

# Internal migrations, multiparty politics and elections on the political development of Uganda: the case of kampala District

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## Research Paper

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## ABSTRACT

The study examined the influence of internal migration in the political development in Kampala District, putting emphasis on multiparty politics and elections. A cross section survey research design was used, and the sample population included 25 political party leaders, 110 civil servants who were selected using purposive sampling and 207 residents in Kampala District who were randomly selected and analysis was done descriptively. The study discovered that internal migration has a significant influence on the political

elections and multi-party politics of Kampala district. However the study recommended voters not to elect leaders basing on migratory trends but on ability and to be keen against leaders who campaign basing on migratory trends to capture power, and also political parties to redesign their objectives for a national benefit that can serve a national purpose and not ethnic purpose.

**Key words:** Internal migrations, multiparty politics, elections, and political development.

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## INTRODUCTION

Kampala District is the Capital city of the Republic of Uganda, found in Easterly region of the African continent and a main centre of business in the region. Internal migrations in Kampala district have aimed higher just because it is the capital city of Uganda, where most of the country's important activities are carried out at their maximum in all aspects. This is the main reason why migrants are attracted for settlement, business and employment opportunities within the area. As they settle, their contribution on Kampala District elections and multiparty politics are counted to have massive influence on the political development of the District.

From oral and written history between the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D, many Ethnic groups began settling in modern Uganda, for example, the Bantu in the western and central part, Nilotics in northern Uganda and in the north of Lake Kyoga. The Batembuzi are also said to have migrated to Uganda during this period and were later replaced by the Bachwezi who are said to have

come from Ethiopia (Karugire, 1980). The Luo then ended the Chwezi rule as they came and settled in the north western part of Uganda taking over the Kitala Empire. On the other hand, Buganda kingdom was part, and a versal state of Bunyoro Kitala Empire covering Mawokota, Busiro and Kyaddondo at the time. By the 18<sup>th</sup> century Buganda had expanded to include areas of Buddu, Buluri, Nakasongola, Ssingo, Kooki, Ssingo, Butamabala, Gomba, among others, (Tacoli, 2000).

The current Kampala District and its surrounding areas at the time was one of the favourite hunting grounds of the Kabaka of Buganda Kingdom. It was made up of several hills and wetlands. With the coming of distance traders and other political and religious activities, Kampala slowly became both the political, commercial and cultural center for Buganda Kingdom. It comprised of sites such as Kasubi Tombs (built in 1881), the Lubiri Palace, the Buganda Parliament and the Buganda Court of Justice (Peel, 1977). All this attracted many migrants

to Kampala; however it is also noted that during this period, many Kampala suburbs were occupied by residents from other kingdoms who had arrived as slaves and many had stayed in Buganda (Kampala) to farm on the fertile soils (Gideon and Derek, 1972).

By the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, Buganda and its city Kampala had developed into an efficient bureaucracy that the British found and admired when colonial rule started to take root. On reaching Buganda, they established their first administrative systems and later to other parts of the country where Baganda functioned as colonial instruments (Audrey, 1954). The southern part of the country that comprised Buganda, Busoga and Ankole turned into a cash crop growing area and specifically Kampala transformed into cotton and coffee towns where cotton ginneries, coffee pulparies and tobacco factories were constructed. Kampala became progressively a meeting ground where cooperative unions were first formed, a case in point was that of the Buganda Motor Drivers' Association, formed in 1939, Mahmood (1983). This clearly shows that the migrations of people of different backgrounds into the area were purely economic before politics came in.

In 1906 Kampala was declared a town under United Kingdom (UK) law, and it advanced into an administrative municipality in 1949 and in 1962 it received an official status of a city. In mid 19<sup>th</sup> century Kampala had begun growing and turning into a modern capital city and it extended from Kireka in the East, Kyengera in the West, Matugga in the North. This locus of political activities and trade attracted a lot of migrations and counter migrations in the area. Unfortunately because of Kampala's location it has had a lot of damage due to political wars, for example the 1966 Kabaka crisis, the Amin coup of 1979, the Tanzanian-Amin war which saw the destruction of many buildings by the Tanzanian Army in Kampala, the National Resistance Movement Bush war of 1981 to 1985/6, all which had their impact on the resultant migrations of the population composition of Kampala.

All this turned Kampala into a seat of colonial government and gradually the anti-colonial movements tended to gravitate to where the administrative machinery was physically situated, educational, political, social and religious facilities too. With in the process migrants from other parts of the country found themselves migrating to Kampala to meet their different needs as their stay influenced the political development of the city. By the time of independence, different migratory groups had formed political parties to ensure that the white man leaves power in their hands, and the years that followed after 1962, have witnessed the role of migration in post independent Uganda specifically in Kampala. Right from 1953, Buganda Kingdom wanted self rule from Uganda and by 1962, it was clear that, Buganda could not sell her heritage for the purchase of Uganda's independence (Karugire, 1980). This struggle has caused political controversies and turmoil on the migrants mostly in

Kampala District. Tom (2009) also argues that, the continued growth of greater Kampala has attracted rural to urban migration and the government economic development policies have also tended to concentrate on commercial and industrial investment in Kampala district, which has created new job opportunities and attracted even more migrants from rural areas of all circles to Kampala. This has challenged the political development of Kampala district in the aspects of Kampala District elections, and multiparty politics.

