

Popular Attitudes toward Democracy in Uganda: A Summary of Afrobarometer Indicators, 2000-2008

21 April 2009

Uganda gained independence and held its first elections in 1962. But after Milton Obote suspended the constitution in 1966, the country spiraled into a two-decade ordeal of authoritarian and military rule noted for massive violations of human rights. In 1986, Yoweri Museveni took power after his National Resistance Movement captured Kampala. He instituted a "no party democracy", which held its first presidential elections in 1996. In a 2000 referendum, Ugandans opted to continue the no-party system, but they reversed themselves in 2005, and parties now operate far more freely than in the past. Museveni was re-elected in 2001, and again in 2006 after a successful effort to roll back term limits. As of 2008, Uganda remained a "partly-free" country according to Freedom House, with scores of 5 for political rights and 4 for civil liberties.

This document provides a summary of popular attitudes regarding the demand for and supply of democracy in Uganda as revealed over the course of four Afrobarometer surveys conducted between 2000 and 2008. Data for the first round were collected from May to June of 2000 (n=2271). The second round of data were collected from August to September of 2002 (n=2400). Data for round three were collected from April to May of 2005 (n=2400). The final round of data were collected from July to September of 2008 (n=2431).

The following variables capture perceptions of:

- The meaning of democracy;
- The demand for democracy (including individual support for democracy, patience with democracy and rejection of military rule, one-party rule, and one-man rule);
- Support for democratic institutions (including attitudes towards elections, term limits, multiparty rule, and checks on presidential powers); and
- The supply of democracy (including satisfaction with democracy and the perceived extent of democracy, quality of elections and the provision of key freedoms).

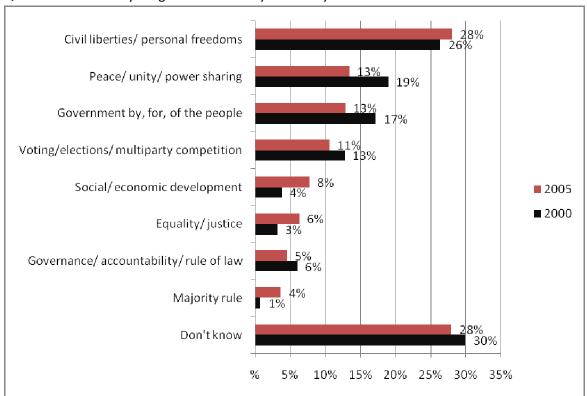
Points of Interest

- Support for democracy has been relatively high but somewhat erratic, but achieved is highest point in the 2008 survey (2.1)
- Aversion to military rule is down somewhat since 2000 (2.2), but rejection of one-party rule jumped sharply in 2008 (2.3)
- Support for multiparty competition has also climbed steeply since 2002 (3.3)
- Evaluations of the extent of democracy are moderate but relatively steady (4.1), but satisfaction with democracy has dropped steadily and significantly since 2000 (4.2)
- Evaluations of election quality have also plummeted (4.3)

MEANING OF DEMOCRACY

1.1 Variable: Meaning of democracy

Question: What if anything does democracy mean to you?



^{*}In 2005 respondents could offer up to three meanings. In 1999, they could offer two. Figures shown are the percentage of all substantive responses offered.

DEMAND FOR DEMOCRACY

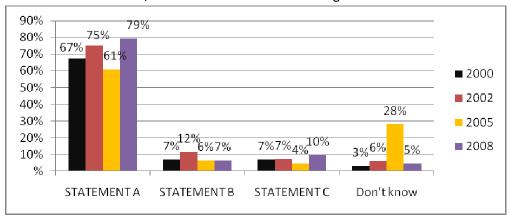
2.1 Variable: Support for democracy

Question: Which of these three statements is closest to your own opinion?

A: Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government.

B: In some circumstances, a non-democratic government can be preferable.

C: For someone like me, it doesn't matter what kind of government we have.



*In 2000, respondents were not asked this question if they could not offer a meaning of democracy

2.2 Variable: Reject military rule

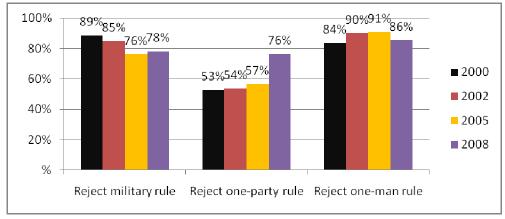
Question: There are many ways to govern a country. Would you disapprove or approve of the following alternatives: The army comes in to govern the country?

2.3 Variable: Reject one-party rule

Question: There are many ways to govern a country. Would you disapprove or approve of the following alternatives: Only one political party is allowed to stand for election and hold office?

2.4 Variable: Reject one-man rule

Question: There are many ways to govern a country. Would you disapprove or approve of the following alternatives: Elections and Parliament/National Assembly are abolished so that the President/Prime Minister can decide everything?



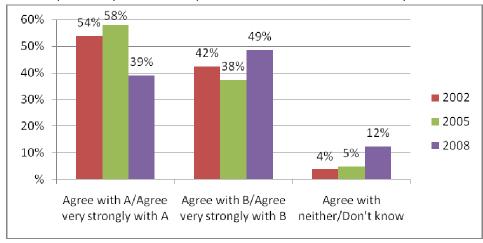
(Percent who disapprove/strongly disapprove of military rule, one-party rule and one-man rule)

2.5 Variable: Patience with democracy

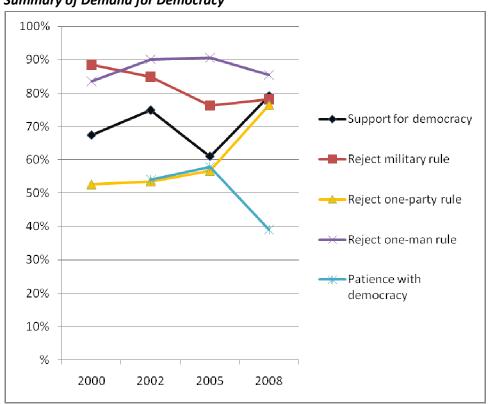
Question: Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Statement A or Statement B.

A: Our present system of elected government should be given more time to deal with inherited problems.

B: If our present system cannot produce results soon, we should try another form of government.



Summary of Demand for Democracy



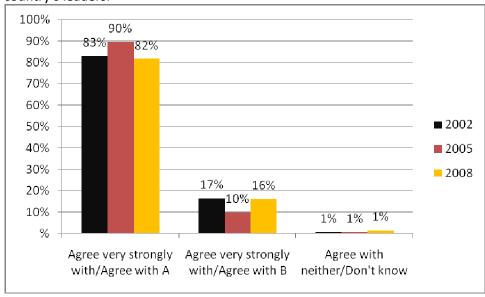
DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS

3.1 Variable: Choose leaders through elections vs. try another form

Question: Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Statement A or Statement B.

A: We should choose our leaders in this country through regular, open and honest elections.

B: Since elections sometimes produce bad results, we should adopt other methods for choosing this country's leaders.

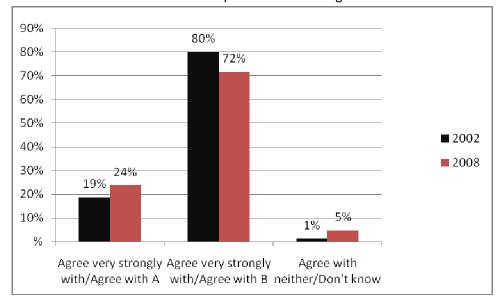


3.2 Variable: No term limits for the president vs. two terms only

Question: Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Statement A or Statement B.

A: There should be no constitutional limit on how long the president can serve.

B: The constitution should limit the president to serving a maximum of two terms in office.

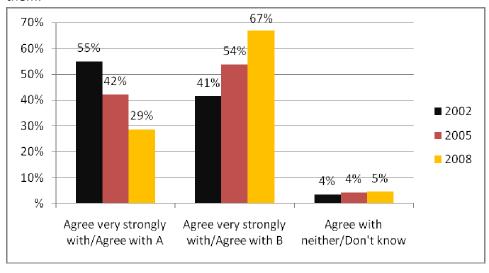


3.3 Variable: Political parties divisive vs. many parties needed

Question: Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Statement A or Statement B.

