A Study of State–Civil Society Relationship - The case of Uganda

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Abstract
The concept of civil society has for so long been complex, elusive and debatable. Time and again it has increasingly dominated both political and academic discourses. For the last two decades, there has been proliferation of civil society organisations especially in developing world whereby the donor community regard them as a universal remedy for underdevelopment and authoritarianism. After failure of several development approaches to do away with poverty, underdevelopment and dictatorial regimes, civil society has been presented as the beacon of freedom, the fountain for the protection of civil rights and of resistance against state repression. It was also regarded as the mobilizing platform of society for the protection and projection of substantive interests, the compelling force for state moderation, the epitome of popular struggles and civil power as well as a central force in political and economic reforms.

This report presents findings on a study of state-civil society relationship, the case of Uganda. The main objective of this study was to “describe and analyze the reality of civil society in Uganda in relation to the theoretical concept of civil society”, therein comprehending the functions, actors and relationship between state and civil society in Uganda. The study process consisted of a desk study of available documentation on civil society concept.

The main findings indicate that civil society organisations in Uganda are more active in the area of service delivery than policy advocacy. Therefore the bilateral function as service deliverers and policy advocates by civil society is far way from being a reality in Uganda. Findings also indicate that the state is less tolerant and uncomfortable with advocacy CSOs but largely cooperates with CSOs dealing in service delivery. The applicability of civil society concept in Uganda’s context is still far away from being achieved due to the fact that the political environment where civil society operates is constrained by the state. It was also revealed that donor funding is the cornerstone for civil society functioning in Uganda.

Key words: Civil society, State, Uganda, (CSOs) for Civil Society Organisations, state.
Acknowledgements
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Special thanks to my colleagues MasausoChirwa and Robert, God bless you.

Lastly, many thanks to my family especially Laura and Joy for being with me spiritually all the time.
**List of abbreviations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACCU</td>
<td>Anti-Corruption Coalition of Uganda</td>
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<td>ACFODE</td>
<td>Action For Development</td>
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<td>ACODE</td>
<td>Advocates Coalition for Development and Environment</td>
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<td>ACSI</td>
<td>Acholi Civil Society Initiative</td>
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<td>AIDS</td>
<td>Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome</td>
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<td>AMREF</td>
<td>African Medical Research Foundation</td>
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<td>ARLPI</td>
<td>Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative</td>
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<td>BBC</td>
<td>British Broadcasting Corporation</td>
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<td>CBOs</td>
<td>Community Based Organisations</td>
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<td>CEFIM</td>
<td>Coalition on Election Finance Monitoring</td>
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<td>CP</td>
<td>Conservative Party</td>
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<td>CPI</td>
<td>Corruption Perception Index</td>
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<td>CSOs</td>
<td>Civil Society Organisations</td>
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<td>DENIVA</td>
<td>Development Network of Indigenous Voluntary Associations</td>
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<td>DFID</td>
<td>Department for International Development</td>
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<td>DP</td>
<td>Democratic Party</td>
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<td>FAO</td>
<td>Food and Agricultural Organisation</td>
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<td>FDC</td>
<td>Forum for Democratic Change</td>
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<td>FHO</td>
<td>Facing History and Ourselves</td>
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<tr>
<td>FHRI</td>
<td>Foundation for Human Rights</td>
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<td>FIDA</td>
<td>Federation of Women Lawyers in Uganda</td>
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<tr>
<td>FOWODE</td>
<td>Forum for Women in Democracy</td>
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<td>FUE</td>
<td>Federation of Uganda Employers</td>
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<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
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<td>HIV</td>
<td>Human Immunal-Virus</td>
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<td>HURINET</td>
<td>Human Rights Network</td>
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<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
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<td>IDPs</td>
<td>Internally Displaced Camps</td>
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<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
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<td>INTRAC</td>
<td>International NGO Training and Research Centre</td>
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<td>IPC</td>
<td>Inter Party-Co-operation</td>
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<td>MDGs</td>
<td>Millennium Development Goals</td>
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<td>NAWOU</td>
<td>National Association of Women Organisations in Uganda</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non Governmental Organisation</td>
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<td>NOCEM</td>
<td>National Organisation of Civic and Election Monitoring</td>
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<td>NORAD</td>
<td>Norwegian Agency for Development Co-operation</td>
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<td>NOTU</td>
<td>National Association of Trade Union</td>
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<td>NRM</td>
<td>National Resistance Movement</td>
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<td>ODI</td>
<td>Overseas Development Institute</td>
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<td>PEAP</td>
<td>Poverty Eradication Action Plan</td>
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<td>PPP</td>
<td>Purchasing Power Parity</td>
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<td>PRSP</td>
<td>Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper</td>
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<td>PTA</td>
<td>Parent Teacher Association</td>
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<td>SAPs</td>
<td>Structural Adjustment Programmes</td>
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<td>SIDA</td>
<td>Swedish International Development Agency</td>
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<tr>
<td>TASO</td>
<td>The Aids Support Organisation</td>
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<td>UDN</td>
<td>Uganda Debt Network</td>
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<td>UJCC</td>
<td>Uganda Joint Christian Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNRISD</td>
<td>United Nations Research Institute for Social Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>UPC</td>
<td>Uganda Peoples’ Congress</td>
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<tr>
<td>USAID</td>
<td>United States Agency for International Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>UWONET</td>
<td>Uganda Women Network</td>
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<td>WHO</td>
<td>World Health Organisation</td>
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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

The concept of civil society remains elusive, complex and contested. There are different meanings and interpretations and, over time, different schools of thought have influenced theoretical debates and empirical research. Civil society is conceived to be an arena of un-coerced collective action around shared interests, purposes and values. As a public sphere where citizens and voluntary organizations freely engage, it is distinct from the state, the family and the market. From the above conceptions of civil society, it is worthy to wrap up by stressing that it is a wide array of non-governmental and non-profit organizations, associations, groups of all kinds that have a presence in public life, expressing the interests and values of their members based on ethical, cultural, political, science, religious or philanthropic considerations (World Bank 2006; Kaldor 2003; Carothers 2000).

What should be understood at this point is that the concept of civil society was developed by authors and scientists living and working in developed countries, so naturally the concept became infused with the realities of the developed world. The concept is viewed by scholars, foundations, policy advocates and NGO community as citizen oriented, participatory, democratic and holds a promise of taking away policy making off from corrupt, bureaucracies and governments to the hands of grassroots and popular organisations. Though it is viewed as panacea for ills in developing world as Wiarda (2003) argues, its applicability is still debatable.

The concept has its origin from the Greek philosophy, though some scholars consent that its origin dates back to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Kaldor 2003; John and Camaroff, 1999). Nevertheless, the concept of civil society also has been centrally linked to the contemporary status of democracy and change in the world. It has been presented as the beacon of freedom, the fountain for the protection of civil rights and of resistance against state repression, the mobilizing platform of society for the protection and projection of substantive interests, the compelling force for state moderation and the epitome of popular struggles and civil power; it has been a central force in political and economic reforms. The activities and even proliferation of civil groups have been seen by several scholars as vital to the democratization
process and its sustenance. And from myriad studies conducted, it is clear that the middle class has to a large extent paved the way for civil society proliferation, especially in fostering democracy.

Donor discourse on international development policy today places more emphasis on civil society than in the past. It was also observed that in practical sense, the boundaries between state, civil society and even market can hardly be defined or drawn (Kane, 2001; John and Camaroff, 1999; Salamon and Anheier 1996). In addition, Hyden, (1995) further clarifies on the concept by emphasizing that there are variables that determine civil society, these include: basis of social action, nature of state action, nature of political legacy and nature of inter-cultural relations. However, much as the concept has blurred boundaries, there is common agreement among scholars that the number and scope of the concept of civil society has significantly expanded during the last two decades.

1.1. Problem Statement

World Bank (2006) argues that the past two decades have witnessed a proliferation of civil society organisations and they have made big strides towards improving the interplay between political and economic systems and thus have ensured democratic, participatory and decision making in societies all over the world, but particularly in the developing world. In addition, (NORAD, 2003; UNRISD, 2005; Kaldor, 2003; Keane, 2006) present the state, private sector and civil society as three separate arenas of development that operate independently from each other. It is further argued that civil society has been well acknowledged as an important third sector whose strengths have positively influenced state and market and it is an important agent for promoting transparency, responsibility, accountability and openness. The only difference between World Bank’s view and other scholars above is that World Bank points out that civil society has ensured democratic, participatory and decision making all over the world while other scholars believe that civil society is an agent that fosters transparency, accountability and responsibility.

Several scholars recognize functions that are believed to be desirably applied in all societies which include: protection of citizens’ lives, property and freedoms; monitoring activities of the state, the central powers and the state apparatus; advocacy through articulation of interests of the
citizens; socialization through practicing values and attitudes of democracy; intermediation and facilitation between state and citizens; building communities through voluntary interactions that build a bond between members of the society and service delivery in social service sector (Edwards 2009; World Bank 2003; SIDA 2005).

Despite its increased importance and value, civil society in the developing world has lagged behind their counterparts in developed world in terms of performing expected functions and providing checks and balances to the central government. In Uganda, the basic descriptive information about civil society, its size, area of activity, domestic sources of monetary and material support, and the policy framework in which it operates seem not to be available in an organized way. Civil society structures seem to be superficial and are shadows of the ideal concept of civil society because some of the actors have been compromised, deterred by state while others side with government when they are supposed to provide checks and balances (Salamon and Sokolowski and Associates 2004; Dicklitch, 1998).

Therefore the actual situation about civil society in Uganda seems to be far from ideal model of civil society in western societies. The point of departure in this study was to find out and compare civil society reality in Uganda to the concept of civil society in developed, modern and democratic societies while also trying to understand why the bilateral function of civil society in Uganda seem not to work properly.

1.2 Objective
The general aim of the study was to increase understanding about the reality of civil society in developing countries in relation to the ideal theoretical concept of civil society, taking the case study of Uganda, by analyzing the actors of civil society in Uganda, their functions within Ugandan society and their relationship to the state. Furthermore, this study will hopefully help donor communities in developing countries who often put extended focus on fostering civil society as a basis of democracy to understand how the theoretical frame of civil society and its functions within democracy translates into the reality of the developing world. There are a number of specific objectives and these include:

- To identify major areas of operation by civil society in Uganda.
- To identify the major actors of civil society in Uganda.
• To identify the functions of civil society in Uganda.
• To find out how the state relates with civil society.
• To find out factors that influence State-CSOs relationship in area of advocacy.
• To investigate whether the theoretical concept of civil society is applicable in Uganda.

Research questions

1. In what areas of operation are CSOs active in Uganda?
2. Who are the major actors of civil society in Uganda?
3. What are the functions of civil society in Uganda?
4. How is the relationship between state and CSOs in Uganda?
5. What are the factors that influence the relationship between state and civil society in policy advocacy in Uganda?
6. How applicable is the theoretical concept of civil society in Uganda’s context?

1.3 Disposition
This thesis was organized as follows; the subsequent chapter (two) presents the methodology used in this study. Chapter three presents the conceptual framework. This includes definitions and the literature about the concept of civil society that were considered to be crucial for this study. Chapter four analyzes the actors of civil society and the main areas where CSOs are active in Uganda. Chapter five presents findings based on the functions of civil society in Uganda. Chapter six focuses on the relationship between state and civil society as well as factors that influence their relationship. Chapter seven presents comparisons on actors, functions and state-civil society relationship focusing on the theoretical concept and Uganda. Finally, conclusions are presented in chapter eight.

1.4 Significance of the study
This will hopefully help the donor communities in developing countries who often put extended focus on fostering civil society as a basis for democracy to understand how the theoretical frame of civil society and its functions within democracy translates into the reality of developing world.
The study will fill an apparent gap that exists since most studies have primarily focused on other areas of civil society like civil society and political parties, civil society in conflict resolution and in poverty alleviation but little has been written on the civil society reality in Uganda with reference to the ideal concept of civil society.

1.5 Limitations of the study
This study was limited to a desk study because it was not possible to conduct a full scale field study in Uganda due to constraints like limited time, financial and other required resources.
CHAPTER TWO

2.1 Methodology of the Study
This chapter is about the methods that have been used in this study and explains the approaches that were used in order to understand civil society reality in Uganda in relation to the model of the concept in the western democratic societies.

2.2 Methods
This is a qualitative study primarily based on the analysis of available literature about the concept of civil society.

2.3 Critical Text analysis
Critical text analysis refers to application of rational and logical thinking when we are trying to deconstruct the texts we read and write (Polit and Beck, 2010). The use of text analysis aims at finding out inconsistencies, self-contradictions, paradoxes as well as dilemmas in the text’s internal structures. Critical text analysis is used in order to find out the truth-value of the texts. It is also important in transforming and improving communication especially in institutions by helping in explaining proposals and guidelines thereby reducing language barriers (ibid). Critical text analysis also reduces the risks of a researcher being biased especially when triangulation is used (use of multiple and variety empirical data) and also provides richness to data analysis which can hardly be obtained when single method is used (Mikkelsen, 2005:169).

This method if used properly enables research problems to be identified both qualitatively and quantitatively. Critical text analysis implies that all texts used for this study were subjected to scrutiny concerning a number of parameters including the following below.

Objectivity. The researcher should be objective in a way that he/she should not follow his/her instincts or the way they see materials but should follow an objective approach of representing the materials. This criterion was followed and applied in this study (Yin, 2009)

Exclusion and inclusion of the content. This implies that the author in some cases has to include or exclude some contents much as the content can be useful or useless for the study (ibid)
Lastly, it also requires that analysis should possess generality; this implies that the study must have a theoretical relevance (Polit and Beck, 2010). All these criteria of looking at texts have been used and applied in this study in order to ensure coherence.

2.4 Reliability and Validity
Reliability refers to accuracy and consistence of the data obtained during the study. It is an important tool used to measure the variables under the study. Validity refers to whether information that was obtained during the study was extremely convincing and grounded (Robinson, 2002).

In order to ensure reliability and validity of the study, many comparisons between the data were made. This involved checking other sources such as other references and information from highly regarded sites on the internet for instance from World Bank, donor agencies, universities and prominent authors who have been publishing about civil society. The information used was in line with what was collected from other sources. The information was also reliable in a way that it was collected from government documents and other trusted sites mentioned above. The result was valid since the findings are related to the objectives and aims of the study.

