

**ELECTORAL GOVERNANCE AND QUALITY OF ELECTIONS;
A CASE OF MUKONO MUNICIPALITY**

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DECLARATION

I declare that this research proposal is my own piece of work and that it has never been presented to any institution of learning for any reason what so ever.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my family; my wife, Mrs. Agaba Janepher Nayebare and my son, Agaba Reynold Ampurira and finally, to my friends who were supportive and tolerant to the less attention devoted to them as I pursued this course.

I also dedicate this to my supervisors, Dr. Mwesigye Edgar Kateshumbwa and Mr. Nuwagaba Innocent who have tirelessly guided me throughout the entire study.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DP	Democratic Party
EC	Electoral Commission
EMB	Election Management Body
FDC	Forum for Democratic Change
HRW	Human Rights Watch
IIDEA	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IRI	International Republican Institute
LEGICO	Legislative Council
LC	Local Council
MMM	Mixed Member Majoritarian
MMP	Mixed Member Proportional
MP	Member of Parliament
NRM	National Resistance Movement
PEA	Presidential Elections Act
PPOA	Political Parties and Organisation Act
PR	Proportional Representation
SMD	Single Member District
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UPC	Uganda People's Congress

ABSTRACT

This study concentrated on electoral governance and the quality of elections in Mukono Municipality. The study particularly examined the influence of electoral accountability, electoral laws and citizens' participation in the electoral process on the quality of elections in Mukono Municipality. The study employed a cross section research design with both qualitative and quantitative approaches. The study population involved the District Registrars, EC operational staff, Local leaders, Opinion leaders, and leaders of political parties, CSO's, Media and Police.

Data collection utilized questionnaires and interviews. Data was analysed to obtain frequencies, mean, standard deviation, correlations and regression statistics to ascertain the relationship and significance of the variables. In this study, it was revealed that electoral accountability has a positive significant influence on the quality of elections ($r = .430^{**}$, $p = .001$). The respondents acknowledged that, whenever there is accountability in elections, the quality of elections improves. It was discovered that electoral laws influence the quality of elections at ($r = .515^{**}$, $p = .000$). Respondents revealed that, whenever electoral laws are observed by both the organizers and the participants in the elections, the quality of elections is improved. The study also showed that, citizens' participation influences the quality of elections ($r = .419^{**}$, $p = .001$). Respondents revealed that, when the citizens are involved in the electoral process, the quality of elections automatically improves. It was therefore concluded that, electoral governance positively influences the quality of elections in Mukono Municipality and as a result, the researcher recommended that the EC should maintain a high level of transparency and impartiality. Electoral laws should be enforced in a non-partisan way by the EC, and citizens should be involved at all levels of the electoral process without prejudice; the sensitization should be done continuously and not only during the election period.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This segment elaborates subsections of the study such as the; origin, problem statement, purpose, objectives, research questions, hypothesis, conceptual framework, significance, justification and definitions of key terms pertinent to the study.

1.2 Background of the study

From both academic and political views, the notion of electoral integrity has been perceived as a solution to challenges in quality of elections. The Global Commission on Elections, Democracy and Security in 2012 defines an election as an exercise, “based on the democratic principles of universal suffrage and political equality, is professional, impartial and transparent in its preparation and administration throughout the electoral cycle” (Global Commission 2012).

Norris (2014) shares the same view with Clark (2014), and believes that internationally, electoral integrity is characterized with equality and representation that benefits every individual in the society. Practically, the manner in which elections are handled and executed determines the success of the entire process.

1.2.1 Historical background

Elections are one of the means of realizing democracy in any society. It involves engaging and working with individuals in an electoral procedure, which eventually leads to having leaders who are held accountable. Elections and democracy are of a complex nature and almost the same; a situation that has

given room to evaluate the quality of elections, using democracy as a standard measure (Elklit and Reynolds 2005).

According to Lindberg (2006) and Quinn (2006), elections aid the success of political engagement and authenticity in democracy practicing settings. Quinn further states that, democratic elections are those in which the population is allowed freedom to participate without discrimination.

Estrella and Iazatt (2004), as cited in Mwesigye (2013), analyzed how citizens combined and used different participatory strategies to engage-in an emerging democracy; by imitating a project referred to as “BATMAN.” The movement of local officials loosely grew into a massive organisation which was known as the Barangay-Bayan Governance Consortium (BBGC).

Globally, the number of elections conducted has been on the rise. (Hyde and Marinov 2012) point out that over 2,600 national contests took place between 1945 and 2006. However, there has been considerable variation in the quality of these elections (Norris 2014). Additionally, Birch (2015) and James (2014), argue that besides many well-run elections, there are often concerns about administrative problems, technological failures, incomplete electoral registers and opportunities for fraud still in existence.

In Afghanistan, the 2009 elections were stained by irregularities. President Hamid Karzai was accused of fraud, a situation that destabilized the political atmosphere (United Nations 2009a). Results of the polls carried out by the IRI revealed that over 80% agreed that corruption exists during elections; 43% very much, 38% some and 70% confessed to have seen and observed fraud in action.

On the contrary, presidential elections in Mexico were rather emblematic up to the point where, post-election protests broke-out due to the small difference that emerged between the results of candidates. Despite having a highly competent election management body (EMB); the presence of a strong financial muscle entrusted under its care, its outstanding expertise and public trust. This was not enough to detour protestors from their course of action (Estrada and Poiré 2007).

The capability of policy makers to improve EMBs design and practices is limited by the lack of cross-national data. The only global comparative data on EMBs institutional design is as classified by the IIDEA (IIDEA2014; 2006), which distinguishes the major forms as independent, mixed and governmental. However, the organizational structure remains complex in practice, varies between countries and comes with differences in terms of functions and accountability. (Lopez-Pinter 2000; Norris 2015; Elklit and Reynolds 2001). Other important factors to consider include, building capacity of EMBs, personnel, network structure and institutional design in shaping the quality of elections (Clark 2015, James 2013b, 2013a, James 2015, van Ham and Lindberg 2015).

Regionally, the wave of democracy hit Africa in the late 1980s. Despite many countries holding elections, a lion's share of these were regarded as "elections without choice" (Ibrahim 2003). For example, South Africa saw her first ever inclusive elections in 1994; the EMB chairperson's description of the electoral atmosphere showed that, the elections were held under pressure and tension. International overseers also ridiculed the elections listing challenges such as; lack of registers for voters and few staff at polling centers. Nevertheless, South Africans agreed with the results of the elections and were eager to witness the swearing-in of Nelson Mandela, as their president. (Kriegler, 2011).

