



UGANDA MANAGEMENT INSTITUTE

**ORGANISATIONAL CHALLENGES AFFECTING THE MANAGEMENT
OF ELECTIONS IN A MULTI-PARTY DEMOCRACY BY THE UGANDA
ELECTORAL COMMISSION**

By

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fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the Masters Degree in
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DECLARATION

I, Diana Nsiimenta Tumusiime Kateeba, declare that this is my original work, and has not been presented to any other Institution or University for the award of a degree.

Signed:.....

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APPROVAL

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DEDICATION

This Dissertation is dedicated to Mother (Phoebe) and Father (Eric) Kateeba who have confidence in me and contributed in various ways to enable me complete my work. God Bless them.

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I extend my heartfelt gratitude to my supervisors, Mr. Benon Basheka, UMI, and Ms. Rujumba Violet, Electoral Commission, for the guidance, support and encouragement.

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Abbreviations

CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
DEMGROUP	Democracy Monitoring Group
DR	District Registrar
E.C	Electoral Commission
EMBs	Election Management Bodies
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
MEC	Mexico Electoral Commission
MEC	Malawi Electoral Commission
PEA	Parliamentary Elections Act
RO	Returning Officer
UNEB	Uganda National Examination Board
UPIMAC	Uganda Project Implementation and Management Centre

ABSTRACT

The study was about the Organisational challenges affecting the Uganda Electoral Commission in the management of elections in a multiparty democracy. The study was guided by four objectives namely, to establish the relationship between publicity and voter education; examine the extent to which voter registration process challenges affect the management; assess the moderator effect of the legal framework and lastly analyse the moderator effect of funding on the management of elections in a multiparty democracy. The study was carried out among E.C employees, using simple random and purposive sampling techniques to identify the respondents. The methods used to collect data included questionnaires, interviews and review of documents. The data collected was analysed using descriptive statistical techniques, tabulations, correlations and regression analysis. The findings were; there is a significant relationship between publicity and voter education and the management of elections; voter registration has a positive relationship with the management of elections; there is a significant moderating effect between the legal framework and management of elections; finally the E.C receives insufficient funds and there is no significant relationship. Publicity and voter education is doing a commendable job and there is awareness among the population about electoral activities. The voters' register is accurate, hence free and fair elections. Acts and guidelines and finally funds are vital for the electoral activities. The recommendation made are; more emphasis is needed in publicity and voter education, voter registration should be well facilitated, laws and regulations should be passed on time in consultation with the E.C and sufficient funds should be released on time. Further areas of research should include other factors that affect the management of elections like the political environment in the country.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

The study was about the organisational challenges affecting the Uganda Electoral Commission in management of elections in a multi-party democracy. Uganda is currently undergoing a transition from a non-party “movement system” to a multiparty democracy. This process requires the participation of civil society and political parties to build mass based support for the transition process. wikipedia, the free encyclopedia says a multiparty system is a system in which three or more political parties, have the capacity to gain control of government separately or in a coalition. Multiparty system was reintroduced in Uganda in 2005 after a Referendum was held and the multiparty system of governance won the elections. In this study, Organizational challenges were conceptualized, as the independent variables, while management of elections constitutes the dependent variable and two moderating variables which were funds and the legal framework.

Emergency:Complexity and Organisation E:CO, (2004), argue that elections are the central institution of democratic representative governments, because in a democracy the government derives solely from the consent of the governed. The principal mechanism for translating that consent into governmental authority is the holding of free and fair elections. Election Management Bodies (EMBs) are increasingly expected to conduct elections that are credible and acceptable to all concerned parties. To achieve these goals, EMBs must ensure that elections are not only technically sound but also politically acceptable and legitimate. All countries that are

democratic or practicing it, have electoral bodies in their countries with the responsibility of ensuring that the electoral process is carried out according to the procedures of that country. Jeane Kirkpatrick,**** scholar and former United States Ambassador to the United Nations says democratic elections are not merely symbolic, they are competitive, periodic, inclusive, definitive elections in which the chief decision makers in a government are selected by citizens who enjoy broad freedom to criticize government to publish their criticisms and to present alternatives.

1.1. Background to the Study.

This chapter presents the background to the study, the statement of the problem, the purpose of the study, objectives of the study, research questions, hypotheses, conceptual framework, scope of the study, justification of the study and operational definitions.

1.1.1. Historical background

Globally independent Electoral Management bodies were first developed during the 20th century in the Americas. ACE (2000), noted that countries are frequently urged by Western organizations to establish permanent Electoral Commissions as a way to improve elections. Permanent electoral commissions are deemed especially important in institutions where there is a high level of distrust among political actors and few, if any, alternative mechanisms to help ensure honest impartial elections. In Uruguay, Chile, Colombia and Costa Rica, for example, the transition from oligarchic governments to more liberal democracy in the first quarter of the 20th century saw the emergence of new electoral structures which became known as the fourth branch of government because of their constitutionally guaranteed wide ranging powers and

responsibilities which among other things included the resolution of electoral disputes. The Uruguayan independent electoral authority, *Corte Electoral*, was created in 1924 and enshrined in the 1934 Constitution.

In Asia, India was the first country to set up an independent Election Commission in 1950. Election Commission of India has since become a permanent Constitutional Body, which over the years has become well known and gained good reputation for its 'fierce independence' and impartiality. Other countries that established independent electoral commissions before the 1980s include Kenya and Malta (1960), Ghana (1968) and Bangladesh (1973). However, due to democratic retrogression in Kenya, Ghana, and Bangladesh, the independent EMBs were politically compromised and never exercised their independence until these countries introduced democratic electoral reforms in the 1990s. The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 also fomented political reform which led to the breakup of the Soviet Union and the establishment of democratically elected governments in Eastern Europe and Central Asia (www.aceproject.org).

In South Africa the Electoral Institute of Southern Africa (EISA), is a nonprofit company based in Johannesburg, that promotes credible elections and democratic governance in Africa through research, capacity building, advocacy and other targeted interventions (www.aceproject.org).

A similar structure was also established in Canada in 1920. A key measure of the Dominion Elections Act of 1920 was that it established the office of the Chief Electoral Officer to replace the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery. The Chief Electoral Officer was given substantial guarantees of independence and could since the introduction of the Act only be removed for cause on address of both houses of Parliament, in the same manner as a Judge of the Supreme Court of Canada. This was a measure that among other things forged the independence of the

office and allowed the CEO to carry out his work impartially, professionally, without fear or favor, and without immediate political pressures. In 1927 the Act was amended to specify a statutory appointment by resolution of the House of Commons.

By the second half of the 20th century, many former colonies around the world gained independence and held first elections based on universal suffrage. Unfortunately, many such countries, especially in Africa and Asia, did not stay the democratic course and reverted to authoritarianism and one-party rule. Despite this democratic retrogression, these countries together with the communist-ruled Eastern Europe continued to hold elections even under authoritarian regimes. But such elections were ‘show elections’ which only fielded and returned candidates from the governing party. Such elections were staged (or stage managed) to present the facade of popular support for the governing party when in fact fair elections could have ousted the incumbents. The executive, through the ministry of interior, was responsible for managing elections in countries which were under authoritarian rule as in Eastern Europe, Eurasia, the Pacific and Africa.

Despite the democratic setbacks in said parts of the world, regions such as the Caribbean and also a handful of African countries such as Botswana, Gambia, and Senegal, have since independence in the 1960s remained under democratic rule and have held successive credible elections. Until recently, elections in these countries were run by the executive, such as through the office of the supervisor of elections in the case of St Vincent and Grenades, and Botswana, or the election directorate in the case of Senegal, Gambia, and Jamaica. Beginning in the early 1990s, the end of the Cold War and the reduction of military and economic aid from developed

countries brought a new wave of democratization, popularly known as the 'third wave' of transition elections, especially in parts of the African and Asian regions.

Democratisation in many of the countries which for a long time were under authoritarian and military rule meant the introduction of, among other things, institutional reform, which included the writing of new constitutions, change of electoral systems, rules, and structures. Widespread citizen distrust in the ability of government ministries to administer elections without favoring the government parties, many civil servants were seen as corrupted by previous undemocratic regimes, led to persistent calls for independent bodies to run elections in these newly-founded democracies. This period saw the setting up of independent EMBs in countries such as:

Indonesia (1999), Cape Verde (1999), Nigeria (1999), Antigua and Barbuda (2001), Georgia (2001), Yemen (2001), Afghanistan (2003), Iraq (2004), South Africa (1994), Burkina Faso (1995), Thailand (1996), Fiji (1998), Ukraine (1998), Cambodia (1998). The only part of the world which remained impervious to the wave of democracy and elections which hit the world during the late 20th century is the Arab World with few exceptions such as Turkey. With the exception of Yemen, Palestine, United Arab Emirates, Afghanistan and Iraq, which set up independent electoral management bodies between 1992 and 2004, elections in the Arab World are run directly by the executive ([governmental model](#)). In Djibouti elections are run by the executive under the control of supervisory commissions ([mixed model of electoral management](#)).

In a Democracy, individuals come together to form structures of governance that protect and advance the common good. Grugel (2002) and Albert (1999), describe Democracy as a mode of

collective decision making through periodic, genuine free and fair elections. Benjamin Franklin defines Democracy as the government of the people, by the people.

In Uganda, elections began way back in 1961 during the colonial governance. Benedicto Kiwanuka became the first Prime Minister of Uganda. In 1962 an alliance and a coalition government were formed and Milton Obote became first Executive Prime Minister of post independence Uganda. In 1980, elections under multiparty dispensation were held, Uganda Peoples Congress (UPC) party won and its President who was Milton Obote, became the President of Uganda as per the law. In 1988, The National Resistance Movement setup a Uganda Constitutional Commission to review the past constitutions and collect people's views, so as to make a new constitution. In 1994, A Constituent Assembly of elected delegates debated and promulgated a new Constitution, which came into force in October 1995.

It is from this Constitution that among the institutions created to promote democracy and good governance, the Uganda electoral Commission was created in Uganda, The Electoral Commission was established by Article 60 of the Constitution of The Republic of Uganda in 1995. The Commission is charged with the responsibility of promoting democracy and good governance, by organising and conducting free and fair elections. This is the mission of the Commission.

The Commission is composed of a Chairman, deputy and five commissioners, appointed by the President with the approval of parliament.

1.1.2. Theoretical Background

Theoretically, the Systems Theory was used in this study to explain, understand, describe and predict the independent and dependent variables. A system is a collection of parts unified to accomplish an overall goal. The Electoral Commission as an organisation is composed of different units which work for the common good of the whole organisation. A system can be looked at as having inputs, processes, outputs and outcomes. Systems share feedback among each of these four aspects of the system (Namara, 1999). For the EC to hold effective elections, it would require inputs in form of funds, laws, collection of data, materials used example paper, and the human manpower, then the process would be planning for these funds, necessary items procured, data collected about the people is entered into the data base, laws that have to be revised and amended, are worked on, The output would then be a credible voter register, which will be used on polling day, hence free and fair elections in the country, which is the goal of the EC.

1.1.3. Conceptual Background

In this study, organisational factors included Publicity and Voter Education, Voter Registration process, constituted the independent variable, LegalframeWork and Funding constituted the moderating variables, while Management of Elections was the dependent variable.

Agris, (1960), says organizations are intricate human strategies designed to achieve certain objectives. Organizations are set up to achieve purposes that individuals cannot achieve on their own. Organisations then provide a means of working with others to achieve goals. A key characteristic of organizations is their complexity. Diamond, (1992), defines Democracy as a

system of government in which the principal positions of political power are filled through regular, free and fair elections.

(en.wikipedia.org/wiki/elections) says an election is a decision making process, where a population chooses an individual to hold office. Koontz and O'Donnell (1984), believe managing is an operational process initially best dissected by analyzing the managerial functions. These are: Planning, organising, leading and controlling. Fayol, (1916), says to manage is to forecast and plan, to organize, to command, to coordinate and to control. Planning is deciding the objectives or goals of the organization and how to meet them. Organizing is determining activities and allocating responsibilities for the achievement of plans into an appropriate structure. Controlling is monitoring and evaluating activities, and providing corrective mechanisms like; establishing standards of performance, measuring actual performance against standards and corrective actions where appropriate.