## **INTERNAL MIGRATIONS, POLITICAL ELECTIONS AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT**

Straetz and Munger (1960) and Wallace (1962), argue that, political elections in highly populated areas with a number of migrants must not depend only on the volume of migrants but upon individual characteristics such as the strength of one's political beliefs and partisanship at the time of the move as well as the political character of the new community, including the pressures of conformity within it. This study values the migrants' individual characteristics during elections thus the study falls short in considering the political development and benefits of a given setting. Therefore the study intends to establish the extent to which internal migrations influences the political development of Kampala district in the paradigm of elections.

Berelson et al (1954); Huckfeldt (1986); Huckfeldt and Sprague (1995), contend that, when an area is inundated with those of alien disposition, there will be less pressure to conform to the existing community's values since those values are likely to be challenged by a larger group in which migrants can find compatible social support for expressing divergent views. In circumstances of high – volume migrations, then the migrants change the political elections of the community. The study reflects the effect of migration mostly in the change of values of a given setting, in other wards it is concerned with the social settings falling short of the political issues. However this study considers more the political influence that the migrants impact on the development of Kampala district. Therefore the study intends to investigate the influence of these migrations on the political development of a given setting like Kampala district. By contrast, Frensdreis (1989) argues that, when migration is only a trivial part of an area's population growth, the pressure on the new arrivals to adopt is much higher. And in these two cases migrants are more likely to conform. The upshot of these considerations is the expectation that the potential for political elections change due to migrations if are highest in states where the population of the new residents is largely relative to the population of natives, thus influencing the social, political and economic development of the area. The study considers the influence of migrants in relation to the general

development, that is, social, political and economic development of an area but falls short in explaining specifically the relationship between internal migrations and the political development of Kampala district in relation to elective politics. Therefore the researcher is eager to find out the influence of migrants specifically in Kampala district, putting emphasis on elections.

Frendreis (1989) continues to argue that, migrants may have distinct political election preferences that may not comply to the political development of the state that can be imported into their new neighborhoods changing the partisan composition at those locales. He says most native born migrants will eventually re-register to vote, although it may take some time: once registered these new arrivals can express their views directly at the ballot box. With sufficient numbers, migrants may expand the size of the elections and reconstitute the mix of interests with in it; thus contributing to the development of the state. The study values the individual decisions of a migrant during elections at the ballot box which leads to the development of a state. However it dishonors the migratory ethnic group decisions during elections which also affect the state more. The researcher therefore intends to look at these influences in relation to the political development of Kampala district.

Brown (1988), Huckfeldt (1986), Huckfeldt and Sprague (1995) and McBurnett (1991), in their study about inter-state migrations and election politics argue, that migrations may have little election impact because migrants are socialized by established residents into the habits of their new community involving the political habits of the majority. Under these conditions they contend, that election politics that impact on migrations on the destination locally may be slight. This is a point valued according to their study; rather they left out the migrants' individual decision that influence much on the political elections in a new community. So this study contends to verify the influence, migrants impact on the political development of a given setting like Kampala district, especially on elections.

Positively, selected migrants are most likely to be better educated, young and upwardly mobile, and those traits are highly associated with Party identification during election process (Perkins, 1974; Gabriel and Schmitz, 1995). However, their observations focus only on the elite migrants who might have personal interests that contribute little to the political development of the city /state. In this study therefore, the researcher values all migrants irrespective of their status to the state elections in relation to the political development of Kampala District.

Bravo (2007), Goodman and Hiskey (2008), in their study about elections and political participation of migrants in Mexico argue, that high levels of migrations are systematically associated with lower voter turn-up at elections just because of the lower levels of political enthusiasm and engagement with in the migrants.

Furthermore the indigenous political context may also lower the levels of participations among migrants during elections to weaken the formerly dominant state party. However this study stress more the dormant migrants with no interest in the political arena and it underestimate the central idea of the influence of migrants who are politically active to the political elections, leading to political development in a given setting, which is a sub theme in this study.

Bwengye (1985) in his study about the electoral process in Uganda, analyses the 1980 controversial General elections and its aftermath. He argues that the 1980 election was indeed sham. This section did not only put the country into ridicule, but also engendered political chaos, kidnapping and killing of political opponents, faking of the registration exercise, gerrymandering the constituencies, defrauding of the polling, concoction of the results and acquisition of power by fraud and force of arms. He explains further that, this election made no doubt that any future rigging of elections will be met with unprecedented resistance from the people all over the country, Ugandans will continue to live in political and economic agony. Indeed the 1980 Uganda election set precedence to for future elections, however his study places more emphasis on how the 1980 Uganda election was sham and its aftermath, and he underestimate the central idea which led the election to be sham, which in this study, I attribute to emigrational maintenance of power. His study also falls short in explaining the role of internal migrations on the elections in multi ethnic cities like Kampala and its effect on political development. Elections in multi cultural cities make people to elect persons that belong to one's migratory group, speaking the same language, shared culture, history and prejudice, while discriminating others who are from remote areas, speaking unintelligible languages, with different cultures and contrasting interpretations of history.