In Malawi, during the run-up to the 2014 elections, the EMB in collaboration with international partners, engaged in a reform exercise to harmonize the legal framework governing elections in the country, which had evolved in a piecemeal fashion since 1993 (Patel, 2014).

In Kenya, the simultaneous presidential, parliamentary, and civic elections held on 27th December 2007 were fatal. The rivaling political party leaders did not acknowledge the credibility of the elections results and mobilized followers to disregard them. This later intensified into series of election related violence which erupted even before results were declared (Elklit, 2011). The major reason for the failed election, was attributed to weak election management and administration. The Kenyan EMB exhibited open bias, incompetence and structural inadequacies that compromised the entire process (Odhiambo, 2016).

Nationally, Rubongoya (2007), argues that there seems to have been a rise in the use authoritarian tools, as competition in Uganda's elections increased over the past twenty years. For close to a decade, Uganda has emerged as a success story of African development. It has been recognised for steady economic growth and diversification, relative political stability, and considerable investment in infrastructure. These have seen the country rise as a regional power (Murray, Mesfin, & Wolters, 2016). However, to many international observers, this success remains undermined by the long stay in power of President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni; a political system that has been described as dictatorship light in the words of Gettleman (2016).

Although, elections are conducted regularly that is, after every 5 years, many have questioned how free and fair they are. Particularly, reports of intimidation and violence that were evident during the 2011 and 2016 general election. The participation of opposition politicians was constrained on questionable grounds as highlighted by (Kaka, 2016; Musisi, 2016; European Union Election Observation Mission

to Uganda, 2016 and Butagira, 2016). To many observers, development and economic progress have been achieved at the expense of civil freedom and inclusive democratic governance (Suzan, 2017).

The Ugandan constitution recognizes all fully registered political parties as qualifying to participate in any election i.e. both at national and sub-national levels. Karugire (1980), believes that the need to have enough support from voters has driven political parties in Uganda to develop other structures of hierarchy at constituency, sub-county, parish and village tiers; a role that makes them most important.

The system of political parties started in 1950's after Uganda was set free from colonial power. At that time, scarce existing parties then were interestingly formulated basing on religion. For instance, the Uganda People's Congress (UPC) and Democratic Party (DP) were dominated by protestant and Catholics respectively. The remaining of the religions such as, the Muslims followed whichever party that guaranteed their interests (Karugire, 1980). In order to legitimise their rule, the National Resistance Movement (NRM) government was left with no choice but to organise a referendum (in 2000) to justify their legitimacy in power (Kakuba, March 2010).

1.2.2 Theoretical background

This study will be based on the fundamental principle of social choice theory. It's also known as the voting theory and was introduced by Kenneth Arrow in 1951. The theory lays a foundation for free and fair voting by using its strengths of values, well-being of the people and interests. The voting theory theoretically accounts for individual opinions, tastes and concern to reach a collective decision (Arrow, 1951). The theory defines the voting system as "a set of guidelines that must be observed for a vote to be recognized and how votes are computed to give a final figure." In other words, voting is a method through which electors arrive at a viable candidate in an election or referendum.

The Social Choice theory will assist in explaining usual voting systems such as, majority rule, proportional representation and plurality voting system while, highlighting differences in methods that are used. For instance, the mixed approach tries to blend positive properties from of both majority and proportional representation (PR) approaches of elections by using different formulas concurrently. That is, votes from the same voters/electors are subject to both systems; the majority system which uses a single member district (SMD) system and a list for proportional representation system (Moser and Scheiner, 2004).

1.2.3 Conceptual background

In the attempt to unearth better ways of elections, Annan et al. (2012), discovered that unrestrained, unidentified and opaque political finances are a menace to the integrity of elections.

The concept of electoral governance and quality of elections often cites a direct connection between the caliber and credibility of an election among voters; high caliber elections result into credible results which are easily acceptable to the losing candidate, the reverse impairs the level of quality and sabotages the belief of results from the public (Norris 2014). In the study, electoral governance was defined in dimensions of; electoral accountability, electoral laws and citizen's participation in the electoral process while, quality of elections was defined in terms of; regular and periodic electoral cycle, free and fair elections and transparent electoral process.

Bratton (2004), in his study argued that electoral integrity among African countries tends to decline after the founding elections. Contrary, Lindberg (2006), contends that the quality of elections progresses with every other round of election being held, even when it was not a must to have a free and fair election. (Tsebelis 1995; IDB 2006), predicts that disconnected political parties are more likely to lead to inefficiency of the government. The electoral system is of importance because, it's a reflection of

governments' strength to mobilize majority vote needed to ordain laws (Reynolds et al. 2005; Lizzeri and Persico 2000).

According to Catt et al. (2014), independent EMBs have gained prominence as an efficient reform to strengthen and improve the integrity of elections across various countries on the globe. This has made them most adopted institutional model for managing elections.

Misconduct during elections has been rampant especially, in developing countries that embraced the concept of democracy in the late 1980s. Schedler (2006), identified that among governments, the political environment particularly, the utilization of resources is normally inclined towards the incumbent, leaving other competitors at a big disadvantage. As a result, political leaders use elections as means to sustain and legitimise their selfish desires to hold on to power.

Africans do not only look up to elections as an instrument of choice, but also as an escape route from past historical tendencies of tyrant leaders that ruled to serve their own interests. Failure of elections to meet these expectations could easily direct suspicion towards the government elect, thereby leading to public dissatisfaction (Alemika, 2004).

1.2.4 Contextual background

In the context of Uganda, the reputation of the Electoral Commission (EC) has been found wanting, by stakeholders such as, the opposition and civil society organizations. The fashion/mode used to appoint its top leadership and how it executed its mandate in the past have attributed this trust deficit. Therefore, it currently does not enjoy a neutral and non-biased treatment; a situation that makes it even harder for it to fulfill its mandate. In that sense, Sekaggya (2010), notes that the recent concluded 2016 general

elections where conducted in an environment which restrained media freedom especially, in terms of association and assembly.

The year 1958, marks a turning point when it comes to election management and growth in Uganda. The first constitutional conference was convened to form structures that would organise and conduct elections, which would lead Uganda to independence. Uganda's first EC consisted of renowned "local elders" and "traditional leaders" who conducted many elections starting with the LEGICO in 1958. In May 1997, in the move to formalize the EC, the Electoral Commission Act was enacted by Parliament.

