asian countries in terms of its rich mineral wealth (Padayachee, 2010).

The survival of global the economy is dependent on African natural resources. Ahmadov (2011) explains that the scramble for African natural resources is not over and imperialists have adopted new strategies of funding political parties to influence political, economic and social policies that favour their interests. The nascent hydrocarbon industry has attracted great attention in global geopolitics. The second scramble and partition is specific to oil-rich countries in the world. Countries across the globe depend on fossil fuels for economic growth

(Hole, 2014). Powerful countries like: USA, Russia, China, France, UK and German continue to dominate global politics through their foreign policies, aid and business partnerships (Mercedes, 1998). Apparently, the oil and gas companies have become instrumental in championing the trade interests of great nations in nascent democracies (Tordo et al., 2011). It is, therefore, imperative for Uganda to venture into the hydrocarbon business with caution otherwise global politics may endanger her peace and security.

Problem statement

The relationship between political parties' ideologies and policy formulation in Uganda remains a challenge. The ruling party advances a more radical ideological stance with references to patriotism, nationalism and Pan-Africanism. The opposition parties tend to be socialist or conservative leaning. These conflicting ideological stances have influenced public policy formulation to the advantage of National Resistance Movement (NRM) and thus the Executive. The party manifestos reflect the ideological stances of the political parties which have favoured the Executive and as a result given disadvantage to parliament in policy formulation. In the foregoing, this study interrogated the influence of ideology of political parties in the formulation of policies for the nascent hydrocarbon industry.

Research objective

This examines how ideologies of political groupings affect public policy formulation process in Uganda's nascent hydrocarbon industry.

Research question

How do ideologies of political groups affect public policy formulation in nascent hydrocarbon industry in Uganda?

Hypothesis

H_0: Political parties' ideologies do not influence public policy formulation in nascent hydrocarbon industry in Uganda.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Political ideology was first used in 1797 by a French theorist *Destutt de Tracy,* who introduced this term as a newly conceived science in opposition of the subject of metaphysics. Scholars like H.M. Drucker argue that

ideology refutes one set of ideals and justifies another irrespective of the fact that a critic may call a particular ideology as a 'utopia' or a false consciousness. The idea may also be in the form of an explanation of some fact, or a justification of some claim or a quest for some truth, or a manifestation of some conviction and so on. Keeping all these dimensions in view, an eminent writer says:

"I take ideology to be any more or less systematic set of ideas about man's place in nature, in society, and in history, that is, in relation to particular societies, which can elicit the commitment of significant number of people to or against political change. This does not exclude a set of ideas essentially concerned with merely a class or a nation, if it relates the place and needs of that section of humanity to the place of man in general".

Thus, liberalism, conservatism, democracy in various senses, Marxism, populism, Nkurumahism, Pan-Africanism and various nationalisms are all ideologies. Ideologies contain in varying proportions, elements of explanation of fact and history, justification of demands, and faith or belief in the ultimate truth or rightness of their case (Johari, 1987).

Scholars like Feldman and Johnston (2014), Gagnon (2015), and Koduah et al. (2015) refer to ideology to mean beliefs, values, and tenets that inspire parties to adopt a particular philosophy and alignment. Ideology serves as pathfinder's public policy formulation process. But Martin (2015) refuted the aforementioned submission and contends that political ideology gives mandates to party leaders to adopt a policy agenda that respond to citizen needs.

Dijk (2000) explains that ideology helps to maintain the system of power relations. It is determinant in guiding the policy agenda, nature of political party organization, provides a framework for political action and a framework for the identification of allies and enemies in politics (Okoli and Onah, 2002). It worth noting that ideology aids formation of political alliances and coalitions. In developed democracies, ideology is used as a major strategy to bring warring parties together.

Gudelis (2011) provides a genesis on the evolution of political ideology citing Europe as a cradle land for political party ideological development. Brenner and Inbar (2014) argue that ideology is more feasible in modern democracies. According to Turner (2007), political ideologies evolved in the eighteenth century in France but were highly frustrated in the 1950s and the 1960s. But Ugarriza (2009) explained that political ideologies remained as symbols of the cold war defining which bloc to belong to until the 1980s and the 1990s when political ideologies could no longer guide political direction of the majority of political parties. The fall of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic became a turning point in the influence of socialism as an ideology (Swain, 2010). In countries like Cuba, Russia, USA, UK, Israel and China, political

parties cherish their ideologies and, therefore, influence public policy formulation. In Africa, political parties in countries like: South Africa, Tanzania, Ghana, Zimbabwe, Malawi and Ethiopia are still strong due to the established ideologies anchored to Pan-Africanism and patriotism. In Uganda, Museveni being a student of Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, has embraced Pan-Africanism and patriotism and this seems to be guiding the policy direction of Uganda (Otunnu, 2017). It worth noting that in many young democracies, political parties are formed out of convenience and their survival is dependent on personality and alliances formed for the sake of winning elections but without a clear political agenda.

In the United States, political parties are categorized according to political ideologies (Hans, 2013). The Democratic and Republican parties are ideologically flexible and occupy the center of the mainstream of American politics (Kim and Fording, 2003). The Republican and Democratic political parties are sometimes called "broker" parties and get more votes and such flexibility has helped the two parties to build strong party coalitions and alliances that draw voters to support their agendas who could have otherwise joined minor parties (Balliet, 2018).

On the contrary, political party ideologies have declined and no longer influence actions of political parties (Desposato, 2006). The lack of political ideology affects voter turnout and causes political corruption, mistrust among party members and internal party conflicts. However, this argument could not be sustained because in other countries like: the USA, UK, Germany, France, Russia, China and Cuba, politics is strongly aligned to political parties and political ideologies greatly influence the political landscape of the country's policy making process (Swain, 2010). The relevance of political party ideology brings party members together in a coherent manner and helps to define the party principles and values (Hardy, 2011). Political parties without defined ideology will hardly survive the test of time because they lack the guiding principles for party members. Political ideology enhances party cohesion and promotes party culture. The emerging trend of independent candidates and party alliances/coalitions are as a result of ideological disorientation. Nation building and political development for any given country is a process and this calls for political discipline among political actors in the policy process (Giorgis, 2010). In Uganda, political development and nation building have remained a challenge and scholars comparing Uganda and politics in developed democracies are short of these factors (Golooba-Mutebi, 2008). Studies carried out by these scholars have remained academic with little or no practical solutions to Uganda's political and policy development.

Alemán and Tsebelis (2011) explain that political parties in the U.S. have failed to provide a clear position about their political party ideological orientation. The difference between the major political parties and political ideologies is far from a perfect match. The hybrid ideological traits that manifest in both the Republican and Democratic parties make it extremely hard to differentiate between the two parties given the fact that the Liberal Republicans and Conservative Democrats also exist and belong to the two parties (Balliet, 2018). During National elections, it is always hard to differentiate between Liberals, Conservatives and Moderates and as such, there would be bitter attacks between political rivals during elections. During elections, voters pay more attention to individual candidate's views than party ideology and manifestos. Politics in the U.S. and other developed democracies can be assessed based on their political history (Archna, 2006). Comparing Ugandan politics and politics in developed democracies is not intellectually fair and countries should be segmented based on their political history. Many factors explain political and economic underdevelopment in Africa and Uganda in particular but this research was intended to guide future political and economic development. Current studies have concentrated on why political parties fail to deliver on their mandate. Thin literature exists to explain political underdevelopment in Uganda.

Many American citizens do not understand the difference between Conservatives, Moderates and Liberalists and political differences between the Republicans and Democrats and the teaching of Social Studies students by the political spectrum in America is aimed at providing an insight of how political ideology influences the country's domestic and foreign policies and laws (Palak et al., 2005). The conservatives embrace capitalism and support government interventions in economic development and policies that address social conduct viewed as harmful to citizens. The conservatives strongly oppose affirmative action, promote strong penalties and reasons that government should resist moral relativism inherent in modern American society (Arrighi, 2002).

Liberalists support and advocate governmental intervention in economic realms and argue that government should not regulate private social conduct (Hetherington, 2006). The Moderates are a hybrid of the Conservatism and Liberalism traits in political ideological orientation and this explains why political parties and political ideologies in the American political spectrum are characterized by Liberal Republicans and Conservative Democrats (Grossmann and Hopkins, 2015).