Bakahumura (1997) in his study about the history of inter relations between Uganda and Sudan believes, that in divided societies, ethnic conflicts is at the centre of politics. That ethnic divisions pose challenges to the cohesion of state, mostly when an ethnic group is divided by an international boundary, where part of the group live in one country and the other in the neighboring one. Indeed his study is constructive in understanding the formation and unity of states, however in his analysis, he underestimates the role of these conflicts in shaping political activities in multi cultural cities, like Kampala. Migrational conflicts based on cultural background of different groups cause political marginalization in large cities among the citizens. The ruling groups discriminate against distant groups for competition of limited political positions and resources. This migrational political war theatre abuses the norms and values of friendship, social justice and respect for one another. The purpose of state elections therefore, should be to eliminate segregation and embark on national political unity and development

in cities, like Kampala.

State elections in multi ethnic societies have a strong attachment on the migrational affiliations of the contenders at all levels of political contest. This view is supported by Boyart (1993), who contend that, during elections in areas where ethnic concentration is high, voters make political choices skewed towards the interests of their migratory groups to reciprocate figuration in what can be described as the rationalization of ethno nationalism. The researcher therefore is interested in explaining the extent to which these internal migratory groups influence the political development of Kampala district. While Amoah (2001) put it, Ghanaian politics in particular during elections, the two nationalistic attitudes synchronize rather than stand at odds with each other, as for the majority of Ghanaians; the true way of being a political nationalist is to be ethno nationalist caused by migrations. In Uganda, most especially Kampala District, ethno nationalism is practiced mostly during the Mayoral and district election where the Baganda, who owns district region take up most of all the district positions using ethno nationalism during elections, whereas non Baganda strive to resist this attitude. In summary, ethno nationalism caused by migrations is practiced during elections in order to maintain the status quo of unequal distribution and accumulation of public wealth and opportunity. This system of social inequality operates through the political interdependence of allies, or opponents within the political arena along migratory groups, contours and supervised by state in relation to the political development.

Oyugi (1997) correctly argues, that ethnicity rooted from migrations is often used as an ideological tool in political conflicts. This assessment seems to confirm what happened during the 1980 Uganda presidential elections, the 2001 and 2006, and the subsequent Kampala Mayoral and district elections. Migratory groups define their objectives and reorganize to compete for state elections in multi ethnic states, like Kampala. This is practiced aiming to defend the status quo, or privileges against possible deprivation by potential challengers, and this marks the genesis of migratory violence in Kampala District elections. Thus the researcher went in to investigate if this influence has anything to do with the political development of Kampala District.

### **Internal migrations, Multiparty politics and political development**

Karugire (1980) accounts for the formation of political parties in Uganda. In his study, he attributes the formation of political parties to internal cohesion among Baganda and later to religious and ethnic affiliations in Uganda. He argues that, Ugandan politics revolved around local issues and did not emerge a political party which had purely national aims, nor indeed national

leaders. These were parties and leaders aiming at striking down some section of the country and uplifting others. Whereas this argument holds water in explaining the formation of political parties in Uganda and their nature, the researchers contend that, he underestimated the influence of internal migrations in the formation of these political parties that could lead to the development of a given setting in his analysis. The researchers argue that, most political parties and their leaders use their positions in relation to their interests of destination in culture and tribe. However these migratory interests among the political parties operating in Kampala district influence much on its political development.

Coleman (2004), contends that, the instruments of these political strategies is reflected in the allocation of resources; customs regulations, physical infrastructure, unified system administration, unifying educational system, awarding of tenders and political posts land allocation etc, which is reflected on the basis of migratory interests in relation to the constraints of the ruling party. In such circumstances with mixed interests operating in a city district like Kampala, manifests no advantage to the political development of the place, which this research contends to find out.

Shaheen (2005) explains the nature and role of political parties in Africa. He analyses a number of military regimes of different countries including Uganda. Plebiscitary regimes, such as those in Benin, Gabon and Zaire, now democratic republic of Congo, created centralized single parties that functioned as instruments of political control. Single party regimes in Africa established one all encompassing political party that enabled controlled policy debates and elite recruitment through competitive elections in local constituencies among officially approved candidates, which produced substantial turnover of members in national legislatures and cabinets. His study is influential in understanding the nature

and role of political parties in Africa; However his explanation fall short in explaining what causes the nature and role of political parties in Africa; which this study contend to be internal migratory ideas of individuals in a city like Kampala. The study further argues that in Africa, the main criteria according to which socio-political groups define and identify themselves is deep rooted in the interests of individuals in relation to their destinations rather than common interests of the people at the time in a given setting. Once this ideal is held in operation with in a district like Kampala district, it influences the political development of these places.

Barya (2000) contends that, there are additional problems associated with the institution of the monarchy if political parties are in operation. He goes further to point out that, the movement system of government has accentuated and elevated the value of tribe, for there is nothing to compete against it in mobilizing Ugandans voluntarily other than religion. Of course, there can be

little quarrel with this explanation as in Uganda we can move on with political parties neglecting the monarchism system basing on the values of a given tribe for a communal development as a country. However this argument falls short in explaining were these political parties will operate from in Uganda if not in the monarchism systems. In Uganda each tribe is attributed to its natural location, dating back to 15<sup>th</sup> Century and if the political parties are to exercise their interests in a given kingdom, Barya, (2000) then undermines the migration processes to a given state basing on a given tribe, engaging in the political parties and its influence to the development of that state.