Articles 60, 61 and 62 of the 1995 Constitution establish the EC and since then, has been the institutional body charged with administering and managing of elections in Uganda. It organized the 1997 Local Government elections (as per the Local Government Act, 1997), the 2001 Presidential, Parliamentary and Local Government elections (as per the presidential, Parliamentary and Local Government Elections Acts: 2001, 2002). Other subsequent by-elections in various constituencies include; Mbale Municipality in 2004 (following the death of James Wapakhabulo - Deputy Prime Minister), Kaliro (following the township's elevation as a Town Council), Koboko County (following the death of Hon. Francis Ayume), Kamuli District Chairman (following the death of Baligeya Karoli - Chairman), Councilors in Pader Local Council (following deaths and resignations of several of them) and the elections in Mbarara Municipality following the resignation of the Member of Parliament, Hon. Winnie Byanyima among others. (*EC Bulletin Vol.2 No.3 Dec.2004, The New Vision, Thursday, February 21-25, 2005*).

The EC has faced a number of challenges in executing its mandate. These include, election violence; usually from the disgruntled voters that attack each other, security agents, candidates and staff of the commission. Lack of enthusiasm by the voters; to engage in low positions that are normally filled once

the higher elections are completed, limited funding; which led to delayed payment of outstanding field staff debts backing up to 2001.

All these have in one way or another led the EC reduce its work; both core and non-core activities. In addition, the challenges of EC not having a permanent office space and delayed enactment of electoral laws, have also negatively impacted on their planning, implementation and performance in general. As a matter of fact, it has not been able to conduct the local council elections for the last 15 years. This means that, the cycle of elections which started in the year 2005 has never been concluded. Furthermore, absence of strong laws to expeditiously use against those who offend the electoral process, and the failure to have clear demarcation of the tasks assigned between EC and its numerous stakeholders are among other pressing issues at hand (Bukonya et, al, 2007).

The laws governing Uganda, allow the President to appoint the seven commissioners of EC; with approval of Parliament. These become the top bosses on the commission, work full time and are supported by a secretariat which is headed by the Secretary. The Secretary is assisted by directors, department heads and staff at lower levels (Sekaggya, 2010).

The EC is located in Uganda's capital, Kampala. It serves the mission; "to organise and conduct regular free and fair elections and referenda professionally, impartially, and efficiently." and a vision; "to be a model institution and center of excellence in election management." EC's goal is "to promote participatory democracy and good governance for the country's prosperity."

Prior to the 2005 constitutional amendment, the 1995 constitution provision had enshrined the president's tenure to the maximum of two terms of five years. The amendment removed the two- term

restriction thus, allowing the office bearer to go unlimited. In doing so, it paved way for Museveni (incumbent) to recontest in successive elections even after his two terms of service. This was against several petitions and moves drawn against parliament's move to pass the Constitutional Amendment Act No.2 (CAA No.2) 2005, which unfortunately, yielded no fruit (Asiimwe & Muhozi, 2005, p. 8).

Before the 2010 campaigns, opinion polls reflected that Ugandans were dissatisfied with Museveni's rule; with a probability of tight competition from the contender of opposition (Helle and Rakner, 2012, 10). Soon after the campaigns began, it was observable that the opposition; especially the rivaling Forum for Democratic Change (FDC) were not competing from an equalized atmosphere. By the end of the campaigns, the polls had turned in favor of the incumbent NRM, and president Museveni defeated Besigye in a landslide even bigger than that in 2006 general elections.

Butagira (2016), notes that Ugandans are desperate for democracy. They actively participated in the various campaigns, and waited patiently for hours under the hot sun to cast their vote. But the man who was once hailed by President Bill Clinton as one of a "new breed" of African leaders, is now the continent's fifth longest-serving leader. The secret to his staying in power is simple; Museveni wins because he is not ashamed to be the tyrant his critics say he is.

The authenticity of elections conducted under the NRM rule have severely been questioned. Critics relate its continued stay in power to grabbing; use of state resources in election campaigns to keep a firm grip on power. William (1997), Tripp (2004) and Kiiza (2008), point out that, the importance of money and resources has been a recurring issue in the 1996, 2001 and 2006 elections.

Mungyereza (2014), points out that 20% of the population aged 18 years and above revealed that the EC was not impartial during the 2011 general elections; the responses varied with slight notable differences by residence and regions. Similarly, Isbell and Kibirige (2017), assert that Ugandans overwhelmingly support elections, but a sizeable number are critical of their quality, especially among better-educated and urban citizens; fewer than half trust the EC. By large majorities, Ugandans support reforms to increase transparency of the electoral process and ensure the integrity of candidates.

Several laws and policies have been put in place to ensure regular free and fair elections. These include, the Presidential Elections Act 2005; which provides for political candidates to freely express themselves and have access to information. It adds that, in an event such as campaigning, public officers and institutions shall treat all candidates with the respect they deserve i.e. equal treatment. Furthermore, the laws stipulate that all candidate's rights of free expression, access to information and right to campaign shall be unhampered.

In a bid to seal loopholes that might still exist, Uganda is willing and agrees to be confined by regional and internal treaties that purpose to advance free and fair elections. The penning of this study, comes at a time when the presidential elections are guided and enclosed under the Electoral Commission Act, 2010 as amended, the Political Parties and Organizations Act (PPOA) 2010 as amended and the Presidential Elections Act (PEA) 2010 as amended (Sekindi, 2017).

Despite the laws and constitutional guarantees, there is lingering proof that freedom of media is still under oppression. Sekaggya 2010, cites the rebellion of journalist to register with the Uganda Media Council which was put as a requirement by the government. In a move to fight for their freedom, the

journalists instead established their own independent Media Council thereby, clinging to their right to self-regulate as opposed to submission to government regulation.

Carbone (2003, 487) argues that, “the twenty years with Movement-system was in fact a hegemonic party system where, although opposition parties were allowed to exist, they were marginalized and existed as licensed parties.” Therefore, NRM was able to dominate the political sphere thus, greatly diminishing the ability of other traditional parties to compete favorably. The constitution was created during this era as well and, the rules and regulations governing the political process were generally shaped and implemented in such a way that kept the opposition parties on the downside (Carbone, 2003, Kasfir, 1998, Rubongoya, 2007).

In the words of Kjær (2004), the NRM were credited with fostering stability and economic growth, as well as popular policy initiatives such as decentralization, Universal Primary Education and the National Advisory Agriculture Services (Joughin and Kjær, 2010). These were popular initiatives that resonated with the people, but consequently hiked-up the power and authority of the executive since the distributions of many such initiatives were put under the control of the president (Kjær and Therkildsen, 2012, Makara, 2010). These saw President Museveni through the 1996 and 2001 elections with over two-thirds of the votes.

In subsequent election, Museveni was challenged for the first time by a member from within his own party, and the political climate got increasingly repressive, up to the point where Besigye the rivaling competitor had to flee the country after the election (Rubongoya, 2007, 152). Izama (2011), suggests that the level of constraint, the amount of time, and the challenges of redoing the elections fall upon the capacity of the state to mitigate them. Therefore, by all means, the incumbent Museveni, leader of NRM

had to spend extravagantly during the campaign to avoid even a slight chance of a re-run. State and public resources were diverted to serve this purpose; there were also allegations on moves by the government to bribe individuals and strong persuasive political agents from its rivals.

