



## Power And Individual Merit In Multiparty Dispensation In Uganda: A Case For Kyadondo East Constituency

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**ABSTRACT:** There is a growing tendency of individual politics in Uganda during multiparty dispensation. Individual candidates have continued to win elections at the grass root where there is stiff competition among parties. This paper assesses a case study of Kyadondo East Constituency Member of Parliamentary seat that became vacant in April, 2017 to understand the dynamics of the growing individualism in party politics in Uganda. This paper assesses the lived experience of an independent candidate, factors explaining his win, factors behind the growth of individual politics in Uganda. Using documentary review, tweets and interviews, the findings indicate the rise of individual merit under multi-party politics in Uganda and that, independents in parliament who still have allegiance to parties have selfish interest, they are given money to compete, support and stay within the party. Those interested in the party, is because of the favors which are not sustainable in the long run.

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### I. INTRODUCTION

Individual merit has over the years seen to overtake party politics during multiparty dispensation in Uganda given the increasing number of independent candidates in the parliament of Uganda. Individual candidates have continued to win elections at the grass root where there is stiff competition among parties. This trend can be explained with the rapid increase in the number of independent candidates in the 10<sup>th</sup> Parliament in Uganda. The 10<sup>th</sup> parliament, has sixty six (66) independent members of parliament of which forty-four (44) are direct members, seventeen (17) are women MPs and five (5) special category (1).

Using Kyadondo East as a case study, the seat became vacant in April when the area MP Apollo Kantinti of FDC was thrown out of parliament after a court decision that cancelled his election on grounds of irregularities by the electoral commission (2). The Court of Appeal upheld High Court's decision to nullify the election of FDC's Apollo Kantinti as Kyadondo East Constituency Member of Parliament. Five candidates vied for the seat however, the competition was between three of them; Apollo Kantinti of FDC, Sitenda Sebalu of NRM and independent candidate Robert Kyagulanyi<sup>2</sup>, more popularly known as Bobi Wine. The other contenders who escorted were Sowedi Kayongo and Muwada Nkunyingi, both independents (3).

When local artiste Robert Ssentamu Kyagulanyi<sup>3</sup>, code-named "Bobi Wine" joined politics, there was little surprise. Lately, his music and social affiliations have been preparing the public, especially his core base,

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<sup>1</sup>Forum for Democratic Change

<sup>2</sup> In this manuscript, Robert Kyagulanyi Ssentamu, aka is the same as Bobi Wine-Bobi Wine is a stage name and the both names will be used interchangeably

<sup>3</sup>Stage named as Bobi Wine. In this manuscript, Bobi Wine will be used interchangeably to mean Robert Ssentamu Kyagulanyi. A Makerere University alumnus, who carried on his talent in 2002, while music fans were addicted on the Ogopa Deejays, Bebe Cool and Jose Chameleone. Kyagulanyi, opened another front on Kampala's urban music sight when he released Akagoma hit. It was altered; it had a Ugandan characteristics including the sound, and the fact that he had worked at trivial businesses to secure money to produce the single elevated him among the ghetto youth. He lineup up and worked with Bebe Cool to form the Fire Base Crew, and when they disagreed, he formed the Ghetto Republic of Uganja, entering arguments with Bebe Cool and

the urban poor youth for such a declaration. Kyagulanyi's transformation from a laid back youth, sporting dreadlocks and posing for pictures with marijuana turned him into a serious young man sporting a clean haircut and suit which has played out in the public eye.

## II. METHODS

The researcher and her research team followed the events from nomination to election and through celebrating victory. The methods were purely qualitative and involved, documentary review i.e., newspapers, tweets including interviews. Participants were interviewed on site where the rallies of Bobi Wine took place in different areas in Kyadondo constituency. The sampling technique was convenience sampling due to their availability, proximity and willingness to give information due to the excitement of the new Messiah in the political arena. The research worked with eight (8) research assistants to enable quality data collection. Majority of the respondents were interviewed in the local language because they are illiterate and self-employed so had enough time to follow their candidate. This research was done in the live environment during to avoid bias and get first-hand information. Data was analysed using different themes that were generated during the interviews.

## III. RESULTS

### Inspiration

The fact that he came from nowhere and he became an inspiration to many youths who have tried to emulate his music style. While other musicians lived glitzy lives, Kyagulanyi advanced in real estate and beaches. They belittled him as nothing more than a drug addict stimulating a crowd of addicts who turned into followers. Indeed, many were in disbelief when on September 26, 2008, he openly acknowledged that he smokes the marijuana he grows at his home in Magere. Fashioning himself Omubanda wa Kabaka<sup>4</sup>. His music was altered from mere performing and entertainment to social revitalized songs<sup>5</sup> which supported a spirit in the face of miserable poverty. Majority of his lyrics became soldiers fighting against poverty<sup>5</sup> which inspired young men start undertaking petty jobs to survive in Kampala<sup>(4)</sup>. By the 2011 general election, he had progressed to political songs. After his declaration for the MP seat in 2017, he was quick to say that, "I am not in for politics but leadership<sup>6</sup>"<sup>(5)</sup>. The time tally of votes was planned, the populace targeted, timing was right and they knew that, Bobi Wine would win the race (6).

### Political participation

The brother to Kyagulanyi commonly called Eddie Yawe<sup>7</sup> contends that, there was never any adjustment in the singer. "Majority of humans are greedy hence political animals"<sup>(7-14)</sup>. When he was young man, he had a negative attitude towards politics but as he grew up, he became more inclined to adjustments into what he was willing to fight for. He referred to his contesting as (Kyagulanyi's contesting) "political madness<sup>(15-17)</sup> enforced onto him by state of affairs in the country."

Kyagulanyi was a secret admirer of Dr Kizza Besigye, the former Forum for Democratic Change (FDC) presidential flag bearer, before the 2016 general election, he came out of the unrevealed. While local artistes were falling over themselves to get a share of President Museveni's Tubonga Nawe project, Kyagulanyi belittled them. When Besigye was imprisoned after the elections, in his home and at Luzira Upper Prison, Kyagulanyi visited him. By this time, he had abandoned his shaggy locks for a natural haircut. According to Yawe, his socialising with Besigye was Kyagulanyi's major undoing. "Besigye always stood by Kantinti and since FDC brought as their candidate, Besigye had to follow the party line and Bobi had to confront the politics of hypocrisy." His grandfather was a chief in Kanabulemu (Rakai District), and his father's family participated

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Chameleone that are still on to date. As the 'president' of Uganja, Kyagulanyi cut a characteristic image clean but frayed, pointed dreadlocks, and red-glazed eyes defined him.

<sup>4</sup>Kabaka's royal son, Kyagulanyi situated himself to be the defender Buganda's causes.

<sup>5</sup>Such as, Kadingo, Kiwani, and Akalimu, which supported a spirit in the face of miserable poverty. The lyrics as tuli baserikale tulwanyisa yala literaaly meaning "we are soldiers fighting against poverty" in Mazi Mawanvu literally meaning "deep water-he landed" reverberated with young men's beginning to stop despising petty jobs in Kampala

<sup>6</sup>This was just hours after the Court of Appeal upheld a lower court decision that nullified the election of FDC's Apollo Kantinti as Kyadondo East Constituency Member of Parliament (MP)

<sup>7</sup> Eddie Yawe is a big brother to Bobi Wine. He is a member of the Democratic Party (DP), has contested in elective politics twice in 2011 and 2016 and lost

in the guerrilla war that brought Museveni into power<sup>8</sup>. Fred Nyanzi Alias<sup>9</sup> is a Chairman Nyanzi for Conta Africa Zone, Kamwokya and Kyagulanyi's older brother who is a loyal NRM supporter.

### **The dirty arm of politics in Uganda**

It's one thing to sing political songs such as Situka<sup>10</sup>, but it is another to get into the actual game. The 'ugly' arm of government that was unleashed against Kyagulanyi during the campaigning period and day of election was wanting. Ugandans witnessed the Kamuli by-election was full of ugly fights and many had anticipated the same for Kyadondo East. Blood is thicker than water, the chairman Nyanzi was alleged to have said that, "am ready to defy my party to support my brother. "I will protect his votes because I have been with vote thieves and I know how they work. I really do not see the change my party is bringing. Imagine, I am a chairman without legitimacy. I think the insecurity nowadays is caused by government's failure to conduct Local Council elections."

Majority politicians who subscribe to political parties alleged that, "as an Independent candidate, Kyagulanyi was not seen to be a person with a break through since he didn't belong to any party system with structures at his disposal to canvas for votes and protect them. He had no knowledge and experience about politics and the game of stealing votes," they added that, "his candidature will be like pouring water into a leaky sack. Politics is poison and there is no linkage with a team that can withstand that poison." Many wished him to stand as DP candidate, because his family supports DP and DP had the capacity to protect his votes and attract NRM people to vote for him on the election day that normally starts largely peacefully but later soils by a series of chaotic episodes that involves locals and security personnel, particularly around Kasangati country resort where voters claimed there was intent of vote rigging<sup>11</sup> (18) other clashes saw security operatives in running battles with reported trouble makers.

### **Opportunities**

Kyagulanyi had the constituency of urban youth and he made his wealth outside politics. However, he has never shied away from marijuana; once he claimed that, "it enhanced his creativity". According to participant observation, "Kyagulanyi's image before and now has a good story ending, you cannot treat a messy wound without digging into it. He has shown he can adapt to all situations." He further claimed that, "Ugandans have been babanda (thugs) before during the bush war, President Museveni authorized robbery of cows, chickens, and banks for survival." The majority of the voters who moved along with Kyagulanyi during his rallies, "needed to see the end result, not his origins. He had the will of the people and it's their prayer that he pays allegiance to them."

### **Personality assessment**

In 2017, Kyagulanyi was involved in a public disagreement with Nkuluze Trust (Mengo's Royal Treasury) when the latter destroyed a car parking facility and lane leading to his one love beach in Busabala, Wakiso District. Mengo accused him for illegally occupying the land and Kyagulanyi took the higher moral ground when he decided to say a few self-seekers in Mengo not the entire institution had destroyed his land. While he had no control of his fanatical devotees who also chose to respond to Mengo in support of Bobi including some gang stars who posted audio recordings on social media, abusing the Kabaka something that was previously unheard of conduct in Buganda. "What transpired at Busabala was erroneous and demeaning," nonetheless "Kyagulanyi is Kabaka's child and pays allegiance to the Buganda Kingdom and did a lot to promote the Kingdom begging to the Katikkiro<sup>12</sup> for an audience to resolve the issue." (19).

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<sup>8</sup>Metamorphosis. While local artistes were falling over themselves to get a share of President Museveni's Tubonga Nawe project (campaign song), Robert Ssentamu Kyagulanyi, aka Bobi Wine, scorned them. When Dr Kizza Besigye was imprisoned after the elections, Kyagulanyi visited him. By this time, he had ditched his shaggy locks for a natural haircut

<sup>9</sup>When I joined politics, my brothers wanted to use me as a channel for their political ideas but that was not possible. They got to a point where merely singing was not changing the status quo. So, they have decided to follow me into politics." In preparation for his bid in elective politics, in August 2016, the artiste joined the International University of East Africa to pursue a degree in Law, and he flee to the USA to study a short course.

<sup>10</sup>The literally gives hope.

<sup>11</sup>A particular incident that, saw NRM chairman for Wakiso district Abdu Kiyimba forced out of a polling station and also candidate Nkuningi blocked from voting at a polling station because his name was not on that particular voter's register. The disagreements led to Nkuningi's arrest and detention at Kasangati Police Station and later he was reportedly hospitalized due to injuries said to have incurred during the elections.

<sup>12</sup>The Prime Minister of Buganda

### **Electoral process management**

Voting materials were delivered at most of the 93 polling stations in the Kyadondo East constituency by 5:00am. While voting was expected to start at exactly 7:00am. Voting as an activity delayed by 10 to 20 minutes at some polling stations but all the materials had at least been delivered. The populace argued that, transparency is crucial for peace to prevail and by the time the elections started, the Electoral Commission officials, candidates' agents, observers and security personnel were all present (20).