2.5 Type of study - Case study
A case of Uganda was used. George and Bennet (2005:18) define case study “as well-defined aspect of a historical episode that an investigator selects for analysis, rather than a historical event itself”. It means that it helps in providing detailed description and analysis of an event, institution, a group or a community in its own social context. Yin (2009) defines case study as a thorough examination, and comprehensive account of particular project, group, as they exist in their environment. Case study is one of the several methods used in conducting studies in the area of social science, psychology, political science.

2.5.1 Advantages of Case Study
It was used in this study because of its high possibility or ability to achieve high conceptual valid information. In other words, the researcher was able to compare, measure and identify which indicators best represents the theoretical concept which is being measured “Whereas statistical studies run the risk of conceptual stretching by lumping together dissimilar cases to get a larger sample, case studies allow for conceptual refinements with a higher level of validity over a
smaller number of cases” (George and Bennet, 2005:19). In several occasions, the use of case study helps the researcher to use several sources of information (Yin, 2009).

2.5.2 Disadvantages of Case Study
A common disadvantage for use of case study is that it collects information in a way that it is unsystematic and liable to subjective measurement. This implies that the information is weakened by being more subjective (Yin, 2009). In addition, case study does not protect the researcher against the possibility that he/she may have vested interest in the results of the study and therefore may intentionally or unintentionally try to influence or shape the results of the study.

Besides, case study method has a weakness of selection bias. In other words, there is a possibility of overstating or understating the relationship between independent and dependent variables (Neuman 2003).

Uganda was chosen because it was important to understand the reality about the existence of civil society in Uganda as it obtains in other democratic nations. Apart from that, there has not been a lot of research that has been done on civil society in Uganda, hence it was important to carry out this study. Besides, Uganda was chosen because the author is well vested with Uganda, so it was easy to carry out the study on Uganda. As already alluded to, it would be easy to generalize the findings of the study to other African countries since most of them underwent the same democratic transition as Uganda did.

2.6 Data collection
The nature of the study requires drawing lessons from multiple sources. Therefore, in undertaking this, it was prudent that a wide range of data collection methods should be used, both primary and secondary sources of data. The methods provided flexibility in data collection through triangulation of different research methods. This approach was used because it assisted in cross checking information.

2.7 Secondary Sources of Data
Relevant literature pertaining to issues under investigation was collected from the various sources including government documents about CSO and official reports from various sources,
including international organisations, published books, journals, and other relevant materials were consulted. Internet resources were also used to access relevant information from trusted and reliable sites.

Combining various methods of data collection enriched the whole study as each method of collecting data captured a specific angle of the issue in consideration. Furthermore, different methods tend to have weaknesses when used in isolation, so combining various approaches enhanced chances of getting more reliable information upon which inferences were drawn (French et al., 2001).

Much as the benefits of secondary sources are considerable, their disadvantages are also identified. There was likelihood of having outdated data. The author had no control over how the data was collected. There may be biases in the data that was already collected by researchers (Yin, 2009).

**2.8 Content analysis**
Secondary analyses in this case regard to the studies that are taken from historical data as well as informational materials that exist beforehand but analyzed by other researchers which can be used as sources for new research or study under investigation (George and Bennet, 2005). This was used in this study on civil society in Uganda in relation to the concept of civil society in developed world.

**2.9 Materials used**
Materials used in this study were obtained from already published books, articles and journals. Additional materials were obtained through the internet via various data bases that include: ELIN, LIBRIS, Google scholar. Official government websites were also used as well as other reputable sources like official website of the United Nations, World Bank, academic institutions and think tank organisations were also used. Other relevant information about civil society in Uganda was obtained from the news paper publications of The New Vision, The Daily Monitor and The Weekly Observer and bulletins from civil society organisations in Uganda.
2.10 Evaluation of the sources

When dealing with sources which normally present different views from different authors, it is important to remain unbiased while using them as the source of information for the study but researchers normally find it very difficult to deal with. In order to evaluate the sources this study based on the set of methodological rules of authenticity, simultaneity and independence.

*Authenticity* regards to legitimacy of the sources of the information used by the researcher are genuine and has been produced by those in right context to do so. *Independence* is concerned with checking whether the author was an independent witness and if the source is primary or secondary (Robinson, 2002). Nevertheless, the all the sources used in this study were both secondary and primary. Information from government sites and other secondary data was obtained from books, articles, journals and newspapers. *Simultaneity* deals with time that elapses between occasions when records of the transcript are regarded as credible. This has been made easy by the era of internet where it is possible to obtain the information in the shortest time possible (ibid).
CHAPTER THREE
This chapter presents an analysis of the western view of civil society concept which is used for comparison with Uganda’s civil society.

3.1 The Concept of Civil Society
Different scholars define civil society differently. Some scholars define it broadly while others define it in specific or narrow terms. For instance Carothers (2000), Kaldor (2003) define it in specific terms as “a domain parallel to but separate from the state realm where citizens associate according to their own interests and wishes” (Carothers, 2000:1) and Kaldor, (2003) defines it as an associational sphere between state and family aggregated by organisations which are detached from the state and they are formed by society members voluntarily to guard and preserve their values and interests.

From the above definitions, there is a common thread upon which all authors depict civil society as autonomous from state and market. Further, there seems to be a consensus among the definitions on the term civil society signifying that it is an arena or sphere made up of different or a collection of groups amalgamated together with a common shared purpose, values and interests. Nevertheless, it seems unlikely to have a harmonious relationship between these groups because they have different interests, values and their social setting is totally different. Therefore to belong to one sphere or realm and have same reasoning, tolerance among each other and advance one goal as civil society sector might remain a myth rather than a reality.

For the purpose of taking a stand in this study, civil society refers to a realm made up of both formal and informal groups and associations which are citizen oriented and democratic which conjure grassroots participation, checks and balances, countervailing yet ultimately harmonious. This study concurs with Carothers (2000) argument that as an arena it must include not only NGOs but also broadens beyond to include people’s organisations, policy activist groups, academia, charities, clubs, cultural groups, religious groups, environmental groups, consumer organizations, associations of business, voluntary associations, labour unions, human rights bodies, professional people’s organisations, peasant groups, women’s groups, political parties, neighbourhood and community groups. Nevertheless, we must remain skeptical that the term has
been defined differently by different scholars which in the due course renders it sometimes to be obscure.

Conversely, some scholars define civil society broadly to mean that it goes beyond being an arena between state and family. For instance, Centre for Civil Society (2008) at London School of Economics goes ahead to clarify that civil society does not only mean a sphere outside state and market but even its boundaries in between them can never be drawn and therefore very ambiguous and Shauder et al., (2003) portray it as an all-inclusive term often used to mean social structures and interests further than household and outside the state institutions, including voluntary associations and non-profit organizations where people mingle for their collective interests. It should be argued that by making civil society all-inclusive like what Shauder et al. argues above, renders it more ambiguous because like it was earlier argued, merging different groups of different backgrounds further makes civil society a mysterious concept.

There is another category of scholars who define civil society in a broad way for instance Cohen and Arato (1992); Foley and Edwards (1996:1) look at civil society as not only a sphere of charitable links and informal networks in which groups and individuals come together to participate in activities of public importance, but also is a realm of private voluntary association, from neighbourhood committees to interest groups and philanthropic enterprises of all sorts.

Scholars from both categories concur that the concept of civil society entails a combination or a collection of actors however, scholars who define it broadly clarify and stress that the concept does not only mean a collection of actors or mere interest groups but even defining its boundaries with state and market renders the whole concept elusive.

According to the definitions above, civil society is consented as a set of voluntary and not-for-profits associations sharing same interests. This is not far from what has been defined by aforementioned authors but the difference here is that Shauder et al. broaden the definition to imply that civil society goes beyond household while Cohen and Arato include an aspect of “charitable links” and “informal networks” to the definition. To some scholars it is a mixture of formal and informal and perhaps that why its boundaries are unclear. These links and networks are commonly known as horizontal linkages/networks and vertical linkages, that is, a connection of groups in a same category and connection of groups in different categories respectively. These
different points of view clearly depict the term civil society to be an imperceptible concept which many social scientist have come up to conclude that it has no universal definition and therefore difficult to explain due to its vagueness.

It becomes different from what Parnini (2006:4) defines it as the “totality of groups and individuals in a country who show a regular concern for the social and political affairs in that country without fulfilling the function of political parties”. Closely related, in his writing, Hyden, (1995:3) defines civil society as “the political realm, specifically the means and processes through which citizens shape the character of political life in their country”.

All the definitions above portray civil society as a sphere made up of myriad individual groups and associations, but other scholars like Hyden bring in a facet to show that civil society is a ‘political realm’ which becomes quite different from what other scholars or authors who believe that civil society is rather public or social realm. This sparks further debates; hence the term has become a centre of both political and academic discourses all over the world. It becomes an elusive term because what Parnini explains above signify that civil society cares more about what government should do to suit the interests of citizens but does not play the role of political parties, yet to some scholars, political parties are part of civil society and if anything there are some civil society actors which play the same roles as political parties; a case in point is the role of mobilizing citizenry. This role is played by actors like church, community based organisations or even non-governmental organisations.

The working definition for this study is that civil society is a realm comprised of both formal and informal groups, associations, organisations which are characterized by being democratic, citizen oriented, participatory from the grassroots, self-governing capable of protecting and promoting the interests of individuals regardless of their social-economical positions with the prime goal of acting as the voice of the voiceless (Kean, 1988).

3.2 Research Frontier and Overview of the Existing Literature on the topic
The study aimed at filling an apparent gap that exists since most studies have primarily focused on other areas of civil society like the relationship with political parties, civil society in conflict resolution and in poverty alleviation but little has been written on the civil society reality in Uganda with reference to the theoretical concept of civil society.
Several studies concerning the concept of civil society have been done globally. Edwards (2009) presents the concept of civil society as the big idea for the 21st century. In his book, *Civil Society*, it provides broad understanding of civil society as a vital tool to be used in strengthening democracy provides means of fighting poverty, addresses issues of inequality and injustices. Keane (2006), regard civil society concept as a dynamic one, with different challenges from modern societies. In his book, *Civil Society: Berlin Perspectives* he explains how the concept has different layers, how it is used in different languages, myriad practices, the emerging and existing civil societies in Europe.

Salamon, Sokolowski and Associates (2004) in their book, *Global Civil Society* give a clear picture on the scope, the financing of civil society, the size and its composition in both developing and developed countries. It further provides more insights on conventional beliefs about the civil society concept, the contribution of civil society sectors towards the labor force, especially in the developing world. In his book *The Two Faces of Civil Society: NGOs and Politics in Africa*, Ndegwa (1996), talks about how civil society in Africa has two faces. On one hand it opposes repressive states and on the other hand it accommodates them. Kasfir (1998) with *Civil Society and Democracy in Africa* provides more understanding on the concept of civil society in Sub-Saharan Africa in democratization process, the failure of some actors and the inability of civil society organisations to be independent from the state. The book further stressed that women organisations in Uganda were not recognized because their activities did not engage the state, as well as resistance from men who never allow their wives to join associations.

It has been observed that civil society has many interfaces or edges as portrayed by different perceptions from different scholars above. Edwards perceives civil society as a crucial tool for strengthening democracy, this is related to Hyden’s view who regard civil society as a vehicle for transforming societies from dictatorial regimes. Closely related to above views, Ndegwa regard civil society especially in African perspective as a two-faced concept where civil society both accommodates and opposes the state. However, there is a common thread among aforementioned scholars which indicate that they tend to agree that civil society is a panacea for underdevelopment and authoritarianism in contemporary societies. It should be concurred that a lot has been written about the concept civil society which is indicated by scholars above.
There are relatively limited number books that have been written on civil society in Africa and the available books do not cover the concept of civil society broadly. However, useful information about civil society in Africa has been provided by Mary Kaldor, Göran Hyden, Nelson Kasfir, Frik De Beer, Lester Salamon, Susan Dicklitch, Mamdani Mahmood and Steven Ndegwa among others. They all agree that civil society surged in sub-Saharan Africa in 1990s when several development approaches failed to curb and eliminate poverty and underdevelopment. Thus civil society is perceived as a vehicle for empowerment, democratization and development but with ideas of neo-liberalism.

Nevertheless, it has been observed that there is limited literature about civil society in Uganda. There are not enough books written about civil society in Uganda but what has been observed was that some scholars who have written about Africa are the ones who have written about civil society in Uganda. All in all, this study with a case of Uganda has been facilitated by literature from Susan Dicklitch, William Muhumuza, Warren Nyamugasira, Nelson Kasfir, Ronald Kassimir, Alli Mari Tripp, Marie Goetz, OlokaOnyango, BaryaBazaara as well as other articles and publications from NORAD, SIDA, World Bank, government of Uganda websites, newspapers especially The NewVision and The Daily Monitor as well as from CSOs like NGO Forum, DENIVA, ACFODE, ACODE, FHRI and UDN.

3. 3The Evolution of Civil Society concept
The contemporary term ‘civil society’ has its origins in the early modern period in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, however, Kaldor (2003), points out that the term has its origin from Greek political philosophy. This is not far from what John and Comaroff (1999) noted that the term became prominent in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in the period of modern European state formation, when it was used and explained by Ferguson, Kant, Hegel, Marx and Tocqueville. It is further argued that apart from being used by Gramsci, however, it did not thereafter dominate western political theory until recently (ibid). Kaldor (2003) further indicates that it has been narrowed in 20th century into forms of social contacts that are separate from both the state and market.

There is a commonality in which different authors above perceive the genesis of civil society. This implies that the concept itself was in existence though dormant before seventeen and
eighteen centuries but civil society activism became prominent at a point in Europe when most societies sought to have modern states. Thus, modern state formation phenomenon in Europe was envisaged to have a civil society which would play an important supportive role in fostering democracy as part of the means of transforming societies from authoritarian rule. What should be known at this point is that civil society was brought in as one of the ingredients for democracy just as Hyden (1995) clarifies that civil society was a vital step towards the direction or realization of modern and democratic society.