1.1.4. Contextual background

The organisational structure of the Electoral Commission, is headed by a Chairman, assisted by five Commissioners and a Secretary who is the accounting officer. Secretary is assisted by three directors. These are director Finance and Administration, Field Operations and Technical Services. The Commission has a total of five hundred members of staff in the various districts of Uganda and headquarters in Kampala. Functions of the Electoral Commission are:

- To compile, maintain, revise and update the national voter register.
- To organise, conduct and supervise elections and referenda in accordance with the Constitution.

- To ascertain, publish, and declare in writing under its seal the results of the elections and referenda.

The E.C has been facing several challenges. The challenges are: late enactment of laws, for example the Presidential Elections Act 2000 was passed on 12th December 2000 leaving hardly three months within which to prepare for Presidential Election scheduled for March 2001. Qualification of candidates and voters is another challenge. The issue of equivalence on the academic qualifications of the candidates is still prone to misinterpretation and forgery by some persons. That is why there are by-election at times and the reason given by court to nullify the post of the Honorable member is lack of sufficient academic qualifications which is normally minimum of senior six (S.6) for members of parliament.

Further still, there is a challenge of election violence, despite guidelines being derived from provisions of the laws governing the conduct of elections during campaigns, violence is taking root and is a serious challenge in the electoral process. An example of the recent violence was in Masaka District, Bukomansimbi County by-elections, where violence was cited. Putting in place a credible voters' register is another challenge the E.C meets, this is because success of Election Day mainly depends on the accuracy of the voters' register. This implies that ensuring there is no double registration, under age and non citizens are not on the register. Independence of the E.C is a challenge too and there is need to ensure that sufficient safeguards are put in place to protect its independence. No other body including the line ministry and other complementary bodies should influence its work. Inadequate funding is another challenge the E.C faces. Funding affects the remuneration of field officials hence low caliber persons are recruited and entrusted with the

work of conducting all electoral activities like display of the register before polling day and presiding over the elections on the actual day when elections are to take place. With the challenges above, the E.C faces difficulties delivering results that are 100% efficient and credible.

1.2. Statement of the problem

The field of Election Administrators is not regarded as a profession in many quarters, yet it is a technically demanding enterprise, requiring sound management and specialized skills (www.aceproject.org). The outcome of an election can literally become a life or death issue when the parties involved accept the election results case of Kenya (2007) and Zimbabwe (2008). Multiparty dispensation is not a new political system in Uganda, it was being practiced since independence up to 1980's, it was later reinstated in 2005 after a referendum was held, and the multiparty system of governance won the election. An election body known as the Electoral Commission of Uganda was established by the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, to manage the elections.

The 1995 Constitution mandates the Electoral Commission of Uganda to organise, conduct and supervise elections in the country in a fair and transparent manner. Like any other organisation, the E.C is bound to meet challenges in implementing this mandate. Indeed the E.C has been meeting a number of organisational challenges including inadequate publicity and voter education challenges in the registration process, the legal framework and how it raises the funds. Such challenges have an effect on managing an election. However, despite the different studies that have been carried out by Democracy Monitoring Group (DEMGROUP) titled 'Ugandans

Decide, Presidential and Parliamentary Elections 2006; Presidential and Parliamentary Report 2006', by the Electoral Commission of Uganda, these challenges are still in existence. This study therefore was to find out why there are persistent problems and what could be the possible solutions. While there may be a number of factors that could affect the management of an efficient election, this Study concentrated on the organizational factors of publicity and voter education and voter registration process, together with the moderating effect of legal framework and funding. The central question of the study was: ‘

“ How do the organisational challenges of publicity and voter education, voter registration process and the moderating factors funding and legal framework affect the management of elections in a multiparty democracy in Uganda?”

1.3. Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study was to assess the organisational challenges affecting Uganda Electoral Commission in the management of elections in a multiparty democracy.

1.4. Objectives of the study

This study was guided by the following objectives:-

- 1) To establish the relationship between publicity and voter education in management of elections in a multi-party democracy.
- 2) To examine the extent to which voter registration process challenges affect the management of elections in a multi-party democracy.
- 3) To assess the moderator effect of the legal framework on management of elections in a multi-party democracy.

- 4) To analyse the moderator effect of funding the management of elections in a multi-party democracy.

1.5. Research questions.

The following research questions were posed during the study:-

- 1) How does publicity and voter education affect the management of elections in a multi-party democracy?
- 2) To what extent does, the voter registration process challenges affect the management of elections in a multi-party democracy?
- 3) What is the moderating effect of the legal framework on the management of elections in a multi-party democracy?
- 4) What is the moderating effect of funding on the management of elections in a multi-party democracy?

1.6. Hypotheses

The following hypotheses guided the study:-

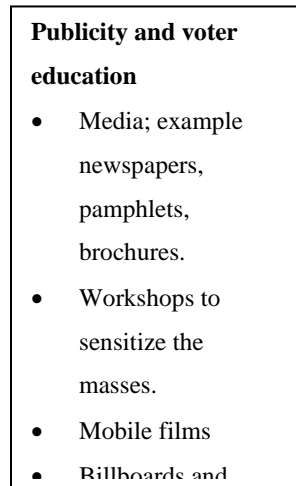
- a) There is a positive relationship between publicity, voter education and the management of elections in a multi-party democracy.
- b) The voter registration process has a positive relationship with the management of elections in a multi-party democracy.
- c) There is a significant relationship between legal framework and management of elections in a multi-party democracy.
- d) There is a significant relationship between funding and management of elections in a multi-party democracy.

1.7. Conceptual framework

Conceptual framework showing the relationship among the organizational challenges, moderating variables and management of elections

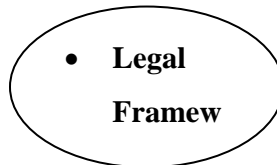
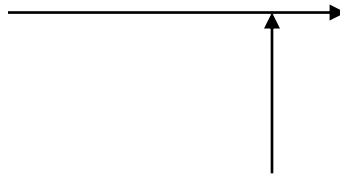
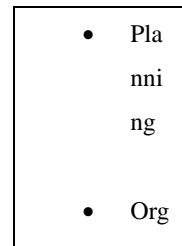
Organizational Challenges

(IV)



Management of Elections

(DV)



Moderating Variable (MV)

Figure 1: Conceptual framework showing the Organizational challenges met by E.C

Source: Koontz & O'Donnell (1984),

1.8. Scope of the Study

The study was carried out at the headquarters of The Electoral Commission of Uganda.

The Commission's headquarters is located in Kampala, Jinja Road, plot 53/56.

The content scope of the study was Organisational challenges, publicity and voter education and the voter registration process as the independent variable, legal framework and funding as the moderating variable and Management of elections as the dependent variable.

The period was 2001 – 2008. During 2001, the elections that were conducted were one party and after the referendum in 2005, the elections held were multiparty, so this period was chosen to have an insight into both elections of one party and multiparty dispensation. Data was collected from eighty (80) group members.

1.9. Justification of the Study

The results of this study may be useful source of knowledge to the Electoral Commission on election management strategies. The study may also help the Commission management solve some of the problems they faced in the last concluded elections, to conduct better elections that are anticipated to take place in 2011. This area was an area of interest because there has been an outcry from the public about the inefficiency of the Electoral Commission to conduct free and fair elections, this study has brought out the loopholes and the study found solutions to the complaints.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 INTRODUCTION

The main objective of this chapter is to critically review the existing literature related to organizational challenges that the E.C encounters in managing elections in the context of a multiparty dispensation. This chapter presents the theoretical literature review, the actual literature review and summary of literature review. Sources of literature that were used in this study included journals, previous dissertations, internet, research papers and conference presentations, government publications and documents, text books, to mention but a few.

2.1 Theoretical Review

Systems theory was proposed in the 1940's by the biologist Bertalanffy, (1968), and further by Ashby (1956). Von Bertalanffy was both reacting against reductionism and attempting to revive the unity of science. He emphasized that real systems are open and interact with their environments so that they can acquire qualitatively new properties. Rather than reducing entity (example human body) to the properties of its parts or elements (example organs or cells), Systems Theory focuses on the arrangement of the relations between the parts which connect them into a whole (holism). This particular organisation determines a system, which is independent of the concrete substance of the elements. According to Jain & Saakshi (2008), they believe that a system is an integrated whole of various subsystems which interact with each other and through such interactions create new patterns of behavior that are separate from, but related to the patterns specified by the original system. Namara, (1999), argues that a system is a collection of parts unified to accomplish an overall goal. A system can be looked at as having

inputs, processes, outputs and outcomes. Systems share feedback among each of these four aspects of the system. In an organization, inputs would include resources such as raw materials, money, technology and people. These inputs go through a process where they are planned, organized, motivated and controlled ultimately to meet the organisation's goals. Feedback would be information from Human Resource, it also comes from the larger environment of the organization for example influences from government, society, economics and technology.

A system is said to consist of four things. The first is objects:- these are the parts, elements within the system. These may be abstract or both, depending on the nature of the system. Second, a system consists of attributes – qualities or properties of the system and its objects. Third, a system has internal relationships among its objects. Fourth, systems exist in an environment. A system is a set of things that affect one another within the environment and form a larger pattern that is different from any of the parts. A closed system does not interact with its environment, does not take information and therefore is likely to vanish. An open system receives information, which it uses to interact dynamically with its environment. Openness increases its likelihood to survive and prosper.

2.2 Publicity and Voter Education in Election Management

Publicity and voter education involves creating awareness among the citizens of a country of their rights. Voter education sensitizes the voters on all matters concerning elections and referenda. It explains the purpose and the procedures of the voting process in these elections. In every election, voter and civic education are necessary to ensure that all constituents, men and women alike understand their rights, their political system and the contests they are being asked

to decide how and where to vote. For an election to be democratic, voters must be sufficiently knowledgeable and well informed to cast ballots that are legally valid and to participate meaningfully in the voting process. Civic education can help enhance women's participation in elections through the dissemination of positive images of women as voters, leaders and participants in all aspects of the political process. Voter education campaigns should seek to achieve universal coverage of the electorate. To do this effectively requires reaching out to disadvantaged groups, as well as main stream voters.

Voter education should take into account factors such as high rates of illiteracy or the use of different languages in a country. Voter education should include publicity encouraging people to vote. Minority groups, internally displaced persons and other marginalized segments of society should be specifically targeted. Young people voting for the first time may need special explanatory messages. Effective voter education campaigns should start early and continue throughout the electoral process. Constituents should be informed about voter registration procedures so they have ample time to register, check their respective voter lists to ensure their entries are correct, they should be informed of the type of election to be held, the polling date, location and how to cast their ballots ([http://www elections](http://www.elections).)

According to UNDP, (2003), during the 2002 presidential elections in Kenya, the UNDP coordinated a multifaceted voter education and training initiative that included community based voter education, the monitoring of civic preparedness and the evaluation of pre-electoral environment with local observers. With support coming from many other organisations as well, the programmes demonstrated the popular commitment to open democratic process at every level

and re-inforced the readiness to change and commitment to democracy among the Kenyan people. The elections were ultimately considered to be the most free and fairest Kenya held up to that point. In Bangladesh, the electoral training has been established to give training to all stakeholders of the electoral process. Since the establishment of the electoral Training institution (ETI), it has imparted training to more than 1.6 million persons, including members of the political parties, judicial officers, journalists, election observers and so on. It has embarked on a voter awareness campaign. According to the first report of Session 2004-2005, House of Commons Northern Ireland Affairs Committee, Electoral registration in Northern Ireland; in 2004 July, the level of awareness among the voters was rated at 84%. The population said they knew about the changes to the electoral registration system.

Elkit & Reynolds,(2002); Elkit & Svensson, (1997); IDEA, (2002); Schedler,(2002); argue that a perspective focused on quality, on the other hand, revolves around judgments and assessments by informed election observers based on a set of standards. Independent observers base their judgments on information provided by political parties and other relevant actors. Although independent observers may also have reasons to distort their public judgments based on changing standards, bias or vested interests, employing a variety of sources should minimize the risk of potentially systematic bias while avoiding the obvious pitfall of relying exclusively on the judgments of party actors. This is the perspective we adopt.