### **Declared winner by the Electoral Commission**

It was not a surprise during the election day to hear that, there was an early tentative lead and unofficial results from the Kyadondo East parliamentary by-election indicated Robert Kyagulanyi aka Bobi Wine had got a good start. Bobi wine anticipated a clear lead from about 5% of 93 polling stations, who's tallying was broadcasted live on TV<sup>13</sup>. At one centre, Kazinga, tentative results showed Bobi wine got 264 votes, Sitenda 46, Kantinti 11, Sowedi 0 and Muwada 5. Up to 72,818 voters were expected to cast their votes, choosing from among the five candidates contesting for the vacant MP<sup>14</sup> seat. The Kyadondo seat fell vacant in April following a Court of Appeal ruling that upheld an earlier ruling by the High Court which overturned FDC Apollo Kantinti's win, because of the Electoral Commission's non-compliance with electoral laws (6). His win marks the landslide in Kyadondo East signified a new shift in Uganda's politics. Voters had already predicted that, President Museveni and NRM<sup>15</sup> were to lose this time round (6).

The musician who later turned into a politician after challenging four of his run mates including NRM's William Sitenda Ssebalu, FDC's Apollo Kantinti, and independents Nkuningi Muwada and Dr. Sowedi Kayongo Male finally succeeded. Votes from 93 polling stations were tallied across the constituency, Electoral Commission returning officer Francis Nkurunziza, announced and declared Kyagulanyi winner at 9.42pm local time(21, 22).Bobi Wine gathered a winning by 25,659 votes<sup>16</sup>, Ssebalu got 4,566 votes, Kantinti managed 1,832 votes, Nkuningi had 575 and Kayongo received 377 votes.The number of valid votes was 32,999, the invalid ones were 311 and 41 votes got spoilt and the total number of votes cast was 33,310.

Although NRM was defeated in the race they shared victory with the musician who turned into a politician and argued that, "we thank you for the support, although we lost the race, but certainly not the struggle. We shall reorganize for 2021." Kyagulanyi won the race with an overwhelming 25,659 votes out of about 32,000 votes cast. His victory is "a clear evidence that the NRM's efforts in nurturing electoral democracy has extended to an equitable stage that should be protected resentfully by all Ugandans. The reason for the struggle by Yoweri Museveni was to counterattack autocratic regimes that had no admiration for electoral laws and the constitution." Precisely NRM conceded defeat and acknowledged Kyagulanyi, an indication that, the wave could barely be realized in the government establishments before 1986. NRM maintained that other political parties should follow suit to accept defeat rather than baseless claims of election rigging (23).

### **After winning**

Robert Kyagulanyi AKA Bobi Wine Musician-turned-politician was declared winner of the hotly contested by-election race in Kyadondo East by-election (3, 24) amidst military police deployment. According to the deputy IGP<sup>17</sup> the Military police (red tops) also arrived to beef up security (3). Kasangati resort chaos: Kyagulanyi's agents accused NRM agents of stuffing ballots (3). Anti-riot police stepped in to quell riotous situation at Kasangati Resort.

He promised to reconcile the leaders of Kyadondo East. He emphasized that, "I want politics to bring us together just like music does". Moments before the declaration of the final results by the Electoral Commission at the Ssaza grounds tallying centre in Kasangati, Bobi Wine, alleged that, "his victory party had long started in Kasangati, Kamwokya and Busaabala (his beach) as well as other areas". A first-timer in the voting politics, Bobi Wine on the Election Day expressed confidence that he would rise to the occasion and take a seat previously occupied by rival Kantinti.

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<sup>13</sup>Television

<sup>14</sup>Member of Parliament

<sup>15</sup>National Resistance Movement

<sup>16</sup>Kyadondo East constituency has always been won by hair-thin margins even in 2006, Sam Njuba, the former FDC national chairman, defeated Ssebalu by 23 votes, 2011 Ssemujju Nganda defeated Ssebalu by 15,000 votes while, in 2016, the margin between Kantinti and the NRM candidate was 326 votes.

<sup>17</sup> Inspector General Government

Indeed, he arose the victoriously submerging two major party representatives in Ssebalu (NRM) and Kantinti (FDC). Despite the dramatic episodes that unfolded, Bobi Wine's vibrant supporters had started celebrating ultimate victory long before the tallying of the votes (25) and director media center Ofwono Opondo and former FDC party president Dr. Kiiza Besigye tweeted and congratulated Bobi Wine (20). Two major parties in the race conceded defeat through secretary general Nathan Nandala Mafabi and FDC politician Dr. Kizza Besigye congratulated him (26). Out in the streets, supporters of the musician jubilated an obstructing victory even before the official announcement. Bobi Wine joins another musician in the 10th Parliament: Judith Babirye, Woman MP for Buikwe district (21, 27, 28).

#### **Pictures showing support of the musician**



Campaigns while supporters cheer (29) Robert in company of Dr Besigye. (19)

#### **Why Bobi Wine triumphed and Sitenda Ssebalu, Kantinti lost**

The minute Bobi was announced the winner, it threw the musician onto the big state political platform and the role of the political parties was brought into scrutiny. He made history in the sense that, he is the only person who ended a parliamentary term of the incumbent with such a huge number of votes more so challenging the strongest opposition party in Uganda (FDC) that had held on the seat for the last 11-year-long. What is really shocking is not the victory its self, but the surprise wide-margin got many political experts speculating what went wrong with the two main political parties; NRM and FDC! Change is a fact of life and social changes are necessary evils that take any shape. The independent candidate's more than 20,000 votes margin against his closest rivals, William Sitenda Ssebalu of NRM and Apollo Kantinti of FDC, could have lessened the significance of political parties in elections in Uganda.

The result of the by-elections in Kyadondo East were purely everything to do with the individual charm of candidates themselves rather than their political parties. Whatever the case, Bobi Wine's victory had unintentionally wrapped the political destiny of the two renowned candidates who were the runners-up.

Sitenda Sebalu has contested five times for the same position, only winning once in 2001. In politics, this can be termed as failure. NRM should front another candidate to compete favorably with the self-made Bobi Wine on the other hand, Kantinti tried in 2010 but he didn't make it in the party preliminaries nevertheless when FDC should front strong vibrant candidates if they are to continue winning elections and by-elections. In 2016, Kantinti narrowly defeated Ssebalu and claimed the constituency for 15 months. It should be noted that Kyadondo East was reduced to a sub-county after the creation of Kira municipality.

There are many theories that explain why both Ssebalu and Kantinti lost in the hotly contested election this time round. In spite of Ssebalu's wins in NRM party preliminaries against Stella Njuba, he remains a disruptive person in the community. Other schools of thought argue that, this blow has put an end to his political career unless president Museveni gives him a status of political appointment. It should be noted that, Museveni is not a looser, it might be in his interests to put him aside. While he has been in political field for some good time, this in some way has turned out a disadvantage after accumulating a number of enemies. Some of the NRM supporters said that; "there are many NRM supporters who would never vote for Ssebalu even if there was a

sole party candidate or the only one standing.”“It’s time for NRM to rethink the type of candidates that they present as party candidates a cross the country”.

According to Ofwono Opondo the executive director of the Uganda Media Center while participating on Capital Ganga, he said that, “the president faulted the voters” in the last days of the campaign Museveni also NRM chairman was quoted having said that, “if you send to parliament wrong MPs who are not supporters of NRM, you will not benefit from governments’ programmes in terms of resource allocation and this statement didn’t appeal to the voters.” It is not the first time for president Museveni to make such a statement while campaigning for NRM candidates and time has come for his personal secretary to fill the gap in terms of packaging the message. It should not be forgotten that Museveni has been in power for some time and during this long period he failed to walk the talk and sometimes delivery to his promises. The NRM regime is also known for over promising and under delivering which affects voter behavior. Museveni needs to understand that, some level of Ugandans had nothings to lose anymore and the trends are disproving his theories and this calls for a change of strategy. It should be noted that, even constituencies that voted for NRM candidates are necessarily better off in service delivery for the president’s assertion to make sense to the voters. Uganda’s parliament has up 70% NRM MPs: does this mean that, 70% of Uganda has improved service delivery? If not, then his theory has been disproved by non-other than Bobi Wine. It is time for NRM MPs to begin demanding accountability from government, and themselves or else this wave will end up sweeping majority of them come 2021.

### **Why Bobi wine won the vote**

- 1) On the day he was nominated the numbers that followed him threatened those in the race and reduced the doubt that he is capable. Many electorates feared to cast their vote to lose so they decided to join his camp.
- 2) He used music to send his message to the public.
- 3) He has worked with the director KCCA to remove street kids off the street back to their homes up country.
- 4) He is a popular musician whose type of music has been a sole to their motivation to work hard and forget the rough times i.e., 2006 he released a song<sup>18</sup> on Getto, which implies that he cares for the local person.
- 5) The wanting upbringing in which he was raised made him a fighter and a motivator of those who come from the same background. He has announced himself as a president of Getto & those who are living in areas that are still backwards especially the poor see him as their leader.
- 6) He became a counsellor to Besigye when he lost to Museveni and he asked him “situka otambula<sup>19</sup>” literally meaning stand up again and walk.
- 7) He was a popular artist. He has spent quite a good time in the field hence well known by the electorate and so he didn’t need to reach out to every voter so that they can vote for him.
- 8) The conflicts that have been in the political field helped him to win voters from all other camps. Sitenda Sebalu had a camp headed by Gatrude Njuba who didn’t support him. Apolo Kantiti who belongs to FDC especially those coming from Buganda didn’t support him. Every electorate who had wrangles in their camps were seeking refuge in Kyagulanyi’s camp hence winning the election.
- 9) Dr. Kiiza Basigye although he was not in support with Kyagulanyi his message was that, even if Bobi won he did not have a problem with it. He said that, in the campaign, he had three people i.e., Kantiti, Kyagulanyi and Nkunjingi, and he believed that, if any of the three goes through he is in business and will consider himself a winner. This made Dr. Basigye’s sympathizers to believe that even if they voted for Kyagulanyi there is no problem.
- 10) Politician from Buganda disassociated themselves from the people they are competing with. Although Kantiti had support from all leaders in FDC but the problem was that, most of them were coming from outside Buganda and the voters didn’t know them since they were not popular to the electorate in the area. Although Kyagulanyi didn’t have MPs supporting and moving around with him, his camp had (Emmaual Serunjoji -Kawempe Mayor, Ali Kasirye Nganda –Mayor Makindye, Serunjogi Musoke-Mayor Kampala Central, Julius Mutebi-Mayor –Kiira, Ronald Balimwezo –Mayor Nakawa, Frank Gashumba and many others) (30).
- 11) There was a message that, youth wanted change. They wanted to get a person who is like them, who cares for them, and understands their problems. Although there were other two contestants in the race like Kantiti and Muwadda Nkunjingi but they didn’t see them behaving like young stars. The youth were the majority and this was evidenced in the lines at the polling station.
- 12) He didn’t involve himself in the NRM group artist song commonly called “Tubonga nawe”, Kaydondo East Constituency commonly known to be for FDC supporters and over whelmingly vote for Dr. Kiiza Besigye was an advantage.