Ssenkumba (2000) asserts that, by the time the late President Apollo Milton Obote was overthrown by the late President Idi Amin in 1971, he decided to turn Uganda into a one party state in his famous "Common Mans' Charter". Although Amin denounced obote for imposing a one party dictatorship and promised to restore multi-party politics, he soon turned the country into a military dictatorship. He banned all political parties and declared himself a life president. He also suspended significant sections of the 1967 constitution, and in the way the constitution ceased to be the supreme law of Uganda. Parliament lost its law making powers to the head of state (Legal-notice No.1 of 1971); thus making the president not only the supreme law but also the sole law maker (Oloka, 1993).

The argument is influential in retaining one party state system which was honored in African countries by the time; however it underestimates the migratory forces with in the individual operating in the multi-party politics or one party state to the development of a given city like Kampala. Therefore Amin and Obote being migrants to Kampala district, having one party or multi-party politics during their reign, the result would directly influence the political development of Kampala district as well as it would have been in another district. There fore the researcher is roaming for these influences in relation to the political development of Kampala District.

Nyerere (1968) continues to stress/argue that, since political parties represented classes in developed countries and here in Africa there were no classes, political parties would end up representing ethnic and clan interests. The study held a value to the roots of what political parties would signify in the African context, thus leaving out the initials where these two factor came from, that is to say migrations which has led to ethnicity and political divisions, and how would these contribute to the political development of a Kampala city or country or kingdom? The study therefore contexts for this nagging gap specifically in Kampala district for its political development. Many scholars have attributed ethnicity and migrations in African societies to have originated in the planting of colonialism using the colonial policy of divide and rule. Scholars like, Karugire (1988), Semakula (1973), Mazrui (1976), Mahmood (1983), among others

belongs to this category of writers. They argue that, colonialism had come to Africa to create nation states (Karugire, 1988). That, this involved exploiting whatever divisions existed among the people and areas, building on this and multiplying them with a view to divide the people further, and winning over a small minority as junior partners in sustaining the external domination of Uganda (Mahmood, 1983). Of course, there can be little quarrel with this explanation as indeed the Uganda wide institutions were artificial and could only function under the guidance of a colonial empire. However, this argument underestimates and falls short in explaining the role of internal migrations in the political development, most especially of large cities with multi ethnic population like Kampala. The researchers contend that, the post colonial political actors have used or use ethnicity in highly populated cities, like Kampala through their political parties to strengthen and maintain themselves in political leadership. Therefore in this study, political parties are ethnic rooted from migrations and derive their support from an identified migratory group and serve the interest of that group thus affecting the political development of Kampala district.

According to Harrowiz (1985), ethnicity rooted in migrations has long been understood as playing a crucial role in structuring party politics in Africa and its role in determining support for ruling political parties. In this study, therefore both ethno political fragmentation and the geographical concentration of migratory groups are important factors in explaining the number of political parties in multicultural cities like Kampala. Once political parties are formed on the above objectives, they deploy the term ethnicity in a sense that pre- supposes reality developed out of their ethic history and define their boundaries which constitute the "us" to whom one depends upon whom one is not. The study underestimates the effect that internal migrations can cause to the political development of a city as they play a big role in restructuring parties. Therefore this study was interested in establishing the influence of internal migration to the political development of Kampala District. While Clapham (1998) in his African guerrillas, examines the role of African guerrillas in the political development of African states. In his analysis to Uganda, he places the origins of Yoweri Museveni's insurgency to the existing and past dictatorships of that time, and his personal initiatives in the revolutionary guerrilla warfare, and the rid of the 1980 multiparty elections in Uganda, which the late Milton Obote under his Uganda People's Congress (UCP) won. It is true that multiparty elections of 1980 in Uganda were sham, and also Museveni's insurgency during that time was explained by the existing problems of that time however, in his analysis, Clapham does not explain the central cause of these problems which in this study, I attribute to migratory trends. It is migratory ideologies that caused dictatorship in Uganda leading to sham elections and emergency of guerrillas, to

fight this migratory political imbalance. This explains why political parties are ethnic as Clapham, (1998) contradicts himself when he reveals, that Museveni's main source of military support, Front for National Salvation (FRONASA) had been dispersed because it was identified as a potential threat not only for ideological reasons, but because it was drawn largely from southern and western Uganda.

The years that have followed since 1980 have witnessed the scramble and partitioning of Kampala District headed by the ruling government officials while the natives have continuously opposed this move. It can therefore be argued, that the scramble and partitioning of Kampala and its opposition, is a context between migrants and natives which is expressed in multiparty politics of Kampala District.

## OBJECTIVES

The study set out to investigate two main objectives;

- (i) To find out how internal migrations influence elections in Kampala district.
- (ii) To establish how internal migrations influence multiparty politics in Kampala district.