<http://arp.sagepub.com> further states that ‘voting systems were purchased and implemented without considering the effectiveness of the system in recording votes or the appropriateness of the system for the population of voters who would use the technology. Electoral jurisdictions

failed to implement voter education programmes to train poll workers effectively, even though there is evidence that such programmes are important for helping voters cast meaningful ballots.’ <http://arp.sagepub.com> further states ‘the growth in number of Americans who do not speak English at home creates new challenges for administrators. As immigrants, these individuals place demands on various government agencies for services, ranging from education and public health to tax collections. Once immigrants become citizens, they need to be able to participate in the electoral process... Serving these individuals effectively often requires providing them with information in their native language or providing them with translators’. This is to ensure that all the people are covered and fully understand whatever is going on when it comes to elections.

DEMGROUP 2005, during the Referendum, E.C launched its voter education programme on 10th May 2005 at Uganda Manufacturers Association hall in Kampala. At the meeting the E.C informed participants that it had accredited forty eight (48) CSO’s to assist the E.C in carrying out voter education. The E.C concentrated its voter education activities in the electronic and print media. The E.C mainly concentrated on referendum question and the symbols. However the civic education was not adequate, this is seen in the New Vision of July 14th 2005, which says a random survey on “Ugandans know about the referendum” revealed the 64 % of the respondents did not understand what the referendum was about. In Mexico both print and media play a vital role in the run-up to an election. By televising live debates, airing talks on radio stations, giving coverage of election related activities, running adverts, so that the electorate is suitably informed. According to the report made by the research department E.C Uganda; The Indian E.C has a comprehensive policy for the media. It holds regular briefings for the mass media, which is both the print and electronic at close intervals during the election period and on specific issues as

necessary. Representatives of the media are provided with facilities to report on actual conduct of the polls and counting and tallying of the votes. They are allowed entry into the polling stations on the basis of authority letters issued by the Commission. The library of the Commission is available for research and study to members of the academic fraternity and media representatives.

2.3 Voter Registration process and Management of Elections.

Voter Registration is the exercise carried out to ensure that all citizens who are 18 years and above are registered. This is the core of the whole electoral process but is always faced with challenges. For example, Smith and Clark (2005) while commenting on revolutionising the voting process through online strategy in America, observed that manual voting systems are prone to manipulation, miscalculation of votes, ballot stuffing among others; finding that prompted the authors to suggest an overhaul of the voting system. These problems could also apply in Uganda. However, the existing literature on voter registration in Uganda lacks documented evidence on strategies that have successfully worked to improve the voter registration. Meanwhile, Nevo and Kim(2006) have argued that internet voting has the potential to increase election turnout by providing voters with a convenient voting mode that does not require them to leave their homes or offices. Elections would not take place if there were no voters (House of Commons Northern Ireland Affairs Committee, report of Session 2004-2005); The Electoral Fraud act 2002 introduced major changes to the electoral registration process aimed at combating electoral fraud which had been long perceived as a significant problem in Northern Ireland. This committee was formed to find out the reasons for the reported drop in voter registration in some areas, the procedure in place for publicizing and issuing the new

electoral identity card, the measure taken to prepare voters and presiding officers at polling stations for other changes in voting procedures, lastly the effectiveness of measures taken by government and other bodies to promote participation in parliamentary elections in Northern Ireland, while tackling electoral fraud.

The four main forms of fraud which were thought to be prevalent and significant were; one - Multiple entries on the register; it is legal for individuals to be registered at more than one address, however it renders the system vulnerable to multiple voting. The EC is trying to stop this at the moment by planning to use the biometric system in the forthcoming elections come 2011. Photographic register helps contain this, because each person has a photo attached to his particulars. Two - Impersonating; is where a vote is stolen by someone who pretends to be another entitled to vote. Three - Absent vote abuse, which involves postal or proxy voting (internet voting). Four - Undue influence; which includes intimidation and activists following postmen delivering postal votes and then calling at the houses to pick the vote forms. To sum it up, the Electoral Fraud Act (Northern Ireland) 2002 has been successful in reducing both the perception among the electorate level of electoral fraud.

The E.C selected 7th – 21st March 2005 as the initial registration period, however due to a number of reasons like, the Commission extended the period by three days to 24th March 2005 and later by further two weeks to 8th April 2005. According to a paper presented at a workshop on 21st March 2003, it is believed the best way to develop and maintain the voters' register is through computerization. The credibility of an electoral process is greatly dependent upon the criteria used by an Electoral Authority to identify eligible participants in an electoral activity

among others. For instance, determining who can vote is obviously preliminary issue to determining who can register for voting.

The inability to register all eligible voters is a right denied. Successful voter registration is a key consideration for any election more specifically as it relates to the accuracy and inclusiveness of all eligible voters. In Ethiopia, 6.4 million of those eligible to vote missed out. Zambia 2003, the registration of voters' for the tripartite elections was reported to have considerably improved from the last elections. The voters register is displayed to the public for a specified number of days so that inaccuracies can be identified and corrected by the election management board. In Mexico for any political organization to become a national political party, it must apply for and obtain its registration certificate from the EMB, Institute of Federal Electoral (IFE). The party must submit its declaration of principles, Action plan, bylaws that shall regulate its activities and also demonstrate a nation wide enrolment of at least 0.26 % of the total registered voters from the preceding election.

The process of managing an election in a multiparty political setting requires the EMB to strictly monitor the parties as well as apply sanctions whenever there is a need. This requires a fully fledged department or unit with strong audit that monitors financing of these parties. Absentee voting is permitted in Mexico for Mexicans leaving abroad. In India, general elections for electing a new lower house of parliament (Lok Sabha), involves management of the lowest event in the world. All political parties are registered with the E.C under the law. The Commission ensures inner party democracy in their functioning by insisting upon them to hold their

organizational elections at periodic intervals. In Uganda, it is still being advocated for especially by Ugandan citizens living in the Diaspora, though it is not yet in place.

2.4 Legal framework for Election management.

Pastor (1998, pp.159) argues that a measure of legitimacy of an election is centered on the views of the different Political Actors, and an election may be considered free and fair if ‘the major parties all accept the process and respect the results’. No law is effective unless its enforcement mechanism is sufficiently strong to enforce it. In Bangladesh, all elections to parliament are held and conducted under the Representation of the People Order 1972 (RPO) and the conduct of elections Rules, 1972.

In Malawi, the electoral law was assessed to be sufficient although there were attempts to adjust the constitution to allow the conduct of tripartite elections so that Local Government elections were conducted in 2004. According to the Malawi Electoral Support Network (MESN) Report dated 20/05/2004, MEC did not apply the law to deal with the many electoral petitions and complaints that arose during the process. MEC did not undertake to ensure that all political parties had equal access to public resources including public media, however the stake holders sought redress from the courts based on the same electoral law, and in the ruling, the court noted that MEC had abrogated its mandate.

According to Democracy Monitoring Group (DEMGROUP) 2005, an NGO that was among those accredited by the E.C, objectives of the legal framework are: To make the electoral laws easily accessible to the public; to have transparent electoral laws; to have electoral laws which

cater for all components of the election process in a democratic manner. The election of the president is a legal provision in the Constitution of Uganda 1995, and the Presidential Elections Act 2000, supported by the Electoral Commission Act. These electoral laws clearly provide for the procedure of conducting the Presidential electoral process from the nomination of presidential candidates to the declaration and challenging of the election results.

However, despite the clear and objective provisions, The Presidential Elections Act 2000 was passed late and as a result impacted negatively on the entire electoral process. The Presidential Elections Act, 2000, was passed by Parliament on 28th November 2000 and was assented to by The President on 8th December 2000. Presidential elections could not be held without the Act, which had to replace the Presidential Elections statute 1996, which provided for the election of the President under the 1995 Act.

Barya (2004) argues that timely enactment and amendment of any electoral laws is very crucial in as far as the operation and fulfillment of the Constitutional mandate of the Commission is concerned. Enactment and amendment of the electoral laws should be effected at least six months prior to general elections for planning purposes. It was also noted that the E.C did not have the legal competence to verify academic qualifications. Uganda National Examinations Board (UNEB) should set up a body to streamline foreign qualifications which are equivalent to A' level and Uganda National Examinations Board (UNEB) should always be respondent where the issue on qualification arises.

Parliamentary Elections Report by E.C Uganda dated June 2001; the challenge was for the E.C to conduct the various parliamentary elections within the constitutional deadlines. The main law came into effect from 20th April 2001. The main Act was amended several times, which complicated the situation on the ground. Initially the PEA had prescribed for elections of District women members of parliament to be held on the same day as the directly elected members under article 78 of the 1995 Constitution, an amendment was made to separate the election of District women and directly elected members of parliament from being held on the same day. District members of Parliament were to use electoral colleges and not universal adult suffrage as was the case.

In India, the Electoral Commission has the power to disqualify a candidate who has failed to account for his election expenses within the time stipulated and in the manner prescribed by the law. The Commission also has the power to remove or reduce the period of such qualification and also other disqualification under the law (Report from E.C Research department).

In Uganda, the basic laws that governed the 2006 elections were : The Constitution of The Republic of Uganda 1995, The Presidential Election Act, The Electoral Commission Act, Parliamentary Elections Act, The Local Government Act, The Electronics Media act and The Political Parties and Organisations Act. According to the Report by Democracy Monitoring Group (DEMGROUP) on Presidential and Parliamentary elections 2006, the various enabling legislation for the 2006 elections were not assented to by the president until mid-November 2005 just two weeks before nominations for the presidential candidates. This late passage of legislation had adverse impacts on the political parties' candidates, Electoral Commission and

voters. With regard to the political parties, the late enactment of the electoral laws constrained the establishment of operational structures at various levels. It further hindered their capacity to hold primary elections and their ability to function effectively. For the Electoral Commission, the late enactment of legislation affected their ability to conduct effective voter education.

2.5 Funding and Management of Elections.

Funding is important if management of elections is to be done well. However the amount and time of funding is equally very important. According to the Malawi Electoral Support Network (MESN) report (2004), Parliamentary and Presidential Elections dated 20th May, indicates that MEC released its electoral calendar in time. However, owing to financial constraints, the MEC was unable to efficiently implement its electoral calendar. MEC suffered logistical problems mainly in sourcing for cameras, delivering materials and accrediting of NGOs to carry out civic and voter education.

According to the report about registration in Northern Ireland 2004-2005, the Electoral office told the House of Commons Northern Ireland affairs Committee, that it had insufficient money at the start of each year to deliver the requirements of the act, reason being that the budget baseline for the EONI was set before the Electoral Fraud Act came into force. The EONI budget is funded by the Northern Ireland office for all its expenditure, apart from that which arises directly from running elections.

The E.C believes it should be independent and funded from the consolidated fund through Parliament, this would enable it to operate on the basis of a business plan, which would allow it

to take a more hands-on approach. The above is practiced in Canada and is seen in <Http://www.sagepublications.com>, states that Elections Canada as an independent agency is funded by an annual appropriation that covers the salaries of permanent full time employees and by the statutory authority to draw on the consolidated Revenue fund contained in the Canada Elections Act, the Referendum Act and the Electoral boundaries Readjustment Act. The Statutory authority covers all other expenditures, including the cost of preparing and conducting electoral events. Qualifying political parties are given quarterly allowance.

In 2001, the E.C's election budget was reduced from 23.6 billion to 20.6 billion for both presidential and parliamentary elections. Although article 61(1) of the Constitution stipulates that parliament shall ensure that adequate resources and facilities are provided to the commission to enable it to perform its functions. With the released amount, there are delays in release and disbursement of funds.

Elections for lower local councils that were meant to take place about two years ago, have never taken place, because the government says it does not have the funds. Evidence of this is seen in The Sunday Vision of 10th August 2008, where there is a written interview of the Secretary to the Electoral Commission.