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<sup>18</sup>Kikomando, ebibuzo & tugambile ku Jeniifer Mussis the director of KCCA

<sup>19</sup>Stand up and walk

- 13) Bobi Wine had been speaking openly that, for you to know that I care for you, I refused to get involved in the movement song commonly called “Tubonga nawe” although they had promised to pay him a lot of money.
- 14) Apollo Kantinti the former MP of the area had portrayed a lot of weaknesses in the eyes of the people. He was the minister of communication in the shadow government and he equally had the same responsibilities with the communication minister Frank Tumwebazze of NRM government, but he did not say anything even when the matters arising fell in his docket ministry. The nine months in parliament he never said, any word in committees, on the floor just absenteeism and he didn’t go back to the electorates as he promised.
- 15) Kyadondo East is near the City of Kampala and the voters have similar characteristics like those in Kampala City. They want people who are able to speak the voice of the electorate and people who listen in parliament.
- 16) The message Bobi used to the voters while looking for the voters, many loved the message because he was not exchanging with anyone, abusing colleagues in other camps.
- 17) Standing without any political party was also helpful because it gave the electorate chance to support him without fear or favor. Many NRM electorates were in support and they said that, the person they voted had no dent which argument was similar to other political parties like FDC and DP (30).
- 18) As a norm before and after voting, the electorate must be thanked it’s only a way to show remorse to those who didn’t go through and those who went through it’s a big up since the elected has received honorable chance to start a new respectable and luxurious life (31, 32). At around 5pm Saturday 01.07.2017, he joined the crowd, addressed them, danced with them, sung for them, and later served them with roasted meat amidst happiness (32, 33).
- 19) Surprise appearances in city night clubs including Guvnor in the City center. He tried to prove that MPs can be anybody doing anything including clubbing. He connected to the populace in a free style and this was combined by fresh victory when the self-proclaimed Ghetto president sent fans screaming as he entered the club at about half past midnight. They used their phones trying to take his photograph and steal a selfie moment with him.
- 20) Sense of ownership, representation was taken to mean that you are like us and you are one of us, you understand us and you can help us using Kyadondo standards.
- 21) Bobi Wine’s responsiveness to scandalous challenges in his life and marriage became a source of endless, bright gossip of becoming a politician became a source of conflict with fellow musicians Jose Chameleon and Bebe Cool a backbone of the gossip columns which increased his popularity and most importantly he slowly detached himself from such triviality shaping himself a titleholder of average Ugandans, a supporter against the social status quo and also self-seasoned business man.
- 22) When other Ugandan stars took money to sing for Museveni’s 2016 election campaign, Wine refused the cash and withstood the pressure. Instead he released a song ‘Dembe’<sup>20</sup> calling for non-violence in a country although elections are a time of teargas, gunfire and heavy-handed police. After his by-election win, ‘Dembe song’ hit the radio stations & local speakers of self-plagiarized DVD in Kamwokya suburb.
- 23) Voter frustration caused by previous elected MPs with no representation and they are ghosts on the ground. In politics, there is no political party with less numbers and there are no small men. Standing as an independent, Wine defeated established candidates from both Museveni’s ruling NRM and the main opposition FDC parties.
- 24) While Wine is an outstandingly known Ugandan artist. For many, he exemplifies the brawls, obstructions and confidences of the young, poor and downgraded in a youthful nation whose often elderly rulers can seem indifferent of their dilemma.
- 25) Robert Kyagulanyi, aka Bobi Wine, jumped into the old schoolboy’s political pond and accomplished his mission of dislocating those who had developed self-satisfaction because of political party support and twisted the political puddle into their high-class territory. He has experience and a good understanding of the essential factors that are necessary for a successful battle to parliament.
- 26) Wine, has a compelling personal story of rising as a folk hero of Uganda’s underdogs whose plight he captured in his well-loved music. He bowed stumbling chunks into walking stones (challenges made opportunities)(34).
- 27) He has remained true to his roots. Nicknamed himself the ghetto president, he truly represents a complex pattern of interests. Ghettos universally are not of any exclusive group. Ghettos are sentimental pots that can produce anything. Bobi Wine exemplifies that a sentimental pot hence his victory.
- 28) He had a comprehensible message demanding for all-inclusiveness of all in political judgement making bodies like parliament. This message attracted and interested the voters who felt that the political higher layer is unresponsive and indifferent to their calls. He embodied the hindrance of young people whose

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<sup>20</sup>Meaning Freedom in the local Luganda language

shouts endure unheard and using his songs, he tinted serious social problems. Music controlled the campaign(34).

- 29) He watched in disappointment as his associates in the music industry fell for the seduction of money and power when they twisted into a response of government admiration singers. This made him sound out and when he requested voters to close the gaps, there was no doubt he was a tested Wine indeed. He was looked at as the oppressed, seen as somebody to intensify their calls of suffering and perhaps get a rejoinder indeed the message was sent across the president should have plans for the Ghetto by now before 2021. Decision makers have ignored the ghetto, so the ghetto decided to run after Parliament and ensure that the Ghetto is also taken care of. This symbolized a mile stone of gang stars in spite of Wine's performance.
- 30) The arrangement of Bobi Wine's campaign was formless. That lack of an outline and construction injected the crusades against destructive forces that would target key campaign team members and negotiated the done deals. His team was a fetch-all maneuver. All gatherings, get together, parties, religions and ethnic groups were characterized. Bobi Wine presented himself as a "man of all season and for everybody as long as you are disadvantaged". Independent, No party, no faith and no tribe. His only symbol was a detestation for the status quo. It was a disorderly, insurgent anti-establishment crusade. He fashioned himself as an irresistible movement that requested any prepared person to board and all roads led them to parliament(34).
- 31) In the months that headed the final nullification of Kyadondo East elections Bobi Wine appeared to have undergone under cover assembling a substantial crusade war trunk. The logistical procedures behind those shows of support, the deafening sound classifications, contemporary platforms, groups and clips all need a sizable funding and given his business penetration and networks, influence and linkages did not run a bankrupt campaign. His monetary influence was able to endure the NRM's bombardment(34).

It should be noted that while Bobi Wine was congratulated with early leads by all political party leaders and their representative, history has it that he is the new political star perhaps the first truthfully national leader to arise from Buganda in post-independence Uganda. The political grapevine class of Buganda that continuously studies the way the wind blows before making a move were left confused and into misapprehension. They were loud by their silence and noticeable by their nonappearance. All party leaders must be anticipating this sensational miracle. It is not novel but the victor is novel by his characteristics. Luckily politicians are flexible and not sensitive to modest baked dish with recipes.

### **Singing as gift, profession and legislature**

Bobi Wine promised to sing inparliament in order to make his point. He had kept people guessing on whether he will at one time join politics or not. While appearing on NTV Uganda, a sister station to monitor newspaper, he openly declared his intentions to contest for the Kyadondo East constituency seat that fell vacant. Many thought he was registering as DP or FDC, because his family and he was a close friend to former FDC president, Dr Kizza Besigye. Due to the mentor ship and long friendship with Dr. Besigye, chances were high that he would come under the flagship of the largest opposition political party, FDC. It should be noted that Bobi Wine caused chaos in the party that left the leadership divided where some supported the flag bearer and others Katinti.

In his message, am not a statesman but I have come to offer my leadership skills. Most times I have been talking about issues that affect our people evidenced in my songs. I am the one you need, the one that, understands you better, I have suffered the in the same way you have. I am, your son a common person and take me where decisions are made and I promise to represent you (3).

Affirmatively Bobi promised to practice the message in his songs. He further argued that, "I have spent fifteen years preparing for this move and a lot of time singing, but I have come to learn that even if you sing so many songs but when you have not reached the real places of decision making and also participate, it's a waste of time. That is why I have also offered myself this time" (35).

One of his plans for the people was his voice in parliament to talk on their behalf. He added that, "incase his voice is not heard, at least he will resort to singing on the floor of Parliament and that may sink his message to the concerned authorities". One can argue that, "this is the very reason why Bobi made it to parliament. He is not the first celebrated local musician to join the 10th Parliament as there were already renowned gospel singer Judith Babirye who is the Buikwe District Woman representative and Kato Lubwama a musician and a comedian"(28).

### **Political negotiations**

Forum for Democratic Change [FDC] refused to support the popular musician Robert Kyagulanyi Ssentamu aka Bobi Wine in the 2017 concluded elections in Kyadondo East by-election. The party confirmed that Apollo Kantinti, is the flag bearer in 2017 just like he was in 2016, whose election was nullified by the High court and the nullification upheld by the Court of Appeal (28, 36) even Dr. Besigye his longtime friend and



mentor failed to convince Bobi Wine to wait for 2021 and he continued to pursue his dream by informing the electorate why him(28, 37).

The courts argued that, “Electoral Commission didn’t adhere to electoral laws when it declared Kantinti winner.”The FDC spokesperson Ibrahim Ssemujju Nganda<sup>21</sup> was quick to assert that, “as a party, they cannot organize fresh party primaries for the constituency and this is the tradition.” This gave Kantinti an automatic license to become the official candidate of FDC. The party can only prepare primaries if there is evidence that its current position holder can’t win. There were efforts within FDC party to speak to the two candidates in the race but it didn’t bare any fruits: did this explain that the party deputy president in charge of Buganda and Lubaga division mayor, Joyce Ssebugwawo<sup>22</sup> failed to do her task?

Zeroing to one candidate is a key success factor in party politics as Namboozee unequivocally confirmed that, “it has to be done in way that doesn’t dishearten the electorate since the results from the race were anticipated to be so bad for the opposition.” It’s not about them agreeing but it’s about party leaders making a decision. There is need for parties to establish research departments to understand their voter behavior before fielding a candidate. Effective selection of MPs is key since opposition are the minorities in parliament facing 400 MPs from the NRM(28).

The poor performance of Kantinti in parliament for one and half years since February 2016 led to the electorate to abandon him over Bobi Wine. When he realized that he is about to lose the race, he requested Bobi to wait until 2021, and pleaded to let him to accept and allow him to complete his term. He further argued that, “if Dr. Besigye is really still FDC, he shouldn’t side with the group bringing him down”(38). Party leaders became very pitiable and self-conscious that some supporters hate to think that, they have ever supported the respective parties. This explains why Ugandans have changed their voter behaviors to individualist politics were the electorate feel safe by with capable leaders who are like them.

### **Kyadondo arena prompted confusion in FDC**

An internal war began in Forum for Democratic Change (FDC) as popular musician Robert Kyagulanyi alias Bobi Wine threatened to grab the most powerful opposition party’s stronghold of Kyadondo East. Kyadondo East a constituency, which never attracted noteworthy attention, had by the May 2017 turned into a complicated battlefield that left the MP seat fall into the hands of an independent candidate. If properly managed FDC would have grabbed the seat least, Bobi Wine gripped the ‘defiance vote’. While the situation was hoped to favor NRM’s Sitenda Sebalu this wasn’t the case. Indeed, the incumbent party ‘mishandled’ the vulnerable vote. FDC officials openly exchanged insults on social media over the Kyadondo East race as follows;

According to Kabaziguruka through ChimpReports he confirmed that, a primary election was held in 2016 to determine the FDC flag-bearer during which Kantinti emerged victorious. However, this victory was challenged in a petition to the party’s EC. The working committee resolved to uphold Kantinti’s victory hence his participation in the general elections.

In 2016, Bobi Wine wanted to contest for the Kampala Central MP seat but dragged his feet, perhaps feared to lose to firebrand Mohammed Nsereko. In 2011, Bobi also reflected taking part in Kyadondo East MP race but he wasn’t ready and didn’t feel confident so changed his mind at the last minute. When court declared the seat vacant, Bobi Wine appeared inspired that it’s the right time to join politics. His first step he visited FDC Dr Kizza Besigye at his home in Kasangati. Besigye couldn’t risk to support a candidate the party he formed has not fronted. This doesn’t mean that he discounted Bobi’s support for FDC political programmes including the defiance campaign not forgetting the fact that the singer on several occasions has publicly praised Besigye’s works hence winning the admiration of the statesman’s huge fan base. It became impossible for FDC to withdraw their candidate in his favour. While “Bobi Wine wanted get the party ticket and remove Kantinti from the race although he has been an associate with the struggle of change of power in Uganda, his political inclination was not clear to FDC since he was not an FDC card holder”

Bobi’s participation in the race left FDC divided.

Some FDC officials maintained that while the party had endorsed Kantinti; Bobi Wine would make a better MP given his oratory skills and nationwide appeal.

The so-called Kantinti’s poor performance in Parliament.

Many acknowledged that Bobi Wine had a national fan base which FDC would tap into for political mobilization against President Museveni.

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<sup>21</sup>Opposition chief whip in 10<sup>th</sup> parliament in Uganda

<sup>22</sup> Both Kantinti and Bobi Wine were mentored by FDC States Man and the Mukono Municipality MP argued that, this will boost their chances of winning. Besigye was said to be close to both Bobi Wine and Kantinti, which complicated his decision on who of the two he will support during the by-election.

Previously, Bobi's brand would attract younger fans, including NRM supporters, to the FDC party. They also called for a fresh primary election to elect the FDC flag-bearer.

The traditionalist FDC leaders emptied disrespect on these proposals, saying Bobi Wine has never been a party card holder.

Supporters of the incumbent Kantinti would not envision a situation where a verified member of the party would be left alone in favor of a new political contestant whose loyalty and approval remain vague.

Members chanted that they have never supported an independent against any FDC contestant, maintaining that, "they are not about to start doing that now. They respect and stick to the FDC establishment and its constitution" (39).

### **Stronghold ship of FDC**

Many times Dr. Besigye conveyed his gratification with the fact that his area of tenancy (Kasangati) and origin (Rukungiri) were represented in Parliament by FDC which was no longer the case after Bobi's appearance in the political fight and he won the race. NRM too worked hard but didn't exploit opportunities such as divisionism to take Besigye's home to NRM. While it would be a good point to be used by NRM leaders to destabilize Besigye, and label his party as too weak to amalgamate political support in his inhabited area. Indeed, Kyadondo East was FDC's stronghold and a historical Constituency although lost to independent. The possibility available is FDC should win Bobi Wine in their party. "This election was very critical for FDC and their failure to manage the situation by adopting to change costed the party and gave a lesson to all political parties that the landscape of politics in Uganda has changed and unless they adopt to change, then change will force their political parties to change! It was just a matter of situation analysis they all knew the performance of the flag bearer was not at its best and they got a clean and smart option that they never utilized hence the chance long gone. This explains why Kyadondo East election posed a heated debate since it was beyond the contestants and it became a Besigye-Museveni election at heart and the People's President a reflection on the election was very serious and heated." Politicians, policy makers, campaigning managers, political parties and independent candidates should learn that, the theory of "Party interest takes precedence" has been disproved by Bobi Wine during the 2017 Kyadondo East by-election.