Gudelis (2011) presents a different view and argues that, the link between political parties and political ideology in modern democracies is on the decline. Political ideologies which evolved in the eighteenth century in France were highly frustrated in the 1950s and 1960s and remained as just symbols of cold war defining which Bloc to belong to (Schumacher, 2014). The period between the 1980s and 1990s also witnessed dysfunctional trends between political ideologies and political parties where political ideology could no longer

guide the political direction the majority of parties (Wills et al., 2017). This trend continues to grow and traditional political parties no longer win elections in Africa. In Uganda, DP and UPC are dormant parties with thin membership and operations. In Kenya, KANU is in shambles with its members shifting membership and establishing alliances for convenience to win elections (Oyugi et al., 2003). It is no doubt that political parties that helped to usher African countries into political independence are literally weak and unable to influence the political, social and economic policy direction of their countries.

In Africa, ideologies of political parties have not had much influence on public policy formulation (Settles and McGaskey, 1996). Political ideology changed course during colonial and post-colonial eras. The African nationalists adopted Pan-Africanism as a way to strongly agitate for political independence (Geiss, 1974). Pan-African nationalists adopted nationalism ideology as a means to unite Africans in pursuit of political independence and liberation from colonial rule (Mazrui, 1967). It also aimed at uniting African ethnic communities divided by political colonial boundaries as one people under common values and principles. However, Pan-Africanism has been embraced by few countries and leaders in Africa. Countries like Ghana, Tanzania, Uganda, Kenya, South Africa and Congo had a good history of Pan-Africanism under African Nationalists with strong political parties like: CCP, UPC, TANU, ZANU, KANU, and ANC. It is unfortunate to note that apart from ANC, and ZANU, many of these political parties are struggling to survive. The African Union (AU) has tried to establish a Pan-African Parliament, but its influence is not only limited in scope, but also in content. President Museveni of Uganda tries to keep the dream of African Nationalists through promotion of Pan-Africanism and Patriotism, but he seems to understand it alone. Political ideology has influence on public policy process and programmes undertaken by a particular government (Salviana, 2014). In developed democracies, candidates can differ in opinion but regardless of political affiliation will promote and defend the country's values and culture (Serrato and Carlos, 2008). In Africa, political parties are weak, and lack ideological orientation and policy direction.

Thompson (1992) argued that during the colonial period, there was no platform to discuss policy related matters concerning African socio-economic and political development. In many cases, colonial governments promoted their own ideologies like socialism, liberalism, and conservatism which promoted division of Africans and exploitation and plunder of African natural resources (Bamikole, 2012). The question of whether colonialists ended their economic interests in Africa is subject to political debate. The new scramble for Africa is now eminent due to the discovery of large amount of hydrocarbons.

Onuki et al. (2009) assert that political parties aided the struggle for political independence. This argument is not sustainable and leaves many to wonder if it is true there is peace in Africa. African countries are characterized by intra and inter-state conflicts. Many countries are struggling to address issue of conflicts which has become costly to settle, making the refugee problem become a global concern. The wars in countries like: Uganda, Congo, Somalia, Mali, Nigeria, South Sudan, Sudan, Rwanda, Burundi, Liberia, Angola and Central African Republic confirm this fact. Tornberg (2012) argues that political parties are equally blamed for ethnic division and genocide in Africa. In Uganda, political parties are blamed for political turmoil and upheavals that divided Ugandans along party lines.

Kelly (2004) attests that political parties perform functions like; organize party structures, recruit members, mobilize resources to fund party activities, operations, and above all, choose party leaders to either lead the party or as candidates to compete in local and national elections. However, these political party functions seem not to be practical given the fact that many parties are dysfunctional (Wright and Schaffner, 2007). Political parties' operations in Africa are generally weak and their roles in the political arena are limited. According to Volpi (2017), political parties suffer from the exodus of party members to other parties or presenting themselves as independent candidates during elections and in any case, this should concern leaders of political parties.

Brenner and Inbar (2014) affirm that political parties have failed to explain their ideologies to the masses and only the elite have knowledge of why the parties' groupings were formed. Juma and Onkware (2015) argue that while many political parties have not abandoned ideological rhetoric outright, electoral choices are most usually based on individual personal characteristics, ethnic and other affective identities, and patronage promises.

Scholars like Stewart (2009) argue that in most democracies ideology affects the policy process. Tausanovitch and Warshaw (2018) argue that political ideology greatly shapes the policy environment of any country and programs for adoption by any given government. Governments are value-based and public policy formulation involves issues that are value based. Political ideology guides any political party to assert its relevancy in policy making process. However, this is possible where there are developed systems and political institutions. But in countries where there is no political certainty and continuity, this remains a guesswork and mythical.

Tausanovitch and Warshaw (2018) explain that policy relevancy require policy research, engagement and consultations with policy experts to identify policy demands, articulate policy alternatives, evaluate policy options and programmes for government action. The policy platform could be used for consultation and policy

engagement between different stakeholders in the policy formulation process. Political party ideology provides that there are differing values, beliefs and cultures that could affect the policy process and, therefore, guidance towards policy action is a prerequisite to attaining policy position. Human beings are not homogenous and have divergent opinions and greed. The massive movement in membership between parties is a result of disagreements between members in political parties. White (2018) argues that the lack of strict party rules and constitutions renders political parties vulnerable and most often the parties lose members to other well facilitated and promising parties where they can access political leadership positions and resources. It is on record in Uganda that members of opposition currently serve as Cabinet and State Ministers in the 10th Parliament.

Cross and Blaise (2012) opines that political parties' ideologies will continue to serve as a tool of policy formulation and evaluation if there is coherence among differing political parties in the parliament of Uganda. It has been observed that political parties would influence public policy process if they won majority seats in parliament (Stadelmann et al., 2016). The opposition parties are engulfed in many internal and other challenges that make their operation difficult. Many political parties have a negligible number of seats in parliament and do not form a half of membership in Parliament (Hobolt and Tilley, 2016). This limits opportunities for dialogue and negotiation between the ruling party and opposition parties (Jahan, 2014). This could explain why Inter Party Dialogue meetings and the National Consultative Forum for political parties and political organisations have failed to yield any positive policy outcome and engagement in Uganda.

Hai (2013) argues that party ideology can be logically coherent with party policy proposals. Political parties use party ideology as an alternative approach to policy making. Political parties reconcile citizen opinions with party policy direction (Foos et al., 2017). Political opinions help address policy gaps if party leaders remain disciplined and adhere to party policy position. It is unfortunate to note that party leaders deviate from party policy position.

Tanaka (2007) asserts that political ideology promotes cohesion and trust. It promotes citizen participation, public accountability and transparency and pillars of good governance (Mandelbaum, 2011). Public engagement activities strengthen national purpose and common policy direction (Carroll and Kubo, 2018). However, it should be noted that civic education in Uganda is very weak and the public is kept in ignorance on issues of national importance (Cross and Young, 2008). Strong civic education platform can easily result in a revolution and therefore, government deliberately controls activities of civil societies. Civic education creates awareness in the public and the masses would demand government to account for her actions (Roy et al., 2009). Government

should adhere to principles of democracy and good governance and allow civil society organisations operate in a free and democratic political environment.

Koduah et al. (2015) contend that generation of sound policy alternatives depend on a country's political context and how this relates to planned development interventions to serve the needs of the people. Jinadu (2011) explains that ideology provides a platform for engagement, dialogue and negotiations between the party in power and opposition political parties to address citizens needs in form of policy options.

Scholars like Hetherington (2006) argue that credible policies depend on both the organisational and the individual political trust which transcends partisan and/or ideological attachments. Political demands will always emerge and it the responsibility of government to address them regardless of political affiliation and ideology. There are basic services like education, health, security and do not require much debate to fund them unless they are modified models and approaches to adopt.

Bernstorff (2007) explains that different institutions significantly affect the policy making process at agenda setting. Scholars like Adams et al. (2016) argue that parties develop party manifestos that define party policy proposals, present candidates for political leadership through elections, campaign on behalf of candidates to win elections, mobilise and recruit party members and work to influence public policies by providing policy alternatives.