During the recent concluded 2016 general elections, EC adapted to the use of new measures and technological changes such as; the Biometric Voter Verification System (BVVS), Election Results Transmission and Disseminations System (ERTDS) and Voter Location Slips (VLS) to ensure authenticity of voters, transparency and effectiveness in declaration of results; these were aimed at improving the quality of elections.

1.3 Problem statement

The Electoral Commission in Uganda was formed through Article 60 of the 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda. Its mandate spreads out to include; organizing, conducting and supervising electoral process and referenda among others. The EC has succeeded in conducting elections regularly in Uganda (Mungyereza, 2014). However, the quality of these results has always been questioned. For example, reports from 2011 and 2016 general elections point out that, there were serious irregularities such as; lack of a leveled playing field, abuse of incumbency; commercialization of politics, lack of campaign finance regulations and lack of a political code of conduct (Butagira, 2016).

In addition, lack of independence of EC and its poor management of the process resulted into; delayed delivery of election material and deployment of personnel on election day, questions regarding the integrity of the voter register and imbalances in media coverage during the electoral process, were highlighted as well. These were prominent in most urban municipalities but, the climax was prominent in most parts of Kampala; where EC headquarters are situated (Musisi, 2016).

According to Obasanjo, (2016), the implication of this is that these infringe on the quality of elections thus, the electoral process in Uganda has been turned into a symbolic ritual and citizens are merely spectators in the process, yet this is the only slot through which they can express their constitutional right. It's against such a backdrop that the intended study sought to investigate consequences that electoral governance has on quality of elections.

1.4 Purpose of the study

The study intended to investigate consequences that electoral governance has on the quality of elections in Mukono Municipality.

1.5 Specific objectives

- (i) To examine the relationship between electoral accountability and quality of elections in Mukono Municipality.
- (ii) To find the relationship between electoral laws and quality of elections in Mukono Municipality.
- (iii) To analyse the relationship between citizens' participation in the electoral process and the quality of elections in Mukono Municipality.

1.6 Research questions

- (i) What is the relationship between electoral accountability and quality of elections in Mukono Municipality?
- (ii) How do electoral laws affect the quality of elections in Mukono Municipality?
- (iii) How does citizens' participation in the electoral process affect the quality of elections in Mukono Municipality?

1.7 Hypothesis

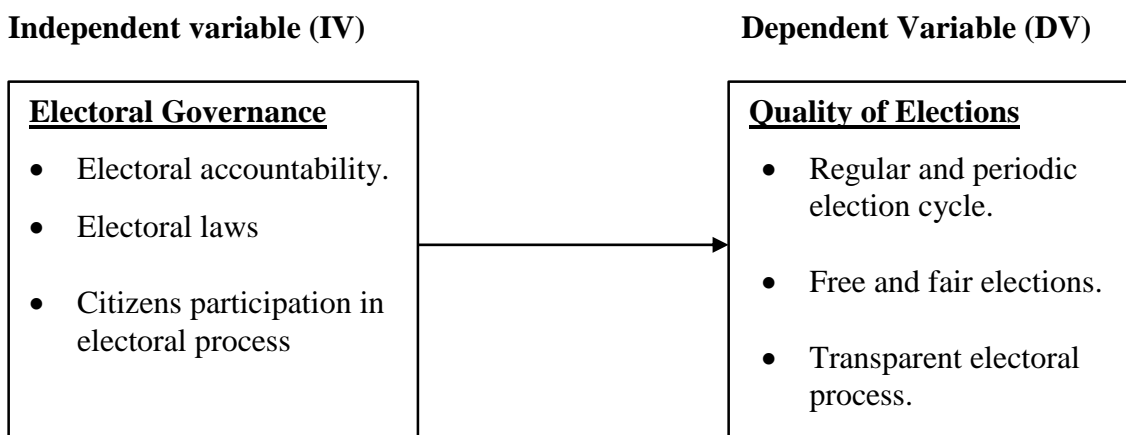
The study hypothesized the following:

- (i) There is positive significant relationship between electoral accountability and quality of elections in Mukono Municipality.
- (ii) There is positive significant relationship between electoral laws and quality of elections in Mukono Municipality.
- (iii) There is positive significant relationship between citizens' participation in the electoral process and quality of elections in Mukono Municipality.

1.8 Conceptual framework

The conceptual framework indicates how electoral governance influences the quality of elections. Electoral governance was considered to be the independent variable (IV) whereas quality of elections was the dependent variable (DV). Electoral governance was defined to mean electoral accountability, electoral laws and citizens' participation in the electoral process while, quality of elections was defined to mean regular/ periodic election cycle, free and fair elections, and transparency in the election process. The framework postulates that these independent variable influences the quality of elections as shown in figure.1 below.

Figure 1: Electoral Governance and Quality of Elections



Source: Adopted from Marc Plattner (1998), Centre for Democracy and Governance strategic plan (2002).

1.9 Significance of the study

It is anticipated that the findings of the result will provide valuable information for decision-making purposes; could be used by the policy-makers, the electoral management body, the government and the citizens who are the main stakeholders in an election.

Additionally, the findings may be used to sensitize the local community about electoral laws and process in Uganda.

To the academia, the study will complement existing literature and study material in library for other researchers who may be interested in the subject matter in future.

1.10 Justification of the Study

Understanding the influence that electoral governance has on the quality of elections in Mukono Municipality is necessary to improved democracy. Unless, issues relating to electoral accountability, electoral laws and citizens' participation are thoroughly understood, the quality of elections may still be at jeopardy and the existing challenges may persist, hence the relevance of this study.

1.11 Scope of the study

This section guided on areas that the study covered. The scope was partitioned into content, time and geographical categories as elaborated below.

1.11.1 Content scope

The content scope of the study concentrated on electoral governance and how it affects the quality of elections in Uganda. Beneath electoral governance (IV), the study looked at dimensions such as; electoral accountability, electoral laws and citizens' participation. Similarly, for the dependent variable (DV), it zeroed-in on; free and fair elections, regular/periodic election cycle and transparency in the electoral process.

1.11.2 Time scope

This research spans past elections conducted in Uganda that is, between 2016 and 2018 because, it is within this period that the quality of presidential, MPs' and LCs' elections were highly questioned by not only, the participants but also election observers; both local and international, political analysts and courts of law. Obasanjo, (2016)

1.11.3 Geographical Scope

The research was carried out Mukono Municipality which is located in Mukono district. Mukono is bordered by districts of; Wakiso, Buikwe and Kayunga among others. This area was chosen because of the past contradiction that led to an election petition between Nambooze Betty and Rev. Bakaluba Mukasa; that led to a court's ruling which over turned election outcomes in favor of Nambooze.