### **Attractiveness in the politic arena**

Since the inception and all through Bobi Wine's rallies' attracted hundreds of supporters who turned into a big win. Kyadondo East is not entirely urban but a semi peri urban area. "Majority youth went with Bobi. It was urged that the rural conservative didn't vote for him. His ghetto brand associated with smoking weed unsettled the locals in rural areas of Kyadondo."

The race wasn't forthright since it put the populace to a test to choose between Besigye and Bobi Wine. Dr. Besigye publicly backed Kantinti, and political analysts argued that, "this would lessen Bobi's chances to win the vote certainly not and this injured Kantinti and NRM's Sebalu." The inner circles of some FDC officials argued that Bobi Wine should have accepted to wait until 2021 rather than putting Dr. Besigye into the spotlight while hands are tied yet truth be told Bobi is the "true activist" compared to Kantinti. Ugandans didn't know Kantinti until he was dragged to court and that, unfortunately speaks volumes in politics and determines a vote in Uganda (40). Several Ugandans twitted with the observer, one of the local English newspapers on the same subject matter and below is what they said;

Musau Muzamiru, [June 29, 2017 at 6:05 pm](#); "bobi wine thanks for your contesting"

MALINGA ALEX, [June 29, 2017 at 7:12 pm](#); "Let us pray, leadership comes from GOD".

Rogers, [June 29, 2017 at 7:20 pm](#); "Bobi Wine, Go Ahead with winning..."

Hassan, [June 29, 2017 at 7:25 pm](#); "Wawo Bobi Go On Man"

JUNIOR BENJAMIN, [June 29, 2017 at 7:39 pm](#); "thanks friends for voting, let's just pray for BOBI WINE."

Alex Aloka, [June 29, 2017 at 7:39 pm](#); "Thank u BOBI !"

Kibodhe Julius, [June 29, 2017 at 7:58 pm](#); "That is it boby. Balagireko bwerere dear" literally meaning "show them your muscle by sweeping all the votes."

Mulati Benjamin, [June 29, 2017 at 8:00 pm](#); "thanks Bobi Wine, we trust you and believe you will make it."

Joshua, [June 29, 2017 at 8:07 pm](#); "yah, we believe you're going to change our nation". Respect Mr. Kyagulanyi.

Didas Kato, [June 29, 2017 at 8:09 pm](#); "Thx Bobi God is Great"

Wejjo Jonathan, [June 29, 2017 at 8:17 pm](#); "Cong's, God answers prayers. Who knew only God? He creates a way where there is no way. God in control."

mugwanya.s, [June 29, 2017 at 8:34 pm](#); "Congratulations bobi"

LUKOOYA clovis, [June 29, 2017 at 8:31 pm](#); "Thanx to God bobi akikoze".

mwase abdu, [June 29, 2017 at 8:41 pm](#); "Man that's agood spirit of expression, even here at iganga comprehensive, we support u bro"

mukaaya samuel capetown, [June 29, 2017 at 8:49 pm](#), "bobi wine was must win"

mukaaya samuel capetown, [June 29, 2017 at 8:51 pm](#); "its our win funs of omubanda wa kabaka  
Jobson, [June 29, 2017 at 8:55 pm](#); "it z great 4 bobi -achikoze thax be 2 god"  
Lawrence, [June 29, 2017 at 9:07 pm](#); "Congs Bobi"  
Barnabas, [June 29, 2017 at 9:08 pm](#); "Bob yep"  
Baluku mileki, [June 29, 2017 at 9:21 pm](#); "congs Bobi"  
Baguma Justus, [June 29, 2017 at 9:23 pm](#); "bravo Bobi! Congs"  
SIMIYU SIMON, [June 29, 2017 at 9:35 pm](#); "Thanks 4 making new changes in the ctry i hope u a going 2make  
youths also 2 develop, congragulation God the provider."  
Mukirania Julius, [June 29, 2017 at 9:40 pm](#); "Congs Bobi, we support u here in Bundibugyo"  
Francis Ok, [June 29, 2017 at 9:41 pm](#); "That's Real"  
Mama Manjeeri, [June 29, 2017 at 9:43 pm](#); "Sadly he only represents Kyadondo. He is fir to speak for all the  
forgotten people of Uganda. Well done young man- a true warrior- go forth and make them eat dirt."  
Juliete, [June 29, 2017 at 9:59 pm](#); "Go Bobi, you deserve that seat"  
Magezi Jimmy Herbert, [June 29, 2017 at 10:02 pm](#); "Many congs Bobi wine, May God guide u well in ur  
political journey and please rimember ur people who have put u where u r now."  
nakimansi adiya, [June 29, 2017 at 10:07 pm](#); "congs HE owakabi"  
moris, [June 29, 2017 at 10:27 pm](#); "From No Where To Sme Wea Jah Bless U Bobi Lng Live M.P".  
JUNIOR BENJAMIN, [June 29, 2017 at 10:53 pm](#); "Congs Hon. Robert."  
James, [June 29, 2017 at 11:01 pm](#); "Don't shame us man like other MPs"  
BISOP AJJA, [June 29, 2017 at 11:29 pm](#); "Yeah man, one man, one love, one uganda, one people!"  
Natiwa Timothy, [June 29, 2017 at 11:47 pm](#); "bobie learn 2de dat leaders a born and thank u 4 discovering dat  
vision dat u had nt seen b4 u can do wel like nadala mafabi so keep up"  
M Savio, [June 30, 2017 at 12:48 am](#); "Congs Bobi I just like you"  
Alibarba Alphat, [June 30, 2017 at 10:46 am](#); "Verry soon you will be our president of Uganda"  
Bayo Richard, [June 30, 2017 at 11:53 am](#); "Congragulation. Represent all ugandan but not only people of  
kyadondo, be strong and strangle to be the next president."  
Martha Leah Nangalam [May 4](#), "FDC is hopeless. But the entire country is ruled by school drop outs anyway."  
jordanz omyat [May 4](#), "but who are intelligent and have leadership skills now what can that man of yours bobi  
wine do he cant even win 1 million votes"  
Martha Leah Nangalam [May 5](#), "Jordanz, do not say he is my man. You have no idea how much I detest him. I  
have never even listened to a single song of his. I don't gheto"  
Etuyambe [May 5, 2017](#), but "@FDCOfficial1 and stifling potential leaders and their aspirations. How is that  
different 4rm @NRMOnline's sole candidature?"  
Zlatan @nandnoah [May 6](#), "I hear "potential" leaders, you mean Bobi wine is among them he has thousands of  
achievements accredited to him for his community. What about you, done anything for your community lately?"  
hadijahnabosha [May 5](#), "If at all he has the capability why not"  
Kibuule Franco [May 4](#), "am sure @HEBobiwine has support of the neutrals, opposition & some NRMs. For  
@FDCOfficial1 & @kizzabesigye1 to support him is their decision. If u are a party built around the notion of  
defiance, u would then expect @HEBobiwine to defy the party position and go ahead n stand n win!"  
Martin Atuhairwe [May 5](#), "Please leave him to look for money"  
Zlatan [May 6](#), "Gone are the days when we used to have a REAL parliament, look at Kato Lubwama, now this  
magere boy full of weed"  
Musa Lugemwa [May 7](#), "we are fed up of puppet MPs (used as voting machines) Let's vote for people who  
understand our language. GO BOBI, we are behind you 100%"  
Mgodiez [May 5](#), "Let @HEBobiwine be patient till 2021 not to divide the opposition otherwise w lv him"  
Shaka [May 5](#), "Never judge a person by appearance. Sometimes the people you doubt surprise you than those  
you favor."  
Tinie phillip [May 4](#), "This is serious....politics is turning funny musicians are taking the lead. We gooooo"  
(38).

One member of Uganda Muslim brothers and sisters sent an email on their platform and Congratulated Honorable Kyagulanyi (aka Bobi Wine). During the 2016 campaigns he argued that, "the youths should take on a pro-active role to prepare themselves to take on the challenge of politics in Uganda." Though by then it was abit late to run for a parliamentary seat, I could read many youths gathering the determination. I could already see this tsunami coming, and I knew it would one day hit the land. This is a compassionate individual, who speaks sensibly and remained down to earth. He is engaged in meaningful socio-political debate and activism. He respects culture, understands today's downtrodden youths like no other. A supporting wife who bears with him even where other women might look down at how he remained attached to the dirty poor. And most of all, he struggled to work with all sides of today's polarized political divide. Again Congratulations

Honourable!In your next concert, please sing for me "Omuyindi talina bina"<sup>23</sup>." I used to disturb my bayindi female friends with that song.

Pictures of when voting started.



Source: Monitor and Newvision

Musician-turned-politician Robert Kyagulanyi



Pictures by New Vision(21)

### **Understanding peoples' situation**

<sup>23</sup>An Indian woman without a big bum

Quite a number of comments from the participants concerning Bobi Wine included the following; A market trader felt that, "Bobi grew up here, he has been on the ground and understands our situation." "I feel as if I know him somehow and I appreciate the things he has done for us. He has been singing about the dictatorship and their brutality," says the 27-year old. From 'Ghetto President' to real-life MP we expect a lot from him he should not disappoint the impoverished, urban youth who look up to him for hope and change(33).

### **Synthesizing Bobi Wine's win and its implication for Uganda**

Like in many countries, young people have had a legitimate voice using many channels of communication including social groups and social media to legitimize their voice and show their important role in society which NRM government has ignored for 30 years.

In his victory speech, Bobi said that, "29th June 2017 marked a turning point in the politics of Uganda and history was made." The people of Kyadondo East spoke and their voice was heard and widespread like a bush fire. The unquestionable triumph is evidence that, the people of Kyadondo, and indeed people of Uganda are prepared for a new breed of leadership. Leadership which truthfully characterizes them. The governance of the people, by the people and for the people in its true connotation. A direction in which the voters are truly sovereign and the leaders are true helpers!"

The success symbolized that, Ugandan political inclinations had changed. Kyadondo East by-elections realized very much passion that Uganda has not had for some noble and respectable time. Young crowds got involved in the voting processes with the greatest voter turnout than before. It also suggested that, individual politics and merit than political party strength and support had been approved by Ugandans and moving forward, it is individual strength not party takings.

Political camp sites were left in astonishment after crowds collaborated with the independent candidate's base camp which brought a big victory to the renowned, Hon. Kyagulanyi. It is evident that, the youth supported 'Bobi Wine', coupled with "strong" politicians from different political parties recognizing, bonding and uniting behind him including NRM paying their loyalty and promising to support and work as a team.

In line with political participation where many African countries' entitlement for national parliament started three decades ago, research indicated that, 1.65% of parliamentarians around the world are in their 20s and 11.87% are in their 30s, yet young people between the ages of 15 and 25 constitute a fifth of the world's population, Kyagulanyi's win shouldn't be a surprise and we should expect more of him to join the political space in Uganda(41). It indicates a period of alteration from reliance to individuality, freedom and liberation in electoral politics that relates to all civilizations and it serves as one of the essential philosophies of the international agenda regarding youth, self-confidence and confidence in society(2).

The transitional position articulates the theme of how and when young people will accomplish the prestige of being entirely active followers of society and thus obtain nationality in its meaning and scope. Like in many countries community groups, young people have had a genuine voice and play a significant role in society, but that voice has been waterlogged for a long period of time and their input to the society is not constantly collectively appreciated. Elders have continuously perceived this group customarily powerless of making decisions on their own which led to underrepresentation of youth in policy and decision-making processes which today can be perceived as a real risk to the future of participatory equity and equality. For many years, there has been political unresponsiveness and a lack of consciousness and attentiveness in joining traditional youth administrations, Low voter turnout and declining affiliation in political parties as well as democratic and governance activities(23).

Youth are no longer seen as inactive receivers of capital and other assets especially in semi-peri urban areas but rather as vigorous providers to their national development sponsors whose labor is recognized and participation is heartened. Youth are now independent of their parties and party pronouncements. Ugandans comprehend the role of institutionalization and contribution from the democratic point of view. Honoring the youth is a key success factor. Decision should be initiated by youth-led processes, i.e., movements, camps, high voter turnout, partnership, cooperation rather than competition, right to use of information, volunteers to safeguard the votes, and mostly a peaceful electoral procedure and smooth power transition(41).

Uganda youth are now expected to produce manifestations of their emotion and feeling. They are out of the category that will receive resources, decisions and opportunities to be offered to them, they desire to make a better life for themselves even with tests connected to globalization and other alternations in the world economy, as well as communal and cultural restraints contributing to the present negative setting for youth growth, contribution and involvement(2).

New involving arrangements have advanced and they are likely to be grounded on cooperative linkages and shared benefits. A conducive environment (legal and political contexts, strategies and tactics) for youth advancement, contribution and involvement is immediately needed if youth are to accomplish their full potential

and give to national growth. The atmosphere should offer chances for visibility and common voice. This strengthens their determination to sacrifice their time to the development of nations where they have equal stake and will be held accountable and responsible in future (41).

Young people are the forthcoming respectable citizens in preparation, a responsibility they have been denied; to lack of opportunities in education and political establishments, and youth are not 'losses' as often alleged, rather dissimilar and serious participants in equality. They are patterns of today's social equality. Youth have assumed the foremost role in arrangements that are used in demonstration as instruments that headed the after month social equality and declare the crucial need to excavate and grow democracy (41).

### **Bobi Wine messed, confused, fixed political parties and divided MPs**

The Kyadondo East by-election turned out like no other in the last three decades. All media houses got interested because it is a constituency that houses the major opposition leader in Uganda Dr. Besigye. Print media got interested because they predicted headline like "Bobi Wine beats Besigye and Museveni in Kyadondo", after Bobi Wine's win, it engraved to the claim that, politics is individual merit and it is no longer a game for politicians. Anyone can just jump in and win. Nonetheless, Otafiire was beaten and it is the best example one would give in the land and surprises like Lubwama from theatre to Parliament and Edith Babirye from the music industry. Is it legitimate?

Whether he had a chance to win or not, he offered himself and Ugandans knew it and liked him. NRM swept all by-elections and Kyadondo was anticipated not to be any different? This sounded like, the rigged songs, a situation that has been terrible in this country to the level that, even election observers appreciated. While the media was silent in many by-elections, Kyadondo is a peri-urban area. The mass media and the masses in a spotlight, defeated all NRM's attempts to rig the election. NRM ideology has always argued that, whenever opposition politicians are defeated, it turned into rigging song as the only justification opposition politicians can ever come up with. The altering inclination of business musicians and other comedians leaping into serious issues like legislations and policy making should not be entertained. The Parliament needs serious people, not just everybody claiming to be superstars and can serve in parliament.

Bobi assessed by Hon. Lokodo the minister and he scored 30% in terms of seriousness not politicking. They underestimated his potential as a youth given his past forgetting that his win is good for the People's Government in the Ghetto. Alternations are not comfortable and Ugandans need to come to terms with it that, the world has changed and, people like Trump are now winning elections not Clinton and the likes of the renowned veterans like Otafiire lost. Statistics proved that, the breed of conservative and very old politicians were overpowered by the new breed and brand of nobodies. When they were not sure of the lead, Kayihura sent in Military Police. There was no need to mess a good race in Kyadondo and thank God all went well in favor of the populace. In such situations, the government is always quick to deny that its only police and not military on the ground. There is need for a legislation on the increasing number of Independents. Respectable politics is when every candidate belongs to a political party. If Bobi Wine did not mess and fixed FDC, the race would be in favor of Kantinti. One would wonder what the president thought about the secretary general of NRM – Lumumba? Is she weak, is the city infiltrated? Internal wrangles in NRM secretariat had an effect? Poor mobilization? Are peri-town people tired of the regime? Is it the type of candidates presented from the NRM camp? What is wrong? Who can ever convince town, peri-towns and semi-peri-towns to vote NRM? Nevertheless, his victory is good for Ugandans and political parties (20, 42). Divided they stand united they fall (42) this description works well for NRM when they mobilized: NRM secretariat, military police, police, and supporters they lost.

### **The oppressed triumphed and hypothesizes disproved**

There are many hypothesizes in Uganda i.e., NRM rigs elections and wins especially by-elections where national NRM effort is dedicated to only that one constituency to ensure a win by any measure. Secondly, where there were face-offs between Museveni and Besigye, Museveni won. Thirdly, if the Kabaka of Buganda is not happy with you, chances are high that you will lose the election. Fourthly, fact that its president Museveni who appoints the electoral commission management committee, they have potential to always work in favour of NRM to ensure that they win the elections. Fifth, large numbers at the rallies don't necessarily turn out into votes has been dismissed. Sixth, to win a political office for MP or at national level one has to be an experienced politician is another assumption that has been put to the test once again.

Bobi Wine claimed to be the voice of the frustrated and unemployed youth, he often puts on the same outfits and acts like them while walking through the streets of Kampala in sandals and buying "rolex<sup>24</sup>" and

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<sup>24</sup> Literally means a chapatti fried with an egg.

“kikomando<sup>25</sup>” snacks sold by the pavement. His recording studio at Kamwokya welcomes the underprivileged in a slum area look and his win is momentous on numerous fronts.

To many Ugandans, it was another face-off between the ruling NRM party and the main Opposition party, the FDC. It re-confirmed the shared view that, Kampala is a mainly opposition political area, where the NRM cannot expect to make much progress unless they front a person with character.

The uniqueness was with Robert Kyagulanyi Ssentamu, aka Bobi Wine, the dancehall lead singer. He was regarded as fascinating since he brought life and color to Uganda's election since 1996. His opponents pleaded to him to wait until 2021, parties got divided, confused, fixed and excited the masses.

Majority of the youth followed him about during his campaign tours and though they were quick to demise that, crusade numbers would not turn into votes and further alleged that, majority of Kampala are “bayaye<sup>26</sup>”, are not registered voters hence their support to the musician is a wastage of time.

His win was predetermined by the first polling stations counting and ended up with a majority win of 77.7 per cent of the ballots cast, a landslide victory only equated to that of president Museveni in 1996(20). His win was emphatic and the challenge ahead of him is how to meet the expectations of the large majority that casted their votes for him. After the victory, dozens of radio stations in Kampala logically had little choice but play Bobi Wine's best-known songs, further strengthening the trademark that ended up into a national topic.

The former Opposition presidential candidate Beti Kamywa currently the minister for Kampala Honorable Beti Kamywa was reminded on how much work she has to do in order to deliver President Museveni's promised an 80 per cent landslide victory in Kampala in the 2021 general election while she spoke to a group of city traders in the presence of President Museveni.

Bobi's clear win sent a painful indication to the Mengo establishments that, the common man in Buganda is cherished to feel faithful allegiance and devoted toward the kingdom and the Kabaka. In spite of how tense the land dispute was discussed, this meant that, individual personality in Ugandan politics is what really matters. Bobi is human and has a right to his interests, tests and feelings. The sense of fairness and individual judgement should have been put into consideration. For Kyadondo voters to elect Bobi Wine overpoweringly even when they were aware of the dispute with Mengo signaled that, the Buganda Kingdom cannot indeterminately take the trustworthiness of its people for granted and that their choice should be respected.

Central government, was seen to be fair-minded, reasonable and just, otherwise they risked a crisis of faded legitimacy. The argument of the president that, Kampala is full of rats and lumpens who appear for rallies in big numbers but do not actually vote, has been dispersed. Voters make time to attend rallies if they really like the candidate. It's time for Mr. Museveni to appreciate the knowledge and power of this large force in the city and its surbs “ghetto” youth in reference to matters of KCCA when he over ruled public officials on issues to do with boda boda motorists and Nalongo estate.

Uganda has a young and large population with more than 70 per cent under the age of 25 yet the country is faced with a high rate of youth unemployment standing at 83 per cent that needed urgent solution before they turned ruddy. This coupled with judges, public servants and the president extending their retirement package has a lot of implications to this country's unemployment.

The view that, to win political office at a parliamentary or national level one has to be a seasoned politician is another assumption that was put to the test. This theory has been disapproved by Bobi Wine. Anyone can become a politician as long as you have what it takes to convince the populace that you are a true representation of their ideas. Politics is not principally about influence, appeal, name acknowledgement, attractive hopes but rather sentiment and problems of the majority and how they feel about you in dealing with them.

The name acknowledgement accomplished through the performance arts such as music (Judith Babirye, Bobi Wine), theatre and radio (Kato Lubwama) and other media and entertainment houses like radio is as valuable as the street by which a political ambition was nurtured. Although one would argue differently since after Bobi Wine's brother failed to make it to Parliament twice in the row. Secondly in the row, the singer Daniel Kazibwe (who goes by the stage name Ragga Dee) vied for the office of Mayor of Kampala on the NRM party ticket but was severely beaten by Erias Lukwago now the current Mayor for Kampala. In 2006, the dramatist and actor Charles James Ssenkubuge contested the presidency but pulled out after a few weeks of campaigning. Therefore, it's not entirely true that being a musician or an actor makes one a front runner in a political race. There is need for reconsideration of the indifferences in attitude toward comedians, musicians, actors and sportsmen as entertainers not law and policy makers.

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<sup>25</sup> Literally means a chapatti fried and mixed with beans.

<sup>26</sup> Literally means idlers and useless youth

Bobi's victory was a declaration by and about this young demography. He won so conveniently because he was and came squarely as a man of the people, individually and steadily worried about the common man's dilemma. What can Bobi Wine have achieved as an MP? Bobi Wine is among the list of experienced opposition-leaning political figures and campaigners (Kizza Besigye, Erias Lukwago, Ingrid Turinawe) who spoke for the repressed and despairing Ugandan populace.

The win is a direct representation of reflections of the 21st Century reality of Uganda. The country is witnessing a rise in relocation to the capital city Kampala and other towns hence need for rural urban linkages. The rural-urban migration is not the result of cumulative industrial revolution capable to create millions of jobs. Somewhat, it is the consequence of the failure of the agriculture sector, on-farm activities and the increasing disparity of income and chance in the country in general. Millions gathering to Kampala find insufficient real openings and so are required to settle into low-income, low cost shantytowns on the margin of town hence settling on government un-utilized land after selling their family land to move to town, they cannot return to their villages and yet they are simply no job opportunities for them in town.

The government deserted its responsibility and clear answers to or resolutions for the disaster of youth urbanization and unemployment. The immediate solution in the absence of industry generating industrial and processing jobs, it is obvious that, they resorted to tighten the police presence in the city. A group of unemployed desperate youth, brings the need to at least try and enclose the actions that might result from this distraction such as misconduct, demonstrating during political rallies and other bad actions. The government is helpless and has run out ideas to solve the problem. Nevertheless, Kyagulanyi is a member of parliament for Kyadondo East constituency and he too is unable either in short, medium or long term to do anything about the situation although he accepted to join the many on the floor of parliament. There must be government's will to listen, understand, comprehend and find a lasting solution to existing problems.

The populace are the best judges whether he continues with his music or not, there is need for a common solution to deal with this pending crisis. One can argue that, the need to continue with Muslim works in favor of the populace since Bobi uses it as a vehicle for his political action and mobilization. He too just like many other MPs will discover the limitations of what an MP can do at the legislative level coupled with fixes in dealing with the instantaneous and persistent material and monetary needs of his voters and others in need. Politics, by its fauna, needs continuous cooperating, bargaining, negotiations and accomplishing the lowest shared denominator. Politics is a game; If votes don't play in your favor, it will in the end take actions or make statements that offend the opponent and their supporters.

The new position requires Bobi to cover much of his hooliganism and street appearance in spite of the fact that he was "Ghetto President" for a long time. He needs to establish community procedures of garbage collection and cleaning up the localities in his Kyadondo constituency just like what Seya did in his first term in office as a mayor before being compromised by Mr. Museveni, arrange charity music concerts with fellow musicians and pledge projects by the youth to start up small businesses in a sustainable manner. Kampala and its surbs are beyond the capacity of any Uganda government and KCCA administration in choosing their leader.

Kampala needs new face lifting, a large-scale transformation of the city just like Asian were not limited to Malaysians and Chinese, as they are currently working on major road freeways, highways and bridges which will come along with service industry hence jobs to employ the millions of unemployed youth in Uganda (43) and this explains why Bobi Wine won Kyadondo East by-election (20)

### **Why Bobi Wine was the Messiah**

Citizen agency is unheard of in Uganda. The electorate often express their common anxiety on specific aspects of life, from inefficiency in schools to hospitals but often end their reaction with frustration it seems nobody seems to have a solution to the existing situations.