Hillygus (2009) argues that political ideology greatly affects the voting pattern where parties have defined ideological orientation. Graham et al. (2016) confirm that political ideology influences the type of policy proposals and programmes the party would promote after winning an election as captured in party manifesto. But Lo et al. (2016) explained that it would be important if party manifesto captured important issues affecting the public, the party leaders provide simplified versions of the party manifesto for public scrutiny and voting based on issues that affect national development. It should, however, be observed that ideological orientation is an important determinant factor in policy development for any political party to succeed in influencing the mindset of the voters during elections.

According to Greaves et al. (2014), policy-makers in many countries are always guided by decisions of their party ideology. The political beliefs or ideologies greatly influence policy orientation and programs (Ngubane, 2014). Political ideology aids the survival of political parties and also makes them strong institutions with defined values. Political ideology shapes the nature of policy proposals and alternatives a particular political party adopts given their ideological orientation as conservatism, liberalism, and radicals that guide the policy direction of the country.

Turner (2007) argued that people would embrace political ideology to foster policy engagement. Political

Table 1. Sample size distribution.

Selected category of target population	Population (N_i)	Sample $n_i = \frac{N_i}{N} * n$
Leaders of NRMO, FDC, UPC and DP political parties	04	04
Leader of Government Business in Parliament	01	01
Speaker of Parliament	01	01
Leader of Opposition in parliament	01	01
Members of NRM in Parliament	329	146
Members of Central Executive Committee of NRM party	29	13
Members of FDC party in Parliament	35	15
National Executive committee members of FDC party	29	13
Members of DP in Parliament	15	07
National Executive committee members of DP party	31	14
Members of UPC party in Parliament	06	03
Scholars who have written extensively on politics and public policy in Uganda	9	4
Total	N=490	n= 218

Source: Researcher (2016).

engagement serves as a platform for policy debate, advocacy and dialogue that bring all political parties together with different interests, ideology and manifestos to strike a common position on policy direction the country should take to address issues of national importance. Pugh (2005) explains that political ideology serves as a foundation for political development and nation building.

The Pan-African Movement and socio-economic agenda have taken root and changed the policy direction in many African countries (Kumah-Abiwu and Ochwa-Echel, 2013). The new wave of Pan-Africanism and socio-economic transformation now dictate the policy positions on investment and political orientation not necessarily liberalism, socialism, conservatives and Democrats (Sylvester and Anthony, 2014). Political ideologies that could dictate government policies gained less prominence in modern political development (Brenner and Inbar, 2014). This can be explained by the increasing number of independent candidates at both national and local elections. Voters are no longer guided by the political ideology of their parties but most often by personality traits. In Uganda the independents who formerly belonged to registered political parties, later contested in elections on Independent ticket.

METHODOLOGY

The researcher adopted a descriptive cross-sectional survey design. This design was preferred because a survey research design is useful in collecting views from a large sample.(Mathers et al., 2013) explains that in a cross-sectional research study, the researcher selects respondents who differ on one key characteristic at one specific point in time. Since the researcher intends to obtain in-depth data about the political parties' ideology influence on public

policy formulation in Uganda's nascent hydrocarbon industry, survey research design was appropriate.

From the population of study of 490 that included members of parliament from four political parties in parliament detailed in Table 1 in accordance with Yamane formula (1967), the sample size of the study was 297 respondents and use of proportions was adopted.

From Table 1, the researcher considered a sample size of 218 respondents selected from a total population of 490.

The study employed probability and non-probability sampling techniques. These include simple random sampling and purposive sampling. The researcher applied simple random sampling to determine the sample size from the population. The researcher selected four political parties out of the 29 registered in Uganda. DP and UPC were selected based on their history in Uganda as old political parties formed before 1962, NRM was selected because it is currently in power and FDC was selected because it is the only vibrant opposition political party in Uganda. Different methods of measuring a party system's fragmentation can be employed. Aurel and Wolfgang (1998), cite different scholars to explain criteria followed to select political parties for a study. Chunga (2014) counts number of effective parties while using fractionalization index. According to Njoroge (2014), a party must satisfy two criteria in order to be counted as relevant. In the selected Members of Parliament, cluster sampling was employed. Purposive sampling as a sampling technique was also used when the researcher wanted to select key informants as recommended by (Amin, 2005). Using inclusion criteria, leaders of four political parties were considered in this study that included NRM, FDC, DP and UPC members of parliament.

The researcher used survey, interview and documentary review as data collection methods to collect both primary and secondary data. Secondary data included: textbooks, journals, government reports, unpublished thesis and The Hansard. While primary data was collected using questionnaires and interview guides. The researcher used a closed questionnaire drawn to a 5 likert scale. This study used interview method to collect data by directly questioning or talking to the respondents (Zohrabi, 2013). Some research questions were answered better when this method was used. The researcher conducted eight (8) interview sessions and interviews offered the researcher considerable flexibility and

respondents interviewed. Standardization of questions was maintained to increase data reliability and replication as much as possible. Content thematic analysis of the information generated was presented through narrations and verbatim quotes of the interviewees and key respondents (Green, 2014). Data were analyzed by making explanations and summaries. Quantitative data were analysed by using statistical tools to reduce the data, summarised them and make the most important facts and relationships apparent. Quantitative data from both the questionnaires and interviews were subjected to statistical analysis using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The findings were discussed and responses from quantitative data generated from administered questionnaires validated using triangulation which builds a relationship between ideologies and public policy formulation in Uganda's nascent hydrocarbon industry and the results are discussed with varied responses from structured interviews and documentary reviews.

Political party ideology and party cohesion

From Table 2, respondents gave varied views on sub-construct 'my political party has a defined political ideology'. The findings revealed that 82.4% of the respondents agreed, 16.1% strongly agreed while only 1.6% respondents disagreed. The results show that political parties have defined political ideologies. The calculated Mean (μ = 4.11, SD = 0.476) shows that political parties' ideologies are entrenched in the politics of Uganda and strongly influence public policy formulation in Uganda's nascent hydrocarbon industry. Hypothesis testing for the chi-square was computed and compared to a critical value. The critical values for the chi-square statistic were used to determine the level of significance (0.05) and degrees of freedom. Opinion given by respondents from different political parties was statistically computed using Pearson Chi-Square analysis ($\chi2$ =25.212, df=6, P=0.000). The theoretical value from the Pearson Chi-Square table at 5% level of significance and df=6 is 12.59. Since the calculated value is greater than theoretical value, it implies that the calculated value lies in the reject region. The region of rejection is all $\chi2$ values of $\chi2$ =25.212 or more. We therefore, reject H_0 represented by (i), accept H_1 and we say that 'my political party has a defined political ideology' had a significant relationship with respondents' political parties.

The findings indicate that not all political parties have a defined party ideology. The results are in agreement with Kakuba (2010) whose research findings revealed that government actions in provision of basic services highly influence voters' voting behaviour and not necessarily political ideology. The 1.6% response validates the study findings on whether ideology of parties influences public policy and voters' voting behaviour during elections.

Simba (2015) argues that Uganda got independence in 1962, with a fairly functioning multiparty system and three political parties were fairly strong, with an established social base. However, in the late 1960s, as part of the nation-building strategy then, there was a movement towards the establishment of a one party state and this interrupted political ideological development.

Kamp and Kiranda (2010) contend that when Amin was overthrown in 1979, Uganda made a second attempt towards a multiparty system. The second multiparty election in Uganda's history was conducted in 1980. Four political parties participated but still political party ideology did not have much impact to influence the electoral results instead, the Military Council together with the British colonial government dictated the outcome of the 1980 elections.

Lam (2012) argues that the NRA/M guerrilla warfare was guided by a Maoist ideology. The NRM/A took over power when socialist ideological and its associated one-party system were losing appeal the world over. Political power comes from the barrel of a gun. Simba (2015) explains that NRA/M was "shy" to declare Uganda a single party state and that the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda 1995 prohibited the formation many political organizations until 2005. Carbone (2005) confirms this argument and explains Museveni banned political party activities and referred to them as enemies of the state.

Munyangabo and Kitamirike (2015) argue that party politics in Uganda is linked to the country's political history. In an endeavor to achieve political development, political parties have to build strong internal democratic practices in pursuit for democratic governance. Political ideology becomes a determinant for political parties' development. Political ideology enhances party cohesion and internal party democracy (Lawrence and Martin, 2013).