The most recent usage of the concept of civil society has been distinguished into three versions: the ‘activist’ version which emerged in 1970s and 1980s especially in Latin America and Eastern Europe which was referred to as an arena outside political parties where individuals and groups aimed at democratizing the state, to restructure power, rather than to capture authority in a traditional sense (Kaldor 2003). It is imperative to note that different versions were perceived differently by different scholars. In the first version (activist), the situation in Latin America and Eastern Europe compelled the need for civil society because there were military dictatorial regimes and totalitarian communist rule respectively. It seems the term was dubbed ‘activist’ because it was quiet hard for the common people to change governments in these regions, so what people did was to devise means of removing the government through formation of active groups independent of state which sought to challenge and change the relationship between state and societies (ibid).

The ‘neo-liberal’ version which Salamon and Anheier (1996) argue is connected with views of ‘third sector’ or ‘non-profit’ sector that was developed in the United States which indicate that there are groups or associations that were not controlled by the state or even the market, but were important with potential of facilitating the operation of both. It is argued that this version was taken up by Western donors in the early 1990s because CSOs were needed to mitigate against the shocks associated with Structural Adjustment Programmes, to provide social safety net and foster good governance. It should be remembered that when SAPs were introduced by Bretton Woods’s institutions, governments were forced to cut on spending on public services, in so doing, civil society was to come in and bridge that gap as well as help in fostering good governance.
In comparison with the first or ‘activist’ version, it is observed that the neo-liberal version came with the element of minimizing the role of state by checking the abuses and practices of the state just like what Kaldor had earlier alone argued, this version is linked with the ideas of social capital and trust of Robert Putman and Francis Fukuyama respectively. This differs from the first version of ‘activist’ in Latin America which mainly hinges on conscientization of the poor and breaking the culture of silence, the ideas of Gramsci and the inspiration of liberation theory. The overall difference between these two versions seems to be that neo-liberal version has an element of endorsing the western way of governance just as Salamon and Anheier had earlier indicated that it was developed in United States; while the activist version aims at emancipation and enhancement of human rights and justice but both have a commonality of being western-driven.

The above versions are in contrast with the third version of civil society ‘the post modern’ which asserts that the ‘activist’ and ‘neo-liberal’ versions are a Western discourse. Post-modern version criticizes activist and neo-liberal versions because there is exclusion of civil society actors like religious groupings and organisations which are based on kinship, they are sidelined and considered as traditional, that is why John and Comarrof (1999) clarify on this by arguing that there should not be ‘good westernized civil society and bad traditional un-civil society’. Therefore, here, it is possible to concur with John and Camaroff but in order to be rational, the definition should include all the categories mentioned in the activist version (social movements), neo-liberal version (third sector) and post-modern version (traditional and religious groups).

The western concept of civil society has largely strayed from its original meaning and role where NGOs are considered the same as civil society. The terms ‘civil society’, ‘NGOs’ and the ‘non-profit sector’ have been regarded as the same by western donors since the early 1990s (Parnini, 2006:4). However, it can be argued that a full understanding of civil society has more than what NGOs does because civil society is a public sphere where non-state actors are mingled together. It has to include social movements that promote emancipation of poor and the excluded, it has to include social organisations that protect and promote the interests of members, and it has to include nationalist and religious groups that foster empowerment of national and religious groups respectively. Therefore, it is rather a combination of all these actors that a coherent and robust collection can act together in order to bring transformation in society.
3.4 The relationship between State and CSO

*This sub-chapter is about analysis of relationship between state and civil society in the Western point of view.*

3.4.1 Independence of Civil society from State

On the basis of the aforesaid definitions, civil society is independent from the state and there is no justification whatsoever to believe that in their relationship, civil society can play or even substitute the state especially in roles/functions (Parnini 2006; Mojmir et al, 2004; Fisher 2003; Kane 2001).

In reference to the above arguments different scholars have argued differently, some indicate that the state has to provide conducive atmosphere for the operation of civil society to thrive, but this, however, should not be digested wholesomely because some civil society organizations have thrived amidst threats from the government, if anything some civil societies depending on the situation in a given country become stronger when the government is repressive because just like Wui and Lopez (1997) argue, united CSOs have strengths to resist any repressive government. What we should understand also is that the relationship between state and civil society depends on the political culture of a country. In this sense, democratic regimes tend to be more tolerant to divergent views of other stakeholders as opposed to authoritarian regimes. Meaning that, western democratic countries have better organized civil societies when compared to authoritative regimes in third world countries where the relationship between government and civil societies is a strained one. But at the same time not all democratic states have vibrant civil society, for instance the case of Japan as well as Spain and like it was earlier observed civil society is also repressed in developed and democratic western countries just the way it is in developing and undemocratic countries especially the advocacy organisations. Furthermore, it is imperative to observe that it is seldom for the civil society to be totally independent from the state, there are some aspects when civil society organizations have links with government and market which is inevitable (World Bank, 2006).

In his writing, Parnini (2006), asserts that while civil society should be independent from the state, its independence is seldom complete. It is from little or limited independence that civil
society pins the state and discuss with it through opposition or cooperation/collaboration to achieve its goals. The above argument is susceptible to challenges because in democratic world, civil societies are completely autonomous from the state because they normally have enough resources and their guiding principles as well as objectives are well adhered to. However this can perhaps be possible in third world countries where some civil society organisations are sub-contracted by government to carry out certain projects, meaning that these organisations rely on handouts from the government hence being considered as not completely independent from the state as Parnini argues above. Nevertheless, this scenario has implications. It means that by the fact that civil society is not independent as it should be, renders it ineffective in dealing with matters of good governance, the agenda of good governance is seized or hijacked; that is, civil society cannot plan its actions independently from state and in this case the boundaries between state and civil society are porous. It also means that the state has an upper hand in controlling the initiatives of civil society.

3.4.2 Democracy and Civil Society complement each other
The relationship between state and civil society is one of vital aspects for democracy. As Greenwood and Clive (1998:1) put it “only a democratic state can create a democratic civil society; only a democratic civil society can sustain a democratic state.” They further argue that in Western world, the principles of democratic life and the quality of their public policy outputs base on the expression of interests by civil society and spread of information to and from public democratic structures.

To some extent most scholars would agree with the above argument because the genesis of civil society which is America and Europe, particularly in Germany, France and Britain was linked to prevention of the possible emergence of dictatorial elements hence to foster democracy. Without doubt civil liberty, social equality were realized, however, we remain skeptic because this trend backfired as Hyden (1995) one of principle authorities on civil society together with Keane (2001) contend that in Germany the trust in autonomous civil society was reversed in favor of the government accomplishments. The state was believed to be the provider, defender, guardian, punisher and educator.
Nevertheless, Kane (2001) also observes that civil society can be fostered through taking part in participatory activities ‘through grassroots organisations, through setting up meeting points like coffee houses, clubs and voluntary associations; through increased public contacts – in the framework of open lectures, recreational centers, and museums; by means of communication – written and electronic that empower and validate the citizens’ sense of autonomy from the logic of regulation by the state. Therefore, understanding this process as Parnini, (2006) argues, the concept of civil society can be functional and strengthened, with the main aim of enhancing the relationship between citizens and the state, the formulation and execution of public policy and the institutional setting of the society.

3.4.3 Uneasy relationship between civil society and state

Wui and Lopez (1997) argued that enhancing the relationship between state and civil society cannot be achieved in a fortnight; it takes time, requires patience, hardworking and committed members with inspiring leaders. We remain hopeful that perhaps it can work out, but in reality it is not easy, not even in most developed and democratic countries. From time to time, it has been witnessed where state is collaborating with civil society in some areas especially in service delivery for instance in provision of health services, education among many others. From the period IMF and World Bank introduced SAPs, civil society has since then provided safety net and absorbed the shock that emanated. However, this relationship becomes strained from the moment civil society organisations try to step in areas advocacy especially when they start to claim for political space, though it varies from country to country. The state becomes curious about the motives since some civil society organisations groom political leaders or even sometimes civil society organisations themselves turn into political parties but under the guise of civil society.

In some cases the connection between a members in a civil society and the state and those who stand for the state is both touching, ethical and cognitive. Mojmír et al., (2004) argues that if individuals like their country and they are grateful to the state institutions and also have strong feelings and support to the different actors in public services, then most likely will be better relationship between state and civil society based on collaboration instead of tension and conflicts. It is worth mentioning that at times we have to appreciate what the government does, but appreciation should not be equated with collaboration, and like it was earlier noted, it
depends on the political culture in a country. For instance if security institutions in a country have a culture of torturing opposition political parties or civil society organisations, citizens can hardly appreciate no matter what the government does for them.

The study conducted by Kasfir (1998) revealed that the usefulness or essence of new civil society organisations for forming and upholding democracy in Africa has been exaggerated. The study further stressed that supporters of conventional concept of civil society maintain that it is possible for new and independent, interest-specific and rule respecting organisations to liberalize dictatorial governments and maintain democratic governance. The study also observed that because of inconsistent nature of many civil societies in Africa, the responsibility of creating robust civil society organisations which can remove dictatorial governments can instead lead to pathetic situations. It could be true that new or up-coming civil society organisations have exerted more pressure on transition to democracy especially in third world but this should not be exaggerated because there are many new up-coming NGOs owned by elites aiming at getting funding from donors under the guise of working to empower local communities. Sometimes they are referred to as “brief case” organisations.

In addition to that, a study conducted by Fisher (2003) indicate that relationship between state and civil society sometimes in long run assist in deciding if the country will support or weaken accommodating efforts. The study further indicated that distinctiveness of political culture has historical background that affects the relationship between state and civil society. An example here is South Africa whereby much as there was proliferation of civil society, considerable relationship between state and civil society could not be possible as long as apartheid continued. It can be true that political culture shapes the relationship between state and civil society and for the case of South Africa, the relationship was so tense because the oppression by the state was intolerable though some scholars argue that civil societies that were formed by whites seem to have collaborative relationship with state than black civil societies which had a conflictual relationship with the state.

3.4.4 Internal and external factors influence State-Civil society relationship

In his study, *Aiding Democracy Abroad*, Carothers (2003) indicated that in transitional governments, civil society programmes at local and national levels try to find a way of exchanging ideas with government institutions and they take the relationship between state and
civil society organisations to be of partners rather than opponents. The study further indicated that as time goes by, civil society programmes will get better though they will not have enough capacity to bring positive change in any country. It is imperative for us to first understand the circumstances under which CSOs can collaborate with the state and in which areas, because in some developing countries the state tends to collaborate with CSOs in areas like service delivery but repress them when it comes to issues of politics. And again the scenario of state and civil society being partners is unlikely in dictatorial governments or even in one party governments and on that note the relationship between civil society organisations can partly depend on the political system in a particular country.

A report done by Muhumuza (2010) indicated that the collaboration between state and civil society organisations in championing development in aid-dependent countries are greatly elucidated by the New Policy Agenda which is a Washington-based policy agenda that emphasizes less state intervention and boost the role of civil society. It was observed that this collaboration is impeded by conflicting interests, suspicion and competition for aid as well as approaches used. The collaboration between state and CSOs could further be held back due to the fact that the state’s aim has always been to co-opt these organisations since some CSOs are dependent on state or donor handouts; moreover they lack grassroots’ support and linkages.

The study observed that for collaboration between state and CSOs to achieve tangible gains in poverty reduction and other developmental issues, there is a need to set up a framework to spell out terms and purposes of collaboration to do away with conflicts and misunderstandings. What we should be reminded of is that such bottlenecks towards collaboration between state and CSOs for instance suspicion and competition for aid should not be a threat especially if CSOs have vigorous socio-economic base at grassroots level, however, it is inevitable for developing countries to resist aid from donors. Therefore donor funding can be an impediment itself to the collaboration between state and civil society organisations. Muhumuza (2010) stressed the need for setting up a framework which will enable state and CSOs work in harmony but he does not indicate who should make the framework. How can they make a reasonable framework when they are suspicious of each other and when the state’s aim is to co-opt CSOs.
Another study done by Chirwa and Mumba (2008) revealed that the participation of civil society in important national policy processes in Zambia has taken varied forms and has been received with mixed feelings by the state. Civil society umbrella organizations and consultation forums of umbrella organizations have particularly been important actors in agenda setting of national policy processes. Networks of Non-Governmental Organizations operating in thematic areas have responded positively to the invitations by the state to contribute to national policy processes. The study further revealed that where civil society has seized space opened up by the state to participate in national policy processes, it has often been regarded as a partner in public provision of services by the state. A case in point is the participation of civil society in the formulation of the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper. Beyond the formulation of the PRSP, civil society has been invited by government to participate through the SAGs in the implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the PRSP and the Transitional National Development Plan. Civil society organizations were also involved in the formulation of the Fifth National Development Plan and the Vision 2030.

The way civil society relates with the state in third world is different from the way it is in the developed world. Fisher, (2003) argues that voluntary organisations appeared in 19th century in United States and later on emphasized service provision to be a right rather than a privilege. It is further noted that civil society in Latin America are constantly independent from the state than the way it is in Africa and Asia. In Latin America, much as the governments always wanted to control NGOs, it was always difficult because civil society was strong and vocal. He further notes that even before the spread of NGOs in Latin America, political systems were broad and heterogeneous with constant demands from the middle class.

Worth to note is that much as there were dictatorial regimes that emerged in Brazil, Chile and Argentina in 1960s and 1970s, still civil societies were ‘curving out political space’ which political parties did not have. In Asia, state-civil society relationship was determined by the government and its agencies regardless of the ties with the government. However, in recent years, some governments in Asia have on a great note recognized the advantages of cooperatives to the extent that registration procedures have become easier. In Africa, state-civil society relationship is difficult to assess. However, much as the dictatorial regimes were repressing NGOs; it was relatively fair in single party regimes for example in Kenya and Zimbabwe where
service-provider NGOS were accepted though with some restrictions on NGOs promoting empowerment (ibid). It can be observed that in Africa civil society sector was able to come up at the time when some countries adopted multi-party systems and perhaps due to the conditionality from World Bank and IMF. Civil society was seen as a vehicle for democratization and a tool for fighting poverty and dictatorship.

3.5 Actors of civil society

There has been debates about exclusiveness and inclusiveness about actors of civil society. A study conducted by World Bank (2006) explains how different centuries experienced this especially in Western Europe. For instance early 18th and part of 19th century’s actors of civil society were economic and academic elites who were fighting for the human rights and political space. New actors in civil society like churches, farmers, social movements became prominent in the late 19th and 20th centuries replacing the economic and political elites who were recognized in the 18th century. Then the third wave of actors came in at around 1960s which included women movements, student associations as well as peace and ecology movements. It can be observed that dynamics in the societies prompted continuous inclusion and exclusion of actors because what was demanded from the state by actors in 18th century could have been different in 20th century and as the wave of democratization kept on sweeping the biggest parts of Europe and America, people continued to demand for their rights, thus activities and demands increased so did the actors as well.

Today, there is explosion of different terms used to describe the non-state actors. Since actors of civil society are many, in order to understand them, some scholars classify them so that we can grasp how they exist, operate and what they contribute. Kaldor (2003), indicated that there are social movements, NGOs, nationalist and religious groups, social organisations, umbrella organisations and some scholars also include political parties as actors of civil society; they are further illustrated below.

First, there are social movements whose mission is emancipation of the poor and the excluded. Their activities mainly are protests, and demonstrations. Their social composition includes activists, committed individuals and students. During recent decades, there have been social movements resulting from championing women rights, child rights, human rights, environmental
rights among others (ibid). Such movements facilitate collective voices of the people who cannot be heard and these are women, children, the disabled among others on one hand and movements for protests for instance against poor government policies, protests against dams, factories or even mines and protests against displacement on another hand. It should be understood that these social movements sometimes rise and fall and their success hinges on their potential to mobilise members right from the grassroots level and perhaps it could be upon the way they articulate or present their protests to the authorities.

Another set of actors is NGOs are voluntary organisations and normally they participate in very many tasks which are not necessarily those of advocacy or service provision but self help or mutual support. There are also neighbourhood organisations which include village councils, local associations and clubs. Those which are in advocacy deal in lobbying, mobilization and campaigning in various issues Goetz,(1998). Unlike social movements which are mainly dealing in protests and demonstrations, NGOs particularly in advocacy deal in pro-democratic roles. For instance they provide a driving force for proper government performance and hold government accountable and responsible to the citizens while those which are in service provision deal in relief and emergencies, micro-credit services, health care services, training to mention but a few. Another difference between these actors could be that where as organizations in advocacy deal with issues of democracy and human rights at national and international levels, self-help organisations usually bring citizens together to protect their common public good at local level.

Another set of actors is social organisations whose mission is to protect and promote members’ interests and their activities but also involved in service provision and lobbying. Social composition of this type of civil society actor includes workers, farmers and employers, trade unions, doctors and lawyers (Salamon, Sokolowski and Associates 2004). It can be observed that this set of actors is almost similar to NGOs in terms of goals only that they represent specific or particular sectors of society and their goals seem to be rather concrete representing the interests of the members. Furthermore, it is seldom for these social organisations to receive funding from outside but rather they depend on the resources of the members who form them since they have large membership base.
Other actors of civil society include national and religious groups. These are described in category of nationalists and religious. Their mission is empowerment of nationalists and religious groups. Their activities include: mobilization through media and religious organisations. Social composition of this category is mainly newly urbanized associations and peasants whose links are of tightly organized cells and charismatic leadership and are sometimes depicted as neo-traditional groups (Kaldor, 2003). This class of actors seem to have features of social movement that was earlier observed but the difference is that nationalist movements are made up of middle class based in urban centers and for them, as Kaldor mentioned earlier, they mobilise using media like television, videos and radios to reach out to the masses up-country an approach that is rarely used by actors earlier mentioned before.

Another set of actors of civil society is political parties. This is one of the aspects which have rendered the concept of civil ambiguous because some scholars believe that political parties fall under civil society while others disagree. For instance Carothers, (2000) indicates that actors of civil society also include political parties. It can be argued that some scholars have debated a lot on whether political parties should be part of political parties. For instance Kiiza et al (2008) observe that political parties should not be part of civil society because they always aim at getting power from the government hence they can be regarded to be part of state actors but not civil society actors. From this argument, it is possible to observe that the debates on who are actors and who are not should perhaps aim at finding out the underlying goals of all actors that claim to belong to civil society.

In a study done by Kaldor (2003), it indicated that there have been many suggestions on the ‘structured voice’ for civil society actors. It also indicated that what is important is not the medium or forum for the dialogue but instead the culture and political dedication to the dialogues and in many cases there is tendency of neglecting of radical groups to be included in dialogues. There are several debates recently about whether there is a proper and recognized structure of actors of civil society and the study revealed that there is always a dilemma of who to include in the dialogues but the study indicated that civil society associations should always make a decision and choose whom they want to represent them. This is very true to a very great extent because excluding some actors means that there is a possibility of missing out important ideas and opinions or inputs from them. In such cases it is vital to bring everyone on board in order to
maximize the benefits from myriad inputs otherwise it leads us to ask ourselves who is the good actor/contributor to the dialogues and who is not and how do we determine the best actor or worst. This is because some actors like association of black smiths, association of witch doctors are marginalized because they are considered as archaic and too informal and their input to the dialogues is often neglected.

3.6 Functions of civil society
There has been an increase in the number of civil society organisations and large number of them operating on international as well as on national levels playing various roles in service delivery and in public policy making. Their characters and roles differ greatly depending on country to country, capacity, quality and impact (Ntungwe, 2001). This brings us to the argument by Facing History and Ourselves FHO (2010) an organisation linking communities to morals and values who stress that much as many scholars contest on the definition of civil society, they agree that it encompasses institutions like labour unions, community groups, religious organisations non-profit organisations and media and these institutions or groups play various roles in helping citizens not only sensitization on voting but also shaping the culture, economics and politics of the country.

The above roles do not differ from what International NGO Training and Research Centre INTRAC (2008) an umbrella organisation of CSOs which stressed that civil societies propagate the ideas of democracy to the last person at grass root level as well as defending the minority against the majority rule hence representing every member from the smallest groups to national level movements. It is also observed in both reports that it is always hard to have democracy at national level if at local level citizens have no idea about how democracy works; therefore, it is civil society that builds culture of democracy through civic and associational life. For the purposes of comparisons of the above functions, it is observed that they both tend to explain that civil society is critical to fostering democratic culture which is the key aspect and original goal of liberalists. Therefore it is worth noting that civil society not only performs the function of associational life but also educates or sensitizes citizens the art of participation and cultivate sense of care and concern for others.
In order to achieve honesty, transparency and accountability in government and in market sector, civil society has to be always on the look-out and in doing so, they alert the media in case of any malpractices and injustices Rosenblum and Post (2002). This is not far from what Parnini, (2006) argument that civil societies are very much recognized for advancing anti-corruption proposals which in some cases are not supported by political parties. This is true because too often, some civil society organisations resist unconvincing bills that are passed by legislators and instead promote the rights of vulnerable groups that have no platform of airing out their views. It is therefore commendable to note that civil societies are always driven by the desire to work for the citizens centering on ideas but not prestige, money or even power. The above functions are similar to what Hearn, (2000) was pointing out that; civil society becomes pivotal through giving support to the citizens when the government continues with inequalities that perpetuate the suffering of the citizens. In such instances, civil society rise up and condemns government’s behavior and calms the situation. The similarity in these functions by different authors above is that they all portray civil society as a watch dog which challenges the state and ensure that societal norms offer guidelines for the exercise of state power. It seems more likely that this particular role threatens state monopoly of power and it is the reason why sometimes states become repressive.

A community networked with others is always healthy and good for the members. Overseas Development Institute ODI (2008) stressed that civil society organisations have been at forefront of playing the role of building the communities by developing networks and above all they build horizontal structures between people which is very much important in forming social capital and building links between individuals from different institutions, clubs, groups and associations. Through this interaction between individuals and institutions, it was observed that people are able to solve problems that are normally faced by individuals in society. Furthermore, the plurality of these associations enhances them to come together to check the state power. It is from this point of view that some scholars like Tocqueville stated that “the science of association is the mother of sciences”

There are instances when crisis is brought by changes in social conditions and interests, Gerometta et al., (2005) notes that civil society assumes the role of making changes and amend the state’s position and vision in order to suit all citizens. What should be remembered also is that civil society is influential in ensuring political accountability further than party politics and
most often have monitored the conduct of elites on various occasions. Civil society further takes the initiative to remind political leaders that having decision making authority is only absolute if they live up to their responsibilities to the people they represent. This function of civil society is related to a report by NORAD (2002) that indicates that advocacy organisations have greatly influenced the state to accept positions supporting citizenry and at the same time follow regulations that enhance free and fair political debates and decisions. Both functions above contend that when individuals come together in associations or in assemblage, it becomes relatively easy for them to balance and condense the tensions between individuals and state thereby becoming a sort of filter or a sieve between citizens and government.

Civil society organisations have provided a base upon where leaders are recruited, trained and oriented into democratic leadership and values. This has often been happening in most multi-party democracies (Goetz, 1998). The above assertion by Goetz is well supported by NORAD, (2002) where it is observed that civil societies are schools of democracy where democratic principles and values like tolerance of diversity and pluralism, mutual acceptance and the will to compromise as well as trust and cooperation are instilled to the members of the society. It is imperative to note that civil society has been a breeding ground for some leaders who ascend to the ladders of political leadership. Most often we have seen leaders of civil society joining political parties and eventually sometimes end up becoming members of parliament. So, what Goetz and NORAD are trying to portray is that it is through civil society that skills of leadership are acquired, nurtured and cultivated.

Civil society and particularly advocacy organisations have been an important source of specialist community expertise which the government has frequently relied on. Specialists in matters regarding to communities have often been identified within particular civil society organisations dealing in advocacy programmes not forgetting that these advocacy organisations promote strong, effective and open democracy (Rosenblum and Post (2002). This is almost similar to what INTRAC (2008) argues that civil society is the main source of ideas and provides socio-economic solutions in many communities by creating and promoting alternatives via collective action at the same time. I would agree with the above arguments because civil society actors especially Community Based Organisations as the name suggests are always at the last point of
the society, that is, at grassroots meaning that they are always aware of the situations, problems, solutions of the community members. Since the government is sometimes unable to reach to all people down to the last point, it is always wise to seek assistance or consult civil society organisations especially advocacy organisations. It is from this point of view that Rosenblum, Post and INTRAC came out to argue that civil society not only provides expertise on matters of community to government but also is a source of ideas and solutions in our societies.

Adherence to the values as well as acceptance of rules of liberal democracy has always been fostered by the civil society (Hearn, 2000). One would concur with above argument because this is perhaps why donor groups have been supportive to civil society because it is where seeds of democracy are propagated to the citizens. It becomes evident that donor groups become hopeful because they believe that it is through civil society groups that people participate actively and in the long run individuals not only become models of democratic methods and values but have become empowered as well. This contributes to the sustainability of the associations where they belong.

Civil society is considered to fulfill its function of enhancing good governance; by bringing civil society organizations into the policy making process in a consultative role and also to energize communities around political issues and facilitates their interaction with the government. Civil society is today the main analytic paradigm in world politics. It is associated with the wave of popular protests and social mobilization that has resulted in democratization since the early 1990s. It has been identified as the composite of organizations of citizens in usually non-partisan and non-profit associations. Civil groups construct an independent material, organizational and ideological base and counter hegemonic social movement that provide the forum for highlighting weaknesses of corruption and abuses of rule of law (governance) and enabling articulations of dissent. Civil society heightened public debates, media criticisms, political mobilization and public agitation and contestation for increased participation over policy and governance, resulting in the opening up of space for negotiations, re-definition and re-constitution of state-society and state-economic relations. Therefore the functions of civil society can be summarized as follows: protecting the citizens, monitoring for accountability, advocacy and public communication, socialization, building community, intermediation of between state and

3.7 Functions/Roles of political parties
Political parties can be defined as “complex multilevel organizations, with varied elements united by a common identity and, sometimes, shared objectives” Hague and Harrop (2007:231). Political parties are one of the most important ingredients of modern liberal democracy and it is worth to note that parties themselves do not monopolize over the exercise of some of their roles, equally important to stress is that their roles differ from country to country (Mény and Knapp 1998). This implies that some of their functions are performed by other actors like civil society, for instance the function of mobilization of citizens as well the function of interest aggregation are normally performed by both political parties and civil societies.

Political parties have been at the forefront as far as integration and mobilization in a country are concerned. This again has its origin from the liberal democracies which switched from the concept of individualism to communal action and by the end of nineteenth century, political parties began to play the role of integrating and mobilizing members in their quest to make a link between government and the citizens (ibid). This is in agreement with Hofferbert, (1998:150) who argues that “political parties have long been the most mediating institutions between citizens and the state, in particular as parties have taken on the roles as simultaneous agents both of the state and its citizens.” As earlier noted, these are that same roles played by civil society organizations and we partly validate that the roles of political parties and civil societies do overlap. No wonder some scholars regard political parties as part of civil society, thus it can be noted that since the former belongs to the latter, it is no surprise to have overlapping functions.

Political parties especially in the western democracies are well known for influencing voting patterns. Party identification plays a crucial in enabling candidates to win the elections because they carry party ‘labels’ which make them be recognized unlike independent candidates who Mény and Knapp (1998) argue that today there are many independents who stand as candidates and fail miserably because voters are influenced by parties. Just as it was earlier argued, political parties have some areas where their functions are monopolized and in this case political parties
monopolize this function. However, statues-quo can be threatened when voters change their minds or when the electoral system has some loop holes. Again one can argue that voting patterns can be much influenced by civil society if political parties have little influence on grassroots level. It becomes difficult to differentiate roles played by political parties and civil society just as USAID, (2004) observes that, it is not easy to draw the boundary between the roles played by political parties and civil societies but strongly emphasized that political parties play great role in mobilization of citizens, hold government accountable, socialization roles, integration roles, working towards advancing ambitious leaders to get political office, governing and conflict management. However, Almond, (1970) disagrees by arguing that the functions of political parties and civil society are sharply distinguished especially in Anglo-American political system. I can partly agree with him since like it was earlier noted, different countries have different political systems and cultures thus it is possible to find that in some countries the functions of political parties are clearly differentiated from those of civil society.

Recruitment of political personnel is another function of political parties. In parliamentary system it is a tradition that ministers come from parliament and it’s from the parliament that political parties dominate through representation of members (ibid). This becomes another area where parties hold relatively absolute monopoly in recruitment of political personnel though it should not be taken for granted since there are leaders who climb the ladders of political hierarchy as independent candidates, nevertheless, the number of political personnel who become ministers are usually few with exception of some countries where the president directly appoint a dozen ministers from the public without necessarily being members of parliament.

### 3.8 The Relationship between Political Parties and Civil Society

It is commonly argued that where as political parties’ aim is to try to find ways of controlling the state power, civil society on the other hand aim to operate with in public sphere, relate with state but not aiming at taking control of state power. Related to the above argument, it must be remembered that in liberal democracies, political parties tend to represent wide range of interests and tend make sure those interests are transformed into state policies. On the other hand, civil societies not only represent interests of the citizens in a focused or specialized form, but also demand and criticize the policies made by the state (USAID, 2004). Therefore this makes civil
society to be viewed as less broad in terms of activities than political parties because political parties not only represent variety interests but also translate them into policies. This seem to be what civil society should be doing and like it was earlier observed, they both play roles which are more less similar.

Equally important to recognize also is that much as civil societies can demand and criticize the state policies, civil society does not implement them, moreover it maintains space from the state which is not the case with political parties. In this case they are always in position to hold both the state and political parties accountable. Nevertheless, at micro-level, political parties sometimes try to seek for support from the individual civil society organisations and in some cases civil society organisations have endorsed or even monitored political parties but on a temporary basis (ibid)

It is imperative to further note that the relationships between political parties and civil society take numerous ways. In some cases civil society organisations lobby political parties so that the interests and exact or specific policies of the organisation are driven further.

Besides, some civil society actors like universities, think tanks and advocacy groups have on many occasions provided information to various political parties on myriad issues (Ware, 1996). This is true to a certain extent because due to nature of operation of civil society organisations whereby they reach local communities they have been a source of information for not only state but also to political parties. This is because advocacy groups are in position to carry out research and are always versed with knowledge concerning civil life. Moreover they are sometimes invited to provide input during formulation of certain policies.

Civil society provides fora by bringing together different aspirants and already elected candidates from different political parties to respond to questions concerning the party policies or plans (Sharma and Gupta, 2006). It is vital to know that most often civil society has been instrumental in organising symposiums, seminars, conferences where political party leaders have had a chance to express their views and promote their ideologies; however this works in some countries where the relationship between parties and civil society is less distant and less antagonistic. Even so, this does not work in countries where the relationship between both is a strained one. This is further clarified by Fisher (2003) stressing that in some countries freely functioning opposition political parties do not always ally with civil society organisations. A case
in point is Concertación which was a coalition of opposition parties that was formed after Pinochet’s dictatorial regime in Chile never had any grassroots contacts apart from the trade unions. It can be stressed that, certain approaches work differently in different countries because as earlier observed from Almond, different countries have different political settings that in the long run not only determine the relationship between civil society actors but also political or state actors.

Civil society provides resources to political parties in exchange for support from parties for instance party campaign posters. These resources may be both tangible and intangible (Lipset, cited in Karvonen and Kuhnle, (2002). Like it was earlier observed, there are instances in a country where parties have friendly relationship with civil society; it is possible for civil society to provide financial, human or even technical support to political parties during elections. At times there may be memorandum of understanding between certain parties and civil society organisations where civil society organisation provide resource support to a political party in exchange for advancing issues or interests of civil society in public and decision arenas by political parties.

Closely related to the above argument some civil society organisations have been known to provide voter education during election time (Hofferbert, 1998). From this perspective, it is good to note that civil society not only provides civic education on voting but also on all other aspects. This is because civil society has been well known to be at the forefront of promoting a democratic political culture. And it is through such civic education that citizens have been empowered, have been able to internalize values and norms, and political parties have benefited from this offer by civil society. What should also be remembered also is that this cannot be achieved in a fortnight; it takes time to have functionally literate citizens and civil society has done a commendable job which is further clarified by USAID (1997:19) that “civil societies are the laboratories where individuals are transformed into citizens through the chemical reaction that takes place when people come together voluntarily to achieve collectively what they were unable to achieve individually”
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actors</th>
<th>Functions</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional NGOs, think tanks</td>
<td>• Research and training in service provision.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Provide source of democratic leaders</td>
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<td>• Intermediation between state and citizens</td>
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<tr>
<td>Social movements, women associations,</td>
<td>• Promotion of emancipation of the poor and the excluded</td>
</tr>
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<td>student groups</td>
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<tr>
<td>Social organizations</td>
<td>• Promote the interests of the members</td>
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<td>• Sensitization on voting</td>
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<tr>
<td>Religious institutions</td>
<td>• Provide charities to the orphans</td>
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<tr>
<td>Consumer associations, trade unions, co-</td>
<td>• Protection of consumer interests</td>
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<td>operatives</td>
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<tr>
<td>Community based organisations, umbrella</td>
<td>• Information sharing with various networked groups</td>
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<tr>
<td>organisations, umbrella organisations</td>
<td>• Socialization</td>
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<tr>
<td>Foundations, philanthropists</td>
<td>• Fundraising and resource mobilization and finance contribution</td>
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<tr>
<td>Media</td>
<td>• Communication and provision of arena where people express their interests</td>
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<td>Public policy advocacy groups, Political</td>
<td>• Monitoring and watch-dog roles</td>
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<td>parties</td>
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<td>• Advocacy</td>
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<td>• Policy dialogue and development</td>
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<td>• Recruit potential government leaders</td>
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The table above shows the ideal concept of civil society based on how authors living in developed world conceive civil society to be, it also shows how the donor community understand how civil society should operate.
CHAPTER FOUR

4.1 Civil Society in Uganda

This chapter first highlights the general picture about Uganda and the evolution of civil society. It further focuses on analysis and finding about the reality of civil society in Uganda specifically looking at the actors of civil society and their main areas of operation.

4.2 Background information

Since 1986, Uganda under NRM government has by all means tried to introduce democratic reforms and has fairly improved human rights especially curbing abuses by police and army which was order of the day in previous regimes. This was followed by western-backed reforms resulting to economic growth and expansion of civil society fraternity in the country (BBC, 2010).

According to Transparency International (2009) Uganda is under the category of score 5 in political rights score and Civil liberty score is 4. Uganda is ranked at 130th position as one of the most corrupt countries with Corruption Perception Index (CPI) standing at 2.5. The least corrupt countries being New Zealand with CPI of 9.4, Denmark 9.3 Sweden and Singapore at 9.2.

4.3 The evolution of civil society in Uganda

Before independence of Uganda, there were civil societies which aimed at resisting colonial rule but later crumbled largely due to internal wrangles. However, four categories of civil society groups were prominent. Firstly, there were mass-based membership groups which were formed to promote economic and social interests of peasants and workers, for instance co-operatives and trade unions. Secondly, there were elite membership organisations formed by middle class Africans who were aggrieved by the colonial policies. These included Young Men of Buganda, Young Men of Tooro and Uganda African Welfare Association. Thirdly, there were charitable organisations which included Red Cross society and Salvation Army and other organisations based in Europe. Lastly there were media which included news papers like Uganda Herald, Ssekanyola founded in 1920, Munyonyozi-the first independent African news paper founded in 1927, Matalisi, Gambuze, DoboziLya Buganda, Uganda Express, Uganda Times and African Pilot (Salamon, Sokolowski and Associates, 2004; Mamdani and Onyango, 1994).
When the National Resistance Movement NRM came into power in 1986, (John and Camaroff, 1999) noted that efforts were directed towards finding new systems of articulation between state and civil society to restore those that were formerly unsuccessful in the post colonial era. Muhumuza, (2010) adds that in Uganda, state partnership with CSOs has been followed at the central and local government levels particularly in service delivery. It can be argued that due to lack of resources, the government efforts have been complemented by CSOs and this is the period when the country was recovering from tyrannical regimes thus it was very much important to instill confidence in the citizens by allowing operation of civil societies so that the building of the country was a two-way approach both top-down and bottom up.

Today, civil society in Uganda is comprised of diverse groups with different objectives. Some are indigenous while others are international or foreign-based. They differ in their membership, geographical dispersion, motivation and values, leadership, objectives, roles, methods of work, funding and capacity (NORAD, 2002). It is imperative to indicate that most of these civil society organisations were formed during NRM regime and a bulk of them are known to have been founded by elites and to a great extent it is the middle class that are mainly keeping the civil society moving in Uganda. These organisations are mainly based in urban areas with exception of few which have branches or offices in the country side and many of them are largely involved in service delivery activities with exception of umbrella or networked organisations which are operating in areas of governance, human rights, accountability.

A quite large number of civil society organisations are supported by donor groups especially from the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany and the Scandinavian countries among others. Their support towards democratization and development of the country should be applauded. However, it can be argued that this has partly contributed to a situation where civil society organisations are accountable to the donors but not accountable to the grassroots people they represent. This compels us to argue that the approach in their operations is one-way or top-down and this implication has partly contributed to the tension that exists between state and CSOs in Uganda. Connected to the above argument, it was observed that as far as contribution of civil society is concerned, just like what Kiiza et al (2008); Muhumuza (2010); NORAD (2002) had argued, little has been achieved in area of political influence. However, civil society was active during 2005 referendum shortly before lifting of term limits in Uganda but when they
were overpowered by the government, they became less active and some critics say civil society became docile. Nevertheless, when it comes to the area of service delivery, civil society in Uganda has so far contributed a lot, especially in health and education sectors as well as in poverty alleviation programmes.

There are differences between civil society organizations that are pro-government and those opposing the government. Those which are pro-government are sub-contracted to deliver services on behalf of the government and they are mainly dealing in service delivery like construction of schools, supporting the orphans, provide scholastic materials in schools; in health sector they have constructed hospitals, provided technical support, training medical personnel as well as in being active in poverty alleviation programmes. Likewise, civil society organisations that are criticizing the government are operating in the areas advocacy for instance legislative advocacy, policy advocacy, media advocacy and legal advocacy and budget advocacy initiatives (Bazaara, 1999).

Other programmes include lobbying, research, networking, monitoring, governance and rights as well as civil society capacity building. But the discrepancy is obvious between these organisations. The truth is that those that are against the state demand for political space which the government regard as a no-go area for non-political actors. The study revealed that these actors are considered by the state to be threats to the security and perhaps that is why the space is further narrowed by passing the NGOs amendment bill in 2006 which was aimed at regulating, controlling the operation, registration of civil society organisations which Kiiza et al., 2008, observe that the government aims at ensuring that civil society organisations are not hidden political parties and at the same time should not get more involved in politics.

Another difference is that organisations which are serving the government are always invited to contribute in dialogues throughout to implementation of policies but those which criticize the government are invited later just like Muhumuza, (2010) argues that CSOs that criticize the state not only are invited just when most important decisions are already made but also they are informed at a very short notice when there is no adequate preparation for the input in the dialogues. It is possible to argue that it could be true that CSOs which support the government were formed by the state but are disguising under civil society. Not forgetting the possibility of being formed by the state to get funding from the donors This is not mean that it is a speculation
but in country with high rates of corruption and where there are no proper structures as regards to civil society anything can happen. It cannot be a surprise when some government officials are patrons of some civil society organisations.

4.4 Actors of civil society and their areas of operation in Uganda

In order to understand clearly civil society actors in Uganda, the author found it prudent to categorize them. These actors are categorized depending on the nature of the services they offer whereby some are grouped into two while others are not grouped due to the uniqueness of the services they offer. According to report by NORAD (2002), CSOs in Uganda comprise broad social categories which included: Membership-based and Occupational based organisations, Community Based organisations, Advocacy Groups, Religious organisations, Development Supporter and Service delivery organisations, Political parties, Media as well as Umbrella organisations also known to be network organisations. Categorizing them in this form helped in capturing all actors in an organized and articulated manner.

To begin with, there is a category of CSOs which are Membership-based and Occupational based. These included: trade unions, co-operative and professional associations like law societies, medical, Parent-Teacher Association, journalists and accountants associations (ibid). The study revealed that most of these groups in this category concentrate on issues that directly affect their members and are less engaged in governance or democratization issues with exception of some actors with legal background like Uganda Law Society as well as Associations of Journalists. Other groups like trade unions and Parent Teacher Association (PTA) and Co-operatives are usually engaged in activities which are aimed at promoting and protecting their interests and values. However, Dicklitch, (1998) quickly observed that actors like trade unions which are under National Association of Trade Union (NOTU) have had internal problems that have rendered them to become weak compared to their counterparts in East Africa, a factor that has contributed to being repressed and finally co-opted by the state. Nevertheless, it can be argued that the weaknesses may not only be internal problems per se but also the impact of SAPs like privatization and re-structuring are purportedly to have weakened trade unions, thus it could be a combination of several other factors both internal and external.
Another category of civil society actors revealed by the study was Development Support and Service delivery organisations. There is quite large number of CSOs confirmed that are concentrating in providing services to the citizens especially in the area of health, education, legal services, social welfare, poverty alleviation among other services (Kasfir, 1998; Dicklitch, 1998). It was observed that majority of civil society organisations in this category basically have no specific members that form them unlike in membership-based organisations mentioned above, but rather they work to improve the general livelihood of the marginalized and specifically in service delivery like education, health as well as in poverty alleviation. It is argued that these organisations have a very good relationship with state and Muhumuza, (2010) observed that they are sometimes sub-contracted by the state to pursue certain development programmes especially in health and poverty alleviation.

It is imperative to point out that since civil society according to the constitution is supposed to be autonomous from state, in such circumstances when these organisations are sub-contracted by the government, they may no longer fall under civil society or they can be referred to as government parastatals since it is the state which initiates planning in the organisation. Other authors like Bazaara (2000) argue that the proliferation of CSOs in service delivery in Uganda has been due to the gap that has been created by liberal economic policies which encouraged privatization, cost sharing that aimed at reduction in government spending on social services. One can agree with above argument because it is no surprise that these organisations are operating in exactly areas which were severely affected by liberal economic policies like education, health and agriculture as opposed to political advocacy issues.

The study revealed that Community Based Organisations (CBOs) is another category which according to NORAD, (2002) are found in both urban and rural areas made up of informal mutual self-help, developmental organisations. In Uganda they form the biggest part and they are known to be rarely engaged in issues of politics and their relationship with the state is friendly. Most of these organisations in this category of actors are members of DENIVA, an umbrella body that acts as a coordinating agency for them. It can be argued that being rarely engaged in issues of politics or governance as NORAD indicates above is not their choice, most of them prefer to satisfy the interests and welfare of the members first as top priority meaning that given a chance that all their members are comfortable, these organisations without doubt would also
demand for political space since as a group they would always aspire for greater heights. Since they are aimed at poverty alleviation which is a continuous situation, they often initiate self-help projects meant to do away with financial problems within households. Organisations that fall in this category include burial associations, village saving and credit groups, associations by blacksmiths, small scale farmers’ associations, associations of brick layers among many others.

The media also was found to be part of civil society in Uganda and it acts as a mouthpiece for different social/political actors with varied interests. There has been an increase in the number of privately owned newspapers and radio stations during NRM regime and many media houses have been active in discussing about human rights and corruption in the country. However, as Bazaara, (2000) noted, these are the areas where the NRM government has not always been very tolerant. Hence, The Journalist Statute 1995 was passed and the Media Council was established to deal with the conduct, standards and the discipline of the journalists. It is possible to argue that much as there has been increase in the media houses in Uganda, there seems to be misunderstanding between state and media and the misunderstandings are also evident even among government officials themselves because The Daily Monitor May 3rd 2010 and The New Vision May 2nd 2010 published reports where government officials were disagreeing on the proposed Amendment of media laws.

The main argument here is that the government wants to put in place mechanisms of controlling what should be published while the media insists that this is violation of constitutional rights where it is stipulated that everybody has a right to freedom of speech and expression which also entails freedom of press and media. Therefore, one would agree with DFID, (2009) which observes that much as the government endures criticisms on corruption, it does not endure criticisms on issues regarding government’s foreign policies or even issues related to the army. In such circumstances therefore, it can be observed that there is a need for the government to act constitutionally otherwise the situation might turn sour and erase the good things the NRM government has done for the Ugandans.

The study also revealed that other actors fall under category of advocacy CSOs which NORAD, (2003) notes that are mainly prominent in human rights especially in areas of civil, political, economic, social rights. These include FHRI, HURINET, FOWODE, ACFODE, UWONET,
NAWOU, FIDA, ACODE and UDN. Their work mainly consists of organising and participating in seminars and workshops. It can be observed that since they are into issues of human and political rights, research and workshops, one can argue that they are formed by elites and one can hardly differentiate their goals and objectives; and just it was earlier noted, they have strong links with donor groups who give them financial and technical support. However, this has been a source of criticism because they tend to be accountable to those who fund them and the trend or approach seems to be top-down not bottom up. Nevertheless, they have relatively fulfilled the watchdog role alongside conducting various researches on various issues on human rights abuses.

In addition, other actor identified during the study were umbrella organisations or Networks whereby several NGOS have developed links and networks to strengthen their capacities and enhance their influence on the state. These include Development Network of Indigenous Voluntary Association (DENIVA), The Uganda NGO Forum, Uganda Debt Network (UDN) National Organisation of Trade Unions (NOTU), Anti-Corruption Coalition of Uganda (ACCU), Human Rights Network (HURINET) and National Association of Women’s Organisations in Uganda NAWOU (DFID, 1998). What has been observed was that, having myriad links from several member organisations, they have a strong financial base in terms of fees from member organisations and it can be counted as an advantage or strength. This argument was supported by Salamon and Sokolowski and Associates 2004:148) whose findings indicated that “55 percent of civil society revenues are from fees, charges and membership dues”. Nevertheless, it can be argued that throughout the study several studies have found out that donors have a preference of working with these umbrella organisations than working with individual ones and normally working with donors implying that funding also comes from them, hence this contradicts what Nyangabyaki is pointing out in his findings because it is possible to find that more than 50 percent of funds instead come from donor funding rather than from fees and charges from members.

Religious Organisations was another category of CSOs identified whose objectives is to promote religious beliefs. Oloka-Onyango, (2000) noted that some religious associations sometimes are active in both spiritual and social economic or even political aspects. The main religions in Uganda include Catholic Church, Church of Uganda and Moslems and Orthodox Church.
Religious organisations have in the past supported some regimes for instance Democratic Party (DP) formerly supported by Catholic Church while Church of Uganda supported Uganda Peoples’ Congress (UPC). It should be noted that the links between religions and political parties are no longer coherent partly due to the fact that the present government had accused political parties of dividing people and presumably no religion would wish to be part of the blame not forgetting the fact that religious leaders are not supposed to be involved in politics. It is imperative to note that the role of church as actors is neutral but on some occasions they seem to support the government at the same time act against it. For instance The Daily Monitor 1st June 2010 published a report “Clergy Demand Change of Electoral Commission” where church accuses electoral commission of not respecting all stakeholders especially the opposition politicians. This implied that there are loop holes in the electoral commission of Uganda because a recently concluded visit by American officials in Uganda was to rectify the same issue of changing the electoral commission which is allegedly to be pro-government.

Other actors identified in the study were foreign NGOs that operate in Uganda and are mostly engaged in service delivery. NORAD, (2002) observes that they are more secure in their funding since they are supported by their home governments and have sufficient capacities to engage the government in policy processes. They include Oxfam, Action Aid, ReddBarna (Save the Children), Amnesty International and World Vision. It was observed that most of these organisations are more into areas of humanitarian support, education and health sectors and some have been able to fund community based organisations at grassroots level.

Political parties have also been regarded as actors of civil society in Uganda. According to a study conducted by NGO Forum (2007), political parties in established democracies are acting as instruments of communication from government to the citizenry. By 2006, there were about 33 registered political parties in Uganda. It should be noted that with the adoption of multi-party political system in Uganda, NGO Forum argues that questions have been asked about the role of civil society organisations especially those that are oriented in advocacy since parties were allowed to do their responsibilities. Some leaders of political parties began to argue that civil society has no more roles to play. However, it should be remembered that in order to achieve meaningful and sustainable democratic society in Uganda, it is irrational for political parties to reason like that. Democracy can hardly be achieved when citizens are isolated from politics and
what was expected from the political parties as partners in the struggle for democratic society in Uganda was to continue where civil society organisations have stopped not the isolation of the sector. In this case one can argue that political parties still seem to be considering themselves as big fish in the lake which are likely to feed on small fish when there is shortage of planktons.

4.5 General observations during the study
The study found out that there are different major actors of civil society in Uganda and these play different roles depending on their interests. They include NGOs, religious institutions, the media, trade unions, professional organisations, social movements, social organisations, community based organisations, political parties and international organisations (NGO Forum, 2007; NORAD, 2002; Dicklitch, 1998); Onyango 2000). The study further revealed that trade union has been very weak in Uganda which is in contrast with counterparts in Africa for instance Kenya, South Africa and Zambia (The Daily Monitor 9th May, 2010); Ndegwa 1996 and DFID 1998).

Trade unions in Uganda are under the umbrella of the National Organization of Trade Unions (NOTU) which is comprised of The National Teachers Union, Transport and General Allied workers, Building and Civil workers, Electricity Union, Railway Workers Union, Nurses and Midwives Union, Communication Workers, Union among others. One of the reasons for decline of trade unions has roots from IMF and World Bank’s SAPs. These programmes emphasized reducing government spending through privatizing government parastatals, restructuring, retrenchment and many workers lost their jobs leading to weakening of most trade unions. Since the membership base was weakened due to few members left, the financial base was also affected and this paralyzed the activities of trade unions. It is also as a result of internal weaknesses like poor management, leadership conflicts, weak social foundation for these unions also contributed to their weakness.

This also means that there were no sustainability approaches that were inter-woven within their short term and long term programmes. Their decline also was attributed to dependence on external funding which withered in early 1990s that frustrated the operations of these trade unions. Suffice to note is that much as trade unions in Kenya, South Africa and Zambia are
strong, there is no universal yardstick for measuring weak and strong trade unions because it is possible to find what is considered to be strong in one country is regarded as weak in another.

The study disclosed that NGOs in Uganda are the strongest actors of civil society (Herkenrath 2007; Kiiza et al., 2008; NORAD, 2002; SIDA 2005). The rationale for NGOs to be strongest actors in Uganda was attributed to the SAP policies whereby there was acknowledgement of NGOs in the development cooperation. As a result of the SAP policies, the state was required to introduce cost sharing in order to reduce on public spending. This meant that social services were not fully provided by the government. Consequently, NGOs came in to fill this gap by being assigned new service functions since they moreover have a comparative advantage of reaching the last person at the grassroots level.

Another reason was that NGOs have been favoured to be the best means of channeling aid due to corrupt tendencies that have been a common feature in most African governments. It is also imperative to add that NGOs by their character are voluntary in nature; they have strong potential to improve living conditions of the majority in rural areas of Uganda. The dominance is also attributed to the fact that they play both service delivery and advocacy and are better networked compared to other actors of civil society in Uganda.

4.6 Areas where CSOs are active
It was also revealed during the study that CSOs in Uganda are most active in the area of service delivery. The study further revealed that organisations have mostly been active in the area of education through construction of schools, provision of scholastic materials; in poverty alleviation programmes and in health sector by reducing the rate of infection of HIV/AIDS, vaccination against killers diseases especially polio and measles as well as fight against malaria (SIDA, 2005; Kiiza et al., 2008). By the fact that civil society organisations are potentially in touch with local citizenry, the commonality between authors above shows that CSOs have comparative advantage in giving social services to the marginalized people in a way the government cannot. It should also be argued that the dominance of civil society in service delivery was attributed to state’s inability to deliver social and economic services to all citizens. It was also attributed to biting poverty that has affected large parts of the country both rural and urban hence compelling CSOs to come in to fill the gap by delivering services and empowering
people by focusing on initiation of income generating projects to ensure that basic needs like food, shelter and clothing are met by ordinary citizens. Below are specific areas that have been found out during this study.

Civil society in Uganda has been massively active in the area of health sector. According to WHO (2001), the 1978 Alma Ata declaration significantly recognized the role of civil society in providing primary health care. A report by NORAD, (2003) indicated that in 1997, there was introduction of Health Policy and Strategic Plan which was aimed at initiating the collaboration between Ministry of Health and civil society. From the above assertions, it was observed that as a result of SAPs which were introduced in early 1990s in developing countries, the role of state in Uganda’s health sector dwindled because there was reduction in public spending. This resulted to poor quality health services in Uganda hence increasing the proliferation of CSOs in the health sector in Uganda. Besides that, due to the fact civil society has a potential to reach majority of the citizens at the grassroots, the government decided to create a desk/department at Ministry of Health to coordinate the activities of the civil society organisations dealing in delivery of health services at national, district and local levels.

However, this was also attributed to the fact that there was shift in donor community who preferred government to pattern CSOs in delivery of services. It was at this point that some NGOs like The Aids Support Organisation (TASO) were contracted by the government to undertake various programmes especially in prevention of HIV/AIDS. Muhumuza (2010) further clarify on this by arguing that this partnership between state and CSO was a result of initiative from the donors aimed at implementing the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and curb corruption tendencies by the government. Some of the activities where these CSOs have been active include distribution of health resources like condoms; bed nets; promotion of sanitation through construction of toilets, training health workers; monitoring quality of health at national, district and local levels; implementing research, supply Ant-retro viral drugs, counseling of HIV/AIDS victims among others.

Another area of operation by civil society actors in Uganda that was revealed during the study was poverty alleviation. Their contribution towards poverty alleviation in Uganda has been recognized especially since the inception of Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) in 1997
which provided a road map for fighting poverty in Uganda. The rationale for this road map according to UDN, (2004) was to involve the voice of the voiceless through participatory poverty assessment process. Some CSOs involved in poverty alleviation include Uganda Debt Network UDN which has been instrumental as well as fighting corruption through formulation of coalitions to monitor public resources. The rationale for involvement CSOs in fighting poverty was attributed to the fact that CSOs are flexible, they use participatory approaches by nature of their activities, they have that kind of zeal that fosters self-reliance among the citizens and they require less financial resources than government to successfully execute development programmes in all corners of the country.

However, it was observed that much as CSOs have been perceived to have strong influence in alleviation of poverty in Uganda, their contribution is not adequate enough to solve poverty challenges sustainably. First of all, these CSOs lack coordination and proper networking among themselves; their dependence on donor support means that their activities are dictated by decisions from ‘above’ which in one way or the other affects their grassroots planning priorities and lastly, they lack enough technical support and well qualified personnel to deliver good quality work. Therefore, it was observed that these are some of the reasons why it was necessary for CSOs to partner with government in fighting poverty in Uganda’s context and Africa in general.

The study revealed that agriculture sector was another area where civil society has been active because it provides a voice to the marginalized farmers. CSOs have been able to bridge the gap between state and marginalized- hunger prone groups in Uganda (FAO, 2008). It was observed that agriculture is the back bone of the economy and CSOs have been instrumental in promoting interests, views and needs of rural communities, small holder farmers in order to fight hunger at household level. It was further noted that they have been actively engaged with the ministry of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Fisheries and have worked hand in hand to improve the farming conditions of both commercial and subsistence farmers.

In Uganda the most famous advocacy CSOs operate in the field of human rights especially in civil and human rights issues and are rarely engaged in cultural, social or even economic issues. These include Foundation for Human Rights (FHRI), Human Rights Network (HURINET-U),
Action For Development (ACFODE), Uganda Women Network (UWONET), Forum for Women in Democracy (FOWODE), Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA-U) while NGOs like Uganda Debt Network (UDN) is mainly into issues of accountability, debts and corruption. Others include Advocates Coalition for Development and Environment (ACODE), Forum for Education NGOs in Uganda (FENU) and UNASO. Also, there are umbrella organisations which play a crucial role in advocacy and in uniting other NGOs together and they include Uganda National NGO Forum (UNNGOF) and DENIVA (DFID, 1998; The New Vision 9th August 2009). It was observed that by the fact that donors’ major objective is to ensure the rule of law, the study revealed that most CSOs in Uganda in this category are funded by the donors because they have comparative advantage over other actors in mobilizing citizens, they also play crucial role in increasing public awareness about citizens’ constitutional and legal rights. It was further revealed that some donors who fund these organisations include USAID, The German Foundations (Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Konrad Adenauer Foundation) and Like-Minded Group of donors which include Nordic countries (Sweden, Norway and Denmark), The Netherlands and Canada. In doing so, some donors fund the programmes while others provide capacity building to strengthen and widen democracy by embedding the values and institutions within communities. All in all, it was observed that these organisations have been playing a watchdog role, by monitoring and preventing human rights abuses as well as carrying out research in various areas of human rights in the country.
CHAPTER FIVE
This chapter focuses on the analysis and presents findings about functions of civil society in Uganda.

5.1 Functions of civil society in Uganda
Civil society in Uganda materialized during post independence era as an institutional actor with the potential and capability to support government policies and this has become more vivid in recent years as a result of Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) that have led to retrenchment, privatization, cost sharing in government enterprises (Salamon, Sokolowski and Associates 2004). Julie (2000) further argued that SAP policies have emphasized that governments should cut social expenditure and much value is attributed to civil society so much so that every effort was directed towards reducing the role of state to a minimum. The implication for this was that civil society organisations have embraced the role of service provision. However this attracted some resistances from different countries characterized by demonstrations from public especially students. For instance in Uganda, Makerere University students demonstrated on streets due to introduction of cost sharing in the university.

Another implication for SAP policies meant that there was more funding to the civil society organisations to do the job that was previously done by the government, but also some civil society organisations have been at fore front in criticizing the state especially due to corruption tendencies and abuse of office by government officials. This partly justifies why in most countries like in Uganda the state has strained relationship with some civil society organisations being funded by donor communities because civil society has become a darling for the donors since funding and flow of financial resources have been availed to civil society organisations instead of going directly to the state the way it was before SAPs policies were introduced. It should be noted here that this kind of relationship between civil society and donor also endangers also the relationship between donors and government.

However, it is important to argue that there are not only some difficulties in trying to measure the impact of civil society strengthening work but also increasingly use of budget support has challenged the support to civil society. Therefore, it can be argued that civil society in Uganda
has fairly contributed to the development of Uganda and at the same time assisted donor communities towards the struggle for democratization in Uganda.

By and large, there has been great hope and prospect in CSOs as regards to the social-economic and political development in the country and the following are some of the functions of civil society in Uganda:

In the first instance, the study found out that civil society has been at forefront in improving the health services in Uganda. A report by Muhumuza (2010) indicates that NGOs like The Aids Support Organisation (TASO), African Medical Research Foundation (AMREF) have done a commendable work in health sector in Uganda. It was true to argue that these organisations have worked tirelessly towards promotion of health sector through renovating health centers, they have provided care and support to the people living with HIV/AIDS, they have been involved in training health personnel in Uganda, provided advisory services among others. This without doubt has improved the conditions in the health sector which would have been more burden to the government without civil society in place.

In addition, prior to the re-introduction of political parties in Uganda civil society has relatively contributed a lot in filling the gap, in doing so they encouraged and prompted the opening of political space in the country. Actors like women organisations, youth organisations and many other CSOs have done a good work in articulation, aggregation and representation of issues and interests concerning their members who are mainly vulnerable in the society (NORAD, 2002). It should be noted that this has been a milestone in the civil society fraternity in Uganda because these groups have been the most marginalized with their voices hardly heard in the society. Equally to note is that some credit should be given to the government for contributing towards (opening up) letting them be part of non-state actors that were traditionally left out, though it is also important to remain skeptical because the space seem to be superficial since the state has continued to reduce the space it had once created.

Civil society has also played a role of election monitoring in Uganda. According to a report by Kasfir, (1998) it indicates that CSOs like Uganda Joint Christian Council (UJCC), National Organisation of Civic and Election Monitoring (NOCEM), Coalition on Election Finance Monitoring CEFIM and Democracy Monitoring (Dem Group) have been involved in keeping an
eye on election activities in Uganda. What should be stated clearly here is that the aspects of
election monitoring and observation in Uganda like elsewhere in other countries have not been
easy because much as some of them have unearthed malpractices during elections, exposed
ministers who campaign with government vehicles and other blatant election violations, there is
no action to punish the culprits and a lot is still desired from civil society. Election malpractices
have been reported but no action as regards to electoral reforms. This has recently attracted the
attention of international community because the opposition political parties have insisted that
electoral commission is partisan. For instance The Sunday Vision 23rd May 2010 published an
article about American officials’ visit to settle the issue of electoral commission before 2011
general elections.

Another role of civil society in Uganda has been in the area of recruiting political leaders in the
country. A study done by Dicklitch (1998) indicates that civil society has recruited and trained
political leaders especially women within women’s organisations that have flourished in Uganda.
It is worth to point out that civil society like elsewhere has been regarded as a school of
democracy where skills and knowledge have been imparted to the members, where leaders have
been nurtured and where values and norms have been observed. Therefore, in case of Uganda
this has somehow been achieved especially with in women organisations because traditionally
there has been a jinx of men dominating political leadership and the corridors of power to the
extent that it was seldom to find women in top and formal leadership positions. Nevertheless,
recruitment rate is far below than expected. Some critics argue that one way of capturing votes
and remain in power by NRM government was to recognize women’s active participation in
leadership and rights. A case in point is that some women in political top ranks have been
recruited from some of the women activists’ organisations.

A study done by Kasaija (2006) indicates that at the end of cold war, many countries have
experienced intra-state wars and civil society has often come in as key players not only in
preventing conflicts that have affected citizens but also in reconciling the governments with
insurgents. Likewise, in Uganda, as a result of insurgency in some parts of the country
particularly the northern Uganda, civil society has been also at fore front in bringing peace. He
further indicates that civil society organisations like Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative
(ARLPI), Acholi Civil Society Initiative (ACSI) have done great job in promoting peace in the
region. What should be observed here is that due to the fact that this civil society organisation has strong presence on grassroots level, and in this case religious leaders under the church and mosques, it is without doubt that they have been instrumental in playing this role because they were involved in dialogues and in advocacy urging the government to have peace talks with Lord’s Resistance Army leader, Joseph Kony. As a result of the war, very many people have run away from their homes seeking shelter and refugee in church and civil society organisations while others have ended up in Internally Displaced Camps (IDPs) facilitated and maintained by some civil society organisations in the country.

Another role of civil society in Uganda that has been revealed in the study was poverty alleviation in the country. According to the report by World Bank, (1994) it indicates that in Uganda like in other developing countries, civil society has shouldered the burden of poverty alleviation alone. Another report by Uganda Debt Network UDN, (2004) indicates that civil society has contributed towards the fight against poverty in the country. For instance, in 1999 UDN was behind the efforts that led to establishment of Poverty Action Fund (PAF) monitoring committees in several districts so that that PAF funds that were meant for poverty alleviation were well utilized. In addition, UDN has put in place Community Based Monitoring and Evaluation Systems (CBMES) in some districts in order to help in identifying corrupt chiefs, monitor and evaluate government programmes and ensure that communities understand their rights. Notably to indicate here is that Uganda being among corrupt countries, civil society organisations like UDN have devised such means of supporting committees in local communities to oversee the little that is invested in poverty alleviation in the country by donor community. This is a laudable work that has been done by civil society through a coalition of organisations that fight corruption under the umbrella organisation of Uganda Debt Network. But all in all, efforts towards poverty reduction have been from both civil society and the government. But the little success that has been achieved about poverty alleviation in Uganda is as a result of CSOs’ efforts.

Study findings also revealed that civil society in Uganda has contributed a lot in promotion of human rights in the country (NORAD 2002). Though the study does not show exact figure of actors involved in promotion and protection of human rights in Uganda, it is worthy to point out that many of them are dealing with rights of women, children, disabled and fundamental
freedoms. It should be remembered that this is one of the areas where many prominent civil society organisations are engaged in. They are mainly advocacy organisations and are involved in research, seminars, workshops and other activities involving sensitization of the communities.
CHAPTER SIX
This chapter basically focuses on the analysis, findings about the relationship between state and civil society as well as factors that influence their relationship.

6.1 Relationship between State and Civil Society
Findings of this study revealed that the government actively works hand in hand with CSOs dealing in service delivery but it is not in good terms with civil society organisations working in the areas of policy advocacy (Kasfir, 1998; Kiiza et al., 2008). The rationale for government keeping a distance is that advocacy NGOs have on several occasions challenged the government on some issues that the government regards as ‘sensitive’ and by the fact that these NGOs are funded by foreign donors, the government becomes suspicious of their intentions. Advocacy NGOs are also involved in election monitoring, human rights and are also engaged in empowering people to know their rights and hold the government accountable on some policies.

This also has prompted the government to become so critical to these organisations to the extent that a NGO Registration amendment bill was passed to ensure that they are registered, monitored, dealt with and has regarded some of these NGOs activities as illegitimate. This also applies to the media whereby several journalists have been arrested allegedly for publishing seditious stories. Some radio stations have been closed by uttering out subversive statements to the public for instance the recent closure of Central Broadcasting Service CBS a radio station that is owned by Buganda Kingdom was allegedly to have incited violence among the Baganda when Kabaka was blocked from visiting his people in Kayunga district. All these showed that the government does not tolerate groups, institutions and organisations that attempt to challenge it even if they are legitimate.

The relationship between state and civil society was found to be harmonious with NGOs whose operations have nothing to do with advancement for political space. And the government has even sub-contracted such organisations in poverty alleviation projects. More so, a report by Muhumuza, (2010) also indicates that government has sub-contracted some NGOs to carry out capacity building and monitoring of some programmes for instance some organisations like TASO have been contracted by the government to provide preventive, counseling and medical assistance to HIV/AIDS victims in Uganda. It can be argued that this has attracted criticisms on
civil society fraternity because if such organisations are dependent on the government handouts, it is seldom that these organisations can hold government accountable, which is one of the primary roles of civil society.

Whereas most civil society organisations are much into service delivery and operating in up-country as Lister and Nyamugasira (2003) argues, Muhumuza (2010) supports the view that the state engages civil society organisations that are involved in welfare related policy advocacy but the state less tolerates organisations that attempt to be involved in political activism. It was also indicated that much as the National Resistance Movement (NRM) government had at first accepted civil society organisations to work independently in order to attract investors and assist in service delivery, it was observed that in since 2006, the same government started to limit the actions of civil society organisations in the country. It should also be noted that many CSOs are not happy with the NGO Registration (Amendment) Act which aimed at controlling and monitoring the activities of the civil societies in Uganda. In a report by The New Vision May 2nd 2010, Human Rights Watch expressed dissatisfaction and also warns government about increased threats on freedom of expression in the country. It was also revealed that even at the time of preparing the law on suppression of terrorism and amendment of NGOs laws, no civil society actors were involved, the reaction of civil society was when the bills were already published (NORAD, 2002). It was observed that there seems to be a lot of mistrust and isolation of stakeholders because even at the NGO Registration Board, there is no single representative from the civil society actors who apparently are primary stakeholders.

However, a report by Ministry of Internal Affairs MIA (2007) indicates that the National NGO Board has authorization and mandate to control the activities of non-governmental organisations in Uganda. It indicates that The Non-Governmental Organisations Act has been revised to boost competence in registration, supervising and involvement to social transformation of the society. It is therefore imperative to indicate that civil society fraternity has interpreted this as government’s attempt to reduce space for the operation of civil society in Uganda. However, the government seems to have reasons why they have to control the activities of civil society because plans are in offing to the amendment of media bill which will be controlling journalists’ activities which is perceived as violation of the constitutional rights of press freedoms.
The study revealed that the relationship between civil society actors themselves is not harmonious because there is an element of rivalriness. A case in point was political parties and civil society organisations (NGO Forum, 2007; Kiiza et al., 2008). The transition from Movement system to multiparty in Uganda in 2005 meant that the roles that were played by civil society organizations on behalf of political parties were regained by parties. It meant that the political space that was occupied by civil society organisations was claimed by both political parties and CSOs. This resulted to tension between two actors presumably belonging to one sphere ‘civil society’. The implication was that it created insecurity and fear on part of CSOs because they no longer represented political parties especially in area of policy advocacy. This tension affects the spirit of working towards achieving a well functioning political system. The desired situation is that they should both put differences behind and work for the citizens since none can replace the other because they play different roles at different levels but are virtually bonded together by the fact that CSOs play complementary role to political party.

6.2 Factors that affect the relationship between state and civil society in Uganda

Most civil society organisations in Uganda have different backgrounds and are operating in different areas. Some are working hand in hand with government while others play confrontational roles. The following factors were revealed to have affected the relationship between state and civil society in Uganda. According to a report by NORAD (2002) most civil society organisations have been discovered to be lacking capacity to engage the state in meaningful dialogues. Some of them have been depending on hired services from expatriates to execute some of the activities for the organisations. From analytical point of view, this has implications on why the relationship with the state might be affected negatively. In the first instance, the state regard such CSOs to be obsolete and hence cannot influence state policies, this compels the state to snub them. Secondly, by the fact that they consult services outside their membership, the state considered them as collaborators of the opposition whose aims are to oust the government and therefore are treated with the iron hand by the state. Moreover, the state regards most CSOs in advocacy to be representing themselves not the citizens as they claim to be. This is because most of them are urban-based owned by elites with limited or no links to the grassroots level and their claim as representatives of the voiceless is exaggerated.
Corruption tendency by the government was revealed as another factor that affects the relationship between state and civil society organisations in Uganda. Lister and Nyamugasira (2003) indicated that corrupt practices of the state officials have been a constraint to the relationship. The study observed that there is wide perception that the government has employed corrupt officials who seem to block the partnership between state and CSOs. On the other hand, due to the fact that government sub-contracts some CSOs to deliver services, it has come to be noticed that there are un-written rules that CSOs are expected to abide to, failure to do so or identification of any anomaly in awarding of these tenders has created a constrained relationship between the two. Never the less, some CSOs which follow the un-written rules have had their contracts extended. This means that some CSOs which are supposed to fight corruption within the government have ended up being corrupt or compromised.

It was also revealed during the study that the relationship between state and civil society is affected by conflicting interests between the two. Muhumuza (2010) argued that there are circumstances where the interests that are pursued by the CSOs clash with those of state. One of the reasons for this clash was revealed to be state’s attempt to control the activities of these organisations while CSOs want to retain their independence. Another reason identified during the study stem from the fact that some CSOs have in some instances misused donor funds to duplicate some of the programmes undertaken by the government. These programmes have been perceived to be parallel to those of government. What infuriates the government is that the programmes by the CSOs use bottom-up approach while the government uses top-down. This has created mistrust and suspicion which has compelled the state to further limit the space where the civil society has been operating.
Table 2: Showing Civil Society Model Of Uganda

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actors of civil society</th>
<th>Functions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Membership and occupational based actors</td>
<td>• Socialization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Promotion of members’ interests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development support and service delivery actors</td>
<td>• Provide social services in health, education sectors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Poverty alleviation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Based Organizations</td>
<td>• Building communities social capital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Empowering of local communities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media</td>
<td>• Provides an avenue where people express their interests.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advocacy, Think tank organizations</td>
<td>• Watch dog role</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Articulation of interests of citizens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Human rights promotion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Recruitment base for political leaders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious institutions</td>
<td>• Promotion of religious values</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Peace building and conflict resolution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umbrella and network CSOs</td>
<td>• Fighting corruption</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign based agencies/organizations</td>
<td>• Provision of humanitarian support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Financial back up to some CSOs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political parties</td>
<td>• Promotion of multi-party system in the country.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Instruments of communication between citizens and government</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table above shows the nature of actors and functioning of civil society in Uganda drawn from the available literature about civil society sector.
CHAPTER SEVEN

7.1 Comparing Theory and Reality

The goal of this chapter is to compare the functions, actors and state-civil relationships between the reality in Uganda and the theoretical concept. It provides comparisons based on the analysis of the actors, functions and on state-civil society relationship

Table:3 Showing comparisons between actors, functions and state-civil society relationship-theory and reality

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concept</th>
<th>Uganda</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Actors</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Strong and active trade unions. Have been at forefront in fight for human rights and influenced governments’ decisions on policies.</td>
<td>1. Weak trade unions compared to counterparts in Kenya, SouthAfrica and Zambia. Weakness attributed to SAPs and internal wrangles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Active philanthropists and foundations. Because they they are well established and capable of funding CBOs and NGOs effectively.</td>
<td>2. Absence of Philanthropists and foundations. There are hardly any philanthropists involved in funding CBOs and NGOs in the country due to biting poverty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. All actors considered to be part of the realm of civil society are recognised.</td>
<td>3. Some actors are excluded from being aprt of the sphere of civil society. They are regarded as informal and local. <em>Eg self help groups by local artisans, burial associations and women local saving groups</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Functions</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. NGOs provide an impetus for proper government performannce and hold government accountable and responsible</td>
<td>1.NGOs play overalping functions of both service delivery and policy advocacy but less engage the state.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Provide a base for future political leaders. It is where political leaders are oriented and where seeds of democracy are</td>
<td>2. Civil society less regarded as a source of political leaders with exception of some few women organisations.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Propagated.

3. CSOs functions are properly executed because they largely finance their activities.

4. Civil society functions are equally and properly performed in service delivery, civil rights, policy advocacy among other areas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship between state-civil society</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. States are tolerant of the views of the civil society because all stakeholders’ views are respected by the state.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Governments deal fairly with all actors of civil society regardless of whether they are watchdog or service oriented organisations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. State-civil society relationship is less determined by capacity or strengths of civil society actors.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Functioning of CSOs is determined and dictated by the funding from donors. Attributed to weak financial base at grassroots level.

4. The functions of CSOs are more visible in the area of service delivery. For instance in health sector, education and poverty alleviation.

| 1. The state is less tolerant to the views from the civil society especially when CSOs step in issues related foreign policy and army. |
| 2. Government is not comfortable with watchdog CSOs and hardly accepts opposition’s voice as legitimate. State is more comfortable with CSOs in service delivery which do not advance for political space. |
| 3. The state-civil society relationship is partly determined by capacity of CSOs to engage state. Government tend to underlook CSOs which depend on expatriates, regard them as collabolators of opposition |

7.2 Civil society reality in Uganda compared to the theoretical concept of civil society

Different scholars have used different yardsticks in trying to understand how civil society performs or relates with state and market. Kasfir, (1998) argues that scholars indentify CSOs with groupings, categories or benchmark taken from western societies. Like it was earlier observed, most of the literature on civil society taken into account comes from authors living in
the developed world and thus their concept includes the features of civil society that are wished to be present in an ideal situation. The concept is rarely based on studies of how societies function in the developing world. And therefore donor communities base their understanding of civil society and how it should work on the examples they see in their own societies.

It was thus found out that much as western models are believed to be the best, it is seldom applied wholesomely in developing world because civil societies are embedded on different social settings. Nevertheless, for the purpose of understanding how civil society operates in Uganda; it was prudent to take a leaf from how counterparts in the global north do operate and how they relate with state and market much as some critics would argue that one-size can hardly fit all.

*Exclusion of some actors of civil society actors in civil society sphere*

During the study it was found out that much as civil society actors are recognized by different scholars in different definitions as part of sphere, there are actors especially vulnerable and informal groups which are not represented and thus excluded from the sphere of civil society (Herkenrath, 2007; Kaldor, 2003; World Bank, 2005). The excluded actors are mainly those which are considered to be informal and local. These included women credit associations in rural countryside normally called *BiikaOyeguze* literally meaning ‘save and borrow’. Others include self-help groups formed by artisans like black smiths, traditional doctors’ groups and burial associations. They are excluded by the urban based formal actors but in real sense they have played a great role in improving the lives of the respective members in many ways. Perhaps it is due to the fact that most urban CSOs believe that informal groups or associations at local level like burial associations have nothing to influence as far as policy contribution in the country is concerned.

*The state is less tolerant and uncomfortable with advocacy CSOs*

As far as civil society activism is concerned, it was observed that the state does not tolerate activities of the civil society that have specialized in the area of policy advocacy more than it does with CSOs in area of service delivery (Diclitch, 1998; NORAD, 2002; Kasfir, 2004). This implied that, in Uganda the space for civil society is under the threat of being further narrowed
by the state. For instance the media reacted angrily in The New Vision May 2nd 2010 and in The Daily Monitor 3rd May 2010 about government’s proposal of Press and Journalist (Amendment) Act 2010. This proposal is a clear signal that the space for civil society is at stake. Therefore the study drew a conclusion that although the benefits of civil society are well known, the space on which they operate on is increasingly contracting which is less experienced with counterparts in the developed countries. It was also observed that due to the fact the country is nearing general elections in 2011; the government seems to be scheming how to control and tighten the grip on the operations and activities of the talkative media which normally exposes the weakness of the government.

Earlier on in 2006, the government passed NGOs Registration (Amendment) bill. The NGO Registration Act and its implementing regulations allow the Government of Uganda to exercise considerable control over the operation of NGOs. An NGO is prohibited from operating in Uganda unless it has registered with the National Board of Non-governmental Organizations (GoU, 2006). Many civil society actors argued that it is government’s act to keep on reducing space for civil society.

Civil society in Uganda is characterized by weak trade unions

As far as trade unions in Uganda are concerned, several studies have found out that they have been weak (Dicklitch, 1998; Ndegwa, 1996; NGO Forum, 2007). In most countries and according civil society model, trade unions have been well known for being instrumental and vocal actors of civil society but it has not been the case in Uganda since early 1990s. In the report published by The Daily Monitor 9th May 2010 one of the stakeholders of trade unions admitted that (National Organisation of Trade Unions) NOTU an umbrella body of labour unions was weakened in 1990s when most government parastatals were privatized with an attempt to reduce on the government expenditure. Most union members lost their jobs not only through selling companies to private investors but also through retrenchment which was part of the package of SAPs policies hence affecting membership base of trade unions and civil society in general.

In addition, there were internal wrangles within unions for instance leadership struggles which also contributed to the weakening of the unions entirely characterized by the working
class. Nevertheless, it was observed that they have recently recovered by resuming their roles to ensure that workers know their rights and are also drafting some policies necessary to benefit the workers. Therefore there is a lot still expected from the trade union in Uganda because counterparts in Africa for instance in Kenya, South Africa and Zambia have played a very decisive role in shaping the political direction in their respective countries.

_Donor funding greatly facilitates functioning of civil society organisations in Uganda._

In an attempt to strengthen democracy in the country, the study revealed that there has been presence of donor agencies/groups especially from Europe and America that aim at promoting democracy through funding of many CSOs (Edwards, 2009). During the study it was observed that the need to propagate the seeds of liberal democracy arguably is one of the reasons why some donors support CSOs in Uganda which is not common with CSOs in the western societies because democracy has already taken roots. However, it is possible to argue that donor community sometimes has different hidden agendas whereby they act under the guise of promoting democracy but in real sense there is something else they are aiming at. In Uganda, the study indicates that, just like elsewhere in developing countries, donor funding is the bloodstream of majority of CSOs.

Nevertheless, some critics have argued that this has crippled the CSOs potential to be sustainable. It was also observed that due to lack of strong socio-economic base at the grassroots level, most CSOs lack enough financial resources meant to keep them moving, hence it sounded inevitable but to turn their eyes to the donor for not only financial aid but technical support as well. Therefore, it is not surprising and it is true that in some cases, government has treated some CSOs especially advocacy organisations with an ‘iron hand’ because they seem to be hidden political parties being funded by foreign interests but under the guise of civil society organisations.

_Civil society organisations have a strained relationship with political parties_

The study also revealed that political parties and some civil society organisations in Uganda are at loggerhead. In its argument, NGO Forum, (2007) indicates that from the time when political space was opened up for political parties to operate, it has been evident that political parties
came out as key players in political and policy a position that was occupied by the civil society when parties were banned. This has raised questions about the role of advocacy-related CSOs in the country.

It was observed that though different scholars like Carothers (2000) regard political parties to be part of civil society, other scholars like Kiiza et al. (2008) do not contend with the idea, but the desired situation for the case of Uganda according to NGO Forum (2007), is that political parties should be working hand in hand with other civil society actors. In other words, civil society organisations in Uganda should be playing complementary role with political parties in order to fulfill the interests of the citizens they represent just the way it is in most democratic societies in Europe and America. This will clear out the bias and puzzles surrounding advocacy organisations which seem not to be having good relationship with the government as well as with political parties. What should be known also is that, just like it is in both developed and developing countries, civil society organisations which have foreign links sometimes have strained relationship with some political parties and at the same time it is more hard for the government of Uganda to closely work with organisations with alliance from foreign political parties or from untrusted foreign links.

Connected to the above argument, the study observed that it is hard to conclude that civil society organisations in Uganda are not as independent as it was assumed to be because their plans seem to be dictated from above. It also justifies why some critics for instance Muhumuza, (2010) argue that the approach is always top-down because the initiative or trend of events comes from top (donors) not from the grassroots level where myriad inputs are expected, thus contrary to what the theoretical concept advances (views/ideas are supposed to come from the citizenry). This was also observed to be the reason why the government becomes suspicious of the activities and interests of both donors and CSOs in Uganda. It is possible to argue that to some extent the government is sometimes justified when it represses and contains activities and operations of some advocacy organisations whose agendas are dictated by the donors.

It was also observed that civil society in Uganda is characterized by tendency to overlook minority groups especially those which do not engage the state. For instance local social organisations formed by women at grassroots though they have significantly contributed a lot in
transforming the lives of people in the local communities. Kasfir (1998) observed that local level organisations are normally left out by actors in the top ranks yet they are influential in improving the quality of life of majority women. She further argued that it is no surprise that there are few gender analyses on civil society debates. From cultural point of view, it was worthy to indicate that Uganda being a patriarchal society, men have tended to restrain women from forming social groups arguing that these organisations distract women from doing domestic chores, the reason for this behavior from their husbands was that they feel insecure when women realize and become aware of their rights when they are in associations or groups.

Another feature that was observed in civil society in Uganda which is also unusual in the model concept of civil society was that civil society is competing for financial resources or aid with the government from the donors. In his report, Muhumuza (2010) indicates that government has had bad relationship with some civil society organisations especially advocacy organisations because government regards them as fellow competitors for the scarce resources from the donor communities. However, it can be argued that Muhumuza does not clarify properly on this issue nor does he provide the incidences when the government clashed with CSOs on donor resources.

In addition, the study revealed that donor community has resorted to channeling aid through sectors which implied that some CSOS no longer get direct funding from donors but are subcontracted by the state to deliver services on its behalf. There appears to be fairly strong evidence that CSOs might not be competing for financial resources with state but rather the state might be co-opting some of these organisations since they are endorsed by the state to get funding for the services they are supposed to provide on behalf of the state. But what was observed was that the government does not tolerate divergent views from the CSOs that are engaged in political activism.
CHAPTER EIGHT
This chapter presents major conclusions that may be of great use to the relevant stakeholders in Uganda and developing countries in general.

8.1 Conclusions
In order for civil society fraternity in Uganda to take off, this study concludes that it still requires donor support, because without the support of donor community, CSOs in Uganda would be totally susceptible to be co-opted by the government. Nevertheless, donor support should aim at empowering these organisations to be independent and sustainable. And this study agrees with the view that the government is the major threat for civil society fraternity in Uganda. Chances are high for CSOs to be dependent on government if donor community reduces funding and the prime goal of holding the state accountable would be jeopardized. This is because it has been found out during this study that the state has constantly tried to compress the little space available for civil society and the implication for this is that the state wants to control the entire operational space for civil society. The functioning of civil society in Uganda remains constrained by the political environment where they operate in, just as Dicklitch (1998) argued, states which have little legitimacy are always suspicious of CSOs activities especially those related to political activism.

It should be concluded that the applicability of civil society concept in Uganda is still a challenge because the structure upon which civil society evolves is quite different from that of developed countries where the concept of civil society hinges. Much as the concept of civil society from western world is recommended and is desired by the donors and scholars from developed world, one size fits all phenomena seem not to be favoring its applicability in some developing countries.
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Appendix 1

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