Uganda's challenge is to find novel ways for citizens to efficiently and effectively involve in civic duty beyond the voting ritual period, in order to reduce the risks of power abuse. One of them is the Bobi Wine way, to jump into the stogies contest for political offices if we love our country. Whether we have reached, it really does not matter whether a musician or not. It signifies that, whether you are careerists like Dr Ian Clarke councilor Makindye division, musicians, teachers etc. it's a reminder that politics is too important to be left to statesmen (politicians) alone.

A reflection of past elections like Rubaga South and others across the country, they elected village troublemakers and 'snake hunters' across the country on accusation that more decent people refused to stand. According to Vlastos (44) one of the consequences of declining to participate in politics is that, you end up being governed by your subordinates and this argument was seconded by a number of scholars (45-52).

The youth have an obligation and they should stop grief about what is wrong with the current regime and jump towards operationalization to find lasting solutions. Political participation i.e., elective politics in its form is one medium for accomplishment. All youth should put on their running shoes and think of the youngest populations in the world, with about 77 per cent aged 30 and below. Of the total population of just under 40



million, some 7.3 million are aged between 15 and 24. This signifies that no election can be won across the country whether presidential or parliamentary without the support of the youth vote (53-56). There is need to say no to old seasoned politicians in all parties across the country and put an end to voting for the corrupt, incompetent and tired aged states men. Formation of a youth Party can be a success factor, identify candidates or demands on pro-youth concessions in exchange for their vote coalition and form a campaign “youth vote for youths”.

Operationalize and localize citizen agency to demonstrate at the community level. A lot of communities are upset by crime development, setting up their own neighborhoods night watch committees, mounting street lamps or constructing shelters and contribute money jointly to pay for security protectors (57) hence sparking off bigger changes. That way, the new neighbors will be known and registered to comply with the exciting community values. Kindness creates sympathy hence one good turn deserves another. All accredited programs at village level can start off with a few people choosing to do things right and others will follow suit thus it becomes habitual and eventually a way of life.

First things first, those who are motivated should immediately start planning for 2021 and prepare to offer and give a service to the nation. The voting behavior and voter characteristics should be lobbied to change from cash bonanzas to electing young and credible candidates. Politics doesn't need a lot of money, it is about offering admirably youth and package the message well not forgetting that the trend has changed. The new wave of politics has swept the word and Uganda is not any different. While some youth might not make it to elective politics, but mere speaking out against abuse of office and unfairness wherever it occurs in public sector, might add value to the many voices and hence a bush fire that can lead to regime alteration. Participation is key in building the kind of localities we wish to live in. There has been a great implication to Bobi Wine's candidature, and this explains why he was the one voters have been waiting for (57).

A good number of participants tweeted in line with Bobi the Messiah and the theme are; remembering who we are, lifting people, one of their own, new Moses and greed.

I think this is the best post ever on this website! Something that gets us remembering who we are and that we possess the strength to lift us from our own situation!

I have been worried for some time that Ugandans were trying to have the elite co-opt Ghetto President as one of their own. As their new Moses.

Bobi Wine has beaten the disease caused by the greed inherent in the western economic and cultural system: the atomization of society.

The current political system has implicitly taught Ugandans that one needs only look out for their own interests. Your neighbor doesn't exist. Or if he does, you should only be interested in his matters insofar as they pertain to your immediate interests. This is a lie. It is a lie that is already unravelling western societies. Brexit in the UK and Trump's win in America can to a large degree be attributed to the failures of this model. It was always a self-serving lie anyway. A lie told by the rich to the consumer to help the rich grow even bigger mountains of cash.

Why people thought Bobi? This is very important because it reminds us that, an atomized society is no society. I am my brother's keeper. I must love my neighbor. (And what a rich metaphor that since one rarely if ever chooses who lives next door.) A bit less social climbing, with its empty badges of privilege (such as hanging out in the latest malls), and a bit more community building. Bobi Wine, that pot-smoking MDD<sup>27</sup> graduate has shown us that there is another way. Whether he wins the election or not, he has won already on many fronts. The paradigm shift of politics in Uganda holds a lot of water and its good it is what Ugandans were chanting for.

### **How the mighty fall-Bobi Wine's displacement factor in Kyadondo**

According to Collins and Collins (58) “When you are at the top of the world, the most powerful nation on earth, the most successful company in your industry, the best player in your game, your very power and success might cover up the fact that you're already on the path of decline.” Disappointment lie in wait in the shades of success and he referred this to waiting and ever contemporary danger “the soundless tip toe of fate”. It is the ride from being a representation to being irrelevant, troublesome and a nuisance!

The question is, how do you tell? Truly you never know it doesn't matter who you are and where you are, whether you are the Roman Empire, British Empire, ancient Egypt, late Gaddafi, Mubarak or Mobutu, Yahaya Jammeh, Blaise Compaore (Burkina Faso), Nguema Mbasogo (Equatorial Guinea), Jose Eduardo dos Santos (Angola), Robert Mugabe (Zimbabwe), Paul Biya (Cameroon), Yoweri Museveni (Uganda), Omar Al-Bashir (Sudan), Idriss Deby (Chad), Isaias Afwerki (Eritrea), Denis Sassou Nguesso (Congo) you never know and this automatically generates another question. Why? The answer lies in what is already known depending on perception and interpretation. Leaders want to hear certain things and this is what they will be told by their servants. The gist is, as a leader be objective rather than subjective and always lead by example, walk the talk

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<sup>27</sup> Music dance and drama

and practice what you preach and stick to your words in spite of the fact that power corrupts. Many leaders have ego, exaggerated pride, use of force, manipulation and state resources to do wrong things coupled with uncontrolled self-confidence (34).

Bobi Wine made it against all odds, the ex- ghetto president and youth captivating 78 per cent in his first participation in elective party-political race is not a statement and sound to shelve on the bedside. In the right word, his triumph did not only lessen his challengers to mere applicants, but miserable losers and bodyguards too. The leading debate in the city in 2017 was about Bobi Wine's triumph. Nevertheless, such miracles come along with unparalleled experience that brings teachings we must learn and unlearn from.

### **Lessons learnt**

The youth, most of whom are unemployed, can do anything they have hope in, including fronting fellow youth like Bobi Wine, to champion their cause. Many of them are fed up with the regime, which can hardly meet their needs. Today's generation believes in leaders, not bossy rulers. Bobi Wine has gone through rough times and many youths who are suffering associate with him.

Behind every successful man, there is a woman'. And yes, Barbie, Bobi Wine's wife, has been that captioned woman who is very supportive. Women must understand that the intention of our homes is contingent on us. A strong family is a basis for a good society. Representatives in parliament and the youth have key issues to learn from this wonderful involvement and engagement (59).

### **Police arrested Bobi Wine and this rocked Kyadondo Campaigns**

After the running battles with police, Bobi strategized and decided to go door to door rather than general rally campaigns (60). The electorate argued in ignorance that, "Bobi is already rich so we expect him to just help the populace. He claimed that the police mistreated him when he was put on a police vehicle (pick-up) and forced him to abandon the rally hence changing the strategy to door to door.

Kyagulanyi was arrested as he tried to address his supporters at Kasangati where his last rally was scheduled. He was temporarily detained at Kasangati police station before being whipped away to Kira division police after his supporters turned rowdy and demanded his release. There was a standoff between Mr Kyagulanyi's supporters and police at Kira police. According to Mr Kyagulanyi's team, they contend that, their candidate did not break any law because he was in the place where he declared to hold his last rally. His supporters stormed Kira Division police demanding for his release (61).

There were chaotic scenes in Kasangati after police blocked a campaign rally by candidate Robert Kyagulanyi, best known as Bobi Wine, and took him into custody. It was not immediately clear why he was arrested. But what is certainly clear is that his supporters were angry and furious, demanding his immediate release. They were seen chanting slogans of support for their candidate and wanted him set free. Some were seen throwing stones at the security operatives in a scrambled confrontation between the two groups.

The city of Kampala was chaotic. The scenes in Kasangati after police blocked a campaign rally by candidate Robert Kyagulanyi, best known as Bobi Wine, and took him into custody (62). Like many MPs, Bobi Wine is not immune to arrests by the police. The by-election campaigns ended on a sad note, with the arrests of independent candidate Robert Kyagulanyi. Since it was highly a contested election, the disagreement over venues for his and the NRM's rally had some dramatic effects to the supporting population. The police in Kasangati, Wakiso District later released the independent candidate rivaling for Kyadondo East MP seat.

According to opposition leaders, "Bobi had been arrested because President Yoweri Museveni was to hold a meeting with the ruling NRM candidate, Mr Sitenda Sebalu near Kasangati grounds where he (Kyagulanyi) was to hold his last rally. The government was quick to deny that, Bobi was not arrested but rather taken for an appointment meeting on the procedures of his rally and they both agreed on the new venue for his rallies. It's upon this background that he resorted to door to door campaigning (63). Basically, it glimmered off running battles between his supporters and police at Kasangati trading centre. This resulted into Forum for Democratic Change (FDC) party candidate Apollo Kantinti to briefly suspend his campaign and "rescue" Bobi Wine at Kira division police headquarters.

The disagreement involving Kantinti factions ordered by former presidential candidate Kizza Besigye, forced Sebalu and his followers out of Wampewo Park. It took police's involvement to push the NRM candidate out of the grounds. Police pretended to arrest Sebalu and the district NRM chairperson Hajji Abdu Kiyimba. The venue later invaded by the FDC supporters, rendering it unbearable for the rally to continue.

Although Ballot papers, relevant forms and the training of EC<sup>28</sup> staff were all timely and satisfactory. The campaigns were largely peaceful and EC preached the gospel of all stakeholders to ensure a peaceful polling process and urged the people to turn out in large numbers to vote.

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<sup>28</sup>Electoral Commission

According to Election observer, Crispy Kaheru, the coordinator of Citizens' Coalition for Electoral Democracy in Uganda (CCEDU), maintained that, despite a few difficulties, CCEDU was contented with the conduct of the campaigns. While they anticipated gaps that would spark off violence on Election Day especially if there were any plans to tamper with the votes. CCEDU pleaded to the stakeholders mainly political parties, supporters and candidates to exercise maximum control to ensure a fundamental peaceful environment was characterized with end results of getting one representative(64).

Interviewees commented on the role of police in elections and a number of themes were identified;

This is what I call impunity. The NRM party knew the campaign program very well and they had the liberty to liaise with electoral commission to know the best venue suitable for their party chairman.

NRM with all the numbers of MPs in parliament they still want to disorganize everything. Shame on you, why don't you use the money to put water in that area so that your candidate has what to talk about in the coming elections????

Tears rolling anger rising ohhh Uganda what have you got for us without authority? We have power but he has the authority, is this what we should continue watching as it happens? Should we stand guard as our Rights are being violated by the ruling party. What more do we need to see in order to say NO? To this kind of mistreatment???? Yet our country is full of misused resources.

That is what we called NRM gov't of greedy people, those are signs which saw Bobi wine won the elections of kyondodo. I don't know what m7<sup>29</sup> will do when Bobi has won the NRM candidate.

Before we start on guessing? All I believe and know is that, the electoral commission issues guidelines which candidate is supposed to be where and at what time of the day. If Mr. Kyagulanyi wasn't supposed to be in that particular area that day, then it's dawned on him!

Museveni uses the same oxygen that everyone else uses & it is senseless that he can't even allow a scintilla of democracy & freedom to exist within dissidents of his incomplete & infamous outfit.

I think Electoral commission should inform us on the campaign programs, so that we can know who is right & who is wrong.....but byona bikwase<sup>30</sup> Kyagulanyi.

The Electoral commission should prevail on this. All candidates have programs and Mr. M7 is a visitor. Uganda please let our country move forward for once.

Though it is bad but it is a big victory for Bobi. This is a clear indication that, even the president is afraid of Bobi, He would host a bigger crowd than M7s that is why everything is happening that way. Do not give up Bobi please we truly support and care for you.

I am sure this must be a fault play by Team Bobi to draw Public attention for cheap popularity, there are clear campaign guidelines for every candidate, President is not a fool to interfere with Bobi's schedule.

Uganda will be a very peaceful country only when Museveni is no were to be seen, am stopping here.

Instead of M7 going to meet with people of Tororo over the ongoing issues that affected thousands, he now goes to disorganize the rallies of our own son and a friend Bobi.

Now i know that they mean democracy in Uganda is only the one who is served.

I stand with Hon. Kyagulanyi Sentamu Robert in all situations we shall fight this battle up to the top.