1.12 Operational Definitions of Terms and Concepts

- **Candidate** - refers to a person nominated to participate in an election process representing a particular party or independent of any support from any political party.
- **Civic education** means a program that involves increasing knowledge and comprehension of voters/citizens of their roles and rights in an electoral process.
- **Code of conduct** - refers to a set of rules and regulations that are guide the conduct those participating in an election.
- **Democracy** - refer to a system of governance in which power lies among the people that lead directly or indirectly through representatives.
- **Elections** – refers to translation of votes obtained by the candidate or the political office or other position.
- **Electoral administration** - refers to procedures followed to implement an electoral process.
- **Electoral law** - refers to the legislation that govern the process of electing candidates in political institutions.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The chapter entails, the analysis of salient issues from existing literature on electoral governance and quality of elections discovered and written by other scholars that is, in theory and practical terms. It includes; theoretical review, actual review and summary of the literature review.

2.2 Theoretical Review

The section explores theories and works of other scholars that were used to explain the phenomena of the study.

2.2.1 The Social Choice theory

The social choice theory (commonly known as voting theory) was started by Kenneth Arrow in 1985, after his invention of the impossibility theorem in 1951. This theory aims to ascertain the major rules of organizing a free and fair voting exercise using a variety of metrics that includes values and welfare among others. Arrow (1963) notes that “the theory analyses opinions, preferences and interests to reach a collective decision or social welfare in some sense.”

The theory was put forward by Nicolas de Condorcet and Jean-Charles de Borda in the 18th century, and by Charles Dodgson (commonly known as Lewis Carroll) in the 19th Century. Social choice theory became famous in the 20th century when Kenneth Arrow, Amartya Sen and Duncan Black improved it. The theory influences political science, economics, philosophy, mathematics, computer science and biology. The designing of the theory is credited to the two authors; Frenchman Nicolas de Condorcet (1743–1794), and American Kenneth Arrow (born 1921). Condorcet (1785), anticipated a key theme of modern social choice theory: “majority rule is at once a plausible method of collective decision making

and yet subject to some surprising problems. Resolving or avoiding these problems remains one of social choice theory's core concerns.” Arrow (1963) brought on board an approach to the study of “preference aggregation” which added onto Condorcet’s investigation of “majority voting” method. Arrow measured various aggregation methods and named them; “social welfare functions” (Suppes, 2005).

This theory was chosen for this study because it helps to explain feelings of individuals that is, what they prefer as well as what they are interested in, collective decisions of the candidates on the candidate to be voted, and how he/she is voted which is the core of the study.

2.2.2 Mixed model of Electoral Systems

Shugart and Wattenberg (2001), Massicotte and Blais (1999), all state that mixed electoral systems are those using two fundamentally different electoral formulae to allocate seats; some variant of Proportional Representation (PR) in a proportional tier and some variant of Single-Member District (SMD) in a nominal tier.

Shugart and Wattenberg classify mixed electoral systems into two categories basing on whether the two tiers operate independently of one another in determining the allocation of seats. Mixed Member Majoritarian (MMM) systems are those in which the election results are simply the additive outcomes in the single mandate district races (decided under either majority or plurality rules) and the party-list vote. There is no attempt to offset any resulting disproportionality. Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) systems attempt to create a more proportional result by using the results of the PR tier in some fashion to determine the distribution of seats among parties.

Similarly, Shugart and Wattenberg, Massicotte and Blais (1999), focus on the relationship between tiers to classify mixed electoral systems into two basic categories. The independent combinations, roughly

corresponding to Shugart and Wattenberg's MMM category, and the dependent combinations, roughly corresponding to Shugart and Wattenberg's MMP category. However, they further distinguish between types within each category. They identify three types of independent combinations that is; coexistence, superposition, and fusion mixed electoral systems.

In coexistence systems, a country is divided into districts, the electoral outcomes in each being decided by either SMD or PR. Voters cast ballots under one electoral formula or the other, but not both. In superposition systems, voters cast ballots under both formulae, one in an SMD district and the other in a PR district. Fusion mixed electoral systems combine SMD and PR formulae in a single district, some seats being allocated based on the first formula and the remaining district seats on the basis of the other formula (Massicotte &Blais, 1999).

Moser and Scheiner (2004), argued that "mixed electoral systems provide voters with two votes for the legislature, one for a party list in a proportional representation (PR) tier and one for a candidate in a SMD tier - have emerged as a major alternative to strictly PR or SMD systems." Reynolds, et. al, (2005), state that "in mixed systems, the leaders are elected through a combination of different elements and plurality systems and that about 15% use mixed systems as depicted in a survey of about 199 nations; which conduct elections." Mixed Electoral Systems have a difference of allowing electorate votes in both PR and SMD elections although mixed systems can be distinguished from one another (Moser and Scheiner, 2004).

2.2.3 Good Governance Theory

The good governance theory highlights basic principles upon which good administration must adhere. The basic 8 include; rule of law, transparency, responsiveness, consensus oriented, equity and inclusiveness, effectiveness and efficiency, accountability and participation. On the whole, the theory encapsulates the above and beyond (Minogue, et. al, 1998).

World Bank principles, policies and interventions in developing countries look at good governance as, a proficient public sector, an autonomous framework for judicially and frameworks for contracts and management of resources. It also involves an autonomous auditor charged with a role of representative legislature, respect for the law and human rights at all levels of government and a pluralistic institutional structure. Good governance is founded on the three sections that directly impact on governance as highlighted above. World Bank (1992), defines a “political regime” as the process by which those in power, manage economic and social resources; to build capacity necessary for developing and implementing policies.

IMF (2012), asserts that good governance as an entity, is associated with guaranteeing rule of law, revamping public sector; in terms of accountability and efficiency, and curbing corruption for economies to grow. Furthermore, UNDP (2007), also espouses eight attributes; political participation, rule of law, transparency, responsiveness, consensus, equity and inclusiveness, efficiency and effectiveness, and accountability.

Today, the theory is very relevant in emphasizing that, the normative question of how to create or ensure good governance remains a center of focus for governments. This is based on the assumption that the quality of governance can be enhanced by adopting the principles of good governance such as, the trimming down administrative functions of the state (Khan, 2008; Peter, 2010).

Therefore, the theory of good governance is adopted because it focuses on improving the services delivered to the public, promotes rivalry, advocates for reforms in public service reforms, regionalization and encouraging private-public partnerships (Williams and Young, 1994). Furthermore, the theory

emphasizes ways to utilize available resources and speed-up bureaucracies in order to safe guard individual liberties (Sheng, 2008).