A: Political parties create division and confusion; it is therefore unnecessary to have many political parties in Uganda.

B: Many political parties are needed to make sure that Ugandans have real choices in who governs them.

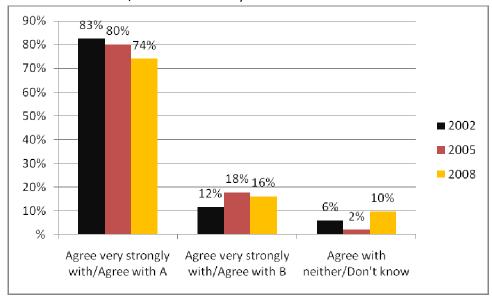


3.4 Variable: Parliament makes laws vs. President does

Question: Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Statement A or Statement B.

A: The members of Parliament/National Assembly represent the people; therefore they should make laws for this country, even if the President/Prime Minister does not agree.

B: Since the President/Prime Minister represents all of us, he should pass laws without worrying about what the Parliament/National Assembly thinks.

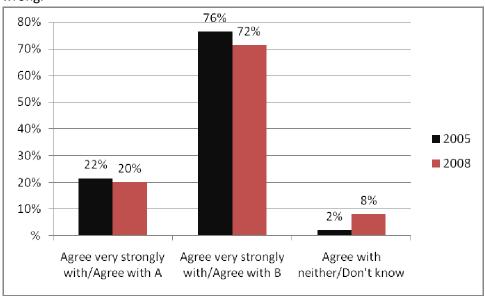


3.5 Variable: President free to act vs. obey the laws and courts

Question: Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Statement A or Statement B.

A: Since the President/Prime Minister was elected to lead the country, he should not be bound by laws or court decisions that he thinks are wrong.

B: The President/Prime Minister must always obey the laws and the courts, even if he thinks they are wrong.

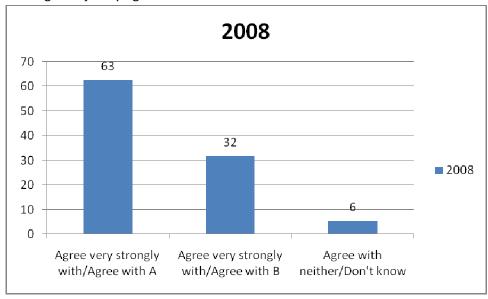


3.6 Variable: Parliament monitors President vs. cooperate

Question: Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Statement A or Statement B.

A: Parliament should ensure that the president explains to it on a regular basis how his government spends the taxpayers' money.

B: The President should be able to devote his full attention to developing the country rather than wasting time justifying his actions.

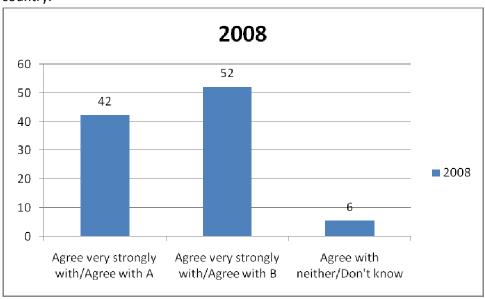


3.7 Variable: Opposition parties examine government vs. cooperate

Question: Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Statement A or Statement B.

A: Opposition parties should regularly examine and criticize government policies and actions.

B: Opposition parties should concentrate on cooperating with government and helping it develop the country.

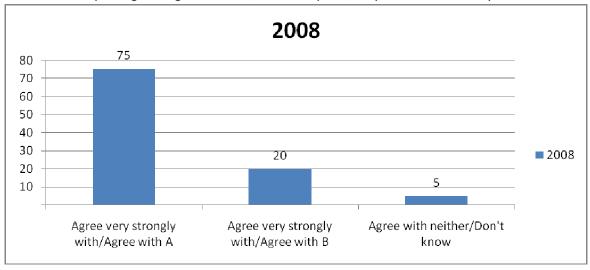


3.8 Variable: Media examines government vs. cooperate

Question: Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Statement A or Statement B.

A: The news media should constantly investigate and report on corruption and the mistakes made by the government.

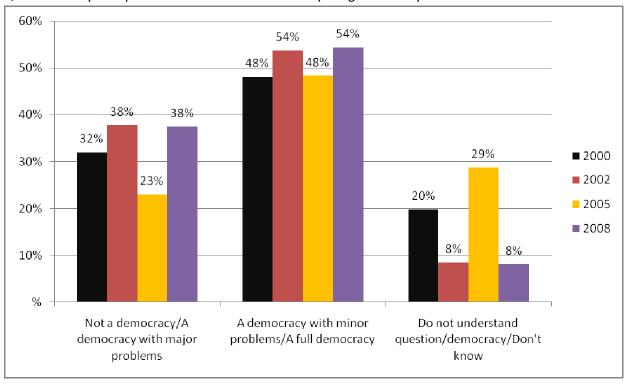
B: Too much reporting on negative events, like corruption, only harms the country.



SUPPLY OF DEMOCRACY

4.1 Variable: Extent of Democracy

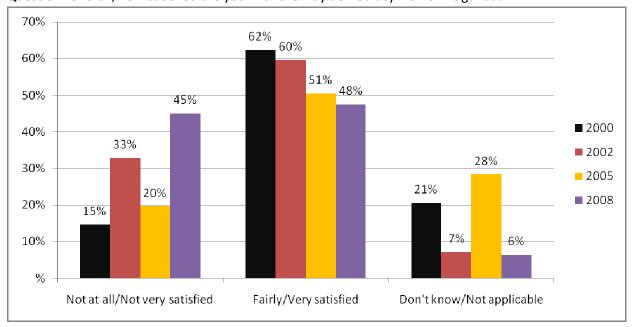
Questions: In your opinion how much of a democracy is Uganda today?



^{*}The response categories for this question consisted of "yes" and "no" only in 1999

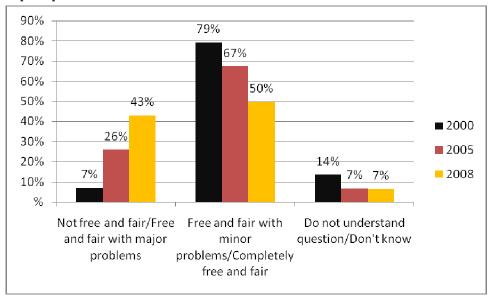
4.2 Variable: Satisfaction with democracy

Question: Overall, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in Uganda?



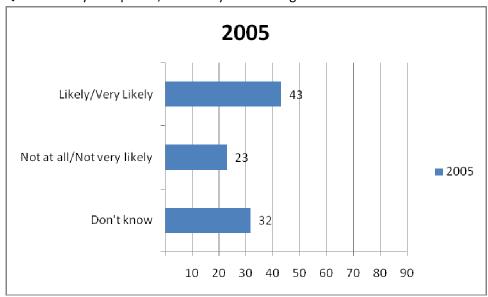
4.3 Variable: Elections free and fair

Question: On the whole, how would you rate the freeness and fairness of the last national election, held in [20xx]. Was it:



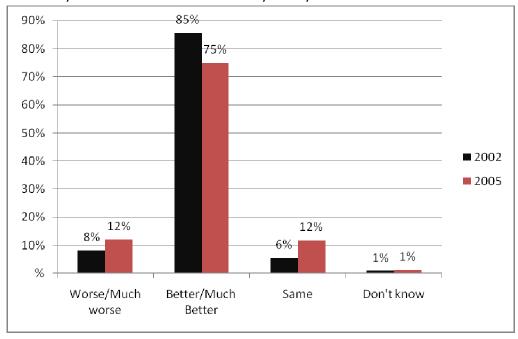
4.4 Variable: Future of democracy

Question: In your opinion, how likely is it that Uganda will remain a democratic country?



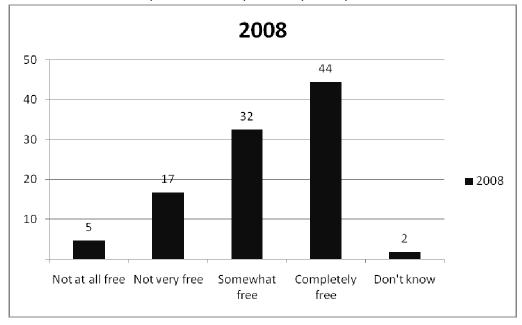
4.5 Variable: Freedom of speech (2002-2005)

Question: Please tell me if the following things are worse or better now than they were a few years ago, or are they about the same: Freedom to say what you think?



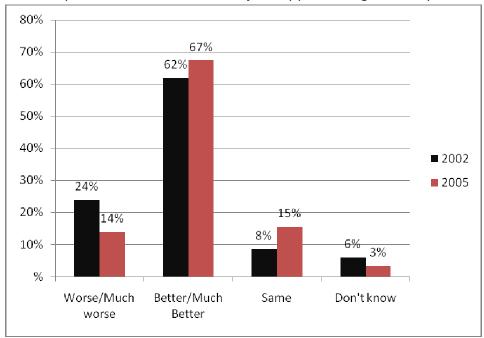
4.6 Variable: Freedom of speech (2008)

Question: In this country, how free are you: to say what you think?



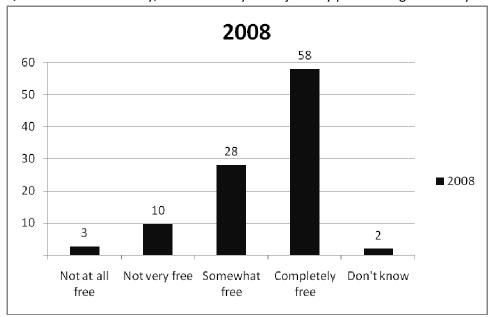
4.7 Variable: Freedom of association (2002-2005)

Question: Please tell me if the following things are worse or better now than they were a few years ago, or are they about the same: Freedom to join any political organization you want?



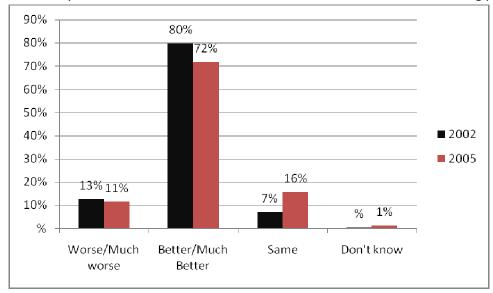
4.8 Variable: Freedom of association (2008)

Question: In this country, how free are you: to join any political organization you want?



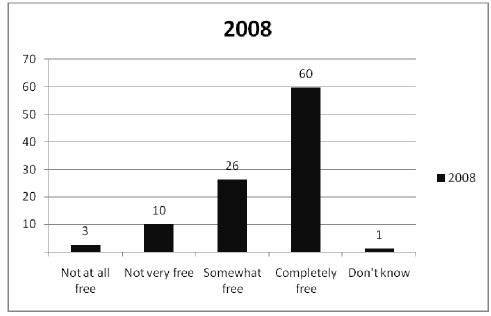
4.9 Variable: Voting freedom (2002-2005)

Question: Please tell me if the following things are worse or better now than they were a few years ago, or are they about the same: Freedom to choose who to vote for without feeling pressured?



4.10 Variable: Voting freedom (2008)

Question: In this country, how free are you: to choose who to vote for without feeling pressured?



The Afrobarometer, a cross-national survey research project, is conducted collaboratively by social scientists from 20 African countries. Coordination is provided by three Core Partners: the Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana), the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA), and the Institute for Research in Empirical Political Economy (IREEP, Benin). Michigan State University and the University of Cape Town serve as Support Units to the project. In addition, National Partners in each country directly manage survey fieldwork and data management.

Over the course of four rounds of surveys between 1999 and 2009, many donors have supported the Afrobarometer's research, capacity building and outreach activities. We are grateful to the the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), the Department for International Development (DfID-UK), the Royal Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs (RDMFA/DANIDA), the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), and the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) for the support that they have provided to Round 4 of the Afrobarometer. Previous support was also provided by the African Development Bank (ADB), the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Michigan State University (MSU), the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs (NMFA), the Norwegian International Development Agency (Norad), and the World Bank.

For more information, see: www.afrobarometer.org