Eeeeeeeeeeeeh Uganda what do these guys think NRM is? president Museveni twakoowa<sup>31</sup>?

Welcome to African politics your H.E Ghetto president. Stay strong and never surrender.

That is the reason but let him go there and face the poor suffering people they will give him the mandate to represent them.

I see..... So they feared being out competed. A whole president fearing Bobi hahahaha, has it come to that? Baja kukiriza<sup>32</sup>.

Guys relax, this is actually working in Bobi's favor. Police is indirectly getting him public sympathy and in effect campaigning for Bobi

Bobi is the only candidate (almost unopposed) in this race, the rest are just participating.

Shouldn't other candidates campaign because they fear NRM and partisan police in Uganda?

Let's wait, when Museveni is passing in my neighborhood I am not allowed to walk?

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<sup>29</sup> President Museveni

<sup>30</sup> *literally meaning that, "we have given all the powers to Bobi"*

<sup>31</sup> *literally meaning "President has refused to retire".*

<sup>32</sup> *literally meaning "they will accept".*

Madness in the Pearl of Africa... Some people now behave like they drink benzene instead of water. They behave like they lead angels instead of humans.

Governments with bogus activities will always have bogus reasons for bogus outcomes

I thought this should be a fair campaign! God have mercy on Ugandans

Who is Museveni? That's bullshit. Bobi, sue the hell out their porridge brain.

Bobi will win this vote in spite all odds.

That shows that thoughtless NRM is not confident

Fire Base army should be deployed okay. Army of the Ghetto Vs Ugandan army.

There is a fear that, the president won't attract any crowd. Hihihhi.

Police or the NRM military wing?

Let us pray for Ugandans to come over the challenge of voting by Bobi winning... We are very tired.

All of them have rights to campaign, why block some and accept others? Double standards and they claim that Uganda practices democracy.

Cowards at Bobi rallies claim that people have decided.... Where do people of Kampala get time to follow you unless they like and support you like Lukwago –Mayor of Kampala city.

What a rotten nation this is???! They just fear to be ashamed

Where is the leveled ground? Police is partisan and people will speak out their voice let us wait..... We go Bobi we goooooo.....

Let Ugandan Police be fair to Bobi, how did this happen? Am out of words and in shock.

I cry for Sitenda because Ugandan Police is de-campaigning him indirectly.

As long as Uganda still has NRM lets us wait for a true story from the people.

Kyagulanyidraind the biggest crowds at his gatherings. Many argued that, in referenceto the passion his standing, he had an advantage over Kantinti and Ssebalu. The FDC official sidelines Kantinti rally at Wampewo, and were perceived that, opposition let Kyagulanyi off superficially. They further argued that, "FDC surrendered the constituency to Bobi Wine. There existed a lot of issues that could be used against him (Bobi Wine), like his past of weed smoking and his disregard for the King of Buganda, but the party kept silent from attacking him as if they wanted him to win.

Kyagulanyi is largely favored by the youths, many of whom say he classifies himself with their roots such as poverty and unemployment. His campaign rallies had performances and enhanced by other noticeable local politicians yet Kantinti used to move around with big wigs in FDC but unknown to the locals in the area. Many argued that, if Kyagulanyi lost the campaigns, it would be a learning experience ahead of the 2021 elections since he was requested by FDC to wait until 2021.

To Kantinti, the by-election was a major test of his political career. The entrance of Kyagulanyi in the race made matters complex for FDC candidate. This resulted into the party falling apart since members were divided given the poor performance of Kantinti in parliament since February 2016. This was worsened by Kantinti's devotion of most of his time to argue with his opponents and labored to convince voters that he was an effective MP, without speaking in parliament yet he was a shadow minister.

Moving in the shadow of Besigye was one of the attributes that Kantinti adored coupled with senior FDC bigwigs, plus the party president, Maj Gen Mugisha Muntu; Nathan Nandala- Mafabi, and secretary general. This was however, not enough of assurance to his victory as he evidenced a loss.

Kantinti's defeat marked one of the short-lived parliamentary careers in recent memory in Uganda's parliamentary politics, which statistics eliminate members who died. It was also a big blow to FDC whose contenders have lost in many by-elections (Toroma, Kamuli municipality, Upper Madi, Kagoma) that have been conducted so far (64). A lesson with a lot of likelihoods to deal with as if there were no possibilities of winning this election by FDC camp.

### **NRM had probabilities to win this bye-election**

Interestingly, NRM's Ssebalu, a well experienced politician who represented the constituency between 2001 and 2006, had a chance of making it back after three failed shots (2006, 2011 and 2016). Analysts estimated that, Ssebalu had a good chance of making it but the differences within the opposition campground didn't work in his favor coupled with divided NRM and the manager of his camp. President Museveni's appearance on one of the rally didn't help much given his message were he informed people that if they voted an opposition candidate, they will not benefit from some of government's programmes and they had predicted a win of 55 percent of total vote. He further explained that NRM caucus met first to discuss programmes, later MPs presented the challenges of their areas hence he gets to know their needs but if they choose opposition there is no way he will understand their needs.

NRM and opposition had equal chances since the opposition had fronted three candidates Vs one. Ssebalu had differences with some local NRM leaders, comprising but not limited to Stella Njuba, who stood against him in 2016. In 2016, Stella, a daughter of Sam Njuba, secured a respectable 4,122 votes and

reconciliation has not taken place. This played to Ssebalu's disadvantage since her voters refused to vote Ssebalu.

According to figures from the national Electoral Commission, Kyadondo East has 72,818 registered voters and 93 polling stations. Reports from newspapers and other media houses predicted a high turnout in favour of opposition-leaning candidates because some polls had shown, voter apathy tended to be higher in areas where the ruling government has little support. According to the spokesperson of the EC, Jotham Taremwa, the commission was more than prepared to deliver a free and fair election in spite of the challenges they encountered in the past. Definitely, the voters turned up and they were happy that, the results turned victorious in favor of Bobi. The loss by NRM party was attributed to the new team appointed by president Museveni. Were they ready to deliver to the expectations of the president? Is it that the president Museveni appointed the right people in the wrong positions?

### **Ssebalu was supported**

According to Ssebalu while speaking on CBS radio's Nze ngabwendaba<sup>33</sup> news segment, he said that, "I might be down but certainly not out". He further argued that, "Politics is not but a game, before you stand you are aware that you either win or lose and I will not kill someone because I was defeated and now that the populace chose Bobi Wine, let him go ahead and work for and on behalf of the people". He compared himself to Besigye and further said that, "Besigye has been defeated many times and he is still around. To him, the populace should be thanking him for his courage, he has not gone crazy on, a situation that would happen to many if they wore his shoes." Besigye made his loss an opportunity for him to become more energized and ready to try again in 2021 if God gives him life. He asserted further that, "Those who think that he is weak, should join the bang wagon then they will know that politics isn't easy; I have played my role and I was defeated until 2021 let me retire and look after my family since I have everything; children, a wife, houses and more than 10 cars." One would believe him now, if he had enough, why was he interested in accumulating more? Those were tricks of a dying horse.

There is a school of thought arguing that, it wasn't fair for Ssebalu to take Kantinti to court. Was it a genuine allegation? If not, then God pays in the same currency. Surely Ssebalu and Kantinti suffered a defeat but one would argue that, the feeling is different. If Ssebalu wasn't genuine in his case and it calculated that if they planned a by-election, chances were high that he would win for many reasons such as; the power of money, his fame, frustration of Kantinti and he didn't anticipate new people coming up amidst to stand for the position. Who would dare to stand against the biggest party? Akasajja akatono okanyomela mitalawamugga<sup>34</sup>.

### **Kantinti Abandoned**

Like NRM, FDC suffered a humiliating defeat. Kantinti polled less than 2,000 votes, less by 7,000 votes compared to his win in February 2016. He won the 2016 election with about 9,000 votes before his victory was reversed by court, arguing that, he faulted the Electoral Commission's handling and organization of that election. Other than the sheer popularity of Bobi Wine, Kantinti has been accused of sleeping on the job for close to one year he spent in parliament. The former FDC president, Dr Kizza Besigye found it tough to persuade the people to vote Kantinti. One of the last days of the campaigns, some delighted youths shared their love and care for Bobi when they were quick to add: "Twagala saawa<sup>35</sup>", a direct reference to Bobi Wine's election symbol. Besigye argued his supporters that he picked Kantinti because fairness and justice demanded just that. It was sad that, Kantinti invested a lot in order to be elected for a five-year term yet he has not got any privileges from parliament because of the court case he had been battling with," and his attempts proved unsuccessful. Indeed FDC was to blame for Kantinti's humiliating defeat and their house needed to be put to order.

It was evidenced that, big wigs in central abandoned Kantinti either knowingly or unknowingly. Dr Besigye, appeared only twice for his rallies, same with Mugisha Muntu, Nandala-Mafabi and Ssemujju Nganda who didn't even turn up totally. There is a school of thought arguing that, Kantinti should have been strong enough to convince his supporters, personality was a key success factor if he missed out on unique attributes, its him to blame after all he failed to account for the one year and a few months he spent in parliament. SAYING? This by-election was unique and needed special people who would withstand the pressure and alterations hence the looser should not blame anyone for their failures rather than himself.

Another school of thought argued that, it was clear more than ever before to retain this seat. Why then didn't they ally behind Bobi. In politics there are no permanent friends and enemies. What was at stake was that, this election meant a lot for Besigye and FDC since the area is an FDC strong hold and it's where Besigye

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<sup>33</sup>Your views and opinions

<sup>34</sup>Don't judge the book by its cover

<sup>35</sup>We want the clock

resides. Bobi Wine kept setting the pace of the campaign yet FDC was the incumbent. The masses had no choice other than to move with the wave. Politics is about convincing the people it's up to you to ensure that you do your job both effectively and efficiently.

FDC blundered when they decided to conduct a partisan campaign. They need Bobi Wine, the arguments that, he is a new entrant, no experience, no party card and lacks membership didn't hold at that material time. All they needed was a win and the rest would follow. Bobi joining FDC was procedural, which would have followed after the win and done immediately a decision was taken. This is why decision making is a key success factor for any organization.

FDC needed alliances from other opposition MPs and big wigs to throw their weight to the campaign and while FDC kept adamant, other opposition parties were confused on why they should support Kantinti. This coupled with his failure to market himself as the unity candidate rather than fronting his party as the main theme in the election. With all due fairness, Kantinti deserved to be the opposition candidate but voters fell short and where blind folded by Bobi (35).

Besigye appreciated and accepted the choice of the populace and he argued that, its high time political parties abandoned their partisan approach to politics. Besigye<sup>36</sup>, failed to get party supporters to rally behind their Apollo Kantinti. This is clear evidence that individual politics has taken a maturity stage in Uganda. Currently Mugisha Muntu is the party chairman but you hardly hear his name sound during and after the campaign. Besigye had very strong attributes and his contribution to politics is unquestionable. Uganda's political trend cannot be reversed, but rather mature since the engineer of the idea is still in active politics. The reason Kantinti lost his sit was beyond his control and it's only fair that NRM pays for damages. Kantinti, who was voted in office in 2016 with a slim margin, was thrown out of parliament after the courts agreed with petitioner Sitenda Ssebalu of NRM that, the EC had mishandled the election. The consequential by-election endangered the opposition to tears. Besigye argued further that, the musician's landslide victory did not come as a surprise to him because voters had openly told him on the campaign trail that they wanted Bobi Wine.

Further Besigye argued that, "people at this stage are not focusing on political parties; they are focusing on regaining control of their country. It is clear that, the struggle is a liberation struggle, not a partisan competition. Many of our leaders are not clear about this fact that, we are in a liberation phase, not a partisan competition phase, where party platforms, policy platforms are competing".

"The people know better than the leaders. The people see who will take the struggle ahead and they rally around that. That is what they have been doing with Lord Mayor (Erias Lukwago), the lord mayor of Kampala, and some people think that they don't appreciate parties; they appreciate parties and the role of freedom of assembly, but they also know that the phase of the struggle is one where we must have a front that brings all those that want change together."

"First deal with the dictator, and then have the freedom to compete among the different platforms. It is again to underscore the point that no one should be excited because Bobi Wine has gone to parliament, parliament will behave differently since he has joined. Parliament as an institution is an institution of the dictator, not an institution of the people of Uganda. The voices of the people, which are there are useful as a stage to advance the voice of the people but it will not change how parliament behaves."