2.3 Actual Review

This sections looks at the related literature from other scholars' which are pertinent to the key variable under lens by this study.

2.3.1 Electoral Accountability and Quality of Elections

According to Musa (2011), the 2007 elections conducted in Nigeria were marred by massive irregularities, blatant favoritism and were criticized by, both Nigerians and foreign observers. The late President, Umaru Musa Yar Adua admitted that the election that ushered him into power in 2007 was far from free and fair.

In the United States, Snyder and Stromberg (2010), exploit mismatches between the geography of congressional districts and the geography of media markets to trace the procedure by which the process leads to receptiveness to repeated election concerns.

Gibb (2016), states that though the EC in Uganda deployed the Biometric Voter Verification System (BVVS) for the first time to effectively authenticate the identity of the voters. They also circulated "voter location slips" to inform voters of the locality polling centers. In Supplement, voters were allowed to present their slips as identification, a move that was greatly criticized by external observers claiming that it plagued logistical problems making accountability hard.

Reports by African Centre for Media Excellence (2015) indicate that, female campaigners in Africa are given less coverage in news compared to the men. Female candidates don't have funding to compete

favorably among competitive political elections, this is because the men are privileged by the socio-economic status which uplifts them on the expense of the women.

Key (1966), documents that the accountability function of elections is central in any democratic process. In his argument, Key believes that “the only effective weapon of popular control in a democratic regime is the capacity of the electorate to throw a party out of power.” Acemoglu and Robinson (2012), point out that “elections are an integral part of representative democracies. Well-functioning elections contribute to democratic accountability and democratic institutions, which in turn contributes to economic and human development.”

According to Ibrahim (2003), the quality of election is of vital importance for communities transitioning from dictatorship into liberal democracy. For instance, the late 1980s were characterised by several African states converting to the democratic form of governance. In the same spirit, many elections have been conducted across the continent but a great deal of them have been regarded as “elections without choice.” While many elections are conducted across the globe, there is still evidence that elections conducted in all democracies are not of quality. (Lehoucq 2003; Alvarez, Atkeson, and Hall 2012; Birch 2011; Norris 2014, 2015; James 2014).

2.3.2 Electoral Laws and Quality of Elections

Miller (2011), reports that there is abuse of incumbency by a president who has significantly larger resources at its command. Because of this, the NRM dominates in all aspects of campaigning, taking maximum advantage of government resources and patronage, vehicle and personnel. Indeed, the “money factor” and widespread allegations of bribery and other subtler forms of buying allegiance were key features of the political campaign. NRM also received massive positive coverage on state television and radio.

Miller further states that, while amendments to legislation in 2010 provided for equitable financing to all political organizations and parties for election-related activities; some had not been given funds to manage their election-related activities for the 2011 general elections. All presidential candidates received UGX 20 million as a campaign contribution from the Electoral Commission, plus a car and security personnel (Miller, 2011).

Ruth et. Al, (2017), documents that, issues about altering electoral laws and attempts to change them, are highly sensitive among politicians and the public. It's assumed and anticipated that once these rules are tempered with, voters' behavior and way of conduct would also be affected thus, causing a change in the election outcome as well.

Birch (2013), reveals that, complaints from people who have fallen victim, claim that mandatory electoral rules are of substantial importance, they affect voter turnout because on an individual basis they affect the decision to vote. Some experimental research has been conducted and tends to agree that this indeed has an impact on the electoral system. Van der Straeten. et. Al, (2010), ran quasi and natural experiments, and arrived at a conclusion suggesting that voter decision to vote strategically depends upon electoral rules.

Bowler and Donovan (2013), argue that, given the role they play especially, the distribution of power and neutralization of the political arena. Electoral laws qualify to be regarded as an institutional framework in the society. The actions of individuals need to be guided by these rules that is, the norms and behavior of voters or citizens may change depending on institutional laws in place, for instance basing on the majority or representative systems.

Fournier et. al, (2011), and Whiteley et. al, (2013), document that on a large scale, these electoral rules may vary depending on certain specific circumstances but, are in general stable as proven by the failure attempt to reform the Britain and Canadian electoral systems. The vote in itself, is confidential in nature and the power of decision making lies solely with the individual that is, to turn-out to vote and to choose whom to vote.

Pedro and Damien (2017), examined the forms ticket voting in two types; mixed-member proportional systems (MMP) on one hand and on the other hand, mixed-member majority (MMM) system. They believed that these systems give incentives for ticket voting. In particular, the authors gave the theory under MMP regulations where voters have more incentives to leave the party of their choice MMM systems. This is because when the cast a vote to another party's candidate, it doesn't affect the number of seats in legislative assembly.

Audrey & Depauw (2017), investigated the factors that determine whether a contestant should be preferred or voted. Basing on their investigation, the authors majorly focused on systems where voters supported specific candidates and also examined the institutions on the possibility of casting votes. The findings of this investigation suggested that, the roles of the institutions are of great importance. It was further highlighted that if there is a limited number of candidates to choose from, voters are likely to cast preference votes. Furthermore, the results revealed that the rules of the institutions are paramount when there is a complex voting system. It was suggested that, the rules are important for only those who understand the "rules of the game."

According to Desai and Woolcock, (2015), "rule of law is a political feature of how societies are organized." Rule of law, is a political outcome resulting from contesting in politics and elite

negotiations. An element that constitutes how power is used as societies' purpose to achieve their socio-economic, political interaction and distribution battles by the non-violent means.

Gibb (2016), reports that before elections are conducted, the government recruited "crime preventers" purposely to ensure protection of the local areas before and during elections. The decision to recruit crime preventers was criticized by Human Rights Watch, Human Rights Network Uganda, Human Rights Initiative and Amnesty International. To them, the crime preventers "acted in partisan ways and have carried out brutal assaults and extortion with no accountability" (HRW 2016). Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch's reports, say that some crime preventers were allegedly apprised to hassle opposition supporters (HRW 2016). Norris (2004), upon the review of past research strategies and works, agrees that electoral rules seem to count. In addition, the studies denote that electoral rules are of significant impact and they do not only influence participation and but, also the choices of the voters' (Flower 2013; Karp and Bandicci 1999).

2.3.3 Citizens' participation and quality of elections

Mwesigye (2013), documents that democracy and citizens' participation are synonymous and that they resonate profoundly with issues of governance and accountability. This was in line with Museveni (1992), who stated that the concepts of democracy and citizen participation can only be gathered from experiences borrowed from elsewhere and there is no specific template for a good democracy that can be replicated. Quinn (2006), states that "democratic elections are ones in which the people in these societies can freely participate, there is competition among political parties, and the process is seen as legitimate." Nsibambi (1998), observes that in order to develop a nation, it is important to participate in electoral processes. Similarly, Muhumuza (2003), argues that democracy cannot flourish not until civil society organizations are given space to empower the people through advocacy.