## METHODOLOGY

The study used a cross-sectional survey research design and it encompassed both quantitative and qualitative techniques. This was so because it is a design that enables the researcher to collect data to make inferences about a population of interest (universe) at one point in time. Cross-sectional surveys have been also described as snapshots of the populations about which they gather data, Groves et al., (2004). The study was carried out in Kampala district; putting emphasis on Kampala central division which has a population of 88,094 estimated by the Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBOS) 2012. The study also targeted political party leaders, civil servants and Kampala residents from all parts of Uganda under the political elements of elections, and multipart's. The study sample included 25 Political party leaders at different levels, 110 civil servants and 207 Residents in Kampala who were selected basing on Purposive sampling and Random sampling techniques. The study used questionnaires and interview guides to collect data from respondents, and analysis was done descriptively.

## RESULTS

### Nature of current Migrations in Kampala by tribe

The study involved almost all migrants in Kampala from different ethnic groups and the findings are presented in

the (Table 1). Table 1 shows that out of 342 respondents, 148(43.2%) were Baganda, 52(15.2%) were Banyankole, 26(7.6%) Basoga, 16(4.6%) were Bagishu, 15(4.3%) were Banyarwanda, while 14(4.0%) were others like Bakiga, Banyoro, Acholi, Iteso, Basamya, Ekarimojong, Batoro, Baluri, Banyoli, Japadhola, Madi, Bagwere, Langi, Alur, Bafumbira and Lugbarawho were presented in small numbers but very significant to the study. Baganda present the highest percentage (43.2%) because the study was carried out in the central region; the set of their kingdom. The results corresponded with the interview responses when asked a question of why a certain migratory group exists in such numbers in Kampala district, and majority replied as follows in line with the quantitative results.

A migrant from the Northern part of Uganda asserted that;

*"We the Northern people like the Acholi, Iteso and others during Obote's regime we had a high population in Kampala district but when the regime changed most of us were sent away and others killed severely thus I do not wonder the numbers we are in Kampala district today." (Interviewed in June 2013).*

One Munyoro migrant said that;

*"The Banyoro and Batoro exist in small numbers in Kampala district because most of us prefer to stay in our region and develop it than to migrate to Kampala and develop Buganda kingdom which is our public enemy historically." (Interviewed in June 2013).*

Another Asian business man replied that;

*"Us Asians do not desire to even remember what happened during Amin's regime when he sent away our ground fathers and mothers with nothing however we are trying to revive slowly with such numbers in Kampala district and in Uganda as a whole. I thank the ruling government that has permitted us to again carry on our businesses in Kampala." (Interviewed in June 2013).*

A Person from the western part of Uganda said;

*"Because we are the tribes constituting the ruling party that is to say National Resistance Army we claim to have such reasonable percentage in Kampala district. However as westerners we are united and call upon our tribesmen in Kampala for business and political issues." (Interviewed in June 2013).*

Another Muganda woman asserted that;

*"Since Kampala is found in Buganda kingdom, the Baganda, it is obvious that we should have a highest population in Kampala district. Despite of the different migrants that have reported in Kampala since its existence for different reasons, Baganda still hold their population position in Kampala district as it exists"*

**Table 1.** showing the nature of current Migrants in Kampala by tribe.

<b>Migrants</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Baganda	148	43.2%
Banyankole	52	15.2%
Bakiga	8	2.3%
Basoga	26	7.6%
Banyoro	6	1.7%
Acholi	3	0.8%
Iteso	3	0.8%
Basomya	8	2.3%
Ekarimojong	3	0.8%
Batoro	5	1.4%
Bagishu	16	4.6%
Baluri	5	1.4%
Banyoli	3	0.8%
Japadhola	4	1.1%
Madi	3	0.8%
Bagwere	6	1.7%
Langi	4	1.1%
Alur	4	1.1%
Bafumbira	3	0.8%
Lugbara	3	0.8%
Banyarwanda	15	4.3%
Others	14	4.0%
Total	342	100%

(Interviewed in June 2013).

The Madi, Bunyoli, Lugbara and others in the same category complained that;  
*“As small communities/tribes in Uganda we are always from the beginning discriminated and this is why we constitute a small percentage in our capital city Kampala however it’s good that at least we are identified to contribute some thing to Kampala’s political development.”* (Interviewed in June 2013).

**How internal migrations influence the political elections of Kampala District**

The findings in this section are in response to objective one and the first research question. This objective aimed at establishing how internal migrations influence political elections in Kampala. To test this research question, several questions were asked and the responses were categorized as agree, strongly agree, undecided, disagree and strongly disagree (Table 2).

Table 2 reveals that, people who elect their migratory group members are higher than those who do not elect them as shown by a total of 172(51.5%) respondents who agreed 76(22.6%) and strongly agreed 97(28.9%) with

the first statement in (Table 2). On the other hand, a total of 123(36.6%) respondents stated that being a migratory group member is not in itself the yardstick upon which voters elect those to represent them. This was emphasized by 106(31.5%) and 17(5.1%) of those who disagreed and strongly disagreed with the statement respectively. This is stressed by the respondents who argued that migrants as leaders in Kampala district are many with an addition of those who agreed 89(26.0%) and those who strongly agreed 197(57.6%) coming up with a total number of 286(83.6%) whereas 34(9.9%) total of those who disagreed 24(7.0%) and strongly disagreed 10(2.9%) with the statement, where by 22(6.4) had no side on this issue.

Table 2 also reveals, that respondents stressed that during elections voters divide themselves along migratory lines with 186(54.7%), an addition of those who agreed 73(21.5%) and strongly agreed 113(33.2%) followed with those who vote not along migratory lines with 116(34.1%) a total of those who disagreed 85(25.0%) and strongly disagreed 31(9.1%) whereas 38(11.2%) were undecided. The findings further reveal that internal migration has an effect on the political elections of Kampala district in a way that migrants tend to have a greater share during these elections and serve their interests leaving out the interests of the political development of Kampala district.

**Table 2.** showing responses on internal migration and political elections.

Statements	Responses	Total number	Percent
During elections, I elect my migratory group member	Agree	76	22.6%
	Strongly agree	97	28.9%
	Undecided	40	11.9%
	Disagree	106	31.5%
	Strongly disagree	17	5.1%
Kampala District has many migratory leaders	Agree	89	26.0%
	Strongly agree	197	57.6%
	Undecided	22	6.4%
	Disagree	24	7.0%
	Strongly disagree	10	2.9%
During elections voters segregate themselves along migratory lines	Agree	73	21.5%
	Strongly agree	113	33.2%
	Undecided	38	11.2%
	Disagree	85	25.0%
	Strongly disagree	31	9.1%
Do some migrants in Kampala district feel politically segregated?	Yes	210	61.4%
	No	124	36.3%
	Undecided	8	2.3%

This is verified by the fourth statement, that even some migrants and the central people have a feeling that they are politically segregated with 201(61.4%) who agreed with the statement, 124(36.3%) disagreed and 8(2.3%) were uncertain. The interview responses supplemented the findings from the questionnaires' whereby they disagreed with the research question when respondents were asked whether voters elect their migratory groups' men during elections, majority of the respondents replied "no".

One migrant asserted;

*"Kampala is a cosmopolitan area however Baganda hold the highest population but people vote candidates they think are capable irrespective of their migratory groups, or else Kasibante Moses wouldn't have won in Rubaga division." (Interviewed in June, 2013).*

Another male member of the opposition party replied;

*"No, many migrants in Kampala are from different regions and engage in business i.e. trade. These are informed people who can not be misled when it comes to voting, they vote for ability, not migratory trends..." (Interviewed in June, 2013).*

Whereas another female member of the Security Council in the ruling party acknowledged;

*"I say no, because the division where I stay, we are very many westerners there, but when it comes to voting, we voted for a Muganda, because we saw he was capable, and that is our Kampala central member of parliament, Mr.MuhamadiNsereko..." (Interviewed in June, 2013).*

While another male opposition party leader asserted;

*"No, otherwise people from remote areas, like the chairman L.C.111, Kampala central division, Mr.Nyakana Godfrey, wouldn't have won. Voters are given gifts like*

*sugar, soap, money, salt etc...during elections time to vote rotten candidates to ruin us, but here in Kampala, people are intelligent enough to vote against such issues..."(Interviewed in June 2013).*

Another political leader asserted that;

*"Kampala being a composition of many people in tribe, education, business, culture, economic status, and others, this means that they differ in their way of thinking politically, socially, culturally and economically. Therefore with this background, their understanding of political issues differ from that of other parts of Uganda were you find almost one tribe leading the region and having the same thoughts. I conclude that Kampala people can not elect their tribe's men but follow the trend of ability." (Interviewed in June 2013.)*

The findings in the Table above indicate that internal migration has a significant effect on the political elections of Kampala district; however results from the interviews guides contradicted with quantitative data, showing no effect of internal migrations on the political elections of Kampala District. This implies that the political elections and development in Kampala District can be understood in terms of internal migrations. That different tribal groups within Kampala District elect leaders of their own tribe, and others elect leaders of other tribes because they believe that such leaders will enhance their tribal interests.

### **How internal migrations have influenced multiparty politics in Kampala District**

The findings in this section are in response to objective two and the second research question which aimed at establishing the extent to which internal migrations



**Table 3.** showing responses on internal migrations and multiparty politics in Kampala District.

Statements	Responses	Total number	Percent
Do you think political parties in Kampala District take a migratory group trend?	Yes	118	34.5%
	No	203	59.4%
	Undecided	21	6.1%
Reason behind the formation of political parties in Kampala District	The need to forge national unity	117	34.5%
	The need for a certain migratory group to get a leader	114	33.6%
	The need to strengthen the existing migratory imbalance	66	19.5%
	The need to segregate other migratory groups	42	12.4%
Do political party leadership take a certain migratory status?	Yes	125	36.5%
	No	189	55.3%
	Undecided	28	8.2%
What is the nature of political leadership in Kampala district?	Its migratory	160	47.1%
	Its migratory balanced	117	34.4%
	Undecided	63	18.5%
Do political parties forge unity among themselves on migratory group basis?	Yes	168	49.1%
	No	162	47.4%
	Undecided	12	3.5%

influence multiparty politics of Kampala District. To test this research question, several questions were asked and the responses were categorized as agree, strongly agree, undecided, disagree and strongly disagree (Table 3). Table 3 shows that, 203(59.4%) respondents supported the view that political parties in Kampala do not take a migratory trend and these exceeded those who accepted the statement with 118(34.5%) while 21(6.1%) were uncertain. This was in line with the reason behind the formation of political parties in Kampala district, where most respondents agreed that, it is to forge nation unity with 117(34.5%) followed by the need for a certain migratory group to get a leader with 114(33.6%) as others also followed, the need to strengthen the existing migratory imbalance 66(19.5%) and the need to segregate other migratory groups with 42(12.4%).

The findings also show that, most of the political party leadership do not take a certain migratory status with 189(55.3%) and this means that leadership in political parties is due to ability, level of education etc. but not migratory group interests, however 125(36.5%) replied affirmatively whereas 28(8.2%) were uncertain. It is further noted that, many respondents supported the view that the nature of political leadership in Kampala district is based on migratory status with 160(47.1%) and this is as it is because most political parties were at first initiated basing on a certain migratory groups like N.R.M westerners, D.P central people, U.P.C Northerners etc. However this is changing with time, they now base on ability in all circles regardless of the region where a person comes from, however 117(34.4%) said that, the nature of political leadership in political parties is migratory balanced thus 63(18.5%) took no side on both arguments.

The findings also confirmed great competition among respondents in question 5 in the table above who argued that, political parties forge unity among themselves on migratory group basis and 168 (49.1%) supported the

view yet 162(47.4%) did not. This is because at first the political parties were forged basing on a unity of a certain migratory group, however a transformation within the migratory groups in political parties has diverted to ability of a person.

The findings from the interviews were also supplemented with the findings from the questionnaires, when respondents were asked; whether political parties forge unity among themselves along migratory trend in Kampala district, one male migrant opposition Member of Parliament replied,

*“Yes, as parties among themselves forge unity, take for instance the NRM party, had a retreat to forge unity as a group were they condemned those taking the party backwards. But among parties, political parties are divisive because of their traditional trend during their formation in 1950’s. For example D.P Democratic Party and U.P.C Uganda’s people congress were formed on basis of interests of individuals and societies and this explains their ideologies, therefore they cannot unite...”* (Interviewed in June, 2013)

While another female political activist said,  
*“Political parties work hand in hand regardless of their migratory status for political supremacy of their parties in terms of electing leaders. i.e. some individuals think that through the political parties they can occupy some high leadership posts both in Kampala and in the state but after attaining power, they do not work together...”* (Interviewed in June, 2013.)

Whereas another political party opposition leader put it in this way;

*“Our political parties are based on migratory trend, most especially National Resistance Movement (NRM) for Banyankole and Banyarwanda, Uganda Peoples Congress (UPC) for Acholi and Democratic Party (DP) for*

*Baganda. Thus, such Political party differences based on migratory trends make it difficult for these parties to unite and develop Kampala District.....” (Interviewed in June, 2013).*

Another political leader reacted;  
*“Political parties work together because they are all fighting for power and they do not have any significant ideological differences, but after attaining power, they do not work together.”(Interviewed in June 2013).*

Whereas another migrant/civil servant in Kampala said;  
*“Our political parties are very tribalistic, most especially Democratic Party (DP), Uganda People’s Congress (UPC) and Nation Resistance Army (NRM). Democratic Party is Baganda party, UPC is an Acholi party and NRM for Banyankole and Banyarwanda, such tribal differences make it so hard for those parties to unite if members happen to mix up in one party.....”(Interviewed in June 2013).*

And a female political activist replied;  
*“Political parties always take a migratory dimension in their ruling, most especially the traditional parties, that is to say, Democratic Party(DP) and Uganda People’s Congress(UPC).The newly formed parties, if tribalism based on migratory trends is not sensitized among the supporters, then it will influence their political party leadership to be on migratory trends, therefore they can’t unite with others.....”Interviewed in June 2013*

To a big extent, both quantitative and qualitative data results have shown that internal migrations have a significant bearing on the multi-party politics of Kampala District. This implies, that political parties in Kampala District are aimed at forging national unity for the common cause although to a certain extent, there are indicators of migratory imbalance within the political parties and political party politics.

## DISCUSSION

### The effect of internal migrations on the political elections in Kampala District

The quantitative data revealed, that internal migration has an effect on the political elections of Kampala district. This was stressed when 197(57.6%) respondents acknowledged that Kampala district has many migratory leaders. Whereas others acknowledged that during elections voters segregate themselves along migratory lines and this as a result develops an idea to others of feeling politically segregated. Frendreis (1989) was in line with the argument saying that, migrants may have distinct political election preferences that may not comply to the political development of the state that can be imported

into their new neighborhoods changing the partisan composition at those locales. He says most native born migrants will eventually re-register to vote, although it may take some time: once registered these new arrivals can express their views directly at the ballot box. With sufficient numbers, migrants may expand the size of the elections and reconstitute the mix of interests with in it; thus contributing to the development of a state basing mainly on their migratory ideologies. This means areas with a number of migrants as leaders, will serve the interests of their groups other than building the political development of Kampala District.

Qualitatively the results from the interview, respondents strongly disagreed with the above argument saying that, internal migration has no effect on the political elections of Kampala district. They asserted that during elections voters do not elect their migratory groups’ men. This means they vote for ability and not basing on migratory lines, they vote candidates they think are capable irrespective of their migratory groups or else Honorable Kasibante Moses and others wouldn’t have won in Parliamentary elections in Rubaga -North Division.

One respondent argued stressing the point that, the place where he stays in Kampala is highly populated with westerners (N.R.M) members but they voted for a Muganda (D.P) member as their candidate of parliament Mr. Muhamadi-Nsereko thus indicating that in Kampala district they vote for ability not basing on migratory trends. Staetz and Munger (1960); Wallace (1962) study about the ability of a candidate was in line with the above argument. they argued that, political elections in highly populated areas with a number of migrants, it must not depend not only on the volume of migrations but upon individual characteristics such as the strength of one’s political beliefs and partisanship at the time of the move as well as the political character of the new community, including the pressures of conformity with in it.

The other respondents evidenced on the interview acknowledging that, migratory forces have less impact on the political elections of Kampala district. One respondent asserted that during political elections migrants socialize with established residents into the habits of new community that drives them to vote for ability and for the unified development of Kampala district. During elections voters are given gifts like sugar, salt, money,etc... to vote for rotten candidates based on migratory trends but Kampala people are intelligent enough to vote against such issues. Brown (1988); Huckfeldt (1986); Huckfeldt and Sprague (1995); McBurnett (1991) study were in line with the argument in their study about the interstate migration and election politics. They contended that, in their study about the inter-state migration and election politics, migrations may have little election impact because migrants are socialized by established residents into the habits of their new community involving the political habits of the majority. Under these conditions they contend that, the election politics that impact on

migrations on the destination locale may be slight.

### **The effect of internal migrations on multiparty politics in Kampala District**

The findings revealed that, majority of the respondents were in line with the view that, internal migrations have a big influence on the multi-party politics of Kampala district. This is clearly reflected in the statistical details contained in the last two data tables: respondents stressing that, the nature of political leadership in Kampala political parties is mainly based on migratory trends with 160(47.1%). And respondents also argued that political parties forge unity among themselves on migratory group basis with 168(49.1%). The results were in line with Nyerere's (1968) study, who contended that since political parties represented classes in developed countries and here in Africa there were no classes, therefore political parties would end up representing ethnic and clan interests for political powers i.e. this means migrants move with their ethnic traits and even plants them in the political parties aiming at their interests as a certain migratory group but not for the common good.

The finding was also in line with Karugire (1980) study, who maintained that, Ugandan politics revolved around local issues and did not emerge a political party which had purely national aims nor indeed national leaders. These were parties and leaders aiming at striking down some section of the country and uplifting others. This explains why political parties are based on migratory forces in Kampala, and this limits them to have an effective positive impact on the political development of Kampala district. Thus they operate fulfilling the interests of their migratory groups while in Kampala were they do not originate.

Qualitatively respondents similarly highlighted on the migratory traits practiced in the multi-party systems. Respondents in the interview contended that, political parties are based on migratory trends most especially National Resistance Army for Banyankole and Banyarwanda, Uganda People's Congress for Acholi and Democratic Party for Baganda. So such differences with in political parties based on migratory trends make it difficult for these parties to unite. In addition to that, respondents argued that, parties among themselves forge unity, take for instance the N.R.M party had a retreat to forge unity as a group were they condemned those taking the party backwards. But among parties, political parties are divisive because of their traditional trends during their formation in 1950's. The results are also in line with Boas' (1940) study who maintained that, in large and multi-ethnic cities, multi-party political exclusion is based on migratory trends where the ruling group views its appointments as people of different background and this guides the rule of the game. Thus,

such migratory multi-party practices affect the political development of Kampala district.

However, results slightly contradicted again in the statistical Table on political parties in the first three sub-tables when the majority respondents 189(55.3%) acknowledged that political party leadership do not take a certain migratory status. This was supported by the respondents on the interview who asserted that, political parties work hand in hand regardless of their migratory status for political supremacy of their parties in terms of electing leaders.

However, some individuals think that through the political parties they can occupy some high leadership posts both in Kampala and in the state. Whereas other respondents revealed that, the reason behind the formation of political parties in Kampala district is to forge national unity with national interests, but with time they divert and carry migratory interests with in the process. This was supported by respondents who acknowledged that, political parties work together because they are all fighting for power and do not have any significant ideological differences, but after attaining power they do not work together. Lack of transparency within the political parties to unite and forge a national unity has and will continue to have a negative effect to the political development of Kampala District. The essence of these observations is that, although a few supported a view that, to a certain extent political parties are formed in order to forge national unity, most of the respondents contend that multi-party politics in Kampala district is basically on migratory trends in practice.

### **CONCLUSION**

From the above findings, the study concluded that, to a certain extent, Kampala district elections are based on migratory trends mainly because Kampala district has many migratory leaders, and on the other hand Kampala district elections depend on ability of the members in question, but not migratory trends. These contradicting statements meant that people at first had a mentality of electing their migratory group members but as time goes on, they have turned to elect candidates who have the ability to transform the city despite of their migratory group, and backgrounds, however in most cases ability is defined in terms of embracing their tribal needs. On the other hand, Multi-party politics in Kampala is rooted from different migratory groups that do exist and this is mainly because of the primary aim of the formation of Political Parties right from 1950s. Each political party comprised of a certain group of people; for example, D.P for Baganda, U.P.C for northern people especially the Acholi, N.R.M; the ruling party for the western people, among others. Therefore these conflicting entities among Political Parties hinder the political development of Kampala District.

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