Political party ideology is a necessary system for state formation. The Leftist support social welfare orientation while Rightist support traditional values, oppose state innovations to promote equality (Busch, 2016). Nationalism is the most important ideology of the 20th century. It is based on belief that peoples have shared language, culture, history that differentiates them from other nationalities (Kendhammer, 2007). Political ideology is a vital ingredient in developing party cohesion and, therefore, relevant in policy formulation. Ideology is a contentious issue which creates many contradictions among theories that explain political reasoning (Martin, 2015).

Johari (1987) argues that ideologies have become an instrument whereby the leaders motivate people to take part in political actions, or they accord the character of legitimacy to their political system. Moreover, others beat their opponents with the stick of their own more or less persistent and integrated doctrines, a set of which constitutes their own ideology.

Table 2. Opinion of respondents about political parties' ideologies and public policy formulation in hydrocarbon industry.

Statement	SD	D	N	A	SA	Mean	SD	Comment
My political party has a defined political ideology	0	1.6	0	82.4	16.1	4.11	0.476	High
My political party ideology is capable of guiding party's policy evaluations.	0	3.1	0	89.6	7.3	4.01	0.445	High
My political party ideology provides guidance towards policy action.	0	2.6	0	91.2	6.2	4.01	0.408	High
My political party ideology is logically coherent with party policy proposals.	0	3.6	0	82.4	14.0	4.07	0.531	High
My political party aligns the party's ideological interests and principles to societal needs and aspirations.	0	1.0	0	89.6	9.3	4.07	0.531	High
Political ideology provides the framework for contributing to democratic governance.	0	0	0	96.4	3.6	4.07	0.361	High
Political party policies are aligned with the country's national goals and aspirations and the country's constitution based on party ideology.	0	.5	0	84.5	15.0	4.14	0.390	High
Political ideology promotes policy alternatives that respond to the interests, concerns, and needs of the citizens of Uganda	0	0	0	91.2	8.8	4.09	0.284	High
Average Mean						4.07	0.428	High

Source: Research Findings (2017).

Party cohesion is an important factor in agenda-setting. Many political parties have ignored party cohesion and are struggling to maintain members' loyalty (Layman and Carsey, 2000). Party cohesion can help to tell if members across parties adhere to party resolutions (Edinger and Vogel, 2005). The concept of ideological cohesion should be part of party culture to promote unity and discipline among party members. Jahn and Oberst (2012) explained that there is low party cohesion in many countries across the globe.

Hix et al. (2005) contend that party cohesion helps in policy formulation and legislative behaviour in parliament. Party cohesion is practiced in functional political internal democracy where members are allowed to present policy proposals, policy debates are embraced and consensus reached on a particular policy position. Scholars like Lashonda (2016) explain that the resolution of parliamentary party caucus is adhered to by members who would strongly defend the party position during plenary. Party cohesion has increased over time among main political parties as more members join and expand their scope. Korn (1992) contends that internal political party democracy has a significant role to play to enhance party cohesion. It has been observed that despite an increase in political party internal divisions, party cohesion remains vital as a strategy political development in multiparty political environment. Political party internal divisions could be explained in terms of ideological diversity. Gutmann et al. (2010) argue that ideological disorientation affects political parties' performance during elections and has a strong negative impact on voting pattern during elections and formation of political parties' coalitions/alliance.

Harteveld et al. (2017) argue that lack of a defined party ideology shows current party division and mass exodus of members to join other political parties. Modern ideologies have developed the habit of thinking in over-simplified terms of 'We versus they, friend versus enemy'. This fact is emphasized by statements made by Mugisha Muntu FDC member who left the party and had this say:

"There is a new wave in the politics of the country where new leaders are emerging with new strategies to challenge the current leadership that has stayed in power for more than three decades. The new leadership must be given political space to fulfil this long awaited mission and decisions and actions should be taken now".

The actions of this member to leave FDC party were as a result of being dropped as a party leader. However,

reshuffled members left FDC political party and formed a new faction party in the name of Alliance for National Transformation (ANT). The Electoral Commission is set to register the new political party under the leadership of Maj. Gen. Mugisha Muntu who quit the FDC party in September 2018. Maj. Gen. Mugisha Muntu left FDC party on allegations of irreconcilable strategic disagreements on how to achieve regime change in Uganda. Electoral Commission confirmed on Thursday, January 10th, 2019 that Maj. Gen. Mugisha Muntu's political party had been cleared for registration after fulfilling key issues. A member of NRM party made a comment during the 2006 Kyankwanzi retreat that:

"The NRM philosophy has in addition to its own indigenous and basic ideas, borrowed quite a lot from various other ideologies, both ancient and modern. This is so because all ideologies and philosophies have some good and bad elements in relation to the Ugandan situation. The NRM is, therefore, tolerant and welcomes the participation and contribution of people from all sorts of ideological backgrounds".

This is more apparent with regard to NRM whose ideology is Pan-Africanism and patriotism. The NRM allows participation and contributions of people from all sorts of ideological background. This is true because the 10th parliament has members of opposition parties serving as Ministers and members to various Commissions and Boards. The members of NRM party believe that their party is a brainchild of the people's struggle and, therefore, has a special relationship with the grass roots people through the Members of Parliament. It is argued that regardless of political affiliation, as long as Members of Opposition political parties are willing to serve Ugandans, NRM party will always appoint members from opposition parties to serve the country in various positions of leadership. However, one would argue that President Museveni appointing members of opposition to serve as Ministers and as members serving on different Boards and Commissions would be a deliberate move to weaken opposition parties and continue NRM as the only viable party in Uganda.

Akhmetova (2016) believes that Nationalism and Patriotism determine the political development of the country. Under patriotism, the love for one's country surpasses the beliefs in political interests of the citizens. Nationalism and patriotism are vanguards of state sovereignty and other elements like government and military capabilities become secondary. Krauss (2018) argues that countries that have embraced nationalism and patriotism as their ideologies are politically stable. As president Y.K Museveni put it during NRM Victory Day celebrations at Muwafu Primary School playground in Tororo on Saturday, January 26, 2019:

"The people are wrong to celebrate NRM Day without

understanding NRM principles. Uganda is bigger than individual ethnic groups, East Africa is bigger than Uganda and Africa is bigger than East Africa and, therefore, the bigger the market, the better ".

The NRM party chairman and the president of Uganda stressed the need for party members to embrace the party principles that include patriotism, expanded market for East Africa, socio-economic transformation and democracy. The president has used the NRM ideology to preach reconciliation among the two highly divided ethnic groups in Tororo.

This is a clear signal that most party members do not understand the NRM ideology and that is why the party leadership continues to remind NRM party members during public gatherings/celebrations. It has been observed that it is President Y.K Museveni explaining NRM ideology; other party members have remained silent to publically speak about the party principles. One can conclude that NRM is President Y. K. Museveni and Y. K. Museveni is NRM and without him, the party would be in jeopardy. It important for political party leadership in Uganda to build strong party structures that can ensure their sustainability. Political analyst like Kirunda Faruk explains why Uganda still needs President Yoweri Museveni and had this to say:

"Museveni has rebuilt Uganda from a country in virtual ashes into a viable functioning entity. After 33 years at the helm, he has ably identified strategic challenges to Uganda's advancement and is the only figure reliable enough to counter them since he has been instrumental in identifying them. These include ideological disorientation that leads people to focus on ethnic and religion as the guarantors of their future, thus promoting sectarianism, underdevelopment of the human resources, infrastructure, service sector, fragmented markets across the region and Africa and Africa's fragility in the axis of global power".

However, it is not, surprising that Kirunda could hesitate to make his political sentiments. He is the President's Private Assistant in charge of media management. But one can also argue that President Museveni is respected across the region as a political mentor and statesman despite his longevity in power. His longevity in power is a manifestation of the Museveni's ability to inculcate the NRM ideology among the Ugandan populace.

Another political analyst Misairi Thembo Kahungu reported:

"President Museveni has been selected to oversee and provide political guidance to the legal experts tasked with the drafting of the East African Community Constitution on political Confederation. The decision was made by EAC Heads of States at the 20th Ordinary Summit in Arusha, Tanzania. Museveni passionately has preached

the need for regional integration, peace, and security saying it will be good for trade and socio-economic development."

This is justified by several calls President Museveni has made for the promotion of regional integration as the only sure way to socio-economic transformation and creating political harmony among member states.