Ahikire (2004), documents that the post-colonial governments in Uganda, especially regimes of Obote and Amin, considered women as political minors who could only vote but, not get involved in the governance of the country. The only way they participated was organizing groups of women and clubs aimed at developing communities with no political intentions. In the same vein, Adong et al. (2002: 43), assert “that women’s participation in the Local Council system is largely ineffective, that the spaces provided by that system are gendered, and that this excludes women at all three levels of the LC system examined by the study.”

According to Vanda et. at (2016), “participation is an investment made by politicians and citizens, with the goal of obtaining a substantial return.” Political parties are adapted to reality of using participation as a planning tool. The authors further argued that “citizens can influence the final decision in many ways.” Therefore, it is at the planner’s discretion to assess the info provided by the voters, build partnerships, document their participation and explain how they affect decisions. As a result, the political spheres will then show citizens that their opinions and efforts are valued, resulting in political and public gain (Vanda et. at, 2016). Despite this, however, reserving of seats for women in various institutions has allowed few political positions for participation of women in local governance; has a greater potential for change, Ahikire (2001).

In Uganda, LC1s’, LC3s’ and LC5s’ are elected through 5-yearly elections with universal adult suffrage; the chairperson of each of these councils is also directly elected. LC2s’ and LC4s’, however, are indirectly elected by councilors on LC1 and LC3 respectively. (Gaventa, 2002)

According to Trinkle (1997), as cited by Pausch (2012), there is need to distinguish between participation in a political setting such as, elections or political institutions and participation in social

contexts. These contexts, are political and social, and can be further grouped as supportive of the system or critical of the system.

Alexander (2012), and Buhlmann (2011), argue that “one of the most important principles of a democracy is the freedom to decide autonomously whether one participates in the democratic process or not.” This objective is shared by components of a society as well as by many members of the civic society. However, there is an unconcluded political debate on the duty of citizens in engaging the society.

Perrineau (2007), and Nolte (2011), point out that “not all forms of participation are politically relevant.” This means that political participation in itself is not a democratic activity because it possible to participate in non-democratic activities or events. In the words of Valderrama (1999), it is surprising that within the development literature there has been less attention to notions of political participation, and yet it involves the interactions of the individual or organized groups with the state. Focus is more on mechanisms of indirect participation and political participation has been defined in broad or narrow terms by different authors depending on the approach of inquiry.

Whyte and Macintosh (2002), detect the increased urge to look at other ways of public engagement that, allow a broad audience contribute towards policy formulation. In a similar manner, Castells (1996), identifies the internet as a great tool with capabilities of spreading information, providing a platform for mass communication thus, able to draw citizens’ attention towards politics leading to their increased involvement throughout democratic processes.

In light of increased participation, Chadwick (2006), realized that online presence creates an environment that empowers individuals to freely express their views against more powerful actors. This

is largely attributed to the anonymous status that online presence permits; which allays fears of punishment or direct attack that could emerge from their shared opinions. Additionally, online presence is of the greater advantage that it permits flexibility; in terms of where and when individuals can chip-in on matters regarding politics and democratic processes (Gehring, 2007).

Ashnah et. al (2012), states that a good number of Ugandans are reluctant to engage in civic issues, thereby sabotaging public effort that should be directed towards the promotion of transparency. Again, most do not participate in community-based debates and do not register for voting. In some cases, even those who register end up not showing to cast their vote when the time is due. For instance, the surveys conducted during the February 2011 presidential elections, revealed that about 59% registered voters cast their vote. The increased exclusion of the locals is attributed to poor access to related information; the survey put the number of households, with a member engaging in local governance at 10%; which explains the information gap.

2.4 Summary of Literature Review

In conclusion, despite the efforts by these countries to ensure good governance and quality of elections, the quality of elections held generated mixed results. While some scholars assert that it is still questionable and continues to retard after establishing elections, others contradict and argue that, “the quality of elections increases after three or more rounds of elections, even when the initial elections were not entirely free and fair.”

Literature suggests that transition of power is more likely, when election is free and fair. Empirical evidence as well, hints that the legitimacy of government and political institutions increases when there is transition of power. Elections may occur with greater or lesser degrees of justice, freedom, fairness, transparency and, that types of problems that can compromise the quality of the election also vary from;

fraud in the vote count, discretion in voter registration, manipulation of rules, repression on competitors, favoring in the distribution of resources, exclusion of citizens' groups, and operational mistakes due to inefficiency or negligence.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The section describes steps to remedy the research problem. It presents the details of the methodology employed to collect relevant data for the study. The chapter entails; the research design, study population, target population, sample size and selection, sampling techniques, data collection methods, instruments, quality error control, reliability and validity, data collection procedures, data analysis and measurement of variables and ethical considerations.

3.2 Research Design

According to De Vaus (2001), “a research design is referred to as, the overall strategy that one employs to integrate the different components of the study in a coherent and logical way, thereby, ensuring that you effectively address the research problem. It constitutes the blueprint for the collection, measurement and analysis of data.” This implies that a research design is very significant to a researcher because, it helps him to plan the methods to be employed for collecting relevant data and techniques to be used in the analysis of the collected data.

A cross-sectional survey design was used for this study because it permits a systematic description that is factual and close to accurate (Ezeani, 2009). By this method, data was collected from selected key and non-key respondents at a single point in time. The design is advantageous in the sense that it consumes less time and is easily applicable. Both quantitative and qualitative techniques were deployed to aid the investigation of relationship and in-depth interpretation of data between the identified variables respectively (Creswell, 2009).

According to Earl-Babbie (2013), qualitative studies focus on properly understanding human behavior and reasons for their conduct. Quantitative studies on the other hand, was used for sampling, collection, quality control and analysis of data. Mixed method was selected because, it brings out the qualitative and quantitative findings building to more accurate results of a study (Russell, 2011).

3.3 Study population

According to Kothari (2004), “a population is a well-defined or set of people, services, elements, and events, group of things or households that are being investigated.” A selected number was chosen from the population of the staff of EC Mukono. Others non EC staff included; opinion leaders, political leaders and selected stakeholders such as, civil society organizations, religious leaders, political analysts and local leaders.

3.4 Target population

This is the collection of elements with information being sought by the researcher (Guthrie, 2012). For this study, the target population was 100 respondents comprising of the key respondents such as; District Registrars, CSO and police leaders. Non-key respondents included; media, political parties’ leaders, local leaders, opinion leaders and EC operational staff. This population was carefully selected with guidance from Electoral Commission data and supplemented by use of the researcher’s intuition.