2.6 Summary of Literature Review

The main reasons why elections are held, is to have democracy in the different states, and the people are given a chance to choose whoever they deem fit to lead them. In the scope of this study, Presidential, Parliamentary and Local Council elections were held in 2005 and the next elections are anticipated in 2011. The bodies that conduct the elections are commonly known as Electoral Commissions and they are believed to be systems. The system consists of various subsystems as seen in the Systems theory, which subsystems in the Commissions are the different departments that form the organisation. However, the Electoral Commission as an organisation is bound to meet some challenges in due course of performing its duties. For the case of The Electoral Commission of Uganda, it faces challenges like, publicity and voter education. According to the findings, though E.C carried out Publicity and Voters' Education assisted by other accredited bodies, the work done was not being done on time. The media which comprises of the Newspapers and Televisions had done a commendable job. The next challenge faced is about Voter Registration process ; 83.6% of the respondents agreed that registration takes place, though some respondents disagreed about the issue on the accuracy of the register. Further still there were moderating variables, these are issues that the E.C has no control over. One of these is the Legal Framework. The findings were; the Acts and Ammendments were important for the E.C to perform its duties efficiently, but were not passed on time. The other moderating variable was Funding. The findings were the E.C does received funds, though they were insufficient and on top of that were not released on time. Conclusively, Multiparty politics is a new dispensation, and like any new idea, problems and opposition are bound to be met.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter explains the methodology used in the study. It presents the research design, study population, sample size and selection, sampling techniques and procedures, data collection methods, instruments, validity and reliability, procedure for data collection, data analysis and measurement of variables.

3.1 Research Design

This study was carried out using a cross sectional survey design. Ahuja, (2005), defines cross sectional survey design as the procedure for gathering information from a large number of people by collecting information from a few of them. This design was chosen because it minimizes bias and maximizes reliability of the data collected, and its flexibility in data collection of both quantitative and qualitative data at the same time. Quantitative data is numerical data that is collected and statistically analysed so as to predict and explain issues. Qualitative data is narrative and descriptive information that explains and gives thorough analysis of a problem. The researcher collects open ended, emerging data with the primary intent of developing themes from the data (Amin, 2005). Open ended data was collected when interviewing the respondents.

3.2 Study Population

Mugenda & Mugenda, (2003), define population as an entire group of individuals, events or objects having a common observable characteristic. In other words, population is the aggregate

of all that conforms to a given specification. A target population is that population to which a researcher wants to generalize the results of a study. However, because the target population may not be always available to the researcher, samples were drawn from the accessible population (Amin, 2005). The Electoral Commission of Uganda has a total of five hundred members of staff (500), however for this study two hundred eighteen (218) Electoral Commission employees were the focus of the study. Due to the limited time frame for this study, purposive stratification and simple random sampling, were used to obtain the target population from 234 employees in the E.C. the sample size was selected using Morgan and Craigie table adopted from Amin. This is shown in the table below. The study population was selected from District Registrars, who in most cases double as the Returning Officers and the total was eighty (80) members, one hundred thirty eight (138) headquarter staff, five (5) Commissioners, eight (8) heads of department and three (3) directors. Those not included were represented by 185 employees that were to be selected.

3.3 Sample size and Selection

According to Mugenda & Mugenda, (2003, p.10), Researchers select a given number of members from the accessible population. This group is carefully selected so as to represent the whole population with the relevant characteristics. A sample is therefore a smaller group obtained from the accessible population. Each member in the sample is referred to as a subject or respondent or interviewee. The sample size for this study was selected using Krejcie & Morgan, 1970 as adopted from Amin. In this case the sample was 80 (eighty) people as seen in chapter 4.

Table 1: sample size determination

Category	Population	Sample size	Sampling technique
Commissioners	5	5	Purposive
Directors	3	3	Purposive
Heads of Department	8	8	Purposive
Headquarter Staff	138	103	Simple Random Sampling
District Registrars / RO's	80	66	Simple Random Sampling
Total	234	185	

Note: signifies Morgan & Krefcic table adopted from Amin, 2005.

3.4 Sampling Techniques

The study was purposive and simple random sampling techniques were used to select the respondents. Purposive sampling was used to allow the researcher to select respondents with “rich” information that supplied the objectives of the study (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003). Purposive sampling is also believed to be more economical and less time consuming. (Gupta, 1999). The simple random sampling technique was used to ensure proportionate representation from the various strata of the study population (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003, Berg, 2004). The size of sample from each stratum was based on its reliability to provide the required information about election management.

3.5 Data collection methods and instruments

Data was collected using primary and secondary methods and it is both qualitative and quantitative data. Questions, interviews and review of documents were used (Mugenda &

Mugenda, 2003). The questions involved use of a set of questions to be self administered with closely defined alternatives (Sekaran 2000). The interview method comprised of personal interviews with individuals who are believed to be in the know of the information relevant to the objectives of the study. Interview schedules were used (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003) and this was on a small percentage of staff, this was meant to extract information that may not have been obtained using the questionnaires. Open ended questions were used to collect the necessary data. Documents were reviewed to check on how the electoral commission manages its elections in this era of multiparty democracy.

3.6 Validity

According to Mugenda & Mugenda, (2003) pp.99, validity is the degree to which results obtained from the analysis of the data actually represent the phenomenon under study. It has to do with how accurately the obtained in the study represents the variables of the study. Pretesting helped to estimate the time it took the respondents to fill the questionnaire. Pretesting involved administering of questionnaires to twenty (20) group members, selected outside the sample to give answers and comments on the clarity, accuracy and time. Yin (1994) cited by Tellis (1997), suggested using multiple sources of evidence as a way to ensure construct validity in case study.

3.7 Reliability

The most appropriate way of testing reliability is a pre-test. For reliability to exist in the data, the data collection techniques must yield information that is not only relevant to the research hypothesis, but also correct. Mugenda & Mugenda (2003), Reliability is a measure of the degree to which a research instrument yields consistent results or data after repeated trials. The study

used multiple sources of evidence; questionnaires, interviews, observation and documents. Reliability of the questionnaires in relation to consistency of the respondents was tested by means of the co-efficient alpha. The reliability was 0.79 and according to Nunnally (1978) cited by Little (1993), Cronbach's Alpha of 0.70 or higher is generally sufficient to show reliability.

Cronbach's coefficient Alpha which is the general form of the Kuder – Richardson (K – R) 20 formula will be used. It was based on the split-half reliabilities of the data from all possible halves of the instrument. The above formula was chosen because it reduces the time required to compute reliability co-efficient. Its application also resulted in a more conservative estimate of reliability. The estimate co-efficient of reliability is always lower. To avoid erroneous conclusions it is always better to underestimate reliability of data than to over estimate it.

K-R 20 Formula is

$$KR_{20} = \frac{(K) (S^2 - \Sigma s^2)}{(S^2) (K-1)}$$

Where KR_{20} = Reliability coefficient of internal consistency

K = Number of items used to measure concept

S^2 = Variance of all scores

s^2 = Variance of individual items

(Source: Mugenda & Mugenda, p.99, 2003.)

The reliability of the questionnaires in relation to consistency of the respondents' answers was tested. Internal consistence of the scales used in the study was estimated by means of the coefficient alpha. The reliabilities are 0.55 for Publicity and Voter Education; 0.69 Voter Registration process; 0.46 Legal framework; 0.64 Funding; and 0.43 for Management. Overall

reliability was = 0.80. Which implied the questionnaire was reliable. An alpha of 0.70 or higher is generally sufficient to show reliability. In order to carry out statistical tests of significance, the level of confidence was preset at 0.05. According to Brause (2000), the statistical test is predicted to be accurate for a certain percent of the population. Thus a 0.05 level suggests that the researcher can have confidence that 95 times out of 100, results are accurate. In carrying out the correlation and regression analysis, the researcher used the different variable study including publicity and voter education, voter registration, legal framework and funding.

3.8 Data collection procedures

Self administered questionnaires were designed, pre-tested and later distributed by the researcher and one (1) Research Assistant to the eighty (80) respondents. The questionnaires distributed were structured questions, which required specific responses. Self administered questionnaires enable the researcher to get detailed information from respondents who may not be accessible for personal interviews and allow respondents to maintain their anonymity and reconsider their responses. The data collected using self administered questionnaires was quantitative in nature.

Key informants interviews were conducted for staff from E.C using interview guides. The purpose of this is to collect information from a wide range of people who have first hand knowledge, so as to provide information on the nature of the problems and give recommendations for solutions. Data collected was collected was qualitative data.

Document review and observation using checklists was conducted and this was looking at the reports made by the different organizations that were involved in the electoral process, especially

the monitoring part. An example of this is the DEMGROU and reports presented by officers of the E.C and invited speakers at workshops and seminars.

3.9 Data Analysis

Raw data obtained was processed and analysed after collection. Processing involved editing, coding, classification and presentation in form of frequency tables, code sheets were established before data was entered in the computer to minimize errors. Data generated was analysed using appropriate computer software called Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) which is believed to be more widely available than other soft wares like Minitab (Fisher, 2007). Three techniques were used to analyse the data: the first one was descriptive analysis which offered general description of data through measures of central tendency (mean, mode, median) and measures of dispersion range and standard deviation. The second was correlational analysis which measured presence or absence of correlation, direction of correlation (negative / positive) strength of correlation and lastly linear regression analysis for significance testing which gave an indication of the findings.

Qualitative data was analysed using content or thematic analysis. A theme was derived from the study objectives and responses from interviews, focus group discussions were arranged under the respective themes. Common responses were used during the time of writing to express generally held opinions on each of those variables. Presentation was done using the percentages and their frequencies, cross tabulations, correlation and regression tables and the Anova table (measures of central tendency: mean mode, median).

3.10 Measurement of variables

The variables were measured using nominal and ordinal types of measurements. Nominal scale of measurement applies to cases which have some common set of characteristics such as sex, religion, employment status. In nominal measurement numbers are assigned for purposes of identification, ordinal measurement categorises elements being measured and also ranks them into some order (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003). The study used a five likert scale to measure the independent, dependent and moderating variable, as 1= strongly agree, 2= agree, 3= undecided, 4= disagree and 5= strongly disagree.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

4.0 Introduction

The study was conducted to find out how Publicity, Voter Education and Voter Registration process affected the management of elections. It also assessed the moderator effect of Funding and Legal Framework. This chapter presents findings and analysis of the study. The main method of data collection was self administered questionnaires. One hundred eighty five copies of the questionnaire were sent out to the employees of The Electoral Commission who were randomly selected especially among the Headquarter staff and District Registrars/Returning officers. Based on this number, the response rate was 43.2% (n=80).

4.1 DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS

In this study, the researcher wished to find out the demographic characteristics: age, category, level of education and years of service of the respondents.

4.1.1 Gender of respondents

Gender of respondents was considered in order to determine whether the sex of respondents had influence on the management of elections in the Electoral Commission as shown in table 2 below:

Table 2: Gender of respondents

Gender	Frequency	Percent
Male	43	53.8%
Female	37	46.3%
Total	80	100%

From table 2 above, the males constituted 53.8 % (43), while the females constituted 46.3% (37) of the total respondents. This implied that there was gender balance in the organization. Though the number of males was higher than that of the females, the difference was minimal. Therefore ideas were obtained from both sexes, and no group would feel left out.

4.1.2 Age of respondents

In terms of the age distribution of respondents, this study had four different age groups which were thought to have implication on the study variables.

Table 3: Age of respondents

Age	Frequency	Percent
20 - 30	6	7.5%
31 - 40	24	30%
41 - 50	36	45%
51 - 60	14	17.5%
Total	80	100%

Table 3 indicates that the respondents were adults representing different age groups. From the questionnaires administered, the findings are summarized as follows: Respondents in the age bracket of 20-30 years had the lowest percentage of 7.5% (6) respondents. The least percentage frequency was probably because those in that age bracket were mainly lower ranking personnel, and others were new recruits, who had not yet attained experience.

The age group of 41-50 had the highest of 45% (36) respondents, this was because they were more experienced and had been in the organization for some time. The highest percentage frequency response constituted members who had gained some experience and were in position

to provide the required information. The above showed that the majority of the employees are 30 years and above and therefore mature enough to make good decisions.

4.1.3 Category of respondents

The category of respondents was considered because it was assumed that they were more knowledgeable about the electoral work, compared to some of the staff that were left out of the sample study like the support staff. The findings are contained in Table 4 below.

Table 4: Category of respondents

Category of respondent	Frequency	Percent
Commissioner	1	1.3%
Director	3	3.8%
Headquarter staff	56	70%
DR / RO	14	17.5%
Head of Department	6	7.6%
Total	80	100%

Results in table 4 show that headquarter staff and District Registrars/ Returning officers were the majority in frequency and percentages. This was because these were the people that actually did the physical work in the management of elections. The Commissioners, Directors and Heads of Department drew the policies, which were to be effected by the staff members with the highest frequency 70 (87.5%). On polling day the R/O was the over all person in the district. Actually at that time he is “The E.C Chairman” Kiggundu of the district.