"That parliament, left its own, will remove the age-limit for Museveni; it will amend the Constitution to give power to the regime to take over our land. The struggle for freedom, the struggle for liberation is not going to be won in parliament; it is going to be won outside parliament. A few positive voices in parliament will have to unite [with] voices outside parliament to regain the country from the clutch of the dictator"(65).

Tweets followed;

What does this mean to Besigye? A failure, he cannot muscle his supporters to support a candidate of the party, on the other hand, his candidate was third, Dr. Besigye was finished?

Dr Besigye is indirectly confessing that he is no longer powerful as he used to be, his followers no longer listen to him, and he is a shadow indeed of his past.

I mean, he has contested four time against Museveni in vain, that means Ugandans no longer trust him to throw out Museveni, he has fallen in the same brackets as Hon Paul Kawanga Semogerere, Sebaana Kizito, Olara Otunu etc, they are barking dogs.

Dr Kizza Besigye has said it is high time political parties abandoned their partisan approach to politics. Thank you Dr Besigye, it's better late than NEVER!

Each & Every political party has failed Uganda! It's time a new approach is given chance to UNITE Ugandans for common cause, which is the only way out of this unending nightmare in a Uganda that Museveni officially made tribalistic & accepted even by United Nations-European Union-United States of America!

It's up to Ugandans to UNITE & say NO to this otherwise soon there won't be place for any true Ugandan!

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<sup>36</sup>Founding president of FDC, the leading opposition party in the country

We do not have the right to just go along with Museveni who has UN-USA-EU on his side, while our country is hell for us but heaven for refugees-diplomats!

UN even has money to take care of refugees while Ugandans are made poor & homeless oppressed slaves working for President!

[It should be another reminder that people at this stage are not focusing on political parties; they are focusing on regaining control of their country.]

And the start for regaining control of our country is UNITY NOW to shatter the tribalistic system keeping Museveni in place!

Our second Independence that will give us chance for a start needs just one opposition leadership face to the colonial power, then after, we can decide how we want to go ahead!

Museveni MUST be thrown out if Ugandans want chance to Reform the Republic or go for TribalStates! The country is ours & Museveni has outlived/abused our kindness for too long!

How can we still be tribally divided by the man we gave shelter to, knowing unless we UNITE, the man is going nowhere & we are his slaves forever in our own country that is now his?

Ugandans don't understand that Dr Besigye did not lose face to Museveni, but was made a loser by Ugandans who preferred going along with Museveni, instead of coming out in UNITY to claim victory of Dr.Besigye!

Museveni stole that victory because Ugandans let him do so and he will do it again in 2021, only this time it wont be Dr Besigye but another Ugandan who will have to fight Museveni alone, while Ugandans will still go along with the rigger of election in a country he owns with slaves working for him!

Have Ugandans not seen USA-EU-UN go along with dictators-bad rulers as long as their people do so? Yet, Ugandans continue upholding the tribalistic system or rule with tribal leaders all over and expect

French parliamentary elections should still be fresh on our minds: electorate threw out old politics & their founders to give chance for real change of politics!

Who are Ugandans waiting for to throw out Museveni they are working for in peace giving him chance to rig the next fake election, knowing Ugandans won't come out in UNITY to throw him out?

Dr Besigye could have replaced Museveni if Ugandans had come out to say NO to Museveni they say rigs elections!

But Ugandans prefer working in peace for Museveni while opposition leader fights a lonely battle! Without UNITY of Ugandans to consolidate, Dr Besigye won't be the last to fight a lonely battle with the owner of Uganda for whom Ugandans prefer to work in peace & UN-USA-EU will just go along with Museveni turning blind eyes-deaf ears to sufferings of Ugandans!

Dr Besigye is indirectly confessing that he is no longer powerful as he used to be, his followers no longer listen to him, he is a shadow indeed of his past.

I mean, Besigye has contested four time against Museveni in vain, that means Ugandans no longer trust him to throw out Museveni, he has fallen in the same brackets as Paul Kawanga Semogerere, Sebaana Kizito, Olara Otunu etc, they are barking dogs.

### **Bobi Wine's to do list**

He joined the 10th Parliament, linking him to a pool of over 427 lawmakers. Like many others, Kyagulanyi, promised lots of milk, honey and wine to his voters prior to the Election Day. They responded by what he described as a landslide victory, at least of all by-elections held since the 2016 general elections (66). He polled 25,000 votes against his rivals; Mr Sitenda Sebalu's (NRM) 4,556 and Apollo Kantinti (FDC) 1,832 as well as independents Muwada Nkunyingi and Sowedi Kayongo's 575 and 377 respectively to represent Kyaddondo County East. Bobi Wine made a lot of promises including but not limited to;

- a) Representing a new generation that serves with integrity and hard work, gather community meetings and listening to the priorities of constituents and bringing these priorities to government.
- b) Better roads, improved schools and a challenging health sector may require him to either borrow heavily or totally abandon them to the central government (66). Most Members of Parliament have been placed under pressure from their voters, asking for social services such as improved health care, better roads, access to clean water and improved schools among others.
- c) He pledged to embark on change in small neighborhoods and to be extemporarily to the youths all over Uganda is it possible?

There is a general increase in the demands from the electorate, many candidates who vied for seats in parliament have often found themselves whistling to the impulses of the people yet these services are meant to be provided by the central government.

While many electorates have fallen victim of false promises, Kyaddondo East is not an exception. All the candidates, one after another, kept promising and made pledges ranging from high end capital infrastructure projects such as roads to people's domestic income. Honorable Kyagulanyi, in his victorious speech vowed to stand by the people who have made a historic and significant fulfilment of his hit-song, "Bikwaase

Kyagulanyi<sup>37</sup>”. His victory implied that, “the leadership of the common persons.....he promised to have his meetings at home, schools, hospitals, shops and bufundas<sup>38</sup>. Those are the places that defined our destiny and the places where the majority belong including myself. These places will create the change for which he offered himself to stand in the election”. This victory is an evidence that, “the people of Kyadondo, and indeed the people of Uganda are ready for a new kind of leadership which truly represents them.”

### **Bob Wine’s role as a legislator**

Robert Kyagulanyi Sentamu, as he will be addressed by the Speaker in the House has got peculiar roles, clearly outlined in the Parliamentary rules of procedure and Article 79 of the Constitution.

They include but not limited to;

- a) Representation,
- b) Legislation,
- c) Appropriation and oversight.

Under each role, there is no lobbying specifically for a particular constituency much as he may voice the concerns of his people, it should be noted that petitions are key matters of national importance.

Legislation, appropriation and oversight are national roles attached to making laws, giving legislative sanctions and re-aligning the budget and taxation as well as monitoring budget implementation and accountability respectively. His rise from the Ghetto wildflower (weed) to representation through music and as a final point to Parliament, lands him into a new setting where comprehension and reason must prevail over sentiments so he must remain sober. He is expected to counter the dissimilarities with courtesy, respect and politeness. The problem is that his supporters might misunderstand him in this perspective let us watch his next step in parliament.

Mr Kyagulanyi made a number of pledges among them;

- (a) Representing a new generation serves with integrity and hard work, gather community meetings and listening to the priorities of constituents and bringing these priorities to government.
- (b) Focus on building a better future for Uganda, which means standing up against bad governance and corruption, and concentrating on the needs of the youth.
- (c) Educate himself about laws and policies and share the information in the simplest way for community to understand and comprehend such as entertainment through music.
- (d) Translation of feedback
- (e) Decisions will be based on facts not affiliations.

In my view the above pledges are attainable because they are essential in understanding his direct constitutional obligation as a representative. Conversely, the promises on better roads, improved schools and a challenging health sector requires him to either borrow heavily, join the movement and abandon the electorate totally and reapprove the above mentioned theoretical foundations underpinning his unique by-election.

### **Remunerations and other rewards**

In Uganda, a member of parliament is entitled to but not limited to the following:

- a) A consolidated pay of about Shs26m (subject to income tax),
- b) Monthly gratuity of 30 per cent of his salary
- c) A car costing not more than Shs200m.
- d) Medical insurance cover
- e) An iPad worth Shs3.6m,
- f) Mileage facilitation of Shs4.5m
- g) Constituency facilitation (Shs3.2m)
- h) Monthly subsistence allowance (lunch, tea etc.) of about Shs3m.
- i) Shs50,000 for every sitting either in a committee or plenary
- j) Social security benefits of Shs9m per month
- k) Town running allowances of about Shs1m.
- l) Per-diem of \$520 (about Shs1.87m) when they travel abroad and Shs150,000 for inland travel whenever on official duty.
- m) Borrowing from the Parliamentary pension fund
- n) Saving with the Parliamentarians’ Sacco which also lends to members at much lower rates compare to banks.

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<sup>37</sup>literately implying surrender all your troubles to Kyagulanyi

<sup>38</sup> Small shops in slum areas



#### IV. CONCLUSION

Kyadondo East by-election put party politics to test. Whether one party like UPC between 1969 and 1971, bi-party like DP and UPC in the sixties and early eighties, multiparty as it is the case since 2006, has under gone several tests. Even the longest serving party NRM was disproved. This time round, even religion didn't help. Religious voters estimated to be 10,000 didn't help Ssebalu in the race. Although he articulated well on the local issues like a district status for Kira, a municipality status for Kasangati, a technical school, more UPE and USE schools, a hospital, more health centers IIIs<sup>39</sup> and IVs, small scale factories for informal sector and urban farming didn't seem to catch the voters eye. FDC'S Kantinti reckoned when he defeated all of them in previous elections until his victory was nullified by courts of law. However, Muwanda Nkunyingi believes that he was cheated in NRM party primaries where the likes of Wafula Oguttu and Paul Mwiru call him a JEEMA person. So Nkunyingi spoils Kantinti's votes. DP's candidate withdrew from the race signifying how weak the party has become. Equally Stella Njuba thinks that she was cheated by Sitenda Sebalu in NRM party primaries and although she has not stood, she has not moved side by side with Sitenda Sebalu. Her mother Capt. Gertrude Njuba came out openly in Sunday Vision and Sunday Bukedde and declared her support for Bobi Wine.

Then comes Bobi Wine who played a hide and seek game between DP and FDC. His chances would not have been many given the fact that he had been importing criminals from Kamwokya and other ghettos of Kampala, who may not be voters, however due to intrigue and self stomachism, inside camps of FDC and NRM, made him a strong candidate. He remained neutral and all the disgruntled parties run to his camp.

Bobi Wine's victory **marked the devise of party politics and the rise and rise of individual merit under Movement or no party and party democracy.** Fortunately, a constitutional review is about to be established. Why should we spend resources in meaningless party primaries? We should stand as it was the case in 1989, 1994, 1996, and 2001 and people choose whom they want after all power belongs to the people.

Ugandan politics is individualism and the recent concluded poll of Kyadondo East approved the theory since it is believed that the people truly and really decided upon their representative. Bobi is a pro-people candidate. "Ugandans now want the person who will address their issues" and that explains why Bobi won the vote. The people trusted him and they believe that he can represent them and this followed the ideology war between Museveni and Bobi on issues related to allegations of biased media coverage, philosophy and discipline (67).

Kyadondo East by-election marked a remarkable personal journey for the charismatic reggae star from brash, dreadlock-wearing, slum-dwelling youth to a sharp-suited and perceptive political figure. He rose to fame about a decade ago with memorable, upbeat tunes in African reggae style with lyrics that often touched on issues of poverty and social justice. Growing up in Kamwokya, one of Kampala's poorest slums, Wine worked as a backing singer before making it to university where he studied music and drama before launching his solo career. The party-loving popstar grew dreads and dubbed the swampy slum of his youth 'Uganja'. He could be seen touring the capital in his flashy Cadillac Escalade, a marijuana leaf symbol adorning the personalised numberplate.

It is also true that, the Independent members of parliament in the Ugandan context are not about individuals with their own agendas, but about political opportunism. The vast majority of the "Independents" are rejects from NRM, and when they won the national elections, they joined in support the NRM. They did not constitute an independent force outside the mainstream, but they used the loophole (gaps) in that system that allows every citizen to contest elections without the necessity of a political party to undermine political pluralism in the country.

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<sup>3939</sup> A health centre III facility should be found in every sub-county in Uganda. These centres should have about 18 staff, led by a senior clinical officer, who run a general outpatient clinic and a maternity ward. It should also have a functioning laboratory.

This level of health facility serves a county or a parliamentary constituency. A health centre IV is a mini hospital. It should have the kind of services found at health centre III, but it should have wards for men, women, and children and should be able to admit patients. It should have a senior medical officer and another doctor as well as a theatre for carrying out emergency operations.

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