Harbridge (2015) argues that political ideologies and political parties are at the center of discussion during political alliance formation. Ideology is considered a major factor in political development and defines the beliefs, values and policy direction of the country. The divergences in policy opinions are harmonized during political parties' negations to form sustainable alliance. Bäck et al. (2014) posit that procedures of policy debates affect the quality policy outcome. Kumbaracibasi (2018) argues that parliamentary procedures on policy formulation to policy evaluation are well prescribed and follow a phased approach.

Huddy and Khatib (2007) opine that patriotism defines national identity of the country. In America, every citizen is proud to be called an American, the citizens feel proud when the national flag is flying, and when the national anthem is sung. Redlawsk et al. (2010) argue that people work hard to promote national development as a concerted effort. The American people oppose policies that do not promote American interests. According to Pfiffner (2003), the Americans support policies as they promote positive change and development of the country. Oloka-Onyango (1995) explains that patriotism is highly associated with NRM and Ugandan citizens are basically ignorant of their constitutional obligation and hardly understand their national identity. Uganda as a country suffers from identity crisis and the love for the country is insignificant. Ethnic division, corruption, civil wars, regional imbalance, moral decay are all examples of identity crisis indicators.

The results also revealed that opposition parties do not have a clear defined political ideology and simply rely on the personality of party leaders to advance their political agenda/ambition. The political ideological orientation of Uganda to many political actors and the general public is viewed as it is the case for countries like the USA, UK, China, Russia and Cuba. These findings are in tune with Omotola (2009) whose research findings reveal that political parties are not ideologically oriented and suffer from party disunity, weak party structures, limited membership and lack of defined political agenda. Tar (2010) explains that the opposition political parties are dominated by disgruntled members of already functional political parties and any disagreement among party leadership culminates into the formation of faction groups. Bengtsson and Christensen (2016) argue that opposition parties are pressure groups of frustrated party leadership. It is noted that building a viable and sustainable political party takes time, resources and commitment of the members. O'Connell (2011) explains that opposition parties lack defined political ideology and this affects public policy formulation in many emerging democracies. Party cohesion is paramount to party institutional development. Party cohesion is a significant for party survival. Party cohesion promotes unity among party members (Edinger and Vogel, 2005).

Clunies et al. (2009) contend that the ideologies and presumptions attached to development economics changed as a result of changing fashions in the thought about economic policy at large; and the great public events of the period. From initial trust in state direction, centralized planning, capital accumulation, and self-sufficiency, the ideology most practically influential in development economics had switched by the 1980s to one of leaving everything possible to the market, opening to the world, and privatisation. Then, over the 1990s, came a shift to a more qualified view of the market, government and civil society. Throughout, from some rather mechanical views at the start, there was an increasingly realistic awareness of the nature of humanity with its real needs, failing, and potential in both ends and means. Because of differences of degree in the characteristics of the societies with which they deal, the methods of development economics differ in their typical pattern and balance from those of mainstream economics–over the character of their fields of observation, their theories and their methods of testing. Ideologies influence a given country depending on the period and government in power. Many political students of development economics of 1970s and 1980s who are current political party leaders are greatly influenced by ideologies and economic theories of the time. The NRM leadership has been greatly influenced by liberalism and Marxism ideologies and theories because President Y. K. Museveni is political Science scholar and economics was one of his major subjects. From a development economics perspective, the NRM government choosing to invest in the hydrocarbon industry as a major sector that can transform Uganda's economy to middle income country is based on the nature of training appreciated by its leadership.

The findings concerning the second sub-construct on 'my political party ideology provides guidance towards policy action' revealed varied views from respondents. The results of the study revealed that 89.6% of respondents agreed, 7.3% strongly agreed and only 3.1% of respondents disagreed. This implies that the majority of respondents agreed that political party ideology provides guidance towards policy action. The calculated Mean (μ = 4.01, SD = 0.445) implying that political ideology providing guidance towards policy action was high. Standard Deviation signifies that responses on 'my political party ideology provides guidance towards policy action' from respondents did not differ much from the mean. The opinion given by respondents from different age brackets and political parties were computed using

Pearson Chi – Square analysis and the relation between these variables was significant ($\chi2$ =13.566, df=6, P=0.035). The theoretical value from the Pearson Chi-Square table at 5% level of significance and df=6 is 12.59. Since the calculated value is greater than theoretical value, it implies that our calculated value lies in the reject region. The region of rejection is all $\chi2$ values of $\chi2$= 13.566 or more. We therefore, reject H_0 represented by (i), accept H_1 and we say that 'my political party ideology is capable of guiding party's policy evaluation' had a significant relationship with respondents' political parties.

Gareth (2015) argues that unlike Europe and America, African economic history does not exist. It is believed that colonialism eroded any economic gains registered during the pre-colonial period. It is argued that colonial powers had good intentions to develop Africa in other areas except the hydrocarbon. The colonial leadership determined the political and economic future of Africa. The current underdevelopment in Africa is blamed on colonialism and imperialism. The new African political leadership has an uphill task to change this economic malaise and redefine Africa's economic, social and political development. African problems should be solved by Africans themselves of course with good policies and good leadership that bear the African vision of fostering development.

Dobel (1998) argues that true leaders are the political architects. True leaders possess what Aristotle called prudence. Globally, we can refer to late Kofi Anan, former UN Secretary General; Y. K. Museveni, President of Uganda; late Nelson Mandela, former President of South Africa; Donald Trump, current President of the U.S; Baraka Obama, former President of the USA; late Margret Thatcher, former Prime Minister of the UK as leaders who have had exemplary leadership traits similar to those described of true leaders.

Nabudere (1980) argues Africa should re-write her history drawing lessons from her past. From the economic perspective, Africa has this history with almost nothing documented as a continent rich in mineral wealth. The new African leaders should own and take responsibility for development Africa. Africans leaders should work together to transform Africa. The Pan-Africanism ideology should guide African people to achieve their liberation after centuries of suffering.

Museveni (2000) explained that African problems should be a concern for every political leader of the twenty first century. Museveni is unequivocal about the importance of African economic integration. From the analysis made, Museveni is ranked among the best African leaders globally and on many occasions has advised on unity, peace and socio-economic transformation of African continent. He has been at the center of African politics. The creation of South Sudan Republic was out of his effort through military, material and moral support. Uganda has contributed to African peace missions and facilitated political dialogues in many war affected countries.

Chen (2009) affirms that NRM has adopted the Chinese model of politics where government survival hinges on citizen support. It does not matter how government plays its political game to win popular citizen support. It is incumbent upon government to master the political game plan to ensure political legitimacy. In both China and Uganda, political observers criticise the manner governments handle members of opposition political parties. Issues of human rights and political freedom are ignored and governments concentrate on how to maintain political power. However, despite the aforementioned, China and Uganda seem to have visions for their countries. There is a lot of investment in Uganda's nascent hydrocarbon industry by Chinese government and companies. The hydrocarbon industry is one of the strategic investment priority areas in Uganda and China emerges as a partner causing economic revolution in Uganda and other African countries to achieve African economic dream. President Museveni told political parties during the Inter-Party Organization for Dialogue (IPOD) summit held on December 12, 2018 that he is not about to leave power and they should stop thinking of a transition. President Museveni said he was not ready to relinquish power until he is satisfied that the prosperity and strategic security of Africa has been achieved. President Y. K. Museveni had this to say:

"I hear people like Mao talking about transition; how they would like to sit in the audience and see Museveni handing over power. That is the most important thing for him. I do not think that is the most important and good saying that? The political class instead of talking about the destiny of Africa, you are talking about petty things– elections, who becomes who. That is why I have said if I still have strength, I will continue. This is my point of view-- not to retire when the original issues of why Africa nearly perished have not been addressed (Field Data, 2018)".

The personality of party leadership is an important factor in contemporary politics. Igue (2010) argues that African leaders deliberately limited political space through no-party system and presented themselves as king makers in politics. The new political leaders are believed to be new hope for Africa. The new political leaders embarked on mass citizen mobilisation and recruitment. The media was effectively used to promote political propaganda and as an avenue of policy agenda setting. The new political leaders adopted participatory democracy as a strategy to enhance citizen participation in the political arena and this would help them to consolidate their tenancy in politics. Shin (2016) also explains that incumbent political parties enjoy being voted into power. The incumbent political parties greatly influence the general welfare programmes that influence electoral success in a given

country.

Emanuel (2009) argues that the personality of party leaders plays an important role in determining the policy agenda during elections. In the U.S. presidential elections between Obama and McCain, students simply supported Obama when they saw his name in web address and ignored McCain who had elaborate policies for the country. This is also in tandem with Daubler et al. (2015) whose research findings revealed that candidates engage in personalized campaigns rather than party centered campaigns during national elections.

Resnick (2013) contends that political parties have adopted new strategies of alliance formation and unemployed youth recruitment during election campaigns. Party candidates who lose in primary elections adopt moderate system to contest as independent candidates and most often win seats. It is, therefore, important to observe that whereas opposition political parties always depend on party personality to champion their political agenda, party ideology is a vital element that enhances cohesion among party members. It has been observed that political parties without a defined party ideology are prone to rampant exodus of the members to other political parties. The increasing number of independent candidates during elections is attributed to lack of ideology. The NRM party has been able to remain in power for this long because of party ideology that has kept the members together for the last three decades and this explains the 82.4% agreement by respondents as compared to 1.6% of the respondents who disagreed.

Wilson and Rule (2014) submitted that the personality of Party Leadership has a relationship with public policy formulation. Roderick et al. (2013) opine that political party leadership defines the party ideology in form of values, beliefs and norms. The personality of political party leadership portray particular personality traits e.g., Republicans are dominant and mature; Democrats are likeable and trustworthy in the United States of America. In Uganda, the personality of party leadership has greatly influenced the policy direction of the country since independence.

Jahn and Oberst (2012) argued that political parties' cohesion is hardly exercised and agenda setting left to party leaders. In most political parties, members are divided along ethnic, religious, regional and social classes. It is only in Sweden, Denmark, Norway where party cohesion was pivotal in agenda setting between 1960s and 1970s. In Switzerland, party cohesion was relatively low and political parties were highly dominated by interparty tension. In Iceland, political parties were characterized by party turbulence. The emerging number of independent candidates in Uganda's politics can be explained by these findings and political parties should ensure that cohesion should concern all party leaders because it is a determining factor in party democracy and discipline.

Scholars like Takens et al. (2015) argue that personalisation of political parties influences policy debates during election campaigns. Party leaders freely associate with voters during party meetings, National Conference, and media. Study findings revealed a relationship between character and voting behaviour. Somer-Topcu (2006) opines that opposition political parties use their leadership as an opportunity to defame the ruling party and hence, increase voter confusion during voting. Study findings also revealed that party leadership influence the party's policy positions.

Regarding the issue of 'political party ideology being logically coherent with party policy proposals'; respondents provided varied responses. The majority of respondents 91.2% agreed, 6.2% strongly agreed and only 2.6% disagreed with the assertion. The calculated mean ($\mu = 4.01$, $SD = 0.408$) implying that political party ideology being logically coherent with party policy proposals was high. Standard Deviation signifies that responses on 'political party ideology is logically coherent with party policy proposals' the respondents did not differ much from mean. The results are in tune with Gauchat (2012) who argue that parties that win an election and form government will try to adhere to campaign promises made during election in form of responsive policies and programmes to national needs.

Tobolka (2013) elaborates that while most political parties make statements on ideological and programmes; they are not effectively articulated in party documents and published for public consumption. Lee (2013) opines that the legitimacy of political parties can thus be tested on the extent to which they are seen to embody and represent the aspirations of the majority of the society they purport to represent. Parties therefore need to be empowered with the ability to carry out surveys among their membership and improve the frequency and quality of intra communication in order to be better in touch with its membership.

Stanley (2008) contends that political party leaders who are faced with ideologically heterogeneous parties normally whip their members to follow a common group policy position. However, when 'carrot and stick' disciplinary mechanisms are unavailable, leaders may also manipulate the agenda-setting process in order to avoid potentially divisive votes. Russell and Cowley (2016) argue that party leaders must take account of the preferences of non-median party members when deciding whether to pursue legislation. When the preferences of these veto players diverge, and a party leader can control the agenda, the degree of grid lock is likely to increase. Consequently, while polarisation of a party's members is likely to have pernicious effects on voting cohesion, negative agenda-setting powers allow party leaders to mitigate these effects (Kritzinger et al., 2004).

The findings from the first sub-construct which was 'my political party has a defined political ideology' showed

that 82.4% of respondents agreed. These results are consistent with previous studies done by Brenner and Inbar (2014) who argue that ideology influences agenda setting. Scholars like Koduah et al. (2015) also contend that political ideology greatly shapes the policy environment of any country and programs to adopt by any given government. Stewart (2009) and Teece (1986) argue that governments are value-based and public policy formulation involves issues that are value based. Political ideology, therefore, guides political parties to assert their relevancy. The majority of respondents agreed that their political parties have defined political ideologies that guide the policy process in Uganda. NRM party is more aligned to Pan-Africanism and leftists, DP aligned to right wing, UPC aligned to the left wing and FDC are more aligned to radicalism. President Y. K. Museveni had this to say:

"If you do not get the right ideological campus, you are going to lose direction. The reason the NRM has succeeded both in the struggle and power, is because of ideology. In particular, we denounced sectarianism of nationalities and religion and advocated for patriotism as opposed to sectarianism. Our answer was not to think about religion or nationality or gender but love for your country. When one is patriotic, they are motivated to work for the development of their country (Field data, 2017)".

The study results are in tandem with Brown (2012) whose research findings revealed that China adopted a single-party state, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) which has been in power since 1949. NRM party has been in power since 1986 and a close ally of China. The NRM government shares a lot in terms of political and ideological orientation. China is a great nation that has continuously extended economic and political support to Uganda and the African continent. NRM shares security details with a friendly country like China. Another NRM historical member had this to say:

"This NRM philosophy has, in addition to its own indigenous and basic ideas, borrowed quite a lot from various other ideologies both ancient and modern. This is so because all ideologies and philosophies have some good and bad elements, in relation to Uganda's political history. The NRM is therefore tolerant and welcomes the participation and contribution of people from all sorts of ideological background (Field Data, 2017)".

It is on this basis that one can conclude that NRM policy entertains diversity of opinion and that could explain inclusion and participation of women, people with disabilities, elderly and youth in politics. These remarks can also be corroborated with President Museveni's end of year (2017) State Address to the Nation where he defined the Pan-African principles as:

"African Nations should adopt to solve African critical

problems. The NRM principle is anchored on patriotism and pan-Africanism, government that promotes national unity, guarantees prosperity and better security (Field Data, 2017)".

It is no doubt that NRM party has significantly influenced public policy formulation in Uganda since 1986. This revelation puts other political parties like: DP, UPC and FDC in doubt if they have had any major policy change in Uganda. Opposition parties have been observers in the politics of policy formulation in Uganda. Koduah et al. (2015) contend that political parties' ideology shape policy direction of the country and in the case of opposition parties whose actions have been peripherised, there is no doubt their relevancy in policy process has been mythical.

The findings concerning the second sub-construct on whether 'my political party ideology provides guidance towards policy action' revealed that 89.6% of respondents agreed, and only 7.3% strongly agreed. This implies that the majority of respondents agreed that political party ideology provides guidance towards policy action. Awaisu et al. (2014) explain that policy relevancy requires policy research, engagement and consultations with policy experts to identify, articulate, and evaluate policy issues, proposals and programmes for government and political parties.

The views of the respondents on sub-construct whether 'political parties align the party's ideological interests and principles to societal needs and aspirations', were varied. The research findings revealed that 82.4% of the respondents agreed, 14.0% strongly agreed, and only 3.6% disagreed. The calculated Mean was high ($\mu = 4.07$, $SD = 0.531$). The opinions given by respondents from different political parties were also statistically computed using Pearson Chi-Square analysis ($\chi2 =43.433$, df=6, $P=0.000$). The theoretical value from the Pearson Chi-Square table at 5% level of significance and df=6 is 12.59. Since the calculated value is greater than estimated value, it implies that our calculated value lies in the reject region. The region of rejection is all $\chi2$ values of $\chi2= 43.433$ or more. We therefore, reject H_0 represented by (i), accept H_1 and we say that "political parties align the party's ideological interests and principles to societal needs and aspirations' had a significant relationship with respondents' political parties.

The research findings are in line with Shokri (2017) who argues that society is essentially a system of very many power relations. The most important and, indeed, the strongest among these different kinds of power is the political power wielded by the state that monopolises the use of sanctions. Society is characterized by an uneven distribution of resources; similarly, political power also is not evenly distributed in a society. In every political system, power is concentrated in few or minority group. According to Garner et al. (2009), power in society for pluralists is diffused or fragmented.

Bengtsson and Christensen (2014) attest that citizen participation in many democracies is exercised through voting. Magstadt (2008) opines that citizens can change a political regime through unconventional ways such as engaging in protests or economic boycotts. But Dahlberg and Martinsson (2015) argue that economic boycotts can only work in democratic democracies where citizens are free to demonstrate and government take note of the issues raised by the public. Political scientists call this process interest aggregation and public opinions can be expressed through polls. Elections, despite their inherent limitations, represent the best means of translating mass preferences into public policy.

Cullen et al. (2011) posit that stakeholder engagement is a strategy that brings together different political actors together to reach consensus on a contentious issue. It calls for dialogue and negotiation between worrying political parties. The stakeholder engagement recognizes ideological difference, values, roles, perceptions, and interests that should be harmonised in order to reach consensus.

Bryson et al. (2002) provide a more visual approach to stakeholders' analysis. Stakeholder analysis is vital to establish the real stakeholders to include or exclude in public policy engagement. Maseng (2014) attests that Parliament provides a policy platform for political parties' consultation and engagement between different stakeholders in government in the policy formulation process. The consultative and negotiation process helps political parties to harmonize ideological differences in values, beliefs and cultures (Omotola, 2009). However, political parties' ideologies would serve as a tool of policy formulation and evaluation if there was coherence among differing political parties in the Ugandan parliament.

Roman (2015) argues that civil servants are also key stakeholders in public policy formulation in any democracy. In an election period, civil servants participate in politics as a means of exercising their rights and freedoms as opposed to neutrality. Civil servants express political views and can contest/stand for Parliament but must first resign. Additionally, civil servants are strongly encouraged to vote and to participate in the country's election.

Regarding the issue of whether political party ideology is logically coherent with party policy proposals, respondents provided varied responses. The majority of respondents 91.2% agreed, 6.2% strongly agreed while 2.6% disagreed. This implies that majority of respondents agreed that political parties' ideology is logically coherent with party policy proposals. These results are buttressed by Leeper (2014) who contends that political parties' ideology can be logically coherent with party policy proposals if political parties reconcile with public opinion. Political parties greatly influence citizen policy opinions if the country has defined political ideological orientation (Carroll and Kubo, 2018).

Scholars like Bäck et al. (2011) explain that there is a high degree of cohesion within party teams in developed democracies. However Members of Parliament might not behave sincerely once their ballot call is thought, suggesting that such analyses don't reflect political actors' real policy positions. Thus, members of parliament differ on policy positions and thereby intra-party ideological cohesion.

In Uganda, political party ideology is logically coherent with party policy proposals. As witnessed in many controversial debates in parliament, parties continuously engage party members to support such Bills and policies. The respondents who differed in opinion hold the view of Gudelis (2011) who contends that in partisan politics, citizens present their policy issues through political parties they ascribe to guided by the ideologies of political parties they support. This reaffirms the fact that public policy formulation is guided by NRM political ideology in Uganda which ascribes to patriotism and pan-Africanism (Kumah-Abiwu et al., 2013).

Respondents gave varied views on the issue of whether 'political parties align the party's ideological interests and principles to societal needs and aspirations. Study findings revealed that 82.4% of the respondents agreed, 14.0% strongly agreed, and only 3.6% disagreed. Golooba-Mutebi (2008) argues that the political history of Uganda has been characterized by dictatorial regimes. The four political parties selected in this study have an outstanding political history in Uganda with experienced and long serving leaders who have witnessed all political changes since independence. The rich history of political elite leading political parties in Uganda has defined vision and goals that guide the policy direction of the country.

On the issue of whether 'political party policies are aligned with the country's national goals and aspirations and the country's constitution, respondents gave varied opinions. The findings revealed that 96.4% of the respondents agreed, and 3.6% strongly agreed. Political party policies are being aligned with the country's national goals and aspirations. These results are in line with Kakuba (2010) study findings on multiparty politics and dynamics in Uganda.

Political ideology and democratic governance in Uganda

Political ideology provides a framework for contributing to democratic governance in Uganda, the findings revealed that 89.6% of the respondents agreed, 9.3% strongly agreed, and only 1.0% disagreed. The calculated Mean ($\mu = 4.07$, $SD = 0.531$) implying that political ideology providing the framework for contributing to democratic governance in Uganda was high. The views given by respondents from different political parties were computed using Pearson Chi-Square analysis ($\chi 2 = 13.118$, df=6, $P=0.041$). The theoretical value from the Pearson Chi-Square table at 5% level of significance and

df=6 is 12.59. Since the calculated value is greater than theoretical value, it implies that our calculated value lies in the reject region. The region of rejection is all $\chi 2$ values of $\chi 2 = 13.118$ or more. We therefore, reject H_0 represented by (i), accept H_1 and we say that 'political ideology providing the framework for contributing to democratic governance in Uganda' had a significant relationship with respondents' political parties.

Democracy has its history in ancient Greece where citizens' participation was in form of meetings. As a sign of democracy, decisions which had the majority support were considered (Murison, 2013). Bruycker and Beyers (2013) argue that citizens can write to their representatives, Speaker of Parliament or stage peaceful demonstration demanding for government action on particular issues of national concern. Christensen et al. (2016) contend that citizens also influence government policies during elections and that it is at this level that political means are used.

Scholars like Lefevere et al. (2015) argue that election campaigns are a major determinant factor in citizen policy engagement during election time. Election campaigns create public awareness among citizens on what political parties would offer if they won an election. Kropivnik (2011) explains that political parties present their manifestos containing pledges they would fulfil if they won an election. When parties own policy issues that respond to citizens demands, this influences the voting pattern during election period.

Bratton and Lambright (2000) argue that a referendum was held and Ugandans were required to choose whether to maintain the movement system as a form of governance based on individual merit or to have a multiparty system that would allow political parties to compete for political offices and state power. The referendum was therefore intended to test Ugandans on which political direction the country would take as a form of governance system.

The study revealed that political parties aid popular public policy participation and member mobilisation. Political parties systematically track and measure policy achievements registered under each policy goal to confirm that such goals and targets are integrated in the overall development vision of the country (Lehoucq and Edouard, 2006). A key informant from NRM party responded that Pan-Africanism is the guiding ideology in public policy formulation in Uganda and these views were captured using documentary review guide:

"To achieve national security, African countries must root for and embrace patriotism and Pan-Africanism so that African societies are enabled to undergo socio-economic transformation and the realisation of democracy. National security must be approached by dealing with the issue of the ideology of the country and its institutions. He noted that ideology ought to be promoted in society whereby politicians begin by concentrating on the interests of the people rather than on identity (Field Data, 2017)".

This is to emphasise the fact that political ideology is deeply rooted in President Museveni's political reign and public policy formulation is, therefore, guided by patriotism and Pan-Africanism in Uganda.

The views of the respondents on sub-construct 'political party policies are aligned with the country's National Goals and aspirations and the country's Constitution based on party ideology' varied among respondents. Research findings gave varied responses where 96.4% of the respondents agreed, and only 3.6% strongly agreed. The calculated Mean ($\mu = 4.14$, *SD* = 0.284) which was high.

According to the findings regarding political ideology providing the framework for contributing to democratic governance in Uganda, 89.6% of the respondents agreed, 9.3% strongly agreed, and only 1.0% disagreed implying that political ideology providing the framework for contributing to democratic governance in Uganda was high. These results are buttressed by Brenner and Inbar (2014) and Oginni (2015) who argue that public engagement is a new model that promotes effective and efficient service delivery. This is premised on the view that public engagement promotes cohesion and trust.

Public engagement promotes citizen participation, public accountability and transparency as pillars of good governance (Holmes, 2011). Public engagement activities bring citizens closer to government and strengthen national purpose and common policy direction. Tsekpo and Hudson (2009) also opines that Parliamentary Committees are mandated to hold public meetings to advance public opinion. The members of parliament represent voters' opinions and their interaction with citizens is an indicator of good governance and representative democracy.

The findings on whether political ideology promotes policy alternatives that respond to the interests, concerns, and needs of the citizens of Uganda, reveal that 84.5% of the respondents agreed, 15.0% strongly agreed and while only 0.5% disagreed. These results are supported by Anderson (2003) who argues that generation of sound policy alternatives would depend on a country's political context and how this relates to planned development interventions to serve the needs of the people. In developed economies, political parties adhere to established party ideologies to guide the policy process (Lee, 2013).

Brahim (2017) says political organizations provide a platform for engagement, dialogue and negotiations between the party in power and opposition to address citizens' needs in form of policy options. Gauchat (2012) argues that the public would have confidence and trust in government if it responded to citizens demands in form of programmes that are citizen-centered. These findings corroborate with the study by Hofmeister and Grabow (2009) who explain that credible policies deepen political trust. However, most often, it transcends partisan and/or ideological attachments and explains divergence in opinion among respondents.

Lijphart (1981) argues that political leaders always strive to achieve for their citizens what they promised them during election campaigns. Political leaders who are sincere and visionary will try to fulfil policy issues captured in party manifestos as a sign of accountability to citizens (Nakisanze, 2016). The ruling party should provide impressive levels of socio-economic development. The ruling party should, therefore, be dedicated to build a country for the good of all citizens. Political leaders should turn Constitutions into living documents by holding religiously unto the belief that their mandate to form governments is founded on their willingness to uphold the country's values.

However, the findings indicate that in terms of effect, political ideology contributes 20.7% to public policy formulation in Uganda's nascent hydrocarbon industry. This confirms Heywood's (2017) argument that the link between political parties and political ideology in modern democracies is on the decline. Political ideologies which evolved in the 18th century in France were highly frustrated in the 1950s and 1960s and remained as symbols of cold war defining which Bloc to belong to. The period between the 1980s and 1990s also witnessed dysfunctional trends between political ideologies and political parties where political ideology could no longer guide political direction in the majority of political parties. The 20.7% contribution leaves many researchers wondering why a low percentage? Why not 100% contribution? The factors at play are enormous and the actors in policy formulation are diverse with inherent challenges. The new political parties are still weak and only appear on political stage during elections and all these challenges coupled with dominance of the ruling party partly explain divergence in responses on this particular issue.

Biegelbauer and Hansen (2011) contend that public policy making is a product of six model framework adopted to address divergent public needs. These models include: the closed-door model where policy makers attempt to exclude the citizen participation in decision making. A policy problem generated within inner circles of the top political structure. The Policy makers neither see the participation of the public as either necessary or desirable in the policy process at agenda setting phase. This model assumes that the public lacks technical capacity to influence public decisions.

In the light of political ideology promoting policy alternatives that respond to the interests, concerns, and needs of the citizens of Uganda, varied views were given by respondents. Study findings revealed that 84.5% of the respondents agreed, 15.0% strongly agreed and while only .5% disagreed. The calculated Mean (μ = 4.14, SD = 0.390) implying that political ideology promoting policy alternatives that respond to the interests, concerns, and needs of the citizens of Uganda was high. The opinions given by respondents from different political parties were statistically computed using Pearson chi-square test was performed ($\chi2$ =12.384, df=5, P=0.030). The theoretical value from the Pearson Chi-Square table at 5% level of significance and df=5 is 11.07. Since the calculated value is greater than theoretical value, it implies that our calculated value lies in the reject region. The region of rejection is all $\chi2$ values of $\chi2$ =12.384 or more. We therefore, reject H_0 represented by (i), accept H_1 and we say that political ideology promoting policy alternatives that respond to the interests, concerns, and needs of the citizens of Uganda had a significant relationship with respondents' political parties.

From Table 2, respondents gave varied views on sub-construct 'political ideology promotes policy alternatives that respond to the interests, concerns, and needs of the citizens of Uganda'. The results revealed that 91.2% of the respondents agreed, and 8.8% strongly agreed. The calculated Mean (μ = 4.09, SD = 0.284) implying that political ideology promotes policy alternatives that respond to the interests, concerns, and needs of the citizens of Uganda was high.

The Average Mean obtained through the analysis of all the eight elements under this objective is (μ = 4.056, SD = 0.361), interpreted as high influence. An examination of the items under objective one of the study revealed that the Members of Parliament showed that political parties' ideology is a determinant in public policy formulation in Uganda's nascent hydrocarbon industry.

Regression analysis on the relationship between political parties' ideology and public policy formulation in Uganda's nascent hydrocarbon industry

In determining the effect of political parties' ideology on public policy formulation in Uganda's nascent hydrocarbon industry, a null hypothesis one (i) was used. The researcher used regression to estimate a set of coefficients that represent the effect of a political parties' ideology (independent variable) on public policy formulation (the dependent variable). According to the sample used (218) the degrees of freedom (df) is far beyond the one given for 100 in the Pearson Chi-Square. As the sample size becomes big, our sample tends to normal distribution and we can use the value for df=100. Our levels of significance were 5% and the corresponding critical value 77.93 but the calculated F value is less than 0.0001. Since the F value is far below the critical α = of 0.05, then we reject H_0 and we conclude that political parties' ideology influences public policy formulation in Uganda's hydrocarbon industry. The results show that political ideology contributes to public policy formulation in Uganda's nascent hydrocarbon industry by 20.7%.

This implies that a unit increase in political parties' ideology improves public policy formulation by 20.7% and it is significant (P=0.000) meaning political parties' ideology is a significant determinant of public policy

Table 3. Model summary showing the relationship between political parties' ideology and public policy formulation in Uganda's nascent hydrocarbon industry.

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Change Statistics				
					R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change
1	0.455[a]	0.207	0.203	0.15981	0.207	49.794	1	191	0.000

[a]Predictors (Constant), Ideology.
Source: Research Findings (2017).

formulation in Uganda's nascent hydrocarbon industry. These findings recognise other policy actors like Civil Society Organizations, Interest Groups, Researchers, Bureaucrats, OPEC, Military Council and international organisations as key in influencing public policy process. Political parties are ranked 7th and this implies that their influence in public policy formulation in the Uganda's nascent hydrocarbon industry is equally inadequate. The state that takes lead among the actors in public policy formulation is actually the Executive/Presidency (Table 3).

Conclusions

From the findings of the first specific objective, it can be concluded that political ideology contributes 20.7% to public policy formulation in Uganda's nascent hydrocarbon industry. Political parties' ideology is a significant determinant of public policy formulation in Uganda's nascent hydrocarbon industry. It is also concluded that emphasis should be put on the teaching of political ideology in Higher Institutions of learning and political and academic debates should be given the space they deserve. It is also concluded that the opposition parties do not have a defined political ideology. Finally, the study also concluded that the Chairman NRM political party is the only person keenly discussing the issue of political party ideology.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations were made according to the first specific objective of the study: The government should ensure that the question of ideology is handled from Primary School level to University level because it is a key factor in policy development. The government through the Ministry of Education and Sports should consider re-introducing civic education in primary schools and political education in secondary and tertiary institutions.

It is further recommended that political party leaders should create a forum within their political parties in which they keenly discuss the issue of political party ideology. It is recommended that government should emphasise refresher courses for political leaders and civil servants in

which ideology is given emphasis especially in National Leadership Institutes like Kyankwanzi for both members of serving political party and those in the opposition. Political ideology trainings should be mandatory for all Ugandans.

From study findings and literature reviewed, it is recommended that ideology be emphasised in teaching of Public Administration and Management in Higher Institutions of learning, Think Tanks, Civil Society Organizations and more research be done on the same. All political leaders irrespective of their political party affiliations need to humble themselves and go for political grounding/training in order for them to appreciate the role of political ideology in policy making. Political parties in Uganda should benchmark with their counterparts in China, Cuba, Russia, Netherlands, UK, USA, Malawi, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Ghana, Tanzania, Rwanda and Ethiopia where opposition opposes the political party in power on ideological ground, not on current leadership.

Civil Society Organisations should carry out massive sensitization of the citizens in Uganda about political ideology through radio, Television, village meetings (barazas) such that when leaders come, they are assessed based on party ideology. Political parties should have defined party ideology to guide public policy formulation in Uganda. Political party leaders should orient political party members on party ideology.

CONFLICT OF INTERESTS

The authors have not declared any conflict of interests.

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