4.1.4 Respondents’ levels of education

The level of education for respondents showed that the majority of the employees had attained some level of education and therefore had a bearing on the management of elections in the

multiparty democracy. If the people recruited are illiterate, then the management of elections would be in a crisis, because the organizers would not know of what to do. The finding is represented in table 5.

Table 5: Respondents' levels of education

Highest level of Education	Frequency	Percent
O Level	2	2.5%
A Level	2	2.5%
Certificate holder	4	5%
Diploma holder	14	17.5%
University Graduate	25	31.3%
Post Graduate Diploma	15	18.8%
Masters	18	22.6%
Total	80	100%

The results in table 5 above show that the majority of the respondents are university graduates with a degree and above. This implied that most of the officers were knowledgeable and were in position to make wise decisions because they were literate and had some experience about the electoral process.

Table 6: Years of service

Years of service in the EC	Frequency	Percent
Less than 2 years	2	2.5%
3 - 5 years	21	26.3%
6 - 10 years	34	42.5%
More tan 10 years	23	28.8%
Total	80	100%

According to table 6 above, the highest number of employees, 42.5 %(34) respondents had been in the organization for a long period, which was between 6 – 10years. These were recruited

during the peak of preparations for 2002 general elections. This implied that majority of the staff at the E.C had participated in at least one or more general election.

Table 7: Descriptive Statistics about the variables

	Mean	Std. Deviation
Management	3.1198	0.3824
Publicity and Voter Education	3.3875	0.4528
Voter Registration process	3.4859	0.5632
Legal Framework	3.6413	0.4188
Funding	2.829	0.5682

From the descriptive statistics of independent and dependent variables apart from funding, the rest have an average mean above 3 meaning that the respondents agreed to publicity, voter education, voter registration process and Legal framework being important in the management of election. However funding is not thought to be important by some of the respondents, this was because in most cases it was not sufficient and not provided on time.

4.2.0 Empirical Findings

The empirical findings are presented and interpreted in tables, frequency and percentages below:

4.2.1 Publicity and Voter Education in Election Management

The study rated publicity and voter education in order to determine how it affected or contributed to the management of elections by the E.C. The study examined the publicity, the other bodies involved, the timing, workshops and materials distributed, how they affected the management of elections in a multiparty democracy. Responses to this section were given according to a five likert scale score of strongly disagree (1), disagree (2), undecided (3), agree (4), and strongly agree (5). They were then converted to frequencies and percentages as seen in table 8 below. The results below indicate mixed feelings and reactions.

Table 8: Results on publicity and voter education in election management

	S. D	D	UN	A	S. A
Publicity of Electoral activities is carried out by EC	1 1.3%	2 2.5%	2 2.5%	39 48.8%	36 45%
Other bodies especially NGO's that are accredited by EC to help it in publicity and training are very efficient	1 1.3%	20 25%	18 22.5%	23 28.8%	18 22.5%
The EC cannot do without other stakeholders in Voter Education		10 12.5%	9 11.3%	24 30%	37 46.3%
Voter Education is carried out on time by the EC	8 10%	36 45%	1 1.3%	18 22.5%	17 21.3%
The media plays an important role in sensitising the masses about the voting	4 5%	12 15%	7 8.8%	33 41.35%	24 30%
Pamphlets and brochures are distributed to all the people for reading Frequency	7 8.8%	29 36.3%	10 2.5%	20 25%	14 17.5%
Workshops sensitise the masses very well	10 12.5%	17 21.3%	12 15%	24 30%	17 21.3%
The mobile films that are displayed in the moving vans from place to place are educative and send out the messages about the voting procedures	2 2.5%	44 55%	1 1.3%	26 32.5%	7 8.8%
Information about the importance of voting is got from the films	6 7.5%	10 12.5%	12 15%	32 40%	20 25%
The billboards and posters hanged are relevant to the electoral process	1 1.3%	3 3.8%	5 6.3%	49 61.3%	22 27.5%
Good and relevant information is obtained from the billboards by the masses Frequency	2 2.5%	7 8.8%	19 23.8%	44 55%	8 10%

Key: SD=Strongly Disagree; D=Disagree; UN=Undecided; A=Agree; SA=Strongly Agree

It is confirmed from table 8 above that 3.8% (3) respondents disagreed while 93.8% (75) respondents agreed that publicity and voter education was carried out by the E.C. However it was not only the E.C that did the publicity and the voter education, other bodies like the media and NGOs helped and they were efficient. This was confirmed by 45.3% (41) respondents.

Publicity is ensuring that the general public is informed about the electoral process, the rules and regulations that the voters are to follow. The E.C cannot do without other stakeholders in voter education and was confirmed by 76.3% (61) respondents. The coverage done by the media was tremendous, newspapers covered a wide area and several people read them. At the moment the newspapers are informing the masses about the progress of electoral laws. This was why 71.3% (57) respondents agreed that the media played an important role in sensitization of the masses. The live debates on radio, television talk shows and running adverts, also kept the general public informed. This applied to areas that could not access electricity. This may not be a very big percentage, because some rural areas do not have access to electricity.

More needs to be done about the mobile films because results are not seen. In the interview with several of the respondents about the effectiveness of the mobile film vans, the response was *“May be the films are shown to only headquarter staff”*. This implied they are non existent. From the study findings, there was an issue of Voter Education being done on time. It was seen in table 8 above, 45% (36) respondents disagreed voter education is carried out on time. This is in contradiction to the literature obtained from <http://www> elections, which states that effective voter campaigns should start early and continue through out the electoral process.

Workshops held sensitise the masses very well. Currently there is an on going European Union Programme to sensitize the masses in Northern Uganda about the electoral process, people seem to be embracing this programme and gaining something out of it. This further confirmed by 51.3% (41) respondents who agree to the statement that people benefit from the workshops held. The 20% (16) respondents who disagree could be as because they have never attended any of the workshops.

The billboards were important, relevant and good information was obtained from them. This was confirmed by 65% (52) respondents who agreed to the statement. Currently the wall surrounding the E.C premises, has several writings and pictures on it, informing passersby what takes place at the E.C, what voting is all about and its importance. This was one way of educating the masses. Pamphlets and brochures distributed seem not to have done a very effective job, 45.1% (36) respondents disagreed they are distributed, while 42.5 % (34) respondents agreed. That implied that the brochures were distributed, but most of the people did not access them. Those who accessed the pamphlets, they may have been in a language they could not read. That implied that the factor of voter education taking into account issues such as high rates of illiteracy or use of different languages had not been put into consideration.

Table 9: Correlations between Publicity and Voter Education and Election Management

		Publicity and Voter Education	Management
Publicity and Voter Education	Pearson Correlation	1	0.679**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	0.000
	N	80	80
Management	Pearson Correlation	0.679**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000	.
	N	80	80

Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

The correlation result ($R=0.679$, $P<0.01$), showed that publicity and voter education had a significant positive relationship with managing elections. That implied that Publicity and Voter Education help the E.C in management of elections, this was because the masses were aware about the Electoral process and hence managing becomes easier, because the masses were

literate. Hence the two depend on each other. A linear regression model was used to determine how publicity and voter education impacted on management of elections. Rating is shown below:

Table 10: Regression Model results

		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
Model		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	0.212	0.319		0.664	0.509
	Publicity and Voter Education	0.948	0.087	0.776**	10.87	0.000

The regression model results ($R=0.776$, $P< 0.05$) in table 10, revealed that a one standard deviation increase in publicity and voter education led to a 0.776 increase in Election management rating and the results were significantly showing that publicity and voter education were important in the management of elections.

In order to achieve the above results, EC got involved in workshops with the masses, produced pamphlets & brochures for the public, the media and accredited NGOs to help out in publicity and training the masses about elections. This made the management of elections better when dealing with informed voters where publicity and voted education were well done this was usually in urban centers.

4.3 Voter Registration Process and Management of Elections

The study went ahead to examine how the voter registration challenges affected the management of elections. Results are indicated in table 11.

Table 11: Results on Voter Registration and management of elections

	S.D	D	UN	A	S. A
Citizens 18years and above are registered	3 3.8%	5 6.3%	3 3.8%	45 56.3%	24 30%
People registered are citizens of Uganda	2 2.55%	8 10%	6 7.5%	40 50%	24 30%
Relevant data about the registered people is all captured		8 10%	4 5%	42 52.5%	26 32.5%
The captured data about the voters is accurate and efficient	2 2.5%	17 21.3%	9 11.3%	39 48.8%	13 16.3%
Voters' cards are produced on time	15 18.8%	36 45%	7 8.8%	11 13.8%	11 13.8%
registered voters have their voter's cards	7 8.8%	32 40%	12 15%	23 28%	6 7.5%
The voters' register produced by the EC is accurate	1 1.3%	15 18.8%	10 12.5%	37 46.3%	17 21.3%
Voter registers can be printed anytime someone wants it	4 5%	5 6.3%	6 7.55%	36 45%	29 36.3%

Key :SD= strongly Disagree; D=Disagree; UN=Undecided; A=Agree; SA=Strongly Agree

Results in table 11 indicated that citizens 18 years and above were registered. This was supported by 86.3% (69) respondents who agreed. A total of 10.1% (8) respondents disagreed some people were not registered, because some people thought voting was a waste of time. Further still the people registered are citizens of Uganda and this was supported in table 11 above by 80% (64) respondents who agreed. 12.5% (10) respondents disagreed to the statement, this could be because there were complaints from people that some people were on the register, yet they were not citizens of Uganda. Case of this was in the current Buliisa District, when still part of Masindi District in 2005, there were serious wrangles and several people were being deleted from the register on grounds that they were Congolese. Further investigations showed they were citizens.

According to table 11 above, 10% (8) respondents disagreed, and 85% (68) respondents agreed relevant data about the registered people was all captured. Data about ones parents and landlords

names where they resided or originated are filled on the form. This implied that cases of impersonation could easily be identified.

The issue of Voters cards being produced on time, 63.8% (51) of the respondents disagreed while 27.6% (22) respondents agreed. They disagreed because up to now some of the registered voters do not have cards, even those that lost them, which was quite a big number had failed to get replacements because, due to various reasons the E.C is unable to reproduce them .Further still, 20.1% (16) of the respondents disagreed the voters register produced by the E.C was not accurate, while 67.3% (54) respondents agreed. The above results signified that those who disagreed could be as a result of the few errors like double registration, missing particulars and photos. However the agreed were a higher number, implying the register was accurate hence legible and credible. The registers could be printed for who ever wishes to have them anytime during the official working hours. This was supported by 81.3% (65) respondents who agreed, as seen in table 11 above. The 11.3% (9) respondents that disagreed could be because some of the locals and politicians wanted to access the register free of charge, which was not possible, because it had a financial implication.

Table 12 below is a cross tabulation on education level and accuracy of the voters' register. The results indicated that 52 (65.8%) respondents agreed that the voters' register produced by the E.C was accurate. This was further supported by 5.8% certificate holders, 17.3% diploma holders, 30.8% University graduates, 17.3% post graduate diploma holders and 23.1% master's level holders. It implied that despite some people despising the voters register, it was accurate as seen in the results. Further still, the employees most of them had some educational experience.

Table 12 : Cross tabulation on Education level and accuracy of the register.

		Highest level of Education						
		O Level	A Level	Certificate holder	Diploma holder	University Graduate	Post Graduate Diploma	Masters
The voters' register produced by the EC is accurate	Strongly Disagree		1	1	3	3	5	3
			6.3%	6.3%	18.8%	18.8%	31.3%	18.8%
	Undecided				2	6	1	2
					18.2%	54.5%	9.1%	18.2%
	Agree	2	1	3	9	16	9	12
		3.8%	1.9%	5.8%	17.3%	30.8%	17.3%	23.1%
Total		2	2	4	14	25	15	17
		2.5%	2.5%	5.1%	17.7%	31.6%	19.0%	21.5%

The researcher went ahead and used cross tables to investigate further the accuracy of the register. The researcher included all the categories in her findings from those who have worked for a few months up to those who have served the E.C for more than ten years.

The results in table 13 below indicate that respondents who have worked in the E.C for three years or more agreed the voters' register produced by the E.C was accurate. These had the experience and were in the know of what goes on. This was further supported by 66.3% which was 53 respondents agreed that the register was accurate.