3.5 Sample size

The sample represents the total population (Mugenda and Mugenda, 2003). 80 respondents were sampled carefully basing on respondent’s experience, age and knowledge of the subject or expertise. The sample size was selected using Krejice & Morgan tables (Krejice & Morgan, 1970) and using the appropriate sampling technique as detailed in the table below.

Table 3. 1 Sample distribution table

Category of respondents	Population	Sample size	Sampling technique
District Registrars	02	02	Purposive Sampling
EC operational staff	13	11	Simple Random Sampling
Local leaders	20	15	Simple Random Sampling
CSO's, Media and Police leaders	35	30	Purposive Sampling
Political parties leaders	10	07	Simple Random Sampling
Opinion leaders	20	15	Simple Random Sampling
TOTAL	100	80	

Source primary data 2018: *This data was generated based on files at the Electoral Commission and guided by Krejcie and Morgan Table (1970).*

3.6 Sampling Techniques

The study employed purposive sampling to target the key respondents like, District Registrars and other key stakeholders such as, the leaders of CSO's, police, and media. Neuman (2006) defines purposive sampling as, a situation where the researcher identifies particular people basing on their knowledge about the subject matter. This helps the researcher to identify and pursue respondents to enrich the study (Berg, 2008). The researcher employed purposive sampling on all key respondents because they have the necessary information, knowledge and practical experience to better inform this study.

For non-key respondents, simple random sampling was employed for mainly because they were many, possess average knowledge about the subject matter and needed equal chance to participate. Simple random sampling technique also, minimized attempts of bias as the research selecteds respondents (Maxwell, 2005). In agreement, Babbie (2007), as well, emphasizes that random sampling must be free of bias and should meet the needs of the researcher.

3.7 Data source

According to Musaazi (2005), information sources are referred to as the existing and recognized literature which has been accepted by academic or any reputable organization.

3.7.1 Primary source

Primary sources consist of the information directly obtained from the field by the use of tools that collect data in its original raw form. As cited in Atugonza (2013, p.27), Musaazi asserts that, primary source is information the researcher collects from experience, personal analysis, observations and construction of research tools. Primary sources provided first-hand data, directly from the respondents. This data was gathered using structured questionnaires and interview guides; which were filled by selected respondents and guided interview sessions respectively.

3.7.2 Secondary source

This refers to data sources which have been prepared and developed for other purposes but not solving the problem at hand. These sources may be internal or external to the organization under study. For secondary sources, the researcher scrutinized several documents such as; annual reports, literature from published books, journals and the internet.

Secondary data sources were used because they are cheap, time saving, always available and dependable. These sources also give as comparative perspective especially, how others concluded or went about with the problem. Kulbir (2000, p.72), asserts that secondary information supplements related literature and gives justification of the data collected from the field.

3.8 Data collection methods

Patte and Mildred (2001), describes data collection methods as, ways the researcher uses to get required information from respondents. For this research, questionnaire survey and interviews were used to collect the relevant data from selected respondents. Russell (2011) says questionnaire surveys consume

less time and give respondents freedom and discretion to answer comfortably. The study also used the interview approach because of its nature that allows in-depth probing to search for necessary information (De Vaus, 2001).

3.8.1 The Questionnaire

A questionnaire is a set of relevant questions that the researcher writes down and gives the respondents to fill according to their experience. According to Amin (2005), “a questionnaire is a carefully designed instrument for, gathering data in accordance with specifications of the research questions. “Data was collected through questioning of respondents using self-administered questionnaires.

According to Guppy & Gray (2008), successful surveys depend on, carefully executed data collection method. Authors add that in the case of a questionnaire survey, the researcher must ensure that self-administered and guided questionnaires are easy to understand; by the respondent and are not too long. They were preferred in this study because they are convenient and allow respondents to give their responses independently and secretly. They help in preliminary analysis of data; presentation in the form of tables, charts and graphs. Lastly, they are cost effective and less-time consuming.

In order to allow respondents, give personal opinion, ratings and statements depicting aspects under lens, the Likert scale was used to guide the questions. The Likert scale ranges from Strongly Agree (SA) to Strongly Disagree (SDA).

3.8.2 Interviewing

The researcher also used face to face interviews. According to Osborne (2008), an interview guide is a list of thematic areas or issues that the researcher focuses on, while engaging respondents during an interview.

Wengraf (2001) reveals that interviewing is an essential and simple way of data collection. In agreement, Amin (2005) argues that the advantage of using interview is that, it allows on spot explanations, adjustments and variation that could be introduced during the data collection process. Through

respondent's incidental comments, use of facial and body expressions, change on voice tone, gestures, feelings and attitudes the researcher is able to understand the intensity of the subject matter. An interview guide was used to help the interviewer remain systematic and focused on relevant issues (Sarantakos, 2005).

3.9 Quality control

Planning of research instruments and their development is essential, though not sufficient. "The only way to know if something is going to work is to give it a try," says O'leary (2011). In order to ensure that the instruments are both reliable and valid, the researcher piloted and pretested the data collection tools in an organisation of a similar setting. Additionally, the study only employed tools with validity and reliability coefficients of at least 0.7 (Kathuri&Pals, 1993). Mugenda and Mugenda (2003), recommend using a sample of 10%, of the proposed sample size as adequate for piloting.

3.9.1 Validity

Validity is the extent to which a measuring instrument measures what it is intended to (Thatcher, 2010, p.125). It is possible for a measurement to be reliable but invalid. However, if a measurement is unreliable, then it cannot be valid (Thatcher, 2010).

Duggirala et al. (2008) defined content validity as the assessment of the correspondence between the individual items and concept. This study addressed content validity by reviewing literature and adapting instruments used previously by different scholars as reflected in the conceptual framework. This study used the content validity index for measuring the extent to which the sample represents the content to be measured. To ensure validity of the instruments, the questionnaires were pretested by posing the same questions designed for the study, to different respondents in a related industry. The researcher also presented the questionnaires to the expert in the field in order to get an opinion, the data collection tools

were also tested for completeness before being used. The researcher used the Content Validity Index (CVI) calculated as follows;

$$\text{CVI} = \frac{\text{No. of items rated relevant}}{\text{Total no. of items}}$$

The instrument that yields a CVI above 0.7 is within the accepted ranges.

3.9.2 Reliability

Reliability refers to the consistency, stability and reputability of results. Results of a research are considered reliable if they are consistent. Hair et al. (2007), believes that the importance of checking for internal consistency is that, individual items of the scale measure the same constructs thus being highly inter-correlated. