

**THE RELATIVE INFLUENCE OF VALUE PRIORITIES,
ETHNICITY AND 'WORRIES' IN THE DETERMINATION
OF POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION AMONGST
UGANDAN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS**

by

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the relative influence of value priorities, ethnicity and 'worries' in the determination of political party affiliation amongst Ugandan university students. Schwartz's values questionnaire was administered to 309 male and 176 female first year students from the faculties of engineering, medicine, law, commerce, social sciences, sciences, education and mass communication at Makerere University Uganda. The sample included respondents from all of the six sub-ethnic groups in Uganda. Respondents also covered the major religious groups in the country and were also representative of the major political parties.

Results from the statistical analysis on the data show that ethnicity and certain values play a role in the determination of these students' affiliation to a political party. Chi-square results show that achievement, benevolence, universalism, security, tradition and conformity values are given differing importance across political parties. And, Anova results show that the tradition value has a significant mean difference across parties. Other factors such as religion and course of study are also found to have significant influence on these student's affiliation to political parties. Although 'worries' are found not to have a significant influence on student's political party affiliation, findings show that students from different political parties differ in their ratings of the different types of 'worries'. Therefore results show that ethnicity and value priorities do influence these students' affiliation to a political party but 'worries' do not. The discussion section explores these findings in the context of contemporary Ugandan politics.

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1. INTRODUCTION

It can be argued that party politics has and is increasingly gaining popularity in many African countries. This form of politics if fairly practiced avails democratic governance through elections, where candidates representative of the different political parties in a country enter into contest to become popular representatives of the people, and are voted for. The need to be voted for brings with it the need to have support in the electorate. The electorate depending on a particular country is a specific population, especially with respect to age limit. In Uganda, to be allowed to vote, one has to be 18 years old or older. At this age, those children who have had the opportunity to study would enter the university. The voting right to these students implies adoption of a party of preference and it is the factors which determine such adoption, or support for a particular party in this population (first time university students) that is of interest in this study.

These being first time voters, they are arguably subject to different influences than are more experienced voters, who may already have had experience in participation in democratic political processes. There can be no doubt that young people have a propensity for a particular kind of intense involvement in political processes. Many incidents in the second half of this century, for example the China Tiananmen Square uprising in 1989, the besiege of the Indonesia parliament early in 1998, the Kenya demonstrations in late 1997 and the Zimbabwe strikes since June 1998 have shown that university students have a propensity to become directly involved and have an influence in national politics depending on the prevailing situation. It is of interest to wonder about what kind of forces may be at play amongst this group at the point of entry into political 'legitimacy'. In particular it is of interest to wonder about what drives their making of political choices.

It will be argued in this thesis that political party choice may be influenced by among other things personal value priorities, ethnic or religious backgrounds, and >worries=. Makinda (1996) argues that the political ideas and institutions of any society are co-determined by its cultural values, ethnic composition, level of education and the economic system. Whilst this may seem like an obvious fact, it needs to be thought about. It means that decision making regarding political

allegiance is not based purely on rational deliberation and it is of interest to know to what extent such factors play a role, particularly in emerging democracies. This may be particularly true in African countries as Makinda (1996) asserts, where members of an ethnic group often band together irrespective of their class status.

At Makerere University in Uganda, a different picture may prevail. This institution was the first tertiary center of learning in the Eastern and Central regions of Africa. It has educated many of the region's past and present politicians including many who were and are key figures in the politics of their countries (e.g. Benjamin Mkapa - president of Tanzania). Being a multi-national institution, students of Makerere University may have a chance to understand politics within a broader context. This may mean among other things not taking ethnicity or religion as a priority as Makinda (1996) suggests, but considering that party whose leadership style, ideological composition, and plan of action represents their values structure and has the potential to eliminate their >worries=.

These being university students at the verge of embarking on careers, they are arguably more influenced than would be the general population by issues concerning economic progress, employment opportunities, health services, than would those who have less opportunity with respect to envisioning social changes, and who consequently would tend to make choices following 'traditional' patterns, such as patterns attached to ethnicity. They are thus more likely to differ from the rest of the population in the way that they make political choices. One of the reasons for this may be their ability to understand and conceptualise the ideological messages of the different political parties .

The researcher is a past student at this university and offers the following observation by way of suggesting that political party adoption may be determined by factors other than rational political thinking. A number of factors militate against rational political decision making at Makerere. One factor is that ruling parties have the tendency to swallow up-coming vocal opposition party student leaders through for example promising/offering them jobs. These influential student leaders, usually with the ability to convince fellow students then start spreading pro-ruling party

>gospel=. There is a high degree of influence such as this, where promised material and advantage over shadows political deliberation.

Students also use parties to secure jobs. According to the Ugandan constitution, only those people with at least a degree are allowed to contest political positions (e.g. In membership to parliament). The researcher=s speculation is that students from less developed regions may decide to affiliate with that party which they know does not have competitive graduates to represent it in the elections in the region hoping to gain a favorable stand and thus pushing their way towards the associated political stand.

Furthermore, donations to students associations (e.g. District Associations) by prominent political figures may to some extent influence the party choice of the students concerned. From the researcher=s experience, it was observed that politicians strategically attach themselves to student=s associations with a hope of securing support/votes. These people start as well wishers for the association and provide either financial or material assistance in times of need. Students are then trapped by this generosity and may sometimes be impelled to align with this person=s party just out of sympathy. Being an ex-student of Makerere, the researcher during the 1994 constituency representative elections found herself in a similar trap. Usually all political parties send in at least one member to contest any kind of elections. On this occasion, one of the university lecturers from the researcher=s home area was among the contestants. He was then the patron of the county association of the students from that area and promised to provide the students with transport to go back home and vote for him. Although genuinely this lecturer would not have been the researcher=s choice, she was compelled by the free transport to go home and thus ended up voting for him. No doubt at the end of the day, the researcher found herself with an already made party choice. It is this lecturer=s party of affiliation that the researcher supported up to general elections time in 1996 inspite of her allegiance to the contrary. There could possibly be many Makerere students who find themselves in a similar situation .

However, for those students in associations that are approached by more than one political party, the situation may be different. Chances are high that the more the association gets exposed to the

different political factions, the greater are the chances that students will consider party ideologies in making their choices.

Giordano (1992) argues that through an ethnic lineage, an example of which may be the family, the elder=s belief system (values structure) may be passed on to the children during socialisation. Eriya Kategaya (now prime minister of Uganda) says that when he first became involved in politics, Ugandan political parties were not based on ideological dimensions (cited in Tumusiime, 1993). This was during the early 1960's. At that time, political parties reflected the old religious antagonisms of Catholics backed by France and native Anglicans (commonly referred to as Protestants in Uganda) backed by Britain which was the colonial power in Uganda. His parents were Protestants and that merely put him in the Protestant faction. What this illustrates is that political affiliation at the time may have been largely influenced by socialization. Children were socialized into their parent=s political parties, and thus their political allegiance was consistent with their ethnic identity. But, there are clearly exceptions and the task of this study is to look at what other components may determine political party affiliation.

Makerere University students are now faced with different problems than those experienced by students of earlier years. Until 1991, this university was completely government sponsored. However, after 1991, a private sponsorship scheme was introduced and now almost two thirds of the students pay for their tuition. This division in the student body may also have an impact on the way students make their political party choices. The one third of the University that falls under the government sponsorship scheme has different issues to consider when making a party choice from the two thirds under the private sponsorship scheme. The government sponsored students are more likely to blame the government for any inadequacies in the services provided to them than the private students. This implies that these students may be influenced by different factors in the way they make their political party choices.

The overwhelming declining standards of living and service facilities in the government sponsored sectors of the university does not correspond with the presently booming economic growth of the country. Also a cut down on the number of government sponsored students causes students to wonder whether education is a priority to the present government. Thus, the determination of political party affiliation amongst first year students at Makerere University may be influenced by

the new changes in the system that the present government has effected. Apart from the cut down on the number of government sponsored students, the government in 1990 also introduced an active policy to increase the number of female students in the university. Female students are given an extra 1.5 points increase on their qualification points to the university. Such a policy implemented to favour some students (female) may also have implications for political party affiliation.

Ugandan political parties do convey broad ideological messages which students understand and are thus able to form impressions of the possible consequences of aligning with one party rather than the other. To this extent students might be expected to associate themselves with parties depending on these ideologies, but this is affected by the other factors that may play a role, as mentioned above. The motivation for this study is to identify those factors that may have an influence on the Makerere university students' party choice. Although the purpose of the study is to expose the relative influence of ethnicity, value priorities and >worries= in the determination of political party affiliation amongst these students, it will also consider other variables that will seem to have significant influence in the determination of political party choice.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Overview of values theory

Schwartz's (1992) values theory defines values as desirable, trans-situational goals, varying in importance, that serve as guiding principles in people's lives. Implicit in this definition of values as goals is that firstly, they serve the interests of some social entity; secondly, they can motivate action giving it direction and emotional intensity; thirdly, they function as standards for judging and justifying action; and fourthly, they are acquired both through socialisation to dominant group values and through the unique learning experiences of individuals (Feather, 1994; Schwartz, 1994).

According to Schwartz, individuals implicitly distinguish ten broad types of values, and the primary content aspect that discriminates among these values is the type of motivational goal they express. He derived a typology of the different contents of values by reasoning that values represent, in the form of conscious goals, three universal requirements of human existence: biological needs, requisites of coordinated social interaction, and demands of group survival and functioning (Schwartz, 1992). The ten broad types of values are contained in a list of 57 specific values that Schwartz devised on the basis of a theory of the universal content and structure of human values (Schwartz, 1992; Feather, 1994). This list is commonly known as the Schwartz value survey (see Appendix 1).

The ten motivationally distinct types of values derived from the three universal requirements are power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, self-direction, universalism, benevolence, conformity, tradition, and security. The specific values that represent each of these ten broad value types are

spread out in the survey. In the survey, power is represented by five specific values, achievement is represented by six, hedonism is represented by three, stimulation is represented by three, self-direction is represented by six, universalism is represented by nine, benevolence is represented by nine, conformity is represented by four, tradition is represented by five, and security is represented by seven specific values. A specific value represents a value type when actions that express that value or lead to its attainment promote the central goal of the value type. For example the five specific values that represent the power domain are social power, wealth, social recognition, authority, and preserving public image (see Table 1). Each of the ten broad value types or domains was arrived at by averaging the 'importance' ratings given to the specific values that represents it, using appropriate statistics (Schwartz, 1992; Feather, 1994). There is substantial cross-cultural support for the distinctiveness of these ten types in research with 57 samples from over 44 countries (Schwartz, 1992, 1994; Burgess, Schwartz & Blackwell, 1994; Schwartz & Sagiv, 1995; Munene, 1996). The relationship between these ten value types will be discussed using Figure 1.

In addition to consideration of the universal content and structure of values, the theory also looks at the interrelations between value types, and especially the compatibilities and conflicts that exist between them (Schwartz & Barnea, 1995). Actions in pursuit of a particular type of value may either be compatible or conflict with the pursuit of another value type. Figure 1 is used to explain the relation between these value types. The ten broad value types are arranged around a circle as shown in Figure 1 in the order that I have listed them in Table 1. Some value types (e.g., power and achievement) are adjacent to each other in the circle while others (e.g., universalism and power) are opposite to each other. Adjacent value types are assumed to be compatible, and opposite value types to be in conflict (Schwartz, 1992; Feather, 1994).

Value types are said to be compatible if they lead to compatible attitudes and behaviours and are in conflict if they lead to opposing attitudes and behaviours. For example the pursuit of power values is compatible with the pursuit of achievement values because both values emphasize social superiority and esteem. But the pursuit of power values conflicts with the pursuit of universalism values because seeking social status and prestige through dominance over others and privileged

access to resources is likely to obstruct actions aimed at tolerance and protection of the welfare of all people and of nature.

The conflict and compatibility structure is shown in Figure 1 (Schwartz, 1992; Barnea & Schwartz, 1994). This structure also received substantial support in the cross-cultural research (Schwartz, 1992, 1994; Schwartz & Sagiv, 1995; Munene, 1996). Compatible types are in close proximity going round the circle and conflicting types emanate in opposing directions from the centre.

Table 1 lists the ten value types, each defined in terms of its central goal and followed, in parentheses, by the specific single values that primarily represent it.

Table. 1 Definition of the ten individual-level value types in terms of their motivational goals (Schwartz, 1992, 1994; Schwartz & Sagiv, 1995; Munene, 1996).

VALUE	Parentheses and motivational goal
POWER	<i>Social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources</i> [social power, wealth, social recognition, authority, preserving my public image]
ACHIEVEMENT	<i>Personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards</i> [self-respect, ambitious, influential, capable, successful, intelligent]
HEDONISM	<i>Pleasure or sensuous gratification for oneself</i> [pleasure, enjoying life, self-indulgent]
STIMULATION	<i>Excitement, novelty, and challenge in life</i> [exciting life, varied life, daring]
SELF-DIRECTION	<i>Independent thought and action-choosing, creating, exploring</i> [freedom, creativity, privacy, independence, choosing own goals, curious]
UNIVERSALISM	<i>Understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature</i> [equality, inner harmony, world at peace, unity with nature, wisdom, a world of beauty, social justice, broad-minded, protecting the environment]
BENEVOLENCE	<i>Preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in</i>

	<i>frequent personal contact</i> [spiritual life, meaning in life, mature love, true friendship, loyal, honest, helpful, responsible, forgiving]
TRADITION	<i>Respect, commitment and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provide</i> [devout, respect for tradition, moderate, humble, accepting my portion in life]
CONFORMITY	<i>Restraint of actions, inclinations and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms</i> [politeness, honoring of parents and elders, self-discipline, obedient]
SECURITY	<i>Safety, harmony and stability of society or relationships and of self</i> [sense of belonging, social order, national security, reciprocation of favours, family security, health, clean]

The organisation of values in terms of conflicts and compatibilities among the various types has been termed the study of the 'integrated structures' of values (Schwartz & Barnea, 1995). An integrated description of a person's value structure enables us to relate the full integrated set of the ten value types as a whole not only to other values, but to other variables such as political party affiliation. For example if students who put party X as their first choice hold power values as important, they are likely to attribute relatively high importance to achievement and security values as well. These students will supposedly give significantly low importance to universalism, benevolence and self-direction values.

However, order of the association for the different value types is precisely predicted (Schwartz & Barnea, 1995). For example if attributing importance to power values correlates most strongly with supporting party X, the correlations will usually be less positive for achievement values, less positive yet for hedonism values, and even less positive or even negative for the value types that are further away from power as one goes around the circle in both directions. As from the previous illustration, we can elicit that it is not necessarily the case that the value types that are most and least positively associated with an outside variable - i.e. party affiliation - are those (exactly opposite each other) in Figure 1. The reason for this is that the specific characteristics of the behaviour in question make particular motivational goals more or less relevant to a decision. Citing political behaviour as an example they assert that the strongest opposition to tradition values might be self-direction rather than hedonism values that lie more directly across from tradition in the circle. This is because hedonism is supposedly less relevant to political choice as it refers to personal goals which it might be argued political parties rarely debate (Schwartz & Barnea, 1995).

2.2. Values and political party affiliation

It needs to be taken into account that there is a continuum in political party affiliation ranging from voting to registered membership. When an individual registers with a particular political party, he/she is said to be affiliated to that party by membership. Individuals who are not registered members of a party and are not involved in the activities of that party but vote for it (or

are intending to vote for it) are said to be affiliated to that party through by voting. Thus, this thesis looks at political party affiliation in the broader sense (i.e. as both voting and registered membership).

Being cognitive representations of individual needs and desires, on the one hand, and of societal demands on the other (Grube, Mayton & Ball-Rokeach, 1994) values play a particularly important role in people's lives. Feather (1994) also asserts that "values provide standards or criteria that can be used to evaluate actions and outcomes, to justify opinions and conduct, to plan and guide behaviour, to decide between alternatives, to compare self with others, to engage in social influence, and to present self to others" (p.184). Rokeach (1973) argues that values are usually seen as the main independent variable in the study of social attitudes and behaviour. They have a predictive power through being significantly related to many attitudes and behaviours (Mayton, Ball-Rokeach, & Loges, 1994). Because of this power, values may be used to predict *inter alia*, one's political party affiliation, although other variables such as ethnicity, 'worries' and the character of party leaders may also play a part. "Value systems are an important cognitive tool used by individuals to make sense of their surroundings, political as well as social" (Barnea & Schwartz, 1994, p.3). However, identification of the ideological dimensions on which political parties vary is vital in making predictions about the connection of values to party preferences. Party ideologies are embedded with those messages that convey among other things the interests, and way of operation of the party. It is these things that may distinguish one party from another and thus, lying a basis for values priority judgement.

Schwartz & Barnea (1995) proposed two mutually compatible processes to link values to voting. The first process is based on a view of values as beliefs that underlie and organise political attitudes or orientations. It is the match between the party ideology and these attitudes which in turn determines party affiliation. However, the authors above argue that for this process to occur, one must assume that people, to a greater extent, make choices based on their own goals, and that they are at least moderately informed about and are involved in politics.

The second process views values as enduring predispositions that affect an individual's party preference directly. The process occurs when political debate is carried on and perceived by the

public in simplified, value-laden symbolic terms (ie. debate about keeping law and order)(Schwartz & Barnea, 1995). This then enables people to associate the parties and their leaders with the attainment or frustration of the particular symbolic goals or values at the centre of the debate. "Attention to these value-laden symbols elicits a prompt and direct response of political support for parties and candidates or opposition to them (Carmines & Stimson, 1980; Sears, Lau, Tyler & Allen, 1980; Sears & Funk, 1991 cited in Schwartz & Barnea, 1995 p.2). In this study it is argued that these two processes may as well apply to political party affiliation. In this case, the processes assume that values influence people's choice of party because preferences for valued outcomes make the ideological message conveyed by party policies or symbols more or less attractive.

Pfau (1987) used 78 undergraduates of Augustana college, United States, to view one of the three intra party debates during the 1984 presidential campaign and assessed the candidates on four dimensions: leadership, ideas/positions, competence, and personality. He found out that intra party debate exerted significant influence on viewers' attitudes about participating candidates and on viewers' interest in the political campaign. His findings are in support of Schwartz & Barnea's (1995) assertion of values as enduring predispositions that affect an individual's party preference directly.

The influence of values in determining political party affiliation is more pronounced when there is a real political choice (Schwartz & Barnea, 1995). However, values are likely to be activated, to enter awareness, and to be used as guiding principles only in the presence of value conflict (Schwartz, 1994). Value conflict in this sense implies having to choose between options with differing value priorities. For example, choosing between two parties - whereby one party gives security in the country priority and the second party economic growth. In this case, for one to make a choice between these parties, he/she will depend on which of the two issues (security and economic growth) is of greater importance to him/her. This way, being influenced by personal values to make a political choice. Thus, it is important to note that values may play a little role in behaviour, in this case political party affiliation, where there is no value conflict. But Grube *et al* (1994) argue that values are always in conflict since the attainment of one value often means

blocking another. This may then suggest that individuals' behaviour is usually influenced by values.

The results of the study done by Schwartz & Barnea (1995) to examine value bases of political party preference in three Spanish-speaking countries—Spain, Venezuela, and Mexico - affirmed the view that people's personal value priorities predispose them to support or oppose different political parties. The results suggested that people respond to the value-related ideological symbols and messages of political parties, and that the contribution of values to political orientations is more pronounced when there is a real political choice, as there was in Spain in 1988 and in Venezuela in 1989-92. In Mexico, probably because the country was still effectively a one-party state at the time of the research (1990), political preferences were unrelated to personal values. This aspect reflects Steen's (1996) argument that behaviour is not only determined by values, but that circumstances also play an important role in the final outcome of behaviour. The circumstance in this case being the political structure of Mexico.

Also in their earlier study on 'values and voting,' Schwartz & Barnea (1994) examined the relations of the 10 types of values in Schwartz's (1992) theory to voting by using a sample of 999 Jews from eight parties that ran in the 1988 Israel elections. The parties were assessed by judges on three ideological dimensions (classical liberalism, economic egalitarianism, state and religion). The results suggested that all the ten types of values have relevancy in political issues i.e. party affiliation, voting, depending on the context. The context being the political structure, or environment in the country. In other words, particular value types are relevant to particular political contexts, and in particular regions/countries. For example, the values relevant in making a political choice in a country like Uganda that has had civil wars for over 20 years, may be different from those relevant in a country like Tanzania that has never had political instability.

Value systems are claimed to vary across groups (gender, religion, social class), culture/ethnic background, and are also modified during the course of life span as people become older or take on new roles and responsibilities (being educated, getting a job, raising a family) (Feather, 1994). In a study aimed at examining whether 'modernists' are significantly more likely than 'traditionalists' to tolerate unconventional groups and ideas; and, whether education moulds

public attitudes toward political dissenters indirectly and through its influence on individual value priorities in the United States, Golebiowska (1995) through the construction of a multivariate model of political tolerance based on data collected from the National Opinion Research Centre's 1988 General Social Survey and from S. Flanagan and A. Lee's (1991) conceptualization of value shifts, found out that subscription to modern versus traditional values is associated with higher tolerance of political diversity. He found significant relationships between higher tolerance and higher education, young age and residence outside of the South, and, empirical support of the explanation that education has indirect effects on tolerance through its direct impact on values.

Schwartz & Prince-Gibson (1993) also cite age, education and ethnicity as socio-demographic moderators that have a direct effect on value priorities between gender. The effect of education on an individual's value system seems to be supported by many researchers. For example, Golebiowska (1995) argues that higher education provides individual value priorities that are associated with greater political tolerance. These individual value priorities are conducive to greater openness to political diversity. Schwartz & Barnea (1994) also argue that ideological distinctiveness of parties, education and political involvement are likely to enhance individual's readiness and ability to perceive and assess political messages and cues and to respond in accordance with their value priorities.

2.3. Ethnicity

Ethnicity may be looked at as a cultural phenomenon, a political phenomenon, a psychological process, a symbolic expression, social organisation, and, also a biological phenomenon (Thompson, 1989). This study adopts the concept of ethnicity as a psychological and social process. This means that the study is looking at ethnicity not as a static quality of an ethnic group but as a process of construction of ethnic identity (Hayes & Mare, 1997). In this regard, ethnicity refers to "social identities formed, under historically specific conditions, within which group boundaries (both inclusive and exclusive) rely on notions and practices of cultural distinctiveness (expressed in a specific mix of elements), and on a strong sense of common origin and experience (the past)" (p.2). This is important in a Ugandan context because Ugandan society is very heterogeneous and ethnic identification is not easily attributable on the basis of straight forward racial characteristics or place of origin. Ethnicity in Uganda is not simply a matter of being for

example a Muganda or Gwere. The differentiation in ethnic groups is attributable to several behavioural patterns. Language used, form of lifestyle subscribed to, and a number of other factors may be relevant. All these factors can be adopted if one wants to. Thus, specific ethnicity is a characteristic that is 'claimed' by someone and this is an outcome of a complex process of identification.

Jenkins (1994) argues that ethnic boundaries are permeable, and 'ethnicities' exist despite the flow of interaction between them. This then means that "ethnicity is situationally defined, produced in the course of social transactions that occur at or across (and in the process help to constitute) the ethnic boundary in question"(p.198) as opposed to ethnicity as consciousness among people with shared cultural and linguistic roots (Glickman, 1995). Jenkins (1994) emphasises that ethnic identity is an example of social identity and externally-located process of social categorisation are enormously influential in its production.

2.4. The social identity theory

Tajfel's social identity theory (SIT here after) has a tripartite structure, whose basic components are social categorisation, social identity and social comparison. The theory argues that people categorise the social world into in-groups and out-groups which stand in power and status relations to one another. Whenever an individual is affiliated with any particular social category, the person is said to have a social identification with that social category since it partly defines him/her (Hogg & Abrams, 1988).

According to the theory, social identity is defined as "the individual's knowledge that he belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him of the group" (Tajfel, cited in Hogg & Abrams, 1988, p.7). Social identity can take various forms. It can take the form of a major social group such as gender and race, of deviant social labels such as drug users, of biographical past such as past attachment to the group, of a society type such as 'play boys' and finally the form of voluntary membership groups such as political parties (ibid). Because

all the above forms of social identity provide one's attachment to social groups, they are socially constructed.

Tajfel's SIT assumes that there is a positive relationship between an individual's level of identification with a social group and the level of intergroup differentiation displayed (Kelly, 1988). "An individual's membership of various social groups makes an important contribution to his or her self-concept by providing a source of social identity"(p. 319). Individuals set limits to the actualization of their social and personal identities, and ethnic or national identity is one of the social identities that individuals may be motivated to validate or actualize (Horenczyk & Nisan, 1996).

By linking social identity to membership in social groups (categories), SIT suggests that individuals seek membership in groups which contribute positively to their social identity, try to maintain membership in these groups, and try to preserve the groups' characteristics which reflect positively on the individual's social identity (Hogg & Abrams, 1988). It is argued in this thesis that even in party preference, individuals might be motivated to choose to affiliate with that party which will give them a positive self-concept.

By stressing the value and emotional significance of group membership, Tajfel introduces the social comparison component of the theory. He argues that the evaluative dimension of group membership is determined through social comparison (cited in De la Rey, 1991). Individuals and groups learn about themselves through comparing themselves with others. Although it is through categorisation that individuals accentuate the in-group similarities and the out-group differences, it is through comparison with the out-group that they derive value and emotional significance for their place in society (Van Knippenberg & Van Oers, 1984). Thus we have the notion that social identity emerges from social and cognitive processes of categorization and comparison (Rodriguez & Gurin, 1990).

In contexts when comparisons contribute to an unsatisfactory ingroup identity, there is likely to be motivation to find a more positive self-concept by adopting either a social mobility or social change strategy depending on the available cognitive alternatives (Hogg & Abrams, 1988).

Cognitive alternatives exist where there are perceptions that the status between existing groups is changeable to the extent that a complete reversal of existing status relations is conceivable (De la Rey, 1991). The possibility to change and the process of change depends on whether the boundaries between groups are permeable or rigid. In cases where the boundaries between groups are permeable, individuals adopt the social mobility strategy and in situations with rigid, fixed impermeable boundaries, the social change strategy is adopted.

Social mobility involves movement of individuals from a low- esteem to a high- esteem group. This is an individualistic move to achieve a positive social identity where there are no cognitive alternatives but the low- esteem status group as a whole does not change. It is common in situations where low-esteem groups view the social order as legitimate - i.e. in contexts where advantaged and disadvantaged group status is based on ability and effort - and where everyone has the same opportunity to belong to the advantaged group (Van Knippenberg & Van Oers, 1984).

In cases where the boundaries are impermeable, a social change strategy is adopted. This is aimed at changing the social position of the in-group as a whole. This can be brought about through the processes of social competition and social creativity. Social creativity is adopted when no cognitive alternatives to status quo are available. The process here involves the re-evaluation of the low status group so that its members feel that their group is now of a high status. Another alternative involves the inferior group's selection of a different dimension on which to compare itself with the others. This is based on the assumption that there is another frame of reference where the inferior group can be positively evaluated (Knippenberg & Van Oers, 1984).

When subordinate groups can conceive of cognitive alternatives, the social competition strategy is adopted. The most common strategy used is that of violence and regression, for example the direct attack on a 'superior' group by an 'inferior' group (Foster & Louw-Potgieter, 1991). This can be through political protests, strikes, boycotts and revolution specifically aimed at overthrowing the status quo and restructuring the social order. It is typical where members of the low-status group view the social order as illegitimate. SIT also asserts that there is a possibility for members in the advantaged group (high-status) to pass from this group to the disadvantaged

group. This is evident especially when members perceive their group as no longer contributing to positive social identity. This is in situations where the principles governing the group are illegal, immoral and unjust (De la Rey, 1991).

McDonough, Barnes & Pina (1988) argue that identities are relational. They give an example of class as not just an objective position but also a perceived distance between positions. To identify oneself as 'working class' for example implies a sense of separation which may be more or less distant from the 'upper class'. The same may go for religion, tribe or political party. Kelly (1988) also asserts that 'membership' implies exclusivity, for, being a member distinguishes those who are inside the group from those who are outside the group, and in alternative groups.

Young (1970) asserts that identity is a subjective, individual phenomenon that is shaped through a constantly recurrent question to ego, 'who am I?' with its corollary, 'who is he?' generalised to the collectivity as 'who are we?' and 'who are they?' (cited in Deng, 1996, p.20). This statement is analogous to Tajfel's argument that groups understand themselves through comparison with others. To support the subjective nature of identities, Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher & Wetherell (1987) assert that political affiliation depends entirely on that sense of subjective identification which underlies the cognitive approach to group membership (cited in Kelly, 1988).

In their study on 'social identity and mass politics in Spain' to examine the salience of political divisions based on class, religion and region identities, using data drawn from the third in a series of national surveys conducted in 1978, 1980, and 1984 in Spain, McDonough *et al*, (1988) found out that the cleavage around which the party system is most directly organised is neither region nor religion nor class, but instead 'ideology' or, more accurately, left-right tendency. This then may imply that members of the same social group do not necessarily affiliate to the same party. They make party choices depending on individual interests except, of course, to the extent that ideology is the basis of the group identity. In brief, she found out that members affiliated to the same party

Kelly (1988) in her study on 'intergroup differentiation in a political context' to test the relationships between in-group identification and intergroup differentiation and between intergroup differentiation and self-esteem in the context of political affiliation, using 199 respondents, who are affiliated to the Conservative, Labour, Liberal, SDP, and Communist parties in Britain found out that in the context of political affiliation, level of in-group identification is a powerful predictor of intergroup differentiation along evaluative and affective dimensions. In other words Kelly (1988) found out that members affiliated to the same party evaluate each other similarly and evaluate those affiliated to other parties differently from themselves.

Three days before the 1993 Australian federal election, Duck, Hogg, & Terry (1995) surveyed 54 Australian undergraduates (aged 18-51) who identified with one of the two political parties. They pooled these students' perceptions of media campaign impact on self and others. Results showed that subjects judged others as more influenced by the election campaign than themselves. Also political in-group members were judged as less influenced by campaign content than political out-group members. Consistent with the social identity theory, subjects who identified strongly with their preferred party judged self and in-group members as less influenced by campaign content than did other subjects, and, showed more evidence of positive intergroup differentiation. The implication of this is that individuals are more likely to judge in-group members positively or in a similar way to how they judge themselves. Thus, even in party affiliation, individuals may choose to affiliate with that party with which they strongly identify regardless of the campaign messages.

2.5. The implications of ethnicity on political party affiliation

Some of the reasons why political parties organize themselves along ethnic lines are: (a) ethnicity is a convenient basis for political organizers due to the commonality of language and culture and the availability of ethnic organizations with their ready-made leadership and membership; (b) ethnoregional resource deposits (water, minerals) reinforce ethnic self-awareness and sensitize ethnic groups to the possibility of exploitation by other groups; (c) historical patterns of ethnic

political domination - for example, by a group preferred or advantaged by a colonial ruler such as the Igbos in Nigeria can mobilise ethnic opposition groups; (d) where there are ethnically distinct regions, regional representation arrangements can encourage the formation of ethnoregional political parties (Horowitz, 1985; Young, cited in Nagel, 1995). All these points will be shown below in the Ugandan political context.

Using a sample of 532 (253 females, 254 males, 25 unreported (modal age 18 yrs) Swedish high school students to examine the socio-political attitudes and political party preferences of the Swedish, Sidanius & Ekehammar (1979) found out that of the seven predictors/background variables they studied, only three had any substantial relationship with subjects' socio-political attitudes and political party preferences. The variables were: the mother's political party preference; class identification; and the father's political party preference. This illustration may support Giordano's (1992) argument that system beliefs are passed on to children during socialization.

Onah (1993) examined the relationship between political party activities and the formation of political attitudes of the electorate by surveying 300 participants of the 1990 local government election in Anambra State, Nigeria, three months after the election. His results showed that subjects formed their political attitudes not because they attended political rallies or listened to politicians, but through discussions with their friends. He also found that the employed electorate was more interested in politics than their unemployed counterparts. A reasonable percentage of the electorate was not familiar with political party's programs, and even though they voted, political party programs did not significantly affect their voting behaviour. Reasons for their voting included ethnicity, perceived competence of the candidate and social status. Such a study having been done in Africa may have some commonality with the Ugandan political structure.

In the above section the literature relating to ethnic identification and political party affiliation has been reviewed. In the following section the literature on 'worries' will be reviewed and the relevance of looking at 'worries' as well as ethnic identification will become apparent.

2.6. The structure of 'worries'

Works on 'worries' started coming out in the last decade (Davey & Tallis, 1994; MacLeod, Williams, & Bekerian, 1991). Even then, the work that was coming out was directed towards the clinical world (Boehnke, Schwartz, Stromberg & Sagiv, 1994; Davey & Tallis, 1994). Literature on non-pathological 'worries' was still sparse (Davey & Tallis, 1994; MacLeod *et al*, 1991). It seems that most researchers gained interest in non-pathological 'worries' during the time of the 'nuclear war' threat, but there has been little literature generated on non-pathological 'worries' even subsequent to this.

'Worries' are issues which constantly bother and cause anxiety among people as they interact with each other and in relation to society in general (Mufune, Osei-Hwedie, & Mwansa, 1991). They may also be defined as "cognitions that a state of an object (self, ingroup, society, or world) in one or more domains of life (health, safety, environment, social relations, meaning, achievement, or economic) will become or remain discrepant from its desired state" (Boehnke *et al*, 1994, p. 22). Thus, 'worries' are elicited when the attainment or maintenance of people's desired end-states is threatened.

Boehnke *et al.* (1994) argue that 'worries' have two facets; the object of a worry (self, close others, society, world) and the domain of a worry (the field of life with which it is concerned). They provide seven potentially distinct life domains of 'worries' which include health, safety, environment, social relations, meaning in life, achievement in work and studies, and economics.

They group 'worries' into micro 'worries' (those concerned with self and close others) and macro 'worries' (concerned with society and the entire world in general). In this study, the respective sub-groups of each 'worries' type will be termed micro-self 'worries' (as those concerned with self), and micro-ingroup 'worries' (as those concerned with close others); macro-society 'worries' (as those concerned with society), and macro-world 'worries' (as those concerned with entire world) (Schwartz, Sagiv, & Boehnke, 1998). For example the worry 'things not working out in my studies or job' is a micro-self worry; 'someone in my family not having enough money to live

on' is a micro-ingroup worry; 'conflict among groups in society' is a macro-society worry; and 'people in the world dying from hanger' is a macro-world worry.

Each worry combines at least one element from the object facet and one from the domain facet. For example, the worry 'things not working out in my studies or job' combines the 'micro' object (i.e. self) with the 'achievement' domain, and the worry 'a value crisis in society' combines the macro object (i.e. society) with the meaning domain. Schwartz, Sagiv, & Boehnke (1998) assert that the object and life domain facets of 'worries' cross-cut one another and are conceptually independent. Examples of 'worry' objects and their life domains are presented in Table 2.

Boehnke *et al.* (1994) suggest that different 'worries' may be experienced differently or exert a different intensity on the individual concerned, and thus 'worries' from distinct life domains may elicit measurably different reactions from different respondents. Breakwell, Fife-schaw, & Devereux, (1988) assert that 'worries' about certain external events are related to political world views and have implications for levels of political activity. The nature of the cause, threat, or problem an individual or group encounters can determine the boundaries of identification and attachment that generate political organisation and sentiment which are required to solve the problem (*ibid*). This then may imply that 'worries' do affect decision making. Metzger, Miller, & Cohen (1990) assert that 'worries' affect the individual's cognitive process and thus may cause one to make a decision that will eliminate his or her 'worries'. In relating 'worries' to value priorities, Boehnke *et al.* (1994) assert that the greater the importance attributed to a value, the more important it is to attain the goals towards which the value is directed, and the greater the worry about attaining these goals.

Table 2. The Two Facets of 'worries' and exemplary items intended to index them.

LIFE DOMAIN FACET	OBJECT FACET	
	Micro	Macro
Health	-My getting cancer	- People in the world dying of hunger

Safety	-Someone in my family being in a traffic accident	- The outbreak of a nuclear war
Environment	-Pollution in my immediate neighbourhood	- Worsening destruction of the environment
Social Relations	-My not having any close friends	- Conflict among groups in our Society
Meaning in life	My life not really being meaningful	- A value crisis in society
Achievement	Things not working out in my studies or job	- Humankind not being wise enough to make responsible use of new scientific knowledge
Economics	Someone in my family not having enough money to live on	- Many people in my country living in poverty

2.7. 'Worries' and political party affiliation

Borkovec (1985) suggests that individuals are constantly engaged in securing valued goals and when their goal-directed behaviour is blocked, a self-evaluative state develops leading to an awareness of the discrepancy between where one is and where he or she wants to go (cited in Tallis, Eysenck, & Mathews, 1991). He sees worrying as an attempt to avoid negative outcomes by anticipating all possible alternatives. Thus, 'worries' bring potential threats into awareness, so that problem solving can take place. In a political context, to avoid the negative outcomes anticipated, individuals may choose to affiliate with that political party that is more likely to eliminate their 'worries' when in power.

The effect of 'worries' on the determination of one's political party affiliation may be influenced by one's commitment to religion (Schwartz & Huismans, 1995). This means that the more

religious one is, the less likely he or she will be influenced by his or her 'worries'. The above authors argue that religion has been identified through psychological analysis as a factor that plays a role in reducing uncertainty for the individual. It is seen to give answers to most of the fundamental existential mysteries (i.e death, disease, injustice) that people encounter in life. This may be through emphasis on accepting whatever happens as there is nothing that can happen without super natural (God) will. In this way, an individual accepts his or her state of worrying with a view that help can only come from God. Through prayer, the individual conceivably gains courage and hope as he or she realises that however much he or she worries, the worrying won't change anything, but only God will. This attitude enables people to accept and make peace with their situations in life (Durkheim, 1964; Argyle & Hallachmi, 1975; Wulff, 1991 cited in Schwartz & Huismans, 1995).

Davey & Tallis (1994) assert that some 'worries' may be particularly linked to the occurrence of previous events that the individual concerned judge as likely to re-occur. As so, the 'worries' may allow the individual to anticipate future threats and thus look for alternatives to avoid the fate.

During Obote's and Amin's regimes (1967 - 1985), human rights abuse in Uganda was part of life. These two regimes not only deprived people of their political freedom but also caused insecurity, economic and infra structural deteriorations. The regimes used paramilitary institutions to keep them in power. These institutions are blamed for the massive violation of human rights over those years. There is no doubt that Ugandans in the country then, lived under fear most of the time. Given a chance to participate in party politics after experiencing such events, it is arguable that people may choose to affiliate with a party that will not take them back to their past. In this way, their 'worries' about the future may determine their party choice. This argument raises the importance of consideration of 'worries' as having a role to play in the making of a political party choice in Uganda.

2.8. Political parties

Disraeli argues that the notion of a political party rests on the assumption of a body of organized opinion (cited in Duverger, 1961). This is because to form a party, presumably people start with

a reflection on the existing party system in their country, or that of any other country with the simple and erroneous assumptions that parties are and must be primarily doctrinal bodies. Duverger (1961) argues that this is not so. He says that the doctrinal unity of a party may only be one of the factors that accounts for its existence and efficacy. This factor may be largely fictitious and accidental or, at best, rest on a historical tradition that may not have any great relevancy to the problems facing the party or the country in which the party exists and works (ibid).

A country can adopt either a one party, a bi party (two party), or a multi party system (Rupesinghe, 1989). Early researchers on political parties had always assumed that political parties and orientations could be arrayed on a single left-right or liberalism-conservatism dimension (Duverger, 1959; Lipset, 1960; McClosky, 1958, cited in Barnea & Schwartz, 1994). Presently, this has been refuted by researchers like Inglehart (1990), Rokeach (1973), Selinger (1975), and Stokes (1966) who noted the variance of the meaning of the left-right dimension across nations over time and therefore argued that the single dimension was often insufficient to represent the important political cleavages in societies (cited in Barnea & Schwartz, 1994).

In their analysis of the ideological components of the left-right continuum and of the basic political conflict, several recent researchers have distinguished two rather than one general dimension (i.e., a socio-economic dimension and a liberalism dimension) (Barnea & Schwartz, 1994). The former concerns the degree of economic equality among people and the latter concerns readiness for social change and individual rights and freedom. These dimensions are labelled classical liberalism and economic egalitarianism. The above authors argue that the two dimensions differ across countries in their relative importance for discriminating among parties. They cite an example of countries like Germany and Israel where other issues, for example environmentalism and religion respectively may be part of the two basic dimensions or they may form additional politically relevant dimensions. Having reviewed the literature on values, ethnicity, and 'worries' and their relation to political party affiliation, a background to the formation of political parties in Uganda is presented.

2.9. Background to political party formation in Uganda

Present day Uganda was built on the Buganda kingdom (Segall, Doornbos & Davis, 1976) (see Appendix 2 for a map of early organisation of kingdoms in Uganda). The existence of 'Uganda' as a country may be traced to the present century, for it was previously a great number of kingdoms and chieftains (Segall, *et al*, 1976; Collison, 1981). Like many other African states, the boundaries which now shape the process of nation building in this country were drawn by the colonialists with little regard for the pre-existing patterns of cultural and ethnic identity (Segall *et al*, 1976). Before colonialism, the different societies of the country adopted either a stateless or state governed form of political organisation (Kintu-Nyago, 1996). Stateless political organisation involved centering political organisation around the clan system. This basically relied on generational lines, with power being executed through a council of elders, while their clan heads and chiefs were elected by their fellow elders (Mamdani, 1976). State governed political organisation on the otherhand involved execution of power through an established monarch under a king. By then, the dominant state governed societies were the Kingdoms of Buganda and Bunyoro and the stateless ones included predominantly those societies in the now northern part of Uganda.

Churchill (1908) asserts that in Buganda, an amiable, clothed, polite, and intelligent race dwelt together in an organised monarch under a dynastic king, with a parliament, and powerful feudal system. There was a court, there were Regents and Ministers and nobles, there was a regular system of native law and tribunals; there was discipline, there was industry, there was culture, and there was peace. "In fact, I ask myself whether there is any other spot in the whole earth where the dreams and hopes of the negrophile, so often mocked by results and stubborn facts, have ever attained such a happy realizations" (Churchill, 1908, p.87). However, one needs to be aware that this is colonial writing, which may suffer from some of the patronising attitude of so much colonial writing, and ignorance of the complexity of African society. But Southall & Gutkind (1967) also noted that the indigenous kingdom of Buganda, in the nineteenth century, was fascinating to Europeans whose stereotype of Africa did not lead them to expect sophisticated political systems (cited in Segall *et al*, 1976).

Formation of political parties in Uganda had a poor start. By the 1960's this country still had no political party which was comparable to those that existed in neighbouring countries (Kenya and Tanzania), or even in Ghana. Yet in actual sense this country was economically better and had more literacy than those mentioned (Low, 1962). The country had its first modern political party formed in 1952. This was the Uganda National Congress (UNC) founded by I.K. Musazi and Abu Mayanja. This party like the others that followed started with the aim of recovering Uganda's independence. However, Uganda's independence was granted without any political struggle, so these political parties immediately redefined their aims and interests from obtaining independence to who would inherit the post-colonial Uganda (Langlands, 1977; Hansen, 1977).

UNC's leadership was formed by the Baganda and was predominantly Protestant (Mutibwa, 1992). The second party to be formed was the Democratic Party (DP) in 1954 which like the UNC was Baganda formed with Benedicto Kiwanuka as president. DP was formed by the Baganda Catholics as a means to pave their way towards leadership following their marginalisation by the Protestants during the previous years. The next party to be formed was the Progressive Party (PP) in 1955 by E. M. K. Mulira. This was a duplicate of the UNC in that it was both Baganda-based and predominantly Protestant. It represented those elite Baganda Protestants who hadn't found a niche for themselves within the Buganda government (Mutibwa, 1992). PP was followed by the United Congress Party (UCP) in 1957 that was formed by disaffected young members of the UNC. In 1959 UNC broke up into two factions. The Baganda faction led by Musazi and the non-Baganda faction led by Obote.

In the 1958 elections to the Legislative Council (Legco), the rising political parties suggested these elections be held along political party lines as opposed to district representation lines. Buganda had more districts and thus would always form the majority membership in the Legco. Thus a shift to holding Legco elections on party lines was a threat to the Buganda government which responded by boycotting the elections. Without Buganda's participation, a new Legco was elected. The newly elected legislative council members (non-Baganda) decided to form the Uganda Peoples Union (UPU) with the aim of establishing organised opposition to Buganda (Mutibwa, 1992; Mudoola, 1996).

Still with the intentions of undermining political parties, Baganda leaders who were staunch monarchists formed the Uganda National Movement (UNM) in 1959. However, UNM was short lived due to the financial threats it posed to the Buganda government from the colonialists. It was therefore proscribed by the colonial governor (Tumusiime, 1993).

During the same year, UNM was replaced by Uganda Freedom Movement (UFM) that later became known as Uganda Freedom Convention (UFC) and finally as the Uganda Freedom Union (UFU). Faced by the threat of UFU, in 1960, UPU(a non-Baganda party) and the UNC non-Baganda faction led by Milton Obote merged to form Uganda People's Congress (UPC). Thus UPC started as a non-Baganda party aimed at suppressing Baganda dominance.

In 1961, Kabaka Yekka (KY) (meaning 'The King alone') was formed by Baganda royalists with the specific intention of fighting DP that was believed to be opposed to the Kabaka (king of Buganda) (Mutibwa, 1993). Later, KY and UPC formed an alliance so as to defeat DP in the 1962 elections. This according to Mutibwa (1993) was an alliance of convenience between two parties that were diametrically opposed in their approach to the nation's politics and each of which had different aims. As already noted, KY's aim was to keep the Kabaka in power whilst UPC's aim was to suppress Baganda dominance. KY accepted the alliance because it wanted to defeat DP which was seen as a predominantly Catholic party with little interest in preserving the Buganda kingdom. On the other hand, UPC knew that it could not win the elections without support from the Baganda who are up to now still the major ethnic group in the country. Even then, Buganda was and is still an important part of Uganda because of the important role it played in the creation of the Present Uganda. Joseph Were (1998) (a non-Muganda) in the Monitor news paper of 6th August 1998 says that Uganda should have been called Buganda but for a mispronunciation of the name by the colonial administrator ended up being called Uganda. This shows the centrality of Buganda to Uganda's national politics and the reluctance of any ruler to overlook Buganda and still be able to peacefully rule Uganda. It is generally said that restoration of the Buganda Kingdom is probably one of the reasons why President Museveni has gained popularity in the country.

During the 1962 elections, the parties that were still functioning were UPC, DP, and KY. All these parties' political fortunes were largely determined by searches for constituencies within the

historic ethnic, political and religious groups (Mudoola, 1996). As a result of the formation of the UPC-KY alliance, the two parties won the 1962 elections and formed a united government with the DP becoming the opposition party. In the same year, the Kabaka of Buganda (then Mutesa 11) was elected the first president of Uganda and Obote the leader of UPC became Prime Minister. It is this government that drove Uganda to independence on the 9th October 1962.

The post-independence history of Uganda is not atypical for Africa. In the first decade following independence there were three national constitutions, several elections, the abolition of Kingdoms (those of Buganda, Toro, Ankole and Bunyoro), occasional violence, extended states of emergency and a military coup d'état (Segall *et al.*, 1976; Hansen & Twaddle, 1988). The military coup d'état occurred in 1966 when Obote drove Mutesa 11 into exile in England, and appointed himself President. In 1969 he declared Uganda a one-party state with his party (UPC) as the only legal political party. This then meant that Political pluralism in the country was illegal and any political competition had to be confined to within UPC (Barongo, 1989). It is at this time that the originally renown 'Pearl of Africa' (Churchill, 1908) started tracking towards disaster. With the banning of political parties, driving of the Kabaka into exile, and abolition of Kingdoms, Obote's government did not gain popularity. Although Obote had used army 'gun-politics' to keep him in power (Tumusiime, 1993), it was the same army under the leadership of General Idi Amin that overthrew him in Jan 1971 in a military coup d'état when he had gone to Singapore to attend the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting.

Amin's regime is commonly dubbed the regime of 'murder and terror'. When Amin Dada captured power in 1971, he banned even the remaining political party. Uganda then became a country with no political parties and thus no formal outlet for political activity and no established means for expressing opposition or disagreement. A country which had relatively higher standards of living than all of its neighbours, whose social services rated among the best in the sub-Sahara and it's people among the most enlightened in the region (Tumusiime, 1993) was now the centre of Human Rights abuse. As Kiapi (1989) warned that without political freedom there could not be freedom in Uganda. Amin like his predecessor had ruled against this and the result of his failure to release political freedom led to his overthrow in 1979.

In 1978, all the former political parties of Uganda emerged under the Uganda National Liberation Front (UNLF) formed at the Moshi Conference in Tanzania. UNLF waged guerilla warfare against Idi Amin Dada whom it overthrew in 1979. It is important to note that Milton Obote (former president) and Yoweri Museveni (present President of Uganda) were among those who formed UNLF. After assuming power, UNLF set up a National Consultative Council (NCC) to act as the parliament and a National Executive Council (NEC) to act as cabinet (Mutibwa, 1993). Professor Yusufu Lule, the then chairman of NEC was sworn in as Uganda's third executive President. Lule ruled for two months and was replaced by Godfrey Binaisa. The reason for his removal had to do with the too many wrangles and bickerings for power within the UNLF (Mutibwa, 1992). On 12th May 1980, the army that overthrew Amin (The Uganda National Liberation Army (UNLA)) headed by the military Commission officially took over state power and put Binaisa under House arrest. The major reason for his removal was that he had introduced a kind of politics he called the "Binaisa Umbrella". According to the umbrella, the traditional and even new political parties would continue to exist, but would all come under a single political umbrella: the UNLF (Mutibwa, 1993).

A presidential Commission was appointed with Paulo Muwanga then Chairman of Military Commission as the chairman, and Museveni the then Vice-chairman took up his same post in the Presidential Commission. Muwanga then publically called upon political parties to contest the national elections to be held in 1980. That is when political party activities officially gained momentum in Uganda. The two major traditional political parties (UPC and DP) came to the forefront (Mutibwa, 1993). New political parties were also formed. These included the Uganda Peoples Movement (UPM) led by Museveni and Conservative Party (CP) led by Joash Mayanja Nkangi.

When political parties kicked off, the same traditional trend of sectarian lines was adopted . UPC attracted non-Baganda support, DP Baganda support, UPM intellectuals, youth and politicians who were disillusioned with the old parties and CP feudal supporters (Tumusiime, 1993). It is generally acknowledged now that the end of the election race was very unfair, for UPC purportedly rigged the elections and claimed victory (Mutibwa, 1993; Tumusiime, 1993). The

DP that is generally claimed to have won these elections was now to form the opposition in parliament. This marked the beginning of Obote's second term of office as president of Uganda. His second term of presidency was worse than most people had anticipated, and in many ways worse than Amin's, and was therefore immediately opposed. Being a historical enemy of the Baganda with his presidency offices and residence in Buganda, all the time he operated in an enemy's camp. Museveni (now Ugandan President) had vowed to 'go to the bush' if the votes were rigged and did so immediately. His fighting group was called the National Resistance Movement (NRM). This movement replaced his UPM. Other groups that fought the Obote government were the Uganda National Rescue Front (UNRF) headed by Brig Moses Ali and Felix Onama, Uganda Freedom Movement (UFM) of Dr. Lutaakoome Kayiira, and Federal Democratic Movement (FEDEMU) led by Nkwanga.

However, Obote's own soldiers did not wait for those from 'the bush' to come and overthrow him. They organised a coup d'état led by General Okello Lutwa that in July 1985 drove him out of power. Although the new military government lamented for peace talks with the guerilla camps (i.e. initiated and held negotiations with guerilla camps), Museveni did not cease fighting until Jan 1986 when he captured power. His army, the National Resistance Army (NRA) was dominated by the Southern Bantu, especially the Banyankole and Baganda (Obote's historical enemies). The base of their war was in Buganda.

Museveni's new government was a challenge to all those who had ever led this country. Although NRM also suspended political parties after assuming power, the president elected a cabinet that was representative of all political parties, former guerilla camps, and interest groups like tribes, regions, religions and ideological sentiments (Tumusiime, 1993). After ten years in power (in 1996), he arranged for democratic elections. In these elections the DP and UPC political parties formed an early non-intelligible alliance to pull him out of power. This was a non-intelligible alliance in the sense that it was organised by the party leaders without consent from the party supporters. Museveni won the elections with 72 % majority. However, no sooner had Museveni assumed power in 1986 than another rebel camp started in the Northern part of Uganda. Up to the present time, rebel activities are still going on in the northern and western parts of the country.

Rebel groups in the country include the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) of Joseph Kony and the Allied Democratic Front (ADF) of Onzi.

In preparation for the 9th May 1996 presidential elections, youth members of DP formed the Uganda Young Democrats party (UYD) chaired by Luzige who was then a law student at Makerere University. This party did not make a significant effect on the elections because it had not yet gained popularity. To date, the party functions as the youth wing of DP and has drawn many Youth who are politically talented.

The brief history above illuminates the unsettled nature of politics in Uganda. The formation of political parties in the country was from the start organised along ethnic, religious, and regional lines (Kasfir, 1976; Hansen, 1977). The division of parties on religious lines had its genesis in the colonial system. UPC was an Anglican oriented (commonly known as Protestant) party backed by Britain and DP a catholic oriented party backed by France. These two were the major colonial powers in the partition of Africa which was achieved in pursuit of economic interests. Although Political parties in Uganda, and the entire politicising process seem to be a coalition of local interests, the suffering the country has gone through has led to the opening of a new chapter in Uganda's politics. An indication of this is when Semwogerere (a Muganda) who was the run up in the 1996 presidential elections scored high in the Northern part of Uganda(non-Baganda region) and lost in his home area (Buganda).

Although the president of Uganda, Yoweri Kaguta Museveni (elected in May 1996), favours a representative system of government based on consensus, he considers multi-partyism to be unacceptably confrontational and divisive (Makinda, 1996). He argues for a no party democracy based on the belief that parties in Africa polarize along sectarian lines, such as religious or tribal divisions. (Glickman, 1995). However, there is overwhelming opposition to this. He is presently under pressure from the respective political parties (who have all along been recruiting people, issuing membership cards and holding political seminars even though the government claims this is presently still considered illegal). With activists defying the 1986 ban on party activities, Museveni resorted to the National Resistance Council (NRC) in August 1992 to debate and recommend that a ban on party activities be maintained during the constitution making exercise

(Tumusiime, 1993). The new constitution was inaugurated in 1995. Although party politics was banned during the constitution, the ban was not practically effected. It seemed to have been in words but not in action. For example, constitutional assembly membership and membership to parliament were all over the country voted for on political party lines. Not only those, but also the 1996 the presidential elections.

Yoweri Museveni (1992) in his book 'what is Africa's problem?' agrees that in Uganda, religion is sometimes used to bring about divisions among the people. However, he argues that there is nothing like ethnicity in Uganda. He asserts that ethnicity is not a problem in Uganda instead past leaders used it to divide people.

It is in this context, where the nature of political organisation in a unitary state is contested and in a process of transition (inchoate), that it becomes of interest to look at the relationship between ethnicity, 'worries', religion and other relevant factors, and political choice. The idea of a political party being a body of organised opinion along rationalistic, ideological lines does not have a convincing history in Uganda. Yet the favour for multi-party democracy is undoubtedly a motivating force in the confusing and conflicting history of modern Uganda. We can expect that political party choice is not determined along ideological lines (in the sense of organised political idea) yet it is conceivable that amongst the youth of Uganda there may be a greater orientation away from tradition and towards political organisation based on ideology.

Hence, it might be expected, and it is certainly of political and social interest to investigate this, that the youth of Uganda show less of an allegiance to parties based on non-ideological dimensions such as ethnicity and region. Of course there is the possibility that regional concerns might naturally translate into ideological positions in which case regionalism in party choice might not be a consequence of traditional and unthought political party choice. It is hoped that it has been made clear that this kind of context, which is often characterised as an emerging democracy, is a fruitful context in which to study the relationship between ethnicity, religion, 'worries' and political party choice.

2.10. The case for Makerere University

Makerere University has been a kind of political institution for some long time. The university has produced leaders of thought and political organisation like Milton Obote and Julius Nyerere who contributed to the ferment of nationalist forces that lead to the independence of their countries. Mujaju (1972), Langlands (1977), Mazrui (1978), and Mudoola (1996) all once lecturers at the department of political science Makerere University give complimentary accounts of the Makerere University students' involvement in the politics of Uganda.

Vivid political activities at the university commenced during the first Obote regime. Langland (1977) outlines the various strategies adopted by the students to oppose this regime most of which were reciprocated by introducing the General Service Unit (GSU) a spy network into the University and consequently putting students into jail. With this sort of governance, the only political party that could be established at the university was the ruling one. Thus UPC was the first political party to establish a branch at Makerere University around 1970 (Langland, 1977). This is because by then Uganda was a one-party state. However, this party did not get enough support at the institution which was predominantly Baganda and thus, no party politics was evident at the campus then.

When Amin came to power in 1971 all political parties were banned. He declared it an offence for three or more persons to discuss together anything political. This was passed in 1971 as the "Prohibition of Political Activities Decree" (Kiapi, 1989). Amin had inherited a one-party state where by only a minute population at the campus was politically active. Although Amin had at first been received with cheers from the students, this was short lived. As the government became dictatorial and suppressed all the public criticisms, Makerere students instead acquired a special significance (Langland, 1977) through their courageous demonstrations against the regime.

In opposition to the government policies, i.e. the banning of the National Union of Students of Uganda association that was dominated by Makerere Students and the expulsion of Asians, the students staged various demonstrations that led to the deaths of some of them. Like the previous regime, the Amin government also resorted to the introduction of a spy-net work (the State

Research Bureau) at the campus. For example, the agents for this network would attend academic lecture sessions to monitor the lecturers. This put both the students and lecturers lives at stake as most of these agents couldn't differentiate between a political statement and academic work.

Until 1980 the political activities of Makerere University were marked by demonstrations. Students would only get a chance to join an organised Ugandan political party when they escaped the country. They would join Ugandan parties operating from outside. However, when the ban on political activities was lifted in 1980, the University's student's leadership lines took a political trend. Political parties started sponsoring students' Guild Presidency Campaigns. An example is Nobert Mao now Member of Parliament for Gulu Municipality. Mao's Guild Presidency Campaigns were sponsored by the UPC.

Makerere Students have been both nationalistic and tribalistic since independence time. This can be traced back to the time it was still the East African University. Students have formed associations linked to their home areas like Abana ba Buganda and Makerere Students' Chagga Association which were initially cultural and aimed at developing home areas but became political during the period of decolonization (Dinwiddy & Twaddle, 1988). This spirit is still prevalent. Makerere students often find themselves caught up in associations linked to their home counties, districts, former schools and ethnic groups which associations have been formed long before the present students arrived there. These associations in most cases determine their party preference and it might be said that the existence of these associations is a subtle political force in the sense of influencing students away from a culture of open, critical debate towards forms of political association by characteristics such as region. An example of the subtle force of students association is given by the researcher in the introduction chapter.

However, one generally needs to know what determines which political parties Makerere students choose to affiliate to. Mazrui (1978) argues that "there can be little doubt that education and politics affect each other in quite profound ways"(p.1). Being the educated young generation of the country, these students may look at the politics of the country from a different angle than

the non-educated ones. This then casts doubt as to whether these students will focus more on their ethnicity than their 'worries' and value priorities.

However, since ethnicity is not so much an essential quality as an adopted social construction, members of an ethnic group continually interpret, respond to, and change the various ethnic aspects of their group according to their choice (Hayes & Mare, 1997), which is a reflection of their values preference. Ethnic group members will therefore affiliate with that party which represents to a significant extent the same value structure as they subscribe to.

The educated class looks at the political structure of the country as something it has to take responsibility for. In the case of Uganda, no one without a degree can hold a significant political office. This then means that the university students look at politics as one of the careers to consider. Therefore, employment opportunities may be one of the many things that Makerere University students may take into consideration when making a political party choice.

Although most researchers argue that demographic variables (i.e. education, age, and ethnic group membership) may have an influence on one's political party choice, this may be operationalised through their effects on values. Similarly 'worries' and ethnicity are value-laden and it is arguably the value-related ideological symbols and messages of political parties that people respond to (Schwarz & Barnea). Overall, this study investigates whether people make political party choices in relation to their values more than they do for reasons deriving from their personal 'worries' and ethnicity. Thus far, the study has suggested that values, 'worries' and ethnicity may play a part in political party choice. The relationships between these factors, each of which seems like a primary determinant remain largely unexplored. In attempting to examine this in a Ugandan context, three questions will be addressed in this project; (1) What, if any, value factors may be attributed to differing political party affiliations in Ugandan university students? (2) Relative to ethnicity and personal 'worries' what is the significance of the association between values and political party choice? (3) What may generally be said by way of conclusion about the place of values in determining political party choice as opposed to ethnic identification and personal 'worries'?

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research and sampling procedure

3.1.1 Procedure

A questionnaire was administered to 1,600 first year students (male and female) in the faculties of education, law, social sciences, sciences, medicine, technology and commerce on registration at the university. Since registration was managed by administrative assistants of the respective faculties, it was those faculties whose administrative assistants were willing to administer the questionnaires that were sampled. Thus, sampling of faculties was in a way by convenience. Students were told to return questionnaires when returning the registration forms. Questionnaires were completed anonymously. Both the completed questionnaire and registration form were then given to an independent researcher who copied the student's number from the registration card onto the questionnaire. Later, the student's first choice course, the present course of study, the points obtained in high school national examinations, and the present form of sponsorship were cross checked in the university records and included on the questionnaire. The purpose of inclusion of these extra variables was to try to bring into the study those unique factors that are attributable to only students, e.g. course of study. A total number of 602 questionnaires were brought back. This number is 37.6% of the total questionnaires administered. Of these, 515 cases were retained after cleaning the data(see below). The excluded questionnaires were those which fell in one of the three categories explained in Section 3.3 (see section on data processing). Thus the final sample of the study was 32.2% of the total number of questionnaires administered.

3.1.2 Sample

The final sample was composed of 309 male and 176 female first year students from Makerere University. 30 of the respondents did not specify their gender. Concerning ethnicity, the sample included 194 Ganda, 145 Nyakitara, 31 Nilohamites, 70 Nilotics, 26 Gwere, 25 other (foreign students) and 24 of them did not specify their sub-ethnic groups. Respondents covered all of the major religious groups as follows: 174 were Roman Catholic, 224 Protestants, six SDA's 45 Pentecostals, 39 Moslems, five Tabliqs, three Others (smaller groups), five Nones and 14 did not specify. The sample was also representative of the major political parties in the country as follows: 30 of the respondents were affiliated to Uganda People's Congress (UPC), 37 Democratic Party (DP), three Conservative Party (CP), 255 National Resistance Movement (NRM), seven Other (Pressure groups), 164 None and 19 did not specify. Of the total sample 325 students were government sponsored (Government pays their fees), 153 Private (day) and 36 private (evening) sponsored. Private students are those who are not sponsored by the government. Day or evening specifies the time they attend lecturers. One student did not specify the form of sponsorship.

3.2 Instrument

The instrument for the study was derived by combining two different surveys, and these were the Schwartz (1992) values survey and the 'worries' survey that was used by Boehnke, Schwartz, Stromberg, & Sagiv (1994). The English versions of these questionnaires were used. This is because the medium of instruction at Makerere University is English. Section one and three of the final instrument were from the values survey and section two from the 'worries' survey.

Values were measured with a refined English version of Schwartz's (1992) values questionnaire that asks respondents how important each of the 57 values is to them personally as a guiding principle in their lives (see Appendix 1). The questionnaire has a scale running from -1 (opposed to my values) to 7 (of supreme importance). This questionnaire has previously been used to study the nature of values in more than 40 countries and has been proved both valid and

reliable by many researchers (Schwartz, 1992; Burgess, Schwartz & Blackwell, 1994). The 57 values in the questionnaire are each followed by a short explanatory phase (see Appendix 1). It is these values that are grouped into the ten postulated value types (as shown in Table 1, Chapter 2). Values from the different motivational types are intermixed throughout the survey.

The second section of the questionnaire measures 'worries'. This section taps the respondents' object of a worry (what the specific worry concerns, i.e self, close others, society, world) and the domain of a worry (the field of life with which it is concerned). Respondents are asked to rate how worried they are over various aspects of life, eg. someone in their family not having enough money to live on. The scale for this section runs from 0 (not at all worried) to 4 (extremely worried) (see Appendix 1).

The section has 33 'worries' items. These items represent two major 'worries' types (i.e micro and macro 'worries'). Each of these 'worries' types have been grouped into two sub-'worries' types. The subgroups for the micro 'worries' are micro-self and micro-ingroup. Those for the macro 'worries' are macro-society and macro-world (details given in literature review). Also, the different 'worries' types are intermixed throughout the section. A reliability test run on the items of the instrument (on both values and 'worries') during the analysis for this study gave a cronbach's alpha value of 0.9339 (alpha > 0.8 implies strong reliability of the instrument). The various 'worries' studies done in Europe and America using this 'worries' survey also show that it is both valid and reliable (Boehnke, Macpherson, Meador, & Petri, 1989; Boehnke, Frindte, Reddy & Singhal, 1993; Schwartz, Sagiv & Boehnke, 1998). The reliability results of this study may exemplify the reliability of the instrument in an African context.

The third section of the questionnaire asks about the biography of the respondents. This section gathered information on the sex of the respondents, age, religious group, political party, years of schooling, marital status, sub-ethnic group, place where one grew up, economic status while growing up, years of education completed by both parents, number of sisters, brothers, relatives and non relatives lived with while growing up. Some of these variables were included for purposes of research that extend beyond the concerns of this present study.

3.3 Data Processing

The study being based on quantitative questionnaires followed standard procedures of quantitative analysis. First of all, a code book was designed to provide a guide to the variables to be extracted from the questionnaire. Numeric variables with their respective valid data values were coded (for example 'year of birth'). Categorical variables, for example, sex were assigned numeric values (male = 1, female = 2). Other variables with a wide range of values such as years of education completed by parents, and number of relatives lived with while growing up, were grouped and assigned representative figures. For example years of education for parents with not more than seven years of education (primary level) were coded as one. Those from eight to 11 years of education (secondary level) were coded as two. Those from 12 years to 13 years (high school level) were coded as three. Those from 14 to 16 years of education (tertiary level) were coded as four and those from 17 and above (post-graduate level) were coded as five (0 - 7 = 1; 8 - 11 = 2; 12 - 13 = 3; 14 - 16 = 4; 17- above = 5).

The scale of the values section runs from -1 (opposed to my values) to 7 (of supreme importance) (see Appendix 1). To eliminate the negative value, the -1 rating was coded as 9. The missing value was coded as 8. The missing value (8) is the value that was coded when the respondents did not rate that particular values statement. The missing values (in the values section) needed a code value because of the intention to compute the ten individual level values from the 57 values (Schwartz, 1992). The computing command for BMDP operates by averaging values thus the need to have all columns filled. If a column of a particular case does not have a number, then that whole case will be automatically removed from the analysis. Therefore it was necessary to have a missing value code for the values section to enable the computer command to have enough information to make its calculation. This value does not affect the data since it is specified as a missing value when defining the variables on the computer.

After the code book was prepared, the data was then loaded onto the computer using the Epi-info computer programme. However, data analysis was done using the BMDP statistical programme.

The first step of the analysis involved *cleaning* the data. Data cleaning applied to the values section only. It involved eliminating any case where:

1. '7' was used more than 21 times
2. Any other number was used more than 35 times (including more than 35 missing values)
3. The same number was used more than 10 times consecutively.

Cleaning the data eliminated 87 cases. A total of 515 cases were retained. This is 86 % of the total number of questionnaires returned.

Final analysis was done on 515 cases. First of all, the 'record command' was used to replace 0, with 1, 1 with 2, 2 with 3, 3 with 4, 4 with 5, 5 with 6, 6 with 7, 7 with 8, 8 with 9, and 9 with 0. This was intended to give the 9 score (representing 'opposed to my values' in the questionnaire) a value of 0 (weightless code). This implies that in the data, those values that a respondent rated as 'opposed to my values' are now scored as zero. They are scored as zero because according to the respondent, they are not important. Zero is a weightless code (i.e when added to other figures does not alter that figure). Using the 'missing value command', BMDP was instructed to treat the "now" recorded 9 as a missing value.

Value scores for each of the ten individual level value types (power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, self-direction, benevolence, security, tradition, conformity and universalism) were then computed. This was done by averaging the "importance" ratings given to the motivational goal that represents each type (Schwartz, 1992). Similar procedures were followed for 'worries'. 'Worries' types and sub-types were obtained by averaging the worrying rating given on each item (Schwartz, Sagiv & Boehnke, 1998).

To be able to run chi-squares with values and 'worries' their ratings were converted into categorical data. For values, three categories were formed. The category 'low importance' that represented the ratings of (1, 2, and 3); 'central' that represented the ratings of (4 and 5); and 'very important' that represented the ratings of (6, 7, and 8). Also three categories were formed for 'worries'. The category 'not worried' that represented the (0); 'central' that represented the ratings of (1 and 2); and 'extremely worried' that represented the ratings of (3 and 4).

Chi-square was used to find the relationship between values and ethnicity, political parties, and other categorical variables; and also the relationship between ‘worries’ and ethnicity, political parties and the same categorical variables used on values. To increase internal and external validity, Anova was computed to compare the values and ‘worries’ **means** of students from different political parties and ethnic groups. Finally, discriminant analysis was run to test if political parties can be grouped on the dimension of the three variables (i.e values, ‘worries’, and ethnicity). For all the above statistical tests, the level of significance was checked at 0.05.

4. RESULTS

In this section, the data will be presented in relation to the questions addressed by the study. This data gives the results of the statistical tests mentioned in the previous chapter.

4.1 Descriptive statistics

Descriptive statistics was done on the background variables of the questionnaire. The aim of this was to present the characteristics of the sample in a clear manner that would easy reference to the sample during discussions. In this section, percentages giving details of the composition of the sample in terms of gender, religion, political party, sub-ethnic group, course of study, course put as first choice, form of sponsorship, and place of upbringing are presented. Some of these variables, although not intentionally considered for the study proved to have significant importance.

Table 3. **Gender**

Gender	percentage composition

Male	64 %
Female	36 %

Table 4. **Form of sponsorship**

Sponsor	percentage composition
Govt. Sponsored	64.5 %
Private (day)	30.4 %
Private (Evening)	5.1 %

Table 5. **Religion**

Religion	percentage composition
Roman Catholic	34.7 %
Protestant	44.7 %
SDA	1.2 %
Pentecostal	9.0 %
Moslem	7.8 %
Tabliq	1.0%
Other	0.6%

None	1.0%
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Pentecostal includes all the charismatic Christian religions.

Tabliq includes all the Moslem fundamentalist religions.

Table 6. **Political Party**

Political Party	percentage composition
UPC	6.0 %
DP	7.5 %
CP	0.6 %
NRM	51.4 %
OTHER	1.4 %
NONE	33.1%

Table 7. **Sub-ethnic group**

Ethnic group	percentage composition
Ganda	39.5 %
Nyakitara	29.5 %

Nilohamites	6.3 %
Nilotics	14.3 %
Gwere	5.3 %
Other	5.1 %

Ganda includes Baganda and Basoga; **Nyakitara** includes Batoro, Bakiga, Banyankole, and Banyoro; **Nilohamites** includes Iteso and Karimajong; **Nilotics** includes Alur, Acholi, Lugbara, Lango, and Madi; **Gwere** includes Bagwere, Basamya, Bagishu, and Banyara; **Other** includes non-Ugandans.

Table 8. **Place of upbringing**

Place	percentage composition
Large city	15.3 %
Small city	36.8 %
Rural area	44.9 %
Farm	3.0 %

Table 9. **Course put as first choice**

First choice	percentage composition
Engineering	12.6 %
Medicine	11.8 %
Law	23.0 %
commerce	14.7 %
Soc Science	1.2 %
Education	11.6 %
Mass Comm	12.1 %
Social work	13.0 %

Table 10. Present course of study

Course	percentage composition
Engineering	4.7 %
Medicine	5.6 %
Law	6.2 %
commerce	14.0 %
Social Sciences	30.7 %
Science	11.5 %
Education	27.0 %

Mass communication	0.3 %
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4.2 Chi-square results

Table 11. Percentage (%) composition of each biographical variable dimension by party

VARIABLE	PARTIES						Chi-square VALUE	DF	P-value
	UPC	DP	CP	NRM	Other	None			
<u>Sex:</u>									
Female	17.9	24.3	33.3	39.3	28.6	38.1	7.768	5	0.1695
Male	82.1	75.7	66.7	60.7	71.4	61.9			
<u>Religion:</u>									
Roman Catholic	36.7	64.9	0.0	34.9	0.0	27.7	105.175*	35	0
Protestant	43.3	16.2	33.3	45.6	71.4	49.7			
SDA	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.0	1.3			
Pentecostal	10.0	16.2	0.0	8.3	0.0	9.4			
Moslem	6.7	2.7	33.3	8.3	14.3	8.2			
Tabliq	3.3	0.0	0.0	0.8	14.3	0.6			
Other	0.0	0.0	33.3	0.4	0.0	0.6			
None	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.0	2.5			
<u>Ethnic group</u>									
Ganda	20.0	63.9	33.3	34.8	28.6	45.3	66.570*	25	0
Nyakitara	16.7	22.2	0.0	39.3	42.9	18.9			
Nilohamites	20.0	0.0	0.0	6.1	0.0	5.7			
Nilotics	30	5.6	33.3	9.7	28.6	18.9			
Gwere	10.0	5.6	0.0	6.1	0.0	3.8			
Other	3.3	2.8	33.3	4.0	0.0	7.5			
<u>Place</u>									
Large city	10.0	13.9	33.3	12.4	0.0	21.3	24.123	15	0.063
Small city	26.7	38.9	0.0	43.0	0.0	32.9			
Rural	63.3	44.4	66.7	42.2	100.0	43.9			
Farm	0.0	2.8	0.0	2.4	0.0	1.8			
<u>Course</u>									
Engineering	6.7	8.1	0.0	2.8	14.3	6.1			
Medicine	6.7	2.7	0.0	4.3	28.6	7.9			
Law	0.0	5.4	0.0	4.3	0.0	11.0			

commerce	10.0	16.2	0.0	16.5	0.0	10.4	51.702*	35	0.0342
Soc Science	33.3	24.3	33.3	33.5	28.6	28.0			
Science	13.3	18.9	0.0	12.6	0.0	9.8			
Education	26.7	24.3	66.7	26.0	28.6	26.8			
Mass Comm	3.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0			

(Significant at *p <0.05)

4.2.1 Religion and party of affiliation

The chi-square results show that there is a significant difference between different religious groups in their affiliation to political parties ($\chi^2 = 105.175$, $df = 35$, $p < 0.05$). From the results in Table 11., it is observed that 43.3% of the UPC members of this sample are Protestants, 36.7 % Roman Catholics, 10.0% Pentecostal, 6.7% Moslems, and 3.3% Tabliqs. DP is 64.9% Roman Catholics, 16.2 % Protestants, 16.2% Pentecostal and 2.7% Moslems. CP is 33.3% Protestants, 33.3% Moslems and 33.3% Other (spiritual beliefs). NRM is 45.6% Protestants, 34.9% Roman Catholics, 8.3% Pentecostal, 8.3% Moslems, 1.2% SDA's, 0.8% Tabliqs, 0.4% other, and 0.4% None. Other (Non-recognised party/Pressure groups) included 71.4% Protestants, 14.3% Moslems, and 14.3% Tabliqs. None (not affiliated to any party) included 49% Protestants, 27% Roman Catholics, 9.45% Pentecostal, 8.2% Moslems, 2.5% None, 1.3 % SDA, 0.6% Tabliq, and 0.6%Other. The entire sample includes 34.7% Roman Catholic, 44.7% Protestant, 1.2% SDA, 9% Pentecostal, 7.8% Moslem, 1.0% Tabliq, 0.6% Other and 1.0% do not belong to any religion.

The table also shows that:

1. No catholic is affiliated to CP or Other (any Pressure groups). No Pentecostal is affiliated to CP or Other. No Tabliq is affiliated to DP or UPC.
2. SDA's are either affiliated to NRM or None (don't belong to any party). Students from Other (spiritual beliefs) are either affiliated to CP, NRM, or None (no party). And those who don't belong to any religion are also either affiliated to NRM or None.

3. The majority of the UPC are Protestants; the majority of the DP are Catholics; CP has an equal composition of Protestants, Moslems and Other; the majority of the NRM are Protestants; the majority of the OTHER are Protestants; and the majority of the None are also Protestants.

4. The majority of the Pentecostal are in DP; the majority of the Moslems are in CP; the majority Of the Tabliqs are in the OTHER (pressure groups); and the majority of those without any religion are in None (No party).

5. NRM and NONE (no party) include members from every religious group.

4.2.2 Present course of study and party of affiliation

Courses that the students are taking also showed a significance difference in the way students affiliate to political parties ($\chi^2 = 51.702$, $df=35$, $p<0.05$). For example:

1. DP, NRM and NONE are composed of members from all the different courses. UPC has no law student; Other (pressure groups) has no law, commerce and Science students.

2. Education and social sciences students are also spread throughout all the different parties. CP has members from only Social Sciences and Education. Whilst the majority of the members from the rest of the parties are from Social Science, the majority of the CP is from education.

N.B. Mass communication was automatically eliminated in the analysis because it had only one student.

4.2.3 Gender and party of affiliation

Chi-square results showed that there is no significant difference between gender in affiliation to political parties ($\chi^2 = 7.768$, $df = 5$, $p<0.05$). Table 11 shows that UPC has 17.9% females and 82.1% males. DP has 24.3% females and 75.7 % males. CP has 33.3 % females and 66.7 % males. NRM has 39.3 % females and 60.7 % males. Other has 28.6 % females and 71.4 % males. None has 38.1 % females and 61.9 % males. The percentage ratio of female to male of the entire sample is 36% to 64%.

It can be seen from this that every party has a composition of both males and females with NRM having the highest percentage for females and UPC the least percentage. Reminder: but not statistically significantly.

4.2.4 Place of upbringing and party of affiliation.

Chi-square results also show that there is no significant difference between respondents who grew in from different places in their affiliation to political parties ($\chi^2 = 24.123$, $df = 15$, $p < 0.05$). Results show that 63.3 % of the UPC members grew up in rural areas, 26.7 % in small cities and 10 % in large cities. Forty four point four percent (44.4 %) of the DP members grew up in rural areas, 38.9 % in small cities, 13.9 % in large cities and 2.8 % on farms. Sixty six point seven percent (66.7%) of the CP grew up in rural areas, and 33.3 % in large cities. Forty three percent (43 %) of the NRM grew up in small cities, 42.2 % in rural areas, 12.4 % in large cities and 2.4 % on farms. All the members of the OTHER (pressure groups) grew up in rural areas (i.e 100 %). Forty three point nine percent of the NONE (no party) grew up in rural areas, 32.9 % in small cities, 21.3 % in large cities and 1.8 % on farms. Given the entire sample of study, 15.3% of the respondents grew up in large cities, 36.8% small cities, 44.9% rural areas, and 3% on farms.

It can be observed from these results that the majority members for every party except NRM grew up in rural areas. Apart from DP and NRM no other party has members who grew up on a farm. The members for CP grew up either in a large city or rural area.

4.2.5 Ethnicity and party of affiliation

There is also a significant difference between different ethnic groups in their affiliation to political parties ($\chi^2 = 66.570$, $df = 25$, $p < 0.05$). From the same table, it can also be observed that UPC is composed of 30% Nilotics, 20% Ganda 20% Nilohamites, 16.7 % Nyakitara, 10% Gwere, and 3.3% Other (Foreigners). DP is composed of 63.9 % Ganda, 22.2% Nyakitara, 5.6% Nilotics, 5.6% Gwere, 2.8% Other. CP is composed of 33.3% Ganda, 33.3% Nilotics, and 33.3% Other. NRM is composed of 39.3% Nyakitara, 34.8% Ganda, 9.7% Nilotics, 6.1% Nilohamites, 6.1%

Small city	43.5	29.6	54.8	35.7	42.3	8.0	39.305*	15	0
Rural	35.6	53.5	41.9	55.7	34.6	76.0			
Farm	2.1	3.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0			
<u>Course:</u>									
Engineering	4.6	6.3	6.5	1.4	0.0	4.0	32.234	35	0.6023
Medicine	4.1	4.2	3.2	10.0	7.7	8.0			
Law	6.2	7.6	0.0	7.1	3.8	12.0			
commerce	11.3	20.1	16.1	8.6	15.4	16.0			
Social Science	33.0	27.8	35.5	30.0	30.8	24.0			
Science	12.9	8.3	19.4	15.7	7.7	8.0			
Education	27.8	25.7	19.4	25.7	34.6	28.0			
Mass comm	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4	0.0	0.0			

(Significant at *p < 0.05)

4.2.5.1 Ethnicity and religion

There is a significant difference between the ethnic groups in relation to religion ($\chi^2 = 65.291$, $df = 35$ $p < 0.05$). From the chi-square of religion by ethnic group, it is observed that 43.2% of the Ganda are Protestants, 26.8% Roman Catholic, 15.8% Moslem, 10.0% Pentecostal, 2.1% Tabliq, 1.1% other, 0.5% SDA and 0.5% None. Nyakitara includes 51.0% Protestants, 38.0% Roman Catholic, 5.6% Pentecostal, 2.1% Moslems, 1.4% SDA's, 0.7% other, 0.7% None. Nilohamites include 41.4% Protestants, 37.9% Roman Catholic, 13.8% Nilohamites, 3.4% SDA and 3.4% None. Nilotics include 50% Roman Catholic, 37.1% Protestants, 8.6% Pentecostal, 2.9% Moslem, 1.4% None. Gwere include 50% Protestants, 26.9% Roman Catholic, 19.2% Pentecostal and 3.8% Tabliq. Other (Foreigners) include 40% Protestants, 36.0% Roman Catholic, 12.0% Moslem, 4.0% SDA, 4.0% Pentecostal, and 4.0% None. The composition of ethnicity and religion in the entire sample has already been given.

The results show that:

Ganda includes members from all religious groups; and the majority in the group are Protestants. No Tabliq is Nyakitara. The majority of the Nyakitara are Protestants. Nilohamites include no Moslem, no Tabliq and no Other. The majority of this group are Protestants. Nilotics include no SDA, Tabliq or Other. The majority of this group are Roman Catholics. Gwere include no SDA,

Moslem, Other and None. Half this group is Protestants. Other (foreigners) include no Tabliq and Other (spiritual beliefs).

Protestants are the majority in every ethnic group except the Nilotics where Roman Catholics form half of the group. It is also important to note that Protestants, Roman Catholics, and Pentecostal are spread through out all the ethnic groups. Tabliqs are only Ganda and Gwere. Other (Spiritual beliefs) are only Ganda and Nyakitara. All ethnic groups have members who do not believe in anything, except the Gwere. No Moslem is a Nilohamites or Gwere.

4.2.5.2 Ethnicity and place of upbringing

There is a significant difference between ethnic groups in relation to the place where respondent grew up from ($\chi^2 = 39.305$, $df= 15$, $p<0.05$). Forty three point five percent (43.5%) of the Ganda grew up in a small city, 35.6% in rural area, 18.8% in a large city and 2.1% on a farm. Fifty three point five (53.5%) of the Nyakitara grew up in a rural area, 29.6% in a small city, 13.4% in a large city and 3.5% on a farm. Fifty four point eight percent (54.8%) of the Nilohamites grew up in a small city, 41.9% in a rural area and 3.2% in a large area. Fifty five point seven (55.7%) of the Nilotics grew up in a rural area, 35.7% in a small city, and 8.6% in a large city. Forty two point three percent (42.3%) of the Gwere grew up in a small city, 34.6% in a rural area and 23.1% in a large city. Seventy six percent (76.0%) of the Other grew up in a rural area, 16.0% in the large city, and 8.0% in the small city.

From the above it can be concluded that: No Nilohamites, Nilotic, Gwere or Other grew up on the farm. It is only the Ganda and Nyakitara ethnic groups who have students who grew up on the farm. The majority of the Ganda, Nilohamites, and Gwere grew up in a small town. The majority of the Nyakitara, Nilotics and Other grew up in a rural area. At least 35% of each ethnic group grew up in the rural area and not more than 20% of the same grew up in a large city.

4.2.5.3. Ethnicity and gender

Chi-square results showed that there is a significant difference between different ethnic groups with relation to gender in this study ($\chi^2 = 10.787$, $df= 5$, $p <0.05$). There is also a significant

difference between the ethnic groups with relation to religion ($\chi^2 = 65.291$, $df= 35$ $p < 0.05$); and with relation to the place where one grew up from ($\chi^2 = 39.305$, $df= 15$, $p<0.05$).

Forty point two percent (40.2%) of the Ganda are female and 59.8% are male. Thirty nine percent (39.0%) of the Nyakitara are female and 61% are males. Thirty seven point nine percent (37.9%) of the Nilohamites are female are 62.1% are male. Twenty five point eight percent (25.8%) of the Nilotics are female and 76.9% are male. Twenty three point one percent (23.1%) of the Gwere are female and 76.9% are male. Sixteen point seven percent (16.7%) of the Other (foreigners) are female and 83.3% are male.

It is observed that the gender difference in composition amongst the Ganda is minimal. Males and female differ by a percentage of less than 10%. With the Nyakitara and Nilohamites, the percentage of males is almost two fold that of women. In the Nilotics the percentage of males is almost three times that of women. In the Gwere, the composition of females is a third of that of men and in the Other, the percentage of males is five times that of the females.

44.2.6 Values and their relation to gender, ethnicity, political parties, course of study and religion.

Table 13. Chi-square of Values by different variables

VALUES	Gender df=2	Ethnic gps df= 10	Parties df=10	Course df=14	Religion df= 14
Power	11.214*	7.072	11.403	28.364*	15.636
Achievement	3.250	7.417	73.809*	25.405*	18.204
Benevolence	3.106)	7.736	75.911*	25.915*	11.221
Hedonism	3.023)	10.586	5.799	34.836*	19.795
Tradition	9.221*	8.835	93.412*	10.302	15.908
Self-direction	2.195	13.342	11.855	8.733	18.490

Universalism	4.236	7.153)	37.744*	14.468	19.557
Security	2.173	13.058	73.557*	30.351*	5.946
Conformity	0.201	4.903	84.727*	37.624*	68.275*
Stimulation	6.137*	10.165	10.076	12.729	9.614

(Significant at *p <0.05)

Chi-square results showed that there are significant differences between gender in relation to Power, Tradition and Stimulation values ($\chi^2 = 11.214, 9.221, \text{ and } 6.137, df= 2, p <0.05$) respectively.

There are also significant differences between parties in their ratings for achievement, benevolence, universalism, security, tradition and conformity values ($\chi^2 = 73.809, 75.911, 37.744, 73.557, 93.412 \text{ and } 84.727, df= 10, p < 0.05$).

There are also significant differences between courses in their ratings for power, achievement, benevolence, hedonism, security, and conformity values ($\chi^2 = 28.364, 25.405, 25.915, 34.836, 30.351, \text{ and } 37.624, df= 14, p < 0.05$).

There are also significant differences between religious groups in their ratings for conformity values ($\chi^2 = 68.275, df= 14, p <0.05$).

4.2.7 'Worries' and their relation to gender, ethnicity, political parties, course of study, religion, place of upbringing and course put as first choice

There are significant differences between ethnic groups in their ratings for micro and micro-self 'worries' ($\chi^2 = 32.176, 29.406, df= 10, p <0.05$) (see Table 14).

There are significant differences between students who are doing different courses in their ratings for micro-self, macro, and macro-world ‘worries’ ($\chi^2 = 30.376, 27.814, 34.706, df= 14, p < 0.05$).

There are significant differences between people who grew up in different places in their ratings for macro, macro-society and macro-world ‘worries’ ($\chi^2 = 24.036, 21.148, 12.748, df= 6, p < 0.05$). There are significant differences between students who put different courses as their first choice in their ratings for micro-self, macro and macro-world ‘worries’ ($\chi^2 = 28.010, 30.558, 31.314, df= 14, p < 0.05$).

Table 14. Chi-square of ‘worries’ by different variables

‘Worries’	Gender df=2	Ethnic df= 10	Parties df=10	Course df=14	Religion df=14	place df=6	Choice df=14
Micro	2.012	32.176*	9.168	24.752	14.992	4.583	21.114
Micself	3.786	29.406*	4.155	30.376*	15.703	3.218	28.010*
Micgroup	0.557	12.120	9.601	7.917	14.664	6.179	8.874
Macro	1.523	5.969	6.065	27.814*	4.818	24.036*	30.558*
Macsty	0.735	4.477	7.315	22.575	4.625	21.148*	16.311
Macwrld	1.841	3.340	8.027	34.706*	4.109	12.748*	31.314*

(Significant at *p < 0.05)

4.3 2-way analysis of variance

A 2-way analysis of variance was used to follow up the chi-square results. Although the chi-square test is a test of significance of the observed differences (like the t-test or the Anova), this test does not give any information about the degree of relationship between the variables (Bless, 1993). Thus, for this study a 2-way analysis of variance (with values and 'worries' as the dependent variables and political parties as the independent variable) was used to estimate the probability that the significant differences between groups (as shown by χ^2 test) are attributable to chance or they are indicative of the actual differences between the means of the groups.

4.3.1. Values and political party affiliation

It shall be noted that CP and Other cases were automatically excluded during the analysis because they had too few values.

Results of the Anova test show that it is only the tradition value that has a significant mean difference between values of student's affiliated to different political parties ($F = 3.22$, $df = 482$, $p < 0.05$) (see Table 15).

Table 15. Means of values by Political Party affiliation

VALUE	POLITICAL PARTY								df	F	P
	<u>UPC</u>		<u>DP</u>		<u>NRM</u>		<u>NONE</u>				
	N	Means	N	Means	N	Means	N	Means			
Benevolence	30	6.48	37	6.71	255	6.75	164	6.85	482	0.94	0.4202
Achievement	30	7.34	37	7.01	255	7.12	164	7.23	482	0.87	0.4554
Conformity	30	6.97	37	7.24	255	7.36	164	7.40	482	1.28	0.2798
Hedonism	30	5.13	37	5.23	255	4.90	164	4.97	482	0.53	0.6585
Power	30	5.63	37	5.88	255	5.51	164	5.48	482	0.74	0.5262
Security	30	6.84	37	6.85	255	6.86	164	6.90	482	0.04	0.9896

Self-direction	30	5.89	37	5.93	255	6.22	164	6.36	482	2.05	0.1059
Stimulation	30	4.01	37	4.40	255	4.46	164	4.68	482	1.47	0.2220
Tradition	30	4.99	37	5.65	255	5.53	164	5.78	482	3.22	0.0227*
Universalism	30	6.36	37	6.36	255	6.44	164	6.57	482	0.61	0.6106

(Significant at *p < 0.05)

Although there is no significant mean differences with the other values between political parties, there is differences in their means. Those who do not belong to any party have the highest mean for benevolence, conformity, security, self direction, stimulation, tradition and universalism values. This group has the lowest mean for power values. Those who belong to DP have the highest means for hedonism and power values. This group has the lowest mean for achievement. UPC has the highest means for achievement. The group has the lowest means for benevolence, conformity, security, self-direction, stimulation, tradition and universalism.

NRM has the lowest mean for hedonism and its means with the rest of the values falls in between the highest and lowest levels. Except for achievement and power values, UPC and NONE (no party) lie on the opposite dimension with regard to the means of values (i.e for the value type where no party has the highest mean, UPC has the lowest).

4.3.2 Multiple range test on Anova

The multiple range test on Anova of the tradition value by parties was purposely run to show which parties have a significant mean difference between them with respect to this value.

Table 16. **Multiple range test on Anova of tradition by parties**

PARTY	Mean for parties						F-value	P-val
	UPC	DP	CP	NRM	Other	NONE		
UPC	4.99	-	-	-	-	*		
DP	-	5.65	-	-	-	-		

CP	-	-	5.07	-	-	-	2.02	0.0071
NRM	-	-	-	5.53	-	-		
OTHER	-	-	-	-	5.37	-		
NONE	*	-	-	-	-	5.78		

(Significant at 0.05)

The results in the table show that it is respondents affiliated to UPC and those respondents who do not belong to any party (i.e NONE) that have a significant mean difference with regard to the tradition value.

4.3.3 'Worries' and political party affiliation.

Table 17. Means of 'worries' by political party affiliation.

'WORRIES'	POLITICAL PARTY										
	<u>UPC</u>		<u>DP</u>		<u>NRM</u>		<u>NONE</u>		df	F	P
	N	Means	N	Means	N	Means	N	Means			
Micro	29	2.66	37	2.78	254	2.77	163	2.72	479	0.27	0.8464
Micro-self	29	2.49	37	2.66	254	2.63	163	2.57	479	0.46	0.7125
Micro-ingroup	29	3.06	37	3.06	254	3.08	163	3.10	479	0.06	0.9821
Macro	29	2.86	37	2.80	254	2.81	163	2.82	479	0.05	0.9863
Macro-society	29	2.90	37	2.83	254	2.84	163	2.84	479	0.08	0.9701
Macro-world	29	2.78	37	2.74	254	2.77	163	2.79	479	0.05	0.9849

(Significant at *p < 0.05)

Anova results showed that no 'worries' type has a significant mean difference between students affiliated to different political parties. However, the means of each of the 'worries' have a trend across parties. DP has the highest means for micro and micro-self 'worries' and the lowest means for micro-ingroup, macro, macro-society, and macro-world 'worries'. None (no party) has the highest means for micro-ingroup and macro-world 'worries'. UPC has the highest means for macro and macro-society 'worries' and the lowest mean for micro, micro-self, and micro-ingroup

'worries'. This implies that DP and UPC have the lowest means for 'micro-ingroup 'worries'. For the 'worries' type where DP has the highest mean, UPC has the lowest and vice versa. NRM has means falling between the highest and lowest mean values for every 'worries' type.

4.4 Discriminant analysis:

Discriminant analysis was used to examine whether values and 'worries' can be used to discriminate between political parties. The tolerance level of the variables that discriminates between the political parties must be at less than 0.00100 . In this case, the higher the F- value, the greater the probability for that variable to discriminate between the political parties.

Grouping Variable . . . Parties

<u>Category</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
UPC	29
DP	37
CP	3
NRM 254	
OTHER	7
NONE	163

Table 18. **Total values means and standard deviations for all political parties.**

VARIABLES	<u>Pooled values for all Parties</u>		F to Force		
	Mean	SD	enter	Level	Tolerance
Achievement	7.16430	0.15372	1.24	1	1.0000

Benevolence	6.76651	0.17186	1.08	1	1.0000
Conformity	7.32252	0.17471	3.26	1	1.0000
Hedonism	4.95267	0.34174	0.83	1	1.0000
Power	5.54767	0.27521	1.27	1	1.0000
Security	6.87047	0.16847	0.39	1	1.0000
Self direction	6.22312	0.19826	1.63	1	1.0000
Stimulation	4.50507	0.38288	0.81	1	1.0000
Tradition	5.59067	0.24504	1.98	1	1.0000
Universalism	6.47217	0.18444	0.77	1	1.0000
Micro-self	2.60240	0.32491	0.54	1	1.0000
Micro-ingroup	3.08063	0.23448	0.33	1	1.0000
Macro-society	2.84189	0.24438	0.07	1	1.0000
Macro-world	2.77431	0.28099	0.04	1	1.0000

(minimum tolerance level at .00100)

Discriminant analysis on values and ‘worries’ shows that neither of the two on its own can be used to discriminate amongst political parties. However, from the table above it can be observed that the values that showed significant differences across parties have the higher pooled means (i.e conformity M = 7.32252; Achievement M= 7.16430; Security M= 6. 87047; Benevolence M = 6.76651, and Universalism M = 6.47217) (see table 18). Pooled mean is the total average mean for the sample (including all the parties) . This mean shows the overall mean of the sample for each particular value types and or ‘worries’ types. It generally shows what values types and ‘worries’ types are rated highest and least in the overall sample. Although this is not statistically significant, it may show a trend.

The above table also shows that Micro-ingroup ‘worries’ have the highest pooled mean (M = 3.08063). The table also shows that every ‘worries’ type has a pooled mean which is above two. The ‘worries’ scale runs from 0 (not at all worried) through 2 (somewhat worried) to 4 (extremely worried) (see Appendix 2). Therefore a pooled mean of above two for each ‘worries’ type indicates that on average, the respondents of the sample worry about every life domain in the study in more or less equal measures (see Appendix 2 for ‘worries’ items).

4.5. Summary of results

In response to the questions of this study:

Chi-square results showed that

(1) There are certain specific significant difference between students of different religious groups, ethnic groups and those taking different courses in their affiliation to political parties. Gender differences and difference in place of upbringing do not discriminate amongst party affiliation.

(2) There are certain specific significant difference in ethnic groups with regard to gender, religious group and place of upbringing. Course of study does not give significant differences.

(3) There are certain specific significant values differences between gender, party of affiliation, course of study and religious group. There are no significant values differences between ethnic groups.

(4) There are significant 'worries' differences across 'ethnic groups', 'course of study', 'place of upbringing' and 'the course one put as first choice on application for entrance to the university'. There are no significant 'worries' differences between gender, parties, and religious group.

Anova results showed that

(1) there are significant **mean** differences between UPC, DP, NRM, and CP with regard to the importance rating of the tradition value type. Benevolence, achievement, conformity, hedonism, power, security, self-direction, stimulation and universalism values show no significant mean differences amongst parties.

(2) there is no significant mean differences between parties with relation to all the 'worries' types

Multiple range test results showed that

Respondents affiliated to UPC and those that are not affiliated to any party have a significant mean difference with relation to the tradition value.

Discriminant analysis results showed that

(1) none of the three variables (ethnicity, values and 'worries') on its own can be a grouping factor for political party affiliation.

5. DISCUSSION

From the results of this study, it is evident that ethnicity and certain value priorities play a role in the determination of student's affiliation to a political party. 'Worries' in general do not have a

significant influence *per se*. Findings showed that achievement, benevolence, universalism, security, tradition and conformity values are given differing importance across political parties. Findings also show that the tradition value has a significant mean difference between these parties (but the others do not anomaly).

Other factors such as religion and course of study were also found to have an influence on these student's political party choice. However, the influence of these factors may still be attributable to the values differences involved. As much as ethnic groups did not show values differences, they did show significant differences in relation to religious identity and place of upbringing. Thus, the influence of ethnicity on party of affiliation may encompass religion and place of upbringing.

5.1 Existence of ethnic influence on party affiliation

The influence of ethnicity on party affiliation in Uganda may be traced back from the way party politics emerged in the country. Political party formation was based on vested ethnic interests and this trend seems to be still in existence. Mutibwa (1992) tells us that even a single party at one time split into ethnic factions (i.e the Baganda and the non-Baganda factions of UNC). With the historical ethnic clash within political party formations (cited in literature), Uganda may reasonably be thought to have developed a political culture based on ethnic interests.

It is evident in the results of this study that most of what history tells us about party politics in Uganda is what is still presently happening. For example the results of this indicate that of the ethnic groups, Nilotics comprise the largest percentage (30%) in UPC; Ganda comprise the largest percentage (63.9%) in DP;

CP has an equivalent composition from the Ganda, Nilotics, and Other (33 % of each); Nyakitaru comprise the largest percentage (39.3 %) in NRM; and also Ganda comprise the largest percentage (45 %) of those who do not belong to any political party. What this says is that political party affiliation in Uganda is still influenced by ethnicity. A possible explanation of this could be lack of a dynamic change in the leadership of these parties.

5.1.1. Lack of dynamic leadership within political parties.

What seems to be happening is that political leadership structures in Uganda are not changing. Political parties are led by founder members as long as they are still alive. For example, UPC started as a non-Baganda faction led by Obote (a Nilotic). Up to now, Obote who is in exile in Zambia is still the party leader. DP started as a Baganda Catholic party by Benedicto Kiwanuka. Kiwanuka was killed by Amin and after his secession of the leadership of the party has been by the Baganda. Paul Semwogerere now the present party leader is both a Muganda and Catholic. He has been leader since the early 1980's. CP is a feudal Party (monarch diehard) that was founded by Joash Mayanja Nkangi in 1980. He is still the party leader. NRM although founded by members of differing ethnic groups, still has its founder leader as the chairman. This is the present president of Uganda Yoweri Museveni (a Munyankole falling under the Nyakitara ethnic group).

The above illustration shows how party leadership in Uganda rarely changes. The effect of this to the parties is the deprivation of leadership opportunities for the young generation. When the youth realise that they do not have a chance to participate in the leadership of these parties, they organise themselves and form new parties. Parties formed through such a context in Uganda include, UPM and UYD. It may also be argued that when the party leadership does not change, the other implication it may bring about is socialisation of party politics, in the sense that the same people being leaders for that long time breed a generation that adopts the same leadership style. If for example the party was founded on the principle of overcoming ethnic domination of a particular tribe, it is more likely that by the time the founder leader leaves, those who will replace him will already have the same main political aim. It is through this way that ethnic politics may be reproduced in Uganda but not necessarily political alignment.

From Hayes and Mares's (1997) assertion that ethnicity is formed through a process of social identification, under historically specific conditions, it can be argued that the way political parties were formed in Uganda was in itself a process of ethnic identification. It may not necessarily be that political parties attract specific ethnic groups but instead ethnic groups influence party

formation. In this way, it is argued that political parties exist on the basis of ethnic demands as opposed to ethnicity influencing existing parties.

Reproduction of ethnically defined political parties can also be argued to be facilitated through the socialization of children. For example children who grow up seeing their parents supporting a particular political party are also most likely to support the same party. A good example of this is that of Eriya Kategaya cited in the introduction of this study. From the results of the study, this argument can be supported by considering the chi-square results of both religion and ethnicity by parties. It was discussed in the literature that UPC was formed by non-Baganda Protestants and DP by Baganda Roman Catholics. The results of this study also show that the Majority of the UPC members are non-Baganda (80%) with regard to ethnicity and Protestants (43.3%) with regard to religion. The majority of the DP are Baganda (63.9%) with regard to ethnicity and Roman Catholic (64.9%) with regard to religion. This proposes the possibility that parents who affiliated with these political parties may have socialized their children into the respective parties. Thus, the results of this study support Makinda's (1996) argument that in African countries, political institutions are bound by ethnic interests.

5.2 Ethnic identity of party leaders

Relating to the results of the study it is evident that the ethnicity of the majority of the members of each political party correspond with the ethnic identity of the party leader. For example the UPC leader is Nilotic and the majority of the members of this party are Nilotic (30 %); the DP leader is Ganda and the majority of the members of this party are Ganda (63.9%); and the NRM leader is Nyakitara and the majority of the members of this party are Nyakitara (39.3 %). To discuss this point, the social comparison component of Tajfel's SIT may be applied. The theory argues that social identity emerges from social and cognitive processes of categorization and comparison (Rodriguez & Gurin, 1990) and that people categorise the social world into in-groups and out-groups that stand in power and status relations to one another. Thus in the context of political party affiliation individuals will be motivated to affiliate with that party whose leadership is representative of their ethnic identity.

However, according to the SIT theory, individuals will only affiliate with a particular political party as long as it gives them a positive self- concept and where this is not so, they will consider the available alternatives to change. This may be shown in the results of the study by the many respondents who claimed not to be affiliated to any political party. Thirty one point eight percent (31.8 %) of the total sample are not affiliated to any political party. This percentage is greater than the 5.8 % affiliated to UPC, 7.2 % affiliated to DP, 0.6 % affiliated to CP and 1.4 % affiliated to pressure groups. (The composition of NRM members in the sample is 49.5% which is greater than 31.8%).

There are two reasons as to why a large percentage of respondents in the sample is not affiliated to any party. Firstly, is the possibility that these respondents have not yet decided on a party; and secondary, is the possibility that the respondents do not find their party of choice as giving them a positive self-concept and thus rather be not affiliated to any party. The second argument can be supported by the fact that the majority of the respondents who claim not to be affiliated to any party are Ganda (45.3 %). The Ganda sub-ethnic group is 37.7 % of the total sample of the study. This is the sub-ethnic group with the largest composition. Since DP's majority composition is Ganda, one would expect the overall sample to have quite a reasonable percentage of DP members. However, DP is only 7.2 % of the total sample implying following SIT, that there could be a possibility that DP is no longer contributing to a positive self-concept for its members.

Proceeding with the argument, if DP members who find their party not giving them a positive self-concept decide not to affiliate to any other party, this may imply that ethnicity is important to them (i.e. rather not affiliate to any party than affiliating to a non-Ganda dominant party).

One major reason why DP could possibly no longer contribute to a positive self-concept for its members could be that, this party has always participated in the national elections of the country but has always formed the opposition (coming second). It has never won any national elections. Thus its members may feel that belonging to no party is better than affiliating to a non-promising party. This could be especially true of young eligible supporters, who may be reluctant to align themselves with a party characterised as 'always unsuccessful'.

5.3 Difference between affiliation to political party and voting for the party

It might be concluded from the results of this study that in Uganda there is a possibility that party affiliation and voting may be two different things. The data of this study was collected six months before the general presidential elections but the results seem not to correspond with the outcomes of those elections. Although this may not be surprising because the study is not using a representative sample of the entire voting population, it does need consideration. The presidential candidates were (1) Museveni (NRM chairman, & Munyankole) (2) Semwogerere (DP chairman, & Muganda) and (3) Mayanja (Tabliq, and Muganda, now leader of a non-recognised party/pressure group). Museveni won the elections by obtaining 72% of the total votes.

Although Mayanja was a weak candidate, Semwogerere and Museveni had a tough race. For these campaigns, DP and UPC formed an alliance that was represented by Semwogerere. The aim of the alliance was to oust Museveni from the chair. Unfortunately this alliance had the opposite effect. UPC and DP although longstanding enemies formed an alliance which was something that the population would arguably have understood very easily. As much as the DP party leaders and the entire UPC (leadership and members) appreciated it, DP supporters did not. DP membership is mostly Ganda and UPC is Nilotic (results of this study show this). The ethnic conflict still arose in the process that left Semwogerere with only the Nilotic support. Semwogerere got the majority votes of the Nilotics (Northern Uganda) and Museveni the Ganda and Nyakitaras votes (Central and western Uganda). The Nilotics thought that with Semwogerere winning, Obote their tribesman will come back, and Obote's coming back to the Baganda (his historical rival ethnic group) was an ominous event. Although one could argue that the Nilotics did not have a presidential candidate who is Nilotic and thus were liable to vote for a non- Nilotic, for the Ganda it was different. They chose a non- Muganda and left a Muganda. The relevancy of this illustration is to raise awareness that depending on the available political atmosphere, ethnic ingroup members may affiliate to an outgroup party.

The Ganda depending on the anticipated outcomes of the elections decided not to vote for their tribesman. Feather (1994) also argues that people do not act only on the basis of what they

perceive to be attractive or aversive, they also consider the likelihood that positive or negative outcomes will occur given their own behaviour and they have expectations about whether or not outcomes will lead to other consequences. In this case, the Baganda may have anticipated that when Obote comes back, another Ganda insurgency could occur and thus voted for the party that could block his return. In this case, their value priorities or 'worries' can be said to have influenced their voting behavior. The influence of these factors to this study will be discussed as we along.

According to the results of this study, it can be concluded that during the blooming of the election campaigns most of the Baganda were affiliated to DP (in this study, 63.9 %). However, the data was collected before the UPC -DP alliance and thus the results may suggest either that (1) the alliance influenced people's voting patterns; (2) the campaigns influenced people's voting patterns; or (3) to these students party affiliation and voting are different. But it should also be kept clear that the sample does not follow trend of the general voting population and thus, a limitation to generalise the findings over the entire Ugandan electorate.

The issue of the Ganda voting for a non- Muganda raises an important factor for this study which is values priorities. The Ganda may probably attribute greater importance to being safe than having a fellow tribesman in power. This can be understood as making a political choice depending on personal value priorities.

5.4 Differing value priorities between political parties

Findings of this study reveal that there is an association between certain values and political party choice. Schwartz and Barnea (1994) argue that all values are politically relevant depending on the context. This implies that even for this study, those values that have shown associations with political parties have relevancy to the Ugandan context. Certain values means were seen to vary across parties. For example students affiliated to DP were seen to have the highest means for hedonism and power values, and the lowest mean for achievement. Students affiliated to NRM have the lowest mean for hedonism. Those affiliated to UPC have the lowest means for

stimulation, self-direction, universalism, benevolence, conformity, tradition and security. They have the highest mean for achievement. Those who do not belong to any party have the highest means stimulation, self-direction, universalism, benevolence, conformity, tradition and security values. Except for achievement and power values, for that value where UPC students have the highest mean, those who do not belong to any party have the lowest mean and vice versa.

The results in the paragraph above support the structure of Figure 1. (value circle showing the structural relations among the ten motivational value types) in the literature. It can be observed that these values follow each other in the same pattern around the circle in the same way (those values that have the lowest mean for UPC/highest mean for None partisans). With reference to the circle, these values represent three higher-order adjacent to each other. The higher order values represented are **Openness to change, self-transcendence, and conservatism**. What is of significance here is to observe that parties that have the highest mean for these values, have the lowest mean for the **self-enhancement** values (e.g. UPC) and vice versa (No Party). This suggests confirmation that specifically self-transcendence values and self-enhancement values are in conflict (should be opposite each other in the circle).

With reference to the motivational goals of these values given in Table 1., it can be concluded that those individuals who aim at preserving harmony/peace with themselves and also others do not belong to any party. What this may imply is that the Ugandan politics is something that rarely gives people peace. Those affiliated to UPC having the lowest means for benevolence, conformity, security, self-direction, stimulation, tradition and universalism; and the highest mean for achievement, is a reflection of what Uganda went through during the UPC regimes. Most authors (for example Mudoola, 1996) claim that UPC governments were aiming at raising the Nilotic ethnic group to topple the Baganda. This would be possible only by promoting the interests of the minority which UPC did. The Baganda are the majority group in Uganda, occupying the most developed regions of Uganda. This was a making of the colonialists whose interest in Uganda was principally the Buganda Kingdom. Operation of the colonial powers was based in Buganda and this is what facilitated the rapid development in the area compared to the others. Thus it is not likely that any other ethnic group can suppress the development in Buganda without interfering with the normal way of life of the people in the region. Those parties that aim at toppling the

Baganda dominance are therefore most likely to give relatively low importance to values aimed at preserving harmony/peace with self and others (i.e. benevolence, conformity, security, tradition, and universalism). This is what the results of this study show for UPC.

The UPC government led to the suffering of many Baganda (prominent business people, and politicians who did not get chance to flee the country were killed), it abolished kingdoms (see section on restoration of kingdoms), and caused social, economic, and political decline in the country. The high means of these students in these values reiterate an important issue that may shed more light to the characteristics of UPC members.

As already noted above, the students who do not belong to any party have the highest means for benevolence, conformity, security, self-direction, stimulation, tradition and universalism values. Except for achievement and power values, for the value where UPC students have the highest mean, these students have the lowest mean and vice versa. This may be discussed in the broader context of the political instability in Uganda. Parties seem to promote interests for a particular group of people (e.g. now NRM is restoring kingdoms) and those who do not belong to any party are most likely those who feel all Ugandans should be 'one people'. They feel this will probably promote the security that the country enjoyed before; thus a craving for the past (tradition). Ironically it is these students who do not support a political party. It is ironic because political party activity is supposedly a hallmark of democratic nationhood and negotiating resolution of different interests. Yet, it may be argued that for these students, political parties represent divisiveness, regionalism and so on. The opposition between the values of UPC members and those that do not belong to any party may be an indication that UPC as a party has unique value priorities as compared to the rest of the political parties.

All the values types cited above have different meanings and thus different implications for this study. For example benevolence, conformity, security, tradition and universalism values are related to social interaction with others whilst self-direction, hedonism, achievement, power and stimulation have to do with an individual. Students affiliated to UPC are seen to have the lowest means for values related to social interactions (relationship with others) and the highest means for values that relate to personal goals. This is the opposite of those students who do not belong to

any political party. Thus, it may be concluded from these results that different values types are attributable to differing political party affiliations.

Results showed a significant mean difference of the tradition value amongst political parties. To specify the difference, the results of the multiple range test run on the Anova of the tradition value by parties showed that it is the UPC and NONE party respondents that have a significant difference for this value. The motivational goal for the tradition value according to this study is respect, commitment, and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provide. UPC and NONE party respondents may differ in this, especially due to the fact that the UPC government is the one that abolished the kingdoms. Thus, does not accept customs and ideas that traditional culture provide. The results of the multiple range test confirm the earlier argument that the NONE party members may be craving for the past (stability that was in the country before Obote took over). A reflection of the difference in the promotion of traditional culture in Uganda and the influence the culture has on the determination of party affiliation can be elaborated by looking specifically at the re-installation of Kingdoms.

5.4.1 Restoration of Kingdoms

When Museveni came to power in 1986, he promised to restore the kingdoms and this was received with approval by the masses (especially those of the above mentioned kingdoms). Shortly there after the kingdoms where restored. This meant that CP; a party that was formed with an aim of promoting feudal interest, now had it's objective satisfied. These kingdoms have traditional kings but with no constitutional powers outside their kingdoms.

This then implies that CP and NRM had a common stand as far as restoration of kingdoms was concerned. Also DP being the majority Baganda, who are the owners of the Buganda Kingdom implies that the party is in support of this. Here the three parties form a common ground which is strongly in opposition with UPC. Obote argues that Kingdoms promote ethnic domination and should not exist. The relevancy of this argument is to show that apart from UPC. The other political parties may probably have something in common. This is to back up the earlier argument that UPC as a party has unique value priorities as compared to the rest of the political parties.

The significant mean difference of the tradition value among political parties confirms that values have a place in determining political party choice. As it has already been argued above, it does not necessarily mean that the tradition value will give a significant influence in every context but it does in the Ugandan context. Feather (1994) warns that value systems vary across gender, religion, and social class which in relation to this study implies that the tradition value may have a significant mean difference only with respect to students who have just joined university and the value may not show significant difference with a different sample. Education has an effect on values (Golebiowska, 1995) which in case may also lead us to conclude that education may have an effect on political party choice.

5.5 Confusion in the political status of the country

Apart from the influence of values in the making of political party choice, the present political confusion in Uganda also has an impact on these students' political choices. Uganda as a country has undergone tremendous economic, political, religious and social disruptions since 1967 and presently is just under recovery. Each of the different regimes that came into power from 1967 to 1985 caused severe pain to different peoples of the country and had a different political system. For example, in Obote's regime, UPC was the only legal political party in the country. In Amin's regime, party politics was banned. In 1979 when the UNLF took over power from Amin, party politics had a new birth. After elections, Obote came back to power and started exactly where he had stopped (targeting the Ganda). Opposition party members were victims of arrest and murder. Civil war broke out. The army was unruly and secret intelligence units in the country increased. Innocent civilians were convicted of treason the sentence for which was death. It is popularly said that almost every Ganda family had a relative tortured or killed. Although constitutionally political parties were claimed to be in existence, in practicality they had no say and weren't free to operate.

In 1986, Museveni came to power with his ten point program outlining the procedures for change and rebirth of a new Uganda. However, one of the issues covered by Museveni's ten point program was the writing of the new constitution. A draft constitution was written in 1992. The

constitution was discussed by constituency members of every sub-county and a final draft was passed in 1995. The 1995 Ugandan Constitution outlaws political party activities, including opening and operating branch offices, holding delegate's conferences, sponsoring candidates for elections and staging political rallies.

Despite these legal provisions, political parties in Uganda have been active and often set on collision course with the NRM government. The DP has been distributing membership cards while the UPC has been starting branches in the country side. The splitting of UPC into the Cecilia Ogwal faction and the Obote faction has also taken course. The formation of the UPC-DP election campaign alliance also occurred. The NRM itself also has an executive secretariate. To most Ugandans the legal provision above was described as a move towards a one- party state although the NRM regarded it as a no-party state. The fact remains that the legal provision exists in writing but not in practice.

The relevancy of what is elaborated above is to show the inconsistency in the Uganda political structure which may be confusing to many people. Political systems change with political leaders and are in not in any way similar. This may lead many people not to know what to expect and what is truly legal or illegal. As such those that feel lost or unsure of what is happening decide to ignore party politics and stay neutral.

For example, from the results of this study it is evident that a good percentage of the sample (31.8 %) claimed not to be affiliated to any party; but still a significant percentage (64.5%) is affiliated to parties. This may either imply that Uganda is in a political state of confusion where people do not know what is going on or that people are turning away from parties. If it was a no party state, the majority of the students would indicate that they are not affiliated to any party. However, the majority of the students claim to be affiliated to NRM (49.5 %) which is practically the ruling party. What can be deduced from this study is that a good number of Ugandans may prefer not to be affiliated to any party. Party politics has drawn the country into un-ending conflicts and people would rather do without it or in otherwards are turning away from it. It seems reasonable to suggest that the turning away from parties is due to the fact that people's confidence in the

parties as representative institutions has eroded. There is evidence from Uganda's history that there is little, if any, significant differences between these parties in terms of their leadership style.

Ugandans have now turned to look at the prominence of individual candidates and have turned their attention away from the parties, making their attitudes toward the parties neutral rather than negative. However, descriptive results show strong support for NRM (practically the ruling party) (49.5%) of the total sample. This may be because since NRM came to power the Uganda's economic growth is steadily increasing. Also, the sample being first year university students, their interest in the country's economy is great and thus should be the support for that party that brings up a promising economic structure.

5.6 Worrying typical of Ugandans.

From what has been explained above, it is most likely that on average most Ugandans have in one way or another gone through suffering related to a political cause. This then prompts for a consideration of 'worries' in the determination of political party choice with the proposal that individuals will affiliate with that party reflects the potential to eliminate their 'worries'. From the results of this study it is observed that 'worries' do not discriminate amongst political parties.

What this may imply is that all political parties may be promising to deal with the eradication of similar problems/ 'worries' or else securing the same things such as peace.

Micro-self 'worries' are 'worries' that have to do with an individual's personal life (e.g. "I'm worried of my having cancer"). Micro in-group 'worries' have to do with an individual group (e.g. family). Macro society 'worries' have to do with a society/community (e.g. "I'm worried about many people in Uganda living in poverty") and macro world 'worries' are those concerning the entire universe (e.g. "I'm worried about the outbreak of a nuclear war").

Findings of the study show that means of 'worries' types varied across parties. DP has the highest means for Micro and Micro-self 'worries' and the lowest means for Micro-ingroup, Macro, Macro-society, and Macro-world 'worries'. None (no party) has the highest means for Micro-

ingroup and Macro-world 'worries'. UPC has the highest means for Macro and Macro-society 'worries' and the lowest mean for Micro, Micro-self, and Micro-ingroup 'worries'. This implies that DP and UPC have the lowest means for 'Micro-ingroup 'worries'. For the 'worries' type where DP has the highest mean, UPC has the lowest and vice versa.

Relating to the above results, it can be concluded that students affiliated to DP rate 'worries' related to the individual self higher than they rate 'worries' about other people. Respondents not affiliated to any party worry more about other people than those affiliated to parties. Those affiliated to UPC are more worried about the wider society than they are about their ingroups. Students affiliated to NRM fall in between the highest and the lowest mean values for all 'worries' types.

It is also important to note that the pooled mean for micro-ingroup 'worries' is 3.08063. When compared to the scale of 'worries' on the questionnaire (i.e from 0 to 4), the pooled mean of 3.08063 is high. This implies that overall Ugandans are more worried about their group identity. For this study group identity may mean ethnic/religious identity. (An example of a micro-ingroup worry is "some one in my family being in a traffic accident").

The opposition of UPC and DP in 'worries' ratings may also be related to the history of the formation of these parties. UPC was formed with the purpose of opposing DP thus their opposing ratings in the means of particular 'worries' (e.g. those affiliated to DP are more worried about their ingroup and those affiliated to UPC are more worried about the wider society). UPC was aiming at overthrowing Baganda supremacy thus the intention of looking beyond a singular ethnic entity (Buganda) and considering a national Uganda. This may be explained by UPC's abolition of the kingdoms, thus a higher rating of macro 'worries' and DP's higher rating of Micro 'worries'.

In relating 'worries', value priorities and political affiliation, it is shown in the results that those party members who have highest means for hedonism and power values (DP members) rate micro 'worries' highest and those party members who have highest mean for achievement value (UPC members) rate macro 'worries' highest. Micro 'worries' concern the individual which is arguably

the nature of hedonism and achievement values (they are values aimed at pursuing individualistic interests). Thus, DP's high ratings of these factors signifies a relationship between them (i.e. relationship between micro 'worries' and hedonism and power values). Although the achievement value is also individualistic in nature, it can be related to macro 'worries' since its motivational goal is to pursue personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards. This then has implications for the UPC party that rates these two factors highest. Members of this party may rate micro 'worries' highest because of they are more concerned about social standards than individual standards.

Thus from above, we may argue that although there are no significant differences between 'worries' in their relation to political parties, members of different parties rate 'worries' differently.

5.7 Politics and churches in Uganda

The churches in Uganda play a major role in the politics of the country. Because of the competition between the British (Protestants) and French (Roman Catholic) during the colonisation of the country, even after colonialism the rooted competition stayed. Religion has been a major factor stimulating popular support for political parties in the country and consequently also influencing elections and sometimes public acceptance of government measures too (Mujaju, 1976). What Mujaju observed 12 years ago is what the results of this study still show.

The results showed that there is a significant difference between religious groups in their affiliation to political parties with the majority of the Roman Catholics affiliate with DP; the majority of the Protestants affiliate with UPC; CP has an equal composition of Protestants, Moslems, and Other (spiritual beliefs); and the majority of the NRM are Protestants.

During colonialism, there was simultaneous arrival of foreign missionaries of differing faiths in the country. Uganda became a British protectorate and thus welcomed the Protestant missionaries from Britain warmly. The Catholic missionaries came from France and the Moslem missionaries

were mostly Arabs. France being a competing colonial power with the British, the coming of the Roman Catholic missionaries created suspicion and insecurity within the country. This way, religion and politics were tied together. It is because of the way religion was brought to Uganda (wrapped around political colonial powers) that may have shaped it to always be associated with political struggles. Also, according to the results of this study, it was shown that religion is attached to ethnicity which is the primary shaping factor of party politics in Uganda and thus justifiable to argue that religion also influences Ugandan politics.

The relationship between the three religious groups was sharpened by the colonialism mood of the time. Protestant missionaries assumed close collaboration with the colonial rulers and thus had the power to spread faster in the country. In this way, the protestant religion was favored, and received special attention compared to the others.

So by the time political party formation started in Uganda, religious conflicts were already in existence and this shaped the formation of the parties. Members of a particular religion tended to think in terms of receiving power to enable them spread their religion faster (Mudoola, 1996). It may be argued that since each religious group wanted to spread, they all to a certain extent tried to struggle for political powers. UPC became protestant dominated and DP catholic dominated. From the results of this study, this is still the case. The majority of the DP are Catholics and those of UPC are Protestants. The political leaders of these parties also belong to those respective religions. The leader of NRM is protestant and the majority of the NRM students in this study are also Protestants. This may be an indication that even the new parties that were formed later, have religious lineages.

CP having 33% Protestants, 33% Moslems and 33% Other (Spiritual beliefs), confirms the influence of religion in the party politics of Uganda. CP is a feudal fundamentalist party (kingdoms are laid on ancestral beliefs) which is obvious that it should have a good number of spiritual/traditional believers. Being a party promoting the interest of kingdoms, its religious lineage should be from the Kabaka. The Kabaka was a Protestant, thus it's high Protestant composition in this study. The prominent Moslem group in Uganda was led by Prince Badru Kakungulu, the uncle of the Kabaka. This implies that many of the prominent members of this

Moslem group were closely associated with the Buganda kingdom, thus a greater likelihood for present Moslems to still crave for the kingdoms (affiliate with CP). Mudoola (1996) also elaborates on the good relationship that was there between Protestants and Moslems as opposed to one of the two with Catholics. Reflecting on the above it is understandable that religious affiliation is ethnic based.

5.8 Religious differences in ethnic groups.

Because there was major colonial interest specifically in the Buganda kingdom, the Protestant missionaries had their base in Buganda and consequently many Baganda were converted to the religion. The Roman catholic missionaries therefore put more emphasis to those regions of the country that were still not yet penetrated by the Protestants.

The results of this study show that the majority of the Baganda are Protestants and the Majority of the Nilotics are Roman Catholic. The Nilotics are in the Northern Part of Uganda and the Baganda in the Southern region. Thus we may argue that the Roman Catholics religion has a stronger support in the northern part of Uganda. In relation to the research questions of this study, it can therefore be argued that religious affiliation is in some way a form of ethnic identity, thus supporting Deng's (1996) assertion that in the African context, ethnicity covers a wide range of identities based on race, culture, language and religion. It may be important in this study to point out that it is only the Ganda ethnic group that cuts across all religious groups. This shows that the Ganda ethnic group stood the possibility of being influenced by every religious group.

We might conclude that such is the affinity between ethnicity, religion, and political party allegiance, that religion might be considered as a valid predictor of voting pattern. It says something about the 'fixed' character of Ugandan social organisation and suggests that the electorate do not so much think their way to political choice, as adopt that which is given by way of their background. In the literature review it was shown that the history of Ugandan politics is

such that this is not surprising. Clearly the idea that forward looking and intelligent Ugandan youth might depart from this tendency, has proved not to be the case. It would be interesting to look at senior students in this university, to see if university socialisation undoes some of the strength of association between what in modern political spheres are generally regarded as separate dimensions of life.

The fact that ethnicity, regionalism and religion are interdependent might have been expected and it has been confirmed that political party choice amongst beginning university students is not something determined in freedom from these 'traditions', but is entrenched with them. Clearly Ugandan society will only be able to lay claim to being a modern democratic nation/state when the political choice of its citizens reflects a greater freedom from that which is 'received' by way of lineage. When and if this does happen it is expected that 'worries' will play greater role, as will values in the determination of the citizen's political choice.

When regionalism, ethnicity and religion are separated out from political party choice, 'worries' and values might determine political party choice on the basis of the ideological composition of a party. In a sense, I'm talking about a change from forms of group historical identity to individually determined identity. The implication of this shift will have desirable effects such as the electorate considering the ideological messages of parties and election campaigns when making a political choice. This is desirable in the sense that a candidate voted for will be that one who has exposed competence in his campaigns and has been judged by the electorate worth leading the country.

5.9. Uneven development in the country

From the results of the study, it can be concluded that the different regions of Uganda are developing at differing rates. This is shown in Table 12 (see place of upbringing). It is observed that the majority of the Ganda (43.5%), Nilohamites (54.8), and Gwere (42.3%) grew up in a small town as compared to the majority of the Nyakitara (53.5 %), and Nilotics (55.7 %) who

grew up in a rural area. This unproportional development still exists in Uganda (Tumusiime, 1993).

The different sub-ethnic groups dealt with in this study are situated in different regions of the country. All the economic resources of this country are basically situated in the central region (Buganda). This implies that there is un-equal distribution of economic resources between these sub-ethnic groups. Students coming from the different sub-ethnic groups are as a result exposed to different economic structures and employment opportunities.

From this study the disproportionate development rate amongst ethnic groups was demonstrated by the significant difference that exists between ethnic groups in relation to place of upbringing. Although generally Uganda is a country with the majority of the population residing in rural areas, it can be observed from the results that percentage of the Ganda and the Gwere who grew up a city (both small or large) is larger than that of the Nyakitara, Nilohamites and the Nilotics. This relates to development in a sense that small cities are characterised by the presence of basic service facilities such as electricity, hospitals, running water; which facilities are absent in most rural areas. So, it can be argued that the Ganda and Gwere grew up from more developed area than the Nyakitara, Nilohamites and Nilotics.

Also to note from the results is that it is only the Ganda and the Nyakitara ethnic groups that have students who grew up on farms. This is also another dimension on which to measure economic growth in the country. Farms are owned by those people who are well-off and thus the results suggest that the Ganda and Nyakitara may on average have a better standard of living than the other ethnic groups. This observation may be supported by the fact that findings show that the ruling party (NRM) is composed of 39.3 % Nyakitara and 34.8% Ganda. These two form the largest composition, and thus the possibility that they may have advantaged access to facilities. The easy access to facilities will therefore enable them to establish farms. Some regions having established farms (the western part of Uganda) and others moving with the cattle from one place to another in search of pasture (the Nilotic region) is an indication of uneven development between the two regions.

Although the development of the Ganda can be understood from colonial history, that of the Nyakitara is liable to be as a result of the present leadership in the country. The president is from the Nyakitara ethnic group. Ugandans are presently complaining that the Western region of the country (where the president comes from) is being privileged in most aspects. Most of the powerful posts in the country are held by members of this ethnic group. And lately it has been anticipated that the population of members of this ethnic group in the central region could be growing at a faster rate (Obbo, 1998).

The relevance of the above paragraph to the study might be unpacked through a discussion of the relationship between economic wellbeing, ethnicity and regionalism. Because socio-economic wellbeing is an important factor in determining ideology it might be that rational political considerations do after all determine party choice. Unfortunately the nature of this study was such that the thinking behind political choice making was not assessed. A greater qualitative aspect would have been illuminating on this score and the lack of the same must be seen as a limitation of this study.

5.10 Differences in access to education facilities.

Disproportionate economic growth in the country led to differing education opportunities for the different ethnic groups. The first schools in Uganda were started by the missionaries and thus were based in Buganda. Even the first East African tertiary institution (then called, Makerere College), was established in Buganda. This then meant that those around Buganda were the first to gain access to education facilities.

This way Buganda stood the advantage of having trained personnel (teachers) who were able to provide a valuable quality of education. Several schools in Buganda that were started by the missionaries e.g. Gayaza High School, Mengo, S.S.S and Kings College Buddo are still arguably among the best schools in the country. With the available school facilities in Buganda, the Baganda children stood a chance of receiving the best education in the country and thus had the opportunity to enter University in greater numbers.

In the results of this study it can be observed that the total sample consisted of 37.6 % Ganda, 28.2 % Nyakitara, 6.0 % Nilohamites, 13.6 % Nilotics, 5.0 % Gwere and 4.9% foreigners. The Ganda sub-ethnic group of this study is only representative of two tribes, the Nyakitara four tribes, the Nilohamites two tribes, the Nilotics five tribes, and the Gwere four tribes. What is surprising here is to see that a group with two tribes only has a composition which is almost eight times the group with four tribes (Compare Ganda with Gwere, in Table 7). This may be an illustration of how the tribes in the central region (i.e Ganda and Soga) have greater opportunities to enter University than those in the country side.

Notably, this difference in access to education may suggest a difference in the extent to which values and ‘worries’ of individuals from different regions may be accountable for the determination of political party choice. Schwartz & Prince- Gibson (1993) assert that education has an influence on the individual’s value structure. The researcher assumes that differing education qualities are expected to influence the values structure differently. And also, that people in different education systems do worry about different educational issues. Thus, the ‘worries’ and values structure of individual’s in different educational contexts will be different, which may also imply that these factors will also differ in the way they influence the political choice of the people in the different contexts.

5.11 Pressure groups in the country

There have been rebel activities in the northern part of the country since Museveni gained power in 1986. Recently the activities have extended as far as the Western part of the country. Also several individuals like former presidential candidate Mayanja have publicised the formation of new political parties. However, the Ugandan political bill acknowledges only UPC, DP, CP, and NRM and thus these new parties have been dubbed ‘pressure’ groups.

In this study, these pressure groups are represented by the category of the OTHER. The largest percentage of the Tabliqs is in Pressure groups (14%). In the rest of the parties, the percentage

of Tabliqs is below 14%. However, there are also Tabliq students affiliated to UPC, NRM, and NONE (no party).

These findings shed more light on what is presently going on in Uganda. The government has followed up and imprisoned several Tabliqs claiming that they are linked to the rebel activities in the western part. Several Ugandan Tabliqs have also been found to be associated with the August Bomb blasts in Kenya and Tanzania. What the study seems to confirm is that Tabliq students identified themselves with the new pressure groups in the country.

In addition to the Tabliqs, Moslems (14.3%) and Protestants (71.4 %) are also identified with the pressure groups. No Pentecostal or Roman Catholic identified him/her self with the pressure groups. Tabliqs are reformed Moslems thus the likelihood that they affiliate with the same party. Protestants are the majority in the country and cut across all ethnic groups. It is of high probability therefore that people from this religion are to be identified in every political group (pressure groups as well).

Pressure groups in the country may represent what Tajfel calls 'social competition' (De la Rey, 1991). The common strategy used in Uganda now is that of direct attack where rebels ambush traveling vehicles, raid homes and so on. Social competition is adopted in situations where boundaries of passing from one identity to another are impermeable. This is in the case where there are no available ways through which members of the low esteem group may pass to the high esteem group. Instead, they decide to fight the illegitimacy in the system. The results of the study suggest that boundaries between ethnic groups in Uganda are rigid. This is shown by the close association between religion, region, and ethnicity.

Overall, this discussion has argued that ethnicity influences political party affiliation and that certain values are attributable to differing political party affiliations in beginning university students in Uganda. Students affiliated to different political parties have also been seen to rate 'worries' differently.

6. CONCLUSION

In conclusion it might be argued that ethnicity, value priorities and religion do influence beginning university student's affiliation to political parties. For these students 'worries' are not a significant differentiating factor amongst students affiliated to different political parties. An important factor this study seems to raise is the place of tradition in Ugandan politics. Although political parties differ across values of achievement, benevolence, universalism, security, and conformity values, these parties only have a statistically significant mean difference with respect to tradition values. The tradition factor has been seen to be central in the formation of political parties and in the restructuring of a demolished Uganda (i.e. restoration of Kingdoms by the present government).

Little investigation in this area especially on the influence of value priorities and 'worries' on political party affiliation, has been done in Uganda. This study therefore serves the basis of further research in the area. What would need to be researched is firstly, the influence of value priorities, ethnicity and 'worries' in the determination of political choice of senior university students at

Makerere. This will provide a clear picture of party politics at this university. Secondly, a qualitative study to explore the thinking behind political party affiliation in this university would also be vital.

The results of this study raise important issues that may be significant in the restructuring of Uganda. For example they dispute the argument that the present President of Uganda utters frequently i.e. 'Ugandans are not divided on ethnic grounds but it is those politicians with vested interests that use religion and tribalism to divide them'.

Although this research contributes to the growing evidence that ethnicity and values influence one's political party affiliation, the findings are tempered by some limitations of the study that prevent generalising the results to the overall population.

Firstly the sample used was of beginning university students. Like political involvement, education increases individual's awareness and knowledge of the political issues at stake in a country, the ideological stances relevant to them, and the distinctions among political alternatives. It also increases cognitive ability, autonomy of thought and judgement, and confidence in one's understanding of complex realities (Kohn & Schooler, 1983; Miller, Kohn, & Schooler, 1986 cited in Barnea & Schwartz & 1994). Thus, a beginning university sample is a biased one to use in the determination of the influential factors of political party affiliation. Ugandan students study civic education in primary level and political education in secondary level. By the time they get to enter university, these students would be much informed about the political strands of the country which puts them a step beyond the lay people. Thus a beginning university sample may not be representative of the true Ugandan population.

Secondly the subjects of the study were students from one university (this is a special population). These are the cream of the country who are not necessarily representative of the different people in the country (for example those who decide to join colleges after O level, those who join government sponsored colleges after A level, and those who go to other private Universities). Perhaps results would have been more valid if students from the low academic universities had been included.

Thirdly the questionnaire was administered during registration. Because these are new students who may not have been exposed to much research, they may have thought the questionnaire was an administrative instrument aimed at screening their behaviour and this may have as well affected the way they rated the values. Chances are high that as an intention to impress the administration, these students would rate more academic related values higher than more social related values to show that they give greater importance to their education.

Fourthly, the data was collected in October when elections were to be held in May of the following year. At this time, the country was in a greater political awareness phase than usual, which could have also affected the responses on the section about political parties. Perhaps be if data had been collected in a different time, results would have been different.

Fifthly the sample used was not big enough and may have prevented many statistical tests from reaching significance in all the academic courses. The sample would have been more representative if at least half of the questionnaires administered was recovered. Despite these limitations, the sample was relatively diverse in terms of ethnicity, and political party affiliation and results differed enough to warrant possible further study with a national, randomly selected sample. It is therefore recommended that a larger, more representative sample from multiple populations be used by future researchers to enhance generalisability.

The difference evidenced in the results of this study in relation to the studies cited in the literature may be due to cultural, socio-economic, geographical and political differences. Apart from Onah's (1993) study, all the studies cited in the literature were conducted in the USA, Europe and Asia. These findings could possibly not be of relevance to the Ugandan context. Uganda and these cited worlds greatly differ in culture, economic and political structures. It would be of relevance to compare these findings with those from other African countries.

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Appendix 1

VALUE SURVEY

In this questionnaire you are to ask yourself: "What values are important to ME as guiding principles in MY life, and what values are less important to me?" There are two lists of values on the following pages. These values come from different cultures. In the parentheses following each value is an explanation that may help you to understand its meaning.

Your task is to rate how important each value is for you as a guiding principle in your life. Use the rating scale below:

0-means the value is not important, it is not relevant as a guiding principle for you.

3-means the value is important.

6-means the value is very important.

The higher the number (0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6,)the more important the value is as a guiding principle in **YOUR** life.

-1 is for rating any value opposed to the principles that guide you.

7 is for rating a value of supreme importance as a guiding principle in your life; ordinarily there are no more than two such values.

In the space before each value, write the number (-1, 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7)that indicates the importance of that value for you, personally. Try to distinguish as much as possible between the values by using all the numbers. You will, of course, need to use numbers more than once.

AS A GUIDING PRINCIPLE IN MY LIFE, this value is:

opposed										of
to my	not					very				supreme
values	important			important		important				importance
-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		

Before you begin, read the values in List 1, choose the one that is most important to you and rate its importance. Next, choose the value that is most opposed to your values and rate it -1. If there is no such value, choose the value least important to you and rate it 0 or 1, according to its importance. Then rate the rest of the values in List 1.

VALUES LIST 1

- 1 ___ **EQUALITY**(equal opportunity for all)
- 2 ___ **INNER HARMONY** (at peace with myself)
- 3 ___ **SOCIAL POWER** (control over others, dominance)
- 4 ___ **PLEASURE**(gratification of desires)
- 5 ___ **FREEDOM**(freedom of action and thought)
- 6 ___ **A SPIRITUAL LIFE** (emphasis on spiritual not material matters)
- 7 ___ **SENSE OF BELONGING** (feeling that others care about me)
- 8 ___ **SOCIAL ORDER**(stability of society)
- 9 ___ **AN EXCITING LIFE**(stimulating experiences)

opposed										of
to my	not					very				supreme
values	important			important		important				importance
-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		

- 10 ___ **MEANING IN LIFE**(a purpose in life)
- 11 ___ **POLITENESS**(courtesy, good manners)
- 12 ___ **WEALTH**(material possessions, money)
- 13 ___ **NATIONAL SECURITY**(protection of my nation from enemies)
- 14 ___ **SELF RESPECT**(belief in one's own worth)
- 15 ___ **RECIPROCATION OF FAVORS**(avoidance of indebtedness)
- 16 ___ **CREATIVITY**(uniqueness, imagination)

- 17 ___ **A WORLD AT PEACE**(free of war and conflict)
- 18 ___ **RESPECT FOR TRADITION**(preservation of time-honored customs)
- 19 ___ **MATURE LOVE**(deep emotional&spiritual intimacy)
- 20 ___ **SELF-DISCIPLINE**(self-restraint, resistance to temptation)
- 21 ___ **PRIVACY**(the right to have a private sphere)
- 22 ___ **FAMILY SECURITY**(safety for loved ones)
- 23 ___ **SOCIAL RECOGNITION**(respect, approval by others)
- 24 ___ **UNITY WITH NATURE**(fitting into nature)
- 25 ___ **A VARIED LIFE**(filled with challenge, novelty and change)
- 26 ___ **WISDOM**(a mature understanding of life)
- 27 ___ **AUTHORITY**(the right to lead or command)
- 28 ___ **TRUE FRIENDSHIP**(close, supportive friends)
- 29 ___ **A WORLD OF BEAUTY**(beauty of nature and the arts)
- 30 ___ **SOCIAL JUSTICE**(correcting injustice, care for the weak)

VALUES LIST 11

Now rate how important each of the following values is for you as a guiding principle in YOUR life. These values are phrased as ways of acting that may be more or less important for you. Once again, try to distinguish as much as possible between the values by using all the numbers. Before you begin, read the values in List 11, choose the one that is most important to you and rate its importance. Next, choose the value that is most opposed to your values, or ___ if there is no such value ___ choose the value least important to you, and rate it -1,0, or 1, according to its importance. Then rate the rest of the values.

AS A GUIDING PRINCIPLE IN MY LIFE, this value is:

opposed									of
to my	not							very	of
values	important	important						important	supreme
-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

- 31 ___ **INDEPENDENCE**(self-reliance, self-sufficient)
- 32 ___ **MODERATE**(avoiding extremes of feeling & action)
- 33 ___ **LOYAL**(faithful to my friends, group)
- 34 ___ **AMBITIOUS**(hard-working, aspiring)

opposed									of
to my	not							very	of
values	important	important						important	supreme
-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

- 35 ___ **BROAD-MINDED**(tolerant of different ideas and beliefs)
- 36 ___ **HUMBLE**(modest, self-effacing)
- 37 ___ **DARING**(seeking adventure, risk)
- 38 ___ **PROTECTING THE ENVIRONMENT**(preserving nature)
- 39 ___ **INFLUENTIAL**(having an impact on people and events)
- 40 ___ **HONORING OF PARENTS AND ELDERS**(showing respect)

- 41 ___ **CHOOSING OWN GOALS**(selecting own purpose)
 42 ___ **HEALTHY**(not being sick physically)
 43 ___ **CAPABLE**(competent, effective, efficient)
 44 ___ **ACCEPTING MY PORTION IN LIFE**(submitting to life's circumstances)
 45 ___ **HONEST**(genuine, sincere)
 46 ___ **PRESERVING MY PUBLIC IMAGE**(protecting my "face")
 47 ___ **OBEDIENT**(dutiful, meeting obligations)
 48 ___ **INTELLIGENT**(logical, thinking)
 49 ___ **HELPFUL**(working for the welfare of others)
 50 ___ **ENJOYING LIFE**(enjoying food, sex, leisure, etc)
 51 ___ **DEVOUT**(holding to religious faith & belief)
 52 ___ **RESPONSIBLE**(dependable, reliable)
 53 ___ **CURIOUS**(interested in everything, exploring)
 54 ___ **FORGIVING**(willing to pardon others)
 55 ___ **SUCCESSFUL**(achieving goals)
 56 ___ **CLEAN**(neat, tidy)
 57 ___ **SELF-INDULGENT**(doing pleasant things)

WORRIES SURVEY

Below is a list of things people have told us they worry about. For each one, consider: How worried, if at all, am I about it? Use the answer scale on the right

		Not at all worried	Somewhat worried	Extremely worried	
1. My getting cancer	0	1	2	3	4
2. Conflict among groups in society	0	1	2	3	4
3. Worsening destruction of the environment	0	1	2	3	4
4. Some one in my family not having enough money to live on	0	1	2	3	4
		Not at all worried	Somewhat worried	Extremely worried	
5. My country getting involved in a war	0	1	2	3	4
6. My life being boring	0	1	2	3	4
7. Many people in Uganda living in poverty	0	1	2	3	4

8. My parents dying	0	1	2	3	4
9. Ugandan society not succeeding in maintaining high standards in education, science & technology	0	1	2	3	4
10. Someone in my family being in a traffic accident	0	1	2	3	4
11. Things not working out in my studies or job	0	1	2	3	4
12. Someone close to me being infected with AIDS	0	1	2	3	4
13. Damage to nature (forests, animals, etc) in Uganda	0	1	2	3	4
14. My not having any close friends	0	1	2	3	4
15. The population explosion in the third world	0	1	2	3	4
16. My being unattractive	0	1	2	3	4
17. A value crisis in society	0	1	2	3	4
18. My own death	0	1	2	3	4
19. Un employment in our country	0	1	2	3	4
20. The incidence of terrorist attacks in our country	0	1	2	3	4
21. My life not really being meaningful	0	1	2	3	4
	Not at all worried		Somewhat worried		Extremely worried
22. Hostility of people in the world toward one another	0	1	2	3	4
23. Pollution in my immediate neighborhood (air, water, noise, trash, etc)	0	1	2	3	4

24.The outbreak of a nuclear war	0	1	2	3	4
25.My getting into financial difficulties some day	0	1	2	3	4
26.Humankind not being wise enough to make responsible use of new scientific knowledge	0	1	2	3	4
27.My closest relationship breaking up	0	1	2	3	4
28.People in the world dying from hunger	0	1	2	3	4
29.My not really being good enough to get a job	0	1	2	3	4
30.People becoming addicted to hard drugs	0	1	2	3	4
31.My being the victim of a violent crime	0	1	2	3	4
32.A nuclear power plant leaking or blowing up	0	1	2	3	4
33.Simply about the future	0	1	2	3	4

BACKGROUND

Sex (circle): Male Female

Year of birth: 19____

While you were growing up (birth to age 15),who were the people who lived in your home for at least two years? write the number of people in each category, zero if none.

____ parents ____ sisters and brothers
 ____ other relatives ____ non-relatives

What was your family's economic situation like, while you were growing up?(circle your overall impression)

In what kind of a place did you grow up? (circle):

large city (5000,000)

small city

rural

farm.

Appendix 2

Micro- self 'worries'
1. My getting cancer

Appendix 3.

GROUPING OF 'WORRIES'

- 6. My life being boring
- 8. My parents dying*
- 11. Things not working out in my studies or job
- 14. My not having any close friends
- 16. My being unattractive
- 18. My own death
- 21. My life not really being meaningful
- 25. My getting into financial difficulties someday
- 27. My closest relationship breaking
- 29. My not really being good enough to get a job
- 31. My being a victim of a violent crime

Micro -ingroup 'worries'

- 4. Some one in my family not having enough money to live on
- 8. My parents dying*
- 10. Someone in my family being in a traffic accident
- 12. Someone close to me being affected with Aids
- 23. Pollution in my immediate neighbourhood(air, water, noise, trash, etc)

Macro-society 'worries'

- 2. Conflict among groups in society
- 5. My country getting involved in a war
- 7. Many people in Uganda living in poverty
- 9. Ugandan society not succeeding in maintaining high standards in education, science and technology.
- 13. Damage to nature (forests, animals, etc) in Uganda.
- 17. A value crisis in society
- 19. Unemployment in our country
- 20. The incident of terrorist attack in our country
- 24. The out break of a nuclear war*
- 28. People becoming addicted to hard drugs
- 32. A nuclear power plant leaking or blowing up

Macro- world 'worries'

- 3. Worsening destruction of the environment
- 15. The population explosion in the third world
- 22. Hostility of the people in the world toward one another
- 24. The out break of a nuclear war*
- 26. Humankind not being wise enough to make responsible use of new scientific knowledge
- 28. People in the world dying from hunger

N.B. The worry ('simply about the future') does not fall in any of these groups.

Appendix 4

Chronological order of formation of political parties in Uganda

- 1938 - Bana Ba Kintu Uganda's first political party formed by dissatisfied farmers led by Ignatius Musazi and James Kivu.
- 1945 - Bataka Party founded by James Miti.
- 1947 - Uganda African Farmers Union (UAFU) founded by Ignatius. K. Musazi
- 1951 - Federated Partnership of Uganda (FUAP) founded by Ignatius. K. Musazi to replace UAFU.
- 1952 - Uganda National Congress (UNC) was formed by I. K. Musazi and Abu Mayanja. **This was Uganda's first modern party.**
- 1954 - Democratic Party (DP) founded with Benedicto Kiwanuka as president.
- 1955 - Progressive Party (PP) was founded by E. M. K. Mulira
- 1957 - United Congress Party (UCP) was formed by disaffected young members of the UNC
- 1958 - Uganda Peoples Union (UPU) was formed.
- 1959 - Uganda National Movement (UNM) formed by Mulira, Dr. Muwazi, and Godfrey Binaisa
 - Uganda Freedom Movement (UFM) replaced UNM, then later became known as Uganda
 - Freedom Convention (UFC) and finally as the Uganda Freedom Union (UFU).
- 1960 - Uganda People's Congress (UPC) was formed out of UPU and UNC.
- 1961 - Kabaka Yekka (KY) formed by Ganda royalists
- 1979 - Uganda National Liberation Front (UNLF) formed at the Moshi Conference in Tanzania
- 1980 - CP (Conservative Party) launched under Joash Mayanja Nkangi
 - Uganda Peoples Movement (UPM) founded by Y.K. Museveni
- 1981 - National Resistance Movement (NRM) replaced UPM
 - Uganda National Rescue Front (UNRF) headed by Brig Moses Ali and Felix Onama
 - Uganda Freedom Movement (UFM) of Dr. Lutaakoome Kayiira
 - Front for The National Salvation (FRONASA)
 - Save Uganda Movement (SUM)
- 1994- Uganda Young Democrats (UYD) chaired by Luzige, a law student at Makerere University.