Table 13 : Cross tabulation on years in service and accuracy of the register

		Years of service in the EC			
		Less than 2 years	3 - 5 years	6 - 10 years	More than 10 years
The voters' register produced by the EC is accurate	Strongly Disagree		6	5	5
			37.5%	31.3%	31.3%
	Undecided	1	2	2	6
		9.1%	18.2%	18.2%	54.5%
	Agree	1	13	27	12
		1.9%	24.5%	50.9%	22.6%
Total		2	21	34	23
		2.5%	26.3%	42.5%	28.8%
		100%	100%	100%	100%

The correlation results below ($r=0.776$, $p<0.05$), showed that Voter Registration process has a significantly positive relationship with managing elections. The above table implied that if the voters are registered and on time, people have their voter cards, elections would be managed efficiently. Most likely the complaints from the general public would be less and instead be more praises about the work done by the E.C. A linear regression model was used to determine how Voter Registration process impacted on management of elections.

Table14: Correlations between Voter Registration Process and Management of Elections

		Voter Registration process	Management
Voter Registration process	Pearson Correlation	1	0.776**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	0.000
	N	80	80
Management	Pearson Correlation	0.776**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000	.
	N	80	80

Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

The regression model results ($R=0.776$, $P< 0.01$) below revealed that a one standard deviation increase in Voter Registration process led to a 77.6% increase in Election management rating and the results were significantly showing that Voter Registration process was important in the management of elections . In otherwords, improvement in voter registration was likely to contribute 77.6% improvement in management of elections. Rating is shown below:

Table15: Regression Coefficients – Voter Registration Process

		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
Model		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	0.212	0.319		0.664	0.509
	Voter Registration process	0.948	0.087	0.776**	10.87	0.000

a Dependent Variable: Management

Timely planning and informing citizens above 18yrs to register on time so that the data is captured and voters’ cards are produced on time with personalized identity number for control purposes. This leads to proper management of elections with a good voters’ register.

4.4 Legal Framework for Election Management

The study further assessed the moderator effect of the legal framework on the organizational challenges in relation to the management of elections by the E.C. The results are seen in table 16. In table 16 below, 13.8% (11) respondents disagreed and 81.3% (62) respondents agreed that the E.C Act helped the Commission to realize its mission and vision. The above implied that the E.C Act was mandatory for its operations and management in this multiparty era. The E.C Act is about its establishment, existence and functions of the E.C.

Table 16: Results on the Legal Framework on Election Management

	S.D	D	UN	A	S A
The EC Act helps the commission to realise its mission and vision	4 5%	7 8.8%	2 2.5%	44 55%	23 28.8%
Presidential and Parliamentary Act is always passed on time.	13 16.3%	30 37.5%	11 13.8%	17 21.3%	9 11.3%
Local Government Act makes the conducting of elections easier at the lower levels like local council	7 8.8%	9 11.3%	9 11.3%	43 53.8%	12 15%
Acts to do with special interest groups are very vital for smooth running of elections		10 12.5%	5 6.3%	44 55%	21 26.3%
Guidelines are important if elections are to be conducted smoothly	1 1.3%	1 1.3%	3 3.8%	32 40%	43 53.8%
The EC drafts and approves all the Acts and amendments	16 20%	22 27.5%	17 21.3%	11 13.8%	14 17.5%
The EC would have no mandate if these Acts were not in place	6 7.5%	4 5%	5 6.3%	25 31.3%	40 50%
Guidelines and all the Electoral Acts, are a must have, elections are run smoothly		2 2.5%		35 43.8%	43 53.8%
All parties in existence in Uganda have freedom of speech and movement	5 6.3%	10 12.5%	9 11.3%	41 51.3%	15 18.8%
Opposition political parties are catered for in the legal framework	2 2.5%	2 2.5%	8 10%	50 62.5%	18 22.5%

Key : SD=Strongly Disagree; D=Disagree; UN=Undecided; A=Agree; SA=Strongly agree

From the table above, the Presidential and Parliamentary Act deals with matters to do with the presidential and parliamentary elections, and supplements the E.C Act. That's why the study went ahead to find out if the Presidential and Parliamentary Act was passed on time and the findings were, 53.8% (43) respondents disagreed, while 32.6% (26) of the respondents agreed. The above contradicts Barya (2004), who argued that timely enactment and amendment of any electoral laws was very crucial in as far as the operation and fulfillment of the Constitutional

mandate of the commission. These findings implied that the act was not passed on time and this interfered in the management of E.C to run its activities.

The Local Government Act also contributed to the management of the E.C and supplemented on the E.C and Presidential and Parliamentary Acts above. The Local Government Act specifically caters for the local councils from District Chairman, Mayors and Councilors at all levels. In Table 16, 20.1% (16) respondents disagreed, while 68% (55) respondents agreed to the statement that Local Government Act made the conducting of elections easier at the lower levels. This indicated that these Acts were important and helped E.C in election management. All the rules and regulations that govern the Local Councils and this was confirmed by the 97.6 % (78) of the respondents.

The above Acts were all supplemented by guidelines which helped them to have more mandate and be more effective. On the issue of whether guidelines were important if elections were to be conducted smoothly 2.5% (2) respondents disagreed, while 97.6% (78) respondents agreed. The 2.6% who disagreed may not have been in the know of how important these guidelines were. In the findings from the study, 47.5% (38) respondents disagreed while 31.3% (25) of the respondents agreed that the E.C drafted and approved all the Acts and amendments, according to the results. The E.C only drafts and sends the drafts to the Ministry of Justice, which adds or deletes some articles and sends the draft to Parliament for approval. The 21.3% (17) respondents who are undecided, is rather high. This could be because this is a legal affair and only those in the know of that field were knowledgeable about what goes on.

In table16 above, 97.6% (78) respondents agreed that guidelines and all electoral Acts are a must have, if elections are to be run smoothly. All institutions need a format to follow when carrying out their activities. This also applied to the E.C, otherwise within a period of 2 years after elections, people would be contesting for political offices, yet the incumbents still held the offices, they cannot do so now because there are laws and regulations that govern.

Table17: Correlations between Legal Framework and Management of Elections

		Legal Framework	Management
Legal Framework	Pearson Correlation	1	0.555**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	0.000
	N	80	80
Management	Pearson Correlation	0.555**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000	.
	N	80	80

Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

The correlation result ($r=0.555$, $p<0.05$), showed that Legal Framework had a significant positive relationship with managing elections. A linear regression model was used to determine how Legal Framework impacted on management of elections rating is shown below:

Table18: Regression Coefficients – Legal Framework

		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
Model		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	0.347	0.561		0.619	0.538
	Legal Framework	0.862	0.146	0.555**	5.887	0.000

a Dependent Variable: Management

The regression model results ($R=0.555$, $P < 0.05$) revealed that a one standard deviation increase in Legal Framework led to a 0.555 increase in Election management rating and the results were significantly showing that Legal Framework was important in the management of elections. The timely passing of electoral laws is very important in planning of Elections. Without the timely enactment of the laws, crisis management sets in leaving the EC vulnerable to many problems affecting every election activity right from the beginning. Therefore a proper legal framework was very significant in managing elections

4.5 Funding and Management of Elections

The study went ahead to analyse the moderator effect of funding on the management of elections by E.C of Uganda in a multiparty democracy.

According to the findings in the table 19, 69 respondents which is 86.4% agreed the E.C receives funds, this implied that it does get the money, irrespective of the other factors involved. Ten respondents which was 12.5% disagreed to the above. The results from the findings are indicated in table 19 on the next page. The study went ahead to find out if those funds were released on time and the findings were 70% (56) of the respondents disagreed while 17.5% (14) of the respondents agreed that that the funds availed for electoral activities were released on time by government. The above implied that funds were not released on time, and this hindered the E.C as an organization in the management of elections. According to the literature, if elections are to be done well, amount and time of funding are very important.

The study further analyses whether E.C receives from the government all the funds requisitioned on time and the findings were 77.5% (62) respondents disagreed, while 13.8% (11) respondents

agreed. The above implied that despite the money being released late, it was not enough and no organization would survive in such a situation or operate efficiently.

Table 19: Results on funding and management of elections

Statement	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly agree
The EC is availed with funds	2 2.5%	8 10%	1 1.3%	49 61.3%	20 25.1%
The funds availed for electoral activities are released on time by government	16 20%	40 50%	10 12.5%	8 10%	6 7.5%
EC receives from government all the funds it requisitions for	20 25%	42 52.5%	7 8.8%	8 10%	3 3.8%
Parliament passes all the budgets the EC presents to it	19 23.8%	36 45%	9 11.3%	9 11.3%	7 8.8%
The EC receives donor funding	6 7.5%	11 13.8%	11 13.8%	45 56.3%	7 8.8%
The donor funds received by the EC Supplement on the government funds facilitate the EC activities and programmes	5 6.3%	14 17.5%	11 13.8%	39 48.8%	11 13.8%
The opposition political parties in uganda are funded regularly	16 20%	28 35%	31 38%	5 6.3%	
Parties are given equal funding by the government	12 15%	30 37.5%	2 2.5%	20 25%	16 20%

Key : SD=Strongly Disagree; D=Disagree; UN=Undecided; A=Agree; SA=Strongly agree

The study goes on to analyse whether parliament passes all the budgets the E.C presents to it and the findings are 68.8% (55) respondents disagreed, while 20.1% (16) respondents agreed. This implied that though parliament passed some budgets presented, not all were passed, others were queried Example being when the E.C requisitioned for 28 billion (twenty eight billion) shillings to carry out its activities, only 6 billion (six billion) was approved. This affected some of the programmes because the E.C had to adjust accordingly.

In the 2009/2010 budget, E.C was given almost a quarter of the budget it applied for so as to conduct elections well come 2011, yet it was expected to hold credible elections. As if that was not enough, donor funds that the E.C was originally getting were subsidised. Though 21.3% (17) respondents disagreed and 65.1% (52) respondents agree that E.C received donor funds. The funds received supplement the government funds received to facilitate E.C activities and were supported by 62.6% (50) respondents who agreed to it. The 23.8% (19) respondents who disagreed, may have been as a result of those who believe the donor funds are so little to help in the electoral activities.

Due to the fact that the funds received are not sufficient, the E.C cannot afford to fund the different political parties regularly. This was supported by the findings in table 19 , which indicated that 55% (44) of the respondents disagreed and only 6.3% (5) respondents agreed. Further still 52.5% (42) respondents disagreed about the issue of parties being funded regularly by government.

The parties are given equal funding by government though most people were not aware about it, and they thought because the Movement was the ruling party it awards itself more than the rest, but that was not the case. Parties' receiving funds was in line with the literature review from <http://www.sagepublications.com> which says Canada gives qualifying political parties' quarterly allowance. In Uganda the presidential candidates are given 4 wheel drive vehicles and follow pickup with escorts to guard the candidate. In the table above, it shows that 76.2% of the respondents disagreed that EC was not given enough time by different stake holders to plan its activities as funds availed for electoral activities were not released on time by government.

Table 20: Correlation results on Funding and Management of Elections.

		Funding	Management
Funding	Pearson Correlation	1	0.27
	Sig. (2-tailed)		0.016
	N	80	80
Management	Pearson Correlation	0.27	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.016	
	N	80	80

Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

The correlation result ($r=0.27$, $p>0.01$), showed that Funding had no significant relationship with managing elections. This was not practically possible. A linear regression model was used to determine how Funding affected management of elections, the rating is shown below:

Table 21: Regression Coefficients – Funding

		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
Model		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	2.508	0.457		5.483	0.00
	Funding	0.392	0.159	0.27	2.473	0.016

Dependent Variable: Management

The regression model results ($R=0.27$, $P> 0.05$) revealed that Funding did not significantly affect Election management ratings thus not important in explaining the management of elections. This was also not possible. The respondents believed that the money released was enough and was not released on time. They finally ended up with a false belief that they could operate without the funds and this was not possible. The researcher went ahead to use cross tables, to prove that there must be a positive relationship between funding and management of elections as seen in table 22 below:

Table 22: Cross tabulation on category of respondents and release of funds

		Category of respondent					Total
		Commissioner	Director	Headquarter staff	DR / RO	Head of Department	
The funds availed for electoral activities are released on time by government	Strongly Disagree	1	3	41	7	4	56
		1.8%	5.4%	73.2%	12.5%	7.1%	100%
	Undecided			5	3	2	10
				50%	30%	20%	100%
	Agree			10	4		14
				71.4%	28.6%		100%
Total		1	3	56	14	6	80
		1.3%	3.8%	70%	17.5%	7.5%	100%

The results in table 22 are a cross tabulation of the category of the E.C respondents is 73.2%, which is 41 respondents from headquarter disagreed funds availed for electoral activities were not released on time by the government. This is why in the correlation table above the results are not significantly related.

Table 23: ANOVA

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	3.414	4	0.853	7.863	0.000**
	Residual	8.14	75	0.109		
	Total	11.553	79			
a	Predictors: (Constant), Funding, Voter Registration process, Publicity and Voter Education, Legal Framework					
b	Dependent Variable: Management					

Looking at the ANOVA table above, we could say that the independent variables reliably predicted the dependent variable with ($F < 12.277$ and $P < 0.00$) we could say the model is significant and a good fit.

Table 24: Summary of Hypotheses testing results

Hypothesis	Supported/Not supported
1. There is a positive relationship between publicity and voter education and the management of elections	Supported
2. The voter registration process has a positive relationship with the management of elections.	Supported
3. There is a significant relationship between legal frame work and management of elections.	Supported
4. There is a significant relationship between funding and management of elections.	Not supported /Supported

Source: Researcher

The hypotheses that there was a positive relationship between publicity and voter education to management of elections, has been supported by evidence from the field and is accordingly adopted. There is a positive correlation between the two. The test showing the Pearson Product Moment Correlation returned a result of 0.776 (table 9) confirming that the strength of the relationship was statistically significant at a 0.01 level of significance.

The hypothesis that there was a significant relationship between voter registration and management of elections has been supported by evidence from the field and is accordingly adopted. There is a positive relationship and this was confirmed by the results using Pearson Product moment Correlation of 0.378 (table11) confirming that the strength of the relationship was at a 0.01 level of significance.

The hypothesis that there was a significant relationship between Legal Framework and Management of Elections was confirmed by result 0.174 (table14) and the significance is at level

0, this is because it was an intervening variable. The hypothesis that there is a significant relationship between funding and management of elections was not confirmed by the results. The results 0.174 (table 17) and 0.123 as the level of significance showed that there was no relationship between the two. The results could be as a result of the fact that most of the respondents knew that funds availed are never enough, and even the little availed, is never on time.

From the findings in table 25 below, 15% (12) respondents disagreed, while 73.8% (59) respondents agreed that planning of E.C activities was done solely by the E.C. The 15% which disagreed could be as a result of the fact that towards election time, all stakeholders were asked to make contributions on how the electoral process should be carried out and the stake holders included all parties, police army, to mention but a few.

More findings showed that 58.8% (47) respondents agreed that planning preparations for the electoral activities started planning at least 6 months before the activities. 26.3% (21) respondents disagreed on the above, may be because of the complaints from some of those that did not agree with the results produced. The stakeholders have a part they play in the electoral activities, and this is confirmed in the findings from table 9 where 52.6% (42) of the respondents who disagreed to the statement that ample time was given to the E.C by the different stakeholders to plan its activities. The study went ahead and disagreed by 58.8% (47) respondents that the people responsible for planning were incompetent. Only 18.3% (16) respondents agreed. But in life, one may not satisfy all the parties equally. When majority is satisfied, then that is good enough. Findings are seen below:

Table 25: Management of Elections

	S D	D	U	A	S A
Planning of EC activities is done solely by the EC	2 2.5%	8 10%	7 8.8%	36 45%	27 33.8%
Planning preparations for the electoral activities start planning at least 6 months before the election activity	3 3.8%	16 20%	8 10%	35 43.8%	18 22.5%
Ample time is given to the EC by the different stake holders to plan its activities	4 5%	27 33.85%	11 13.8%	23 28.8%	15 18.8%
The people responsible for planning are not competent	3 3.8%	30 37.5%	15 18.8%	11 13.8%	21 26.3%
Elections in Uganda are organised by the EC		5 6.3%	1 1.3%	28 35%	46 57.5%
The EC organises elections well	3 3.8%	5 6.3%	6 7.5%	46 57.5%	20 25%
The EC controls the elections in Uganda	2 2.5%	9 11.3%	6 7.5%	33 41.3%	30 37.5%
The people responsible for planning of electoral activities are not competent	9 11.3%	32 40%	11 13.8%	10 12.5%	18 22.5%
The EC does not have the powers to control the employees under its jurisdiction	17 21.3%	32 40%	3 3.8%	3 3.8%	25 31.4%
The EC has no legal authority to control all the parties in existence in Uganda	13 16.3%	25 31.3%	12 15%	8 10%	22 27.5%
The ruling party is above the legal authority of the EC and cannot be controlled	19 23.8%	23 28.8%	5 6.3%	7 8.8%	26 32.5%
All parties are controlled in the planning process	6 7.5%	20 25%	15 18.8%	18 22.5%	21 26.3%
despite multiparty dispensation being a new system in Uganda, the EC has managed it well.	2 2.5%	7 8.8%	6 7.5%	39 48.8%	26 32.5%

Key: SD=Strongly Disagree; D=Disagree; UN=Undecided; A=Agree; SA=Strongly Agree

Elections in Uganda are organized by the E.C and this was confirmed by 92% (74) respondents who agreed to that statement. Only 6.3% (5) respondents disagreed reason being that they were

not informed about elections. The E.C does generally organise the elections well in Uganda and this was confirmed by 73.8% (59) respondents who agreed to the above. 17.6% (14) respondents disagreed and this could be due to the fact that results released at election time, may not have been in their favor or their candidates. The E.C had the powers to control its employees. This was confirmed by 92.5% (74) respondents who disagreed with the statement that the E.C did not have the powers to control the employees under its jurisdiction. Actually those who performed contrary to what is expected of them were always dismissed. This was confirmed when interviewing one of the RO's, he says

“Example of this is some presiding officers have been black-listed and cannot participate in any electoral activities”.

The belief that the E.C does not have the powers to control the political parties especially the ruling movement party is not true and this was confirmed by the findings in table 25 above with 66% (53) respondents who agreed could be the disgruntled ones. This is further supported by the 71.3% (57) respondents who disagreed that the ruling party (Movement) is above the legal authority of the E.C and cannot be controlled

Despite the fact that multiparty dispensation is a new system in Uganda, the E.C has managed it well and this was confirmed by 78.8% (63) respondents who agreed. The 11.3 % (9) respondents who disagreed could be as a result of the several complaints that are always fronted by the opposition. This is a small percentage, so generally the E.C has done its best and has competent staff. This is further confirmed in table 26 below.

Table 26: Cross tabulation on years of service and the competency of election officials

		Years of service in the EC				Total
		Less than 2 years	3 - 5 years	6 - 10 years	More than 10 years	
The people responsible for planning of electoral activities are not competent	Disagree	1	16	25	16	58
		1.7%	27.6%	43.1%	27.6%	100%
	Undecided		2	7	3	12
			16.7%	58.3%	25%	100%
	Agree	1	3	2	4	10
		10%	30%	20%	40%	100%
Total		2	21	34	23	80
		2.5%	26.3%	42.5%	28.8%	100%

In table 26 above, the findings are 30% (21) respondents who have worked in the E.C for 3 -5 years and 40% (23) respondents, who have served in the E.C for more than 10 years, this makes it a total percentage of 70% agreed that the people responsible for planning of electoral activities were competent. They work as a unified team to conduct free and fair elections. This was in line with what Namara (1999) argues that, a system is a collection of parts unified to accomplish an overall goal.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the summary, discussion, conclusions and recommendations of the study findings. The central objective of this study was to assess the organizational challenges affecting the management of elections in a multi-party democracy by the Electoral Commission of Uganda. The researcher collected data from staff members using questionnaires, interview guides and documentary reviews.

5.1 Summary of the main findings of the Study.

The researcher arrived at the following summaries on each objective of the study derived from the findings:-

5.1.1 Findings on the relationship between Publicity and Voter Education and management of elections in a Multiparty Democracy

The findings from the study identified the strength and weakness of publicity and voter education in relation to the management of elections. Out of the factors investigated, two of them had critical effect on publicity and voter education. These are, pamphlets and brochures are not distributed to all the people for reading and there no mobile films to educate the masses about the electoral process. The correlation results ($r=0.697$, $p<0.01$), showed that there is a significant relationship, hence publicity and voter education were vital in the management of elections. Linear regression model results ($R=0.776$, $P<0.05$), further confirmed the necessity and importance of publicity and voter education. The E.C could not do the civic education on its

own, it needs other accredited bodies to help it. In this case bodies like UPIMAC and DEMGROU were accredited.

5.1.2. Findings on Voter Registration challenges and Management of elections in a Multiparty Democracy

The findings show that majority of Ugandan citizens who are 18 years and above are registered. However, the department had a challenge of voter cards being produced on time and maintenance of the cards by the voters' was very poor. One of the respondent's that was interviewed had this to say "*Half of the people who received the cards have lost them, because they did not seem important at the time*". This created problems, because at the moment voters cards are more or less used as National identity cards, they are needed in banks, migration and Revenue authority to attain T.I.N. numbers.

For elections to be credible, the register has to be accurate. This was confirmed in the cross tabulation table, where the staff with different academic qualifications from certificate level to masters level, agree that the register was accurate. This was further confirmed in the cross tabulation of table 13 that looks at the years of service and accuracy of register and all those that have served from three years onwards confirmed that the register was accurate.

The correlation results ($r=0.776$, $p<0.05$), showed that there was a significant relationship between voter registration and management of elections. The regression results ($r=0.776$, $P<0.01$), further confirmed that the registration was important. If there was no register and people just lined up to vote, anomalies like multiple voting would be difficult to control.

5.1.3. Findings on Legal framework as a moderator in Management of Elections in a Multiparty Democracy

The study established the different Acts: Presidential and Parliamentary, Electoral Commission, Local Government and Guidelines, help the E.C. to realize its mission and vision. However there were two set backs, the E.C drafted but did not approve the Acts and Amendments. In the findings the Acts were not passed on time and this affected the management of elections. For example up to now, the laws on electoral reforms have not yet been debated and passed, yet presidential nominations are scheduled to take place next year.

The findings from the study further showed that there was a positive relationship between legal framework and management of elections. The correlation ($r=0.555$, $p<0.05$) showed that there was a positive relationship and the regression ($R=0.555$, $P<0.05$), also confirmed the positive relationship. The level of significance 0.01 (2 tailed), meant that there was 90% relationship.

5.1.4. Findings on the moderating effect of Funding on Management of Elections in a Multiparty Democracy

The findings show a correlation ($r=0.27$, $p>0.01$), and regression of ($R=0.27$, $P>0.05$), implying that there was no relationship between funding and management of elections. Practically this was not possible. A cross tabulation was done to find out if the correlation and regression results are true, and the results indicate 73.2% of the respondents agree that the funds availed to the E.C are not released on time, despite the fact that the funds were normally less than what they requisitioned for. This could be the reason why the correlation and regression results were not significantly related. The E.C does needed the funds if elections were to take place.

5.2.0. Discussion

5.2.1. Effects of Publicity and Voter Education on the Management of Elections.

The issue of pamphlets and brochures not being issued to all the people for reading, could be as a result of language barrier. Those particular pamphlets may be in English or any other language that cannot be read by those particular people. This was seen in the literature review which said, voter education should take into account factors such as high rates of illiteracy or use of different languages ([http://www elections](http://www.elections)).

The findings went ahead to show that when publicity and voter education were increased, there was an increased awareness of 77.6% among the population. Improved electoral awareness would lead to higher percentages of voter turn-up and this would lead to credible election results.

5.2.2. Effects of Voter Registration on the Management of Elections.

The findings show that majority of citizens aged 18 years and above are registered. This was the most vital task that had to be carried out, so as to have a credible register. However as seen in the literature Smith & Clark (2005), observed that manual voting systems are prone to manipulation, miscalculation of votes and ballot stuffing. The above were cited to have allegedly taken place in the last concluded Sembabule District by elections in January 2009, by the supporters of one of the candidate's at the time.

The E.C is at the moment is trying to reduce or completely eradicate the above. E.C is in the process of acquiring sophisticated biometric system, of using finger prints. If the votes are miscalculated, then it is very unlikely that the finger prints will also be miscalculated. If the ballot boxes are stuffed earlier, then this anomaly would also be detected.

The results further show that there was a significant relationship of more than 90% between voter registration and management of elections. An increase in voter registration led to a 77.6% increased effectiveness in the management of elections. This was an indication that more emphasis should be put on voter registration, so as to have a credible register hence an additional 77.6% increased effectiveness.

5.2.3. Effects of Legal Framework.

The findings showed that the different Acts and Amendments were vital for the E.C to function effectively. This was further supported in the literature by Pastor (1998), who argues that a measure of legitimacy is centered on the views of the key relevant political actors. The literature went further to say no law is effective unless its enforcement mechanism is sufficiently strong enough. For the E.C to be very effective, its laws and regulations should be strong. That is why the E.C should draft and approve the Acts, with the help of different stakeholders, so that there is balanced representation from all the people.

The findings further show that there was a positive relationship. An increment on the enforcement of the Legal Framework, led to an increase of 55.6% improvement on the management of elections. Therefore timely enactment and amendment of any electoral laws was very crucial in as far as the operation and fulfillment of the Constitutional mandate of the commission was concerned (Barya, 2004).

5.2.4. Effect of Funding on the Management of Elections.

According to the findings, there was no significant relationship between funding and management of elections. This is contrary to the literature which says funding was important if management of elections is to be done well.

The regression results show that an increment in funding, led to only 27% increment in management, which was minimal. The study went ahead to cross tabulate funding with one of the research questions. In table 22, 73.2% of the respondents and all the directors disagreed about the issue of timely release of funds by the government to the E.C. this contradicted Article 61(1) of the Constitution, which stipulated that parliament shall ensure that adequate resources and facilities are provided to the commission to enable it perform its functions.

The above hampered the effectiveness and service delivery of the E.C because the people recruited were not be qualified, those with better qualifications example teachers to act as presiding officers needed more money. In normal circumstances everything rotates around funds, to pay the different officers that would have participated, procuring the equipment needed and any other payments that had to be made. These could be the reasons why the regression results show that the relationship between funding and management is not positive.

5.3. Conclusions:

5.3.1 Conclusions on Publicity and Voter Education on the Management of Elections.

Basing on the above findings, it can be concluded that publicity and Voter Education in the E.C is doing a fairly satisfactory job, though some areas like the brochures and mobile films are still wanting. Conclusively they are above average, there was awareness in the public about the Electoral matters by the masses.

5.3.2 Conclusions on Voter Registration.

On the basis of the research findings, conclusion can be made that for the elections to be credible, voter registration had to be effected. The Commission needed to have proper and accurate records about the people. Voter registration was the “heart” of the E.C, without it, elections would not take place. More emphasis and funds should be put in this sector, so that better results are achieved.

5.3.3 Conclusions on the Legal Framework in Management of Elections.

Basing on the findings about the legal framework, it can be concluded that the Acts and guidelines, were very important if elections were to be run smoothly and have credible results. However, there were some shortfalls that the E.C met and this had a negative impact on the management of elections.

5.3.4 Conclusions on Funding.

The findings from the research could be as a result of the fact that the people who answered the questionnaire, none of them are funders’ or donors. The fact that they had managed to go through the difficulties of conducting elections with the meager resources allocated to them, they assumed they could still handle without the finances.

5.4 Recommendations

5.4.1 Recommendations on Publicity and Voter Education

Publicity and voter education should get more emphasis and facilities like training of the officers should be done on a regular basis so as to have competent staff. The E.C should look at the financial part and facilitate the department, so that the regression model results which reveal that increase in publicity and voter education led to increase in rating of the election management could be realised. The programmes that are currently being sponsored by the European Union to teach people about the importance of voting should be encouraged. The E.C should also consider starting visiting schools, to educate the young ones. Currently in Primary Seven (P.7) exams, there is always a question or two about elections. Further still there is a European Union sponsored programme currently going on in Northern Uganda that is sensitizing the people about the importance of voting and how to exercise their rights.

5.4.2 Recommendations on Voter Registration

Voter registration should be facilitated with more funds, so that a credible register can be produced. Since registration is the central point of the Electoral Process, more emphasis should be put on it, in terms of supervision and funding. Then for the careless people, a charge should be imposed on them if they are to get replacements for their lost cards. That will force them to be more careful, more especially if the charge is a high one.

5.4.3 Recommendations on the Legal Framework

The laws and regulations should be passed on time by the legislators, so as to attain timely implementation of different electoral activities. More to this, before the Judiciary and legislators

add or amend some of the laws sent to them, they should do it in consultation with the E.C, since it is E.C doing the work, and knows what laws and procedures are best for the electoral process, so as to hold commendable elections.

5.4.4 Recommendations on Funding

Despite the findings, the Researcher still believes that funds are vital for the electoral process and funds are important if the electoral process is to be successful. Government should increase on the funds that are availed to the E.C and ensure timely release, so as to have commendable results. The government should emulate Canada as seen in the literature. Qualifying political parties should be given regular funding, and all costs of preparing and conducting electoral activities should be covered.

5.5 Area of further research

Apart from the organizational challenges, there are other factors that influence the management of elections in a multiparty democracy. Research should be done on the Political Environment and how it affects the management of elections in the Country.

5.6 Contribution of this study

The study has shown that despite multi-party system of governance being a new political system in Uganda, the E.C has performed fairly well. Credit should be given to E.C. The E.C may have shortfalls like any other organization, but the study shows it is not doing as badly as portrayed by some individuals or groups of people.

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APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE

QUESTIONNAIRE TO BE FILLED BY EMPLOYEES OF THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION OF UGANDA.

Kindly spare your valuable time and respond to the questions about the Organisational Challenges affecting the management of elections in a multiparty democracy in Uganda. The answers are required to contribute to an academic research.

All answers shall be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Thank you for your time and cooperation.

Diana N. Tumusiime Kateeba

Please tick (✓) your answer in the box corresponding to your choice to indicate whether you: strongly agree, SA (5); agree, A (4); are undecided, U (3); disagree, DA (2); strongly disagree, SDA (1)

SECTION B : PUBLICITY AND VOTER EDUCATION

		SA	A	U	DA	SDA
1	Publicity of Electoral activities is carried out by the Electoral Commission.	5	4	3	2	1
2	Other bodies especially NGO's that are accredited by the Electoral Commission to help it in publicity and training are very efficient.	5	4	3	2	1
3	The Electoral Commission cannot do without other stakeholders in voter education.	5	4	3	2	1
4	Voter education is carried out on time by the Electoral Commission	5	4	3	2	1
5	The media plays an important role in sensitising the masses about the voting procedures	5	4	3	2	1
6	Pamphlets and brochures are distributed to all the people for reading.	5	4	3	2	1
7	Workshops sensitise the masses very well.	5	4	3	2	1
8	The mobile films that are displayed in the moving vans from place to place are educative and send out the messages about the voting procedures	5	4	3	2	1
9	Information about the importance of voting is got from the films.	5	4	3	2	1
10	The billboards and posters hanged are relevant to the electoral process.	5	4	3	2	1
11	Good and relevant information is obtained from the billboards by the masses.	5	4	3	2	1

SECTION C : VOTER REGISTRATION PROCESS

		SA	A	U	DA	SDA
12	Citizens 18 years and above are registered.	5	4	3	2	1
13	People registered are citizens of Uganda.	5	4	3	2	1
14	Relevant data about the registered people is all captured.	5	4	3	2	1
15	The captured data about the voters is accurate and efficient.	5	4	3	2	1
16	Voters' cards are produced on time.	5	4	3	2	1
17	Registered voters have their voter's cards.	5	4	3	2	1
18	The voters' register produced by the Electoral Commission is accurate.	5	4	3	2	1
19	Voters' register can be printed any time someone wants it.	5	4	3	2	1

SECTION D : LEGAL FRAMEWORK

		SA	A	U	DA	SDA
20	The Electoral Commission Act helps the Commission to realise its mission and vision.	5	4	3	2	1
21	Presidential and Parliamentary Act is always passed on time.	5	4	3	2	1
22	Local Government Act makes the conducting of elections easier at the lower levels like local councils.	5	4	3	2	1
23	Acts to do with special interest groups are very vital for smooth running of elections.	5	4	3	2	1
24	Guidelines are important if elections are to be conducted smoothly.	5	4	3	2	1
25	The Electoral Commission drafts and approves all the Acts and amendments.	5	4	3	2	1
26	The Electoral Commission would have no mandate if these Acts were not in place.	5	4	3	2	1
27	Guidelines and all the Elections Acts, are a must have, if elections are to run smoothly.	5	4	3	2	1
28	All parties in existence in Uganda have freedom of speech and movement.	5	4	3	2	1
29	Opposition political parties are catered for in the legal framework.	5	4	3	2	1

SECTION E : FUNDING

30	The Electoral Commission is availed with funds.	5	4	3	2	1
31	The funds availed for electoral activities are released on time by the government.	5	4	3	2	1
32	Electoral Commission receives from government all the funds it requisitions for.	5	4	3	2	1
33	Parliament passes all the budgets that the Electoral Commission presents to it.	5	4	3	2	1
34	The Electoral Commission receives donor funding.	5	4	3	2	1
35	The donor funds received by the Electoral Commission supplement on the government funds to facilitate the Electoral Commission activities and programmes.	5	4	3	2	1
36	The opposition political parties in Uganda are funded regularly.	5	4	3	2	1
37	Parties are given equal funding by the government.	5	4	3	2	1

SECTION F : MANAGEMENT

		SA	A	U	DA	SDA
38	Planning of Electoral Commission activities is done solely by the Electoral Commission	5	4	3	2	1
39	Planning preparations for the electoral activities start planning at least 6 months before the election activity.	5	4	3	2	1
40	Ample time is given to the Electoral Commission by the different stake holders to plan its activities.	5	4	3	2	1
41	The people responsible for planning are not competent.	5	4	3	2	1
42	Elections in Uganda are organised by the Electoral Commission.	5	4	3	2	1
43	The Electoral Commission organises elections well.	5	4	3	2	1
44	The Electoral Commission controls the elections in Uganda.	5	4	3	2	1
45	The people responsible for the planning of electoral activities are not competent.	5	4	3	2	1
46	The Electoral commission does not have the powers to control the employees under its jurisdiction.	5	4	3	2	1
47	The Electoral Commission has no legal authority to control all the parties in existence in Uganda.	5	4	3	2	1
48	The ruling party is above the legal authority of the Electoral Commission and cannot be controlled.	5	4	3	2	1
49	All political parties are involved in the planning process.	5	4	3	2	1
50	Despite multiparty dispensation being a new system in Uganda, the Electoral Commission has managed it well.	5	4	3	2	1

Comments (optional) please write any comments in the space provided below.

THANK YOU!!

APPENDIX 2 : Interview Schedule

A. Publicity and Voter Education.

1. How does publicity and voter Education help the E.C to manage programmes and activities that it is supposed to carry out?
2. The publicity and voter education carried out, is it relevant and efficient?
3. Does the E.C have a standard and approved publicity and voter education plan by the general public and the various stake holders?
4. Does the media (Newspapers, Televisions, journalists) help the E.C, particularly the publicity and voter education programme to realise its goal?

B. Voter Registration Process

1. Is the public sensitised about what voter registration process is all about?
2. How does voter registration process affect the elections when not well done?
3. Are you satisfied and contented with the way the voter registration process is carried out?
4. There are always complaints from the general public and politicians about the voter registration process. In your view, what could be the problem?

C. Legal Frame work

1. How does the legal framework moderate E.C activities?
2. Some of the Acts and Guidelines are passed late. What is its impact on the E.C activities in your view?
3. In your opinion, when should Guidelines and Acts be approved by parliament latest?

D. Funding

1. Does the government release the funds on time?
2. The funding provided for the E.C, is sufficient to manage its activities and programmes?

3. The E.C is always complaining about being insufficiently facilitated, yet they are expected to deliver perfect work. In your view do you think their complaints are justified?

E. Management

1. In your opinion, is the E.C well managed?
2. The officers charged with the responsibility of organising elections, in your view are they organised?
3. Are the officers that lead the organisations qualified and well trained to carry out the duties assigned to them?
4. Given the fact that there seems to always be a resources problem, is the planning well done in E.C?
5. How is the controlling of E.C activities carried out and especially the monetary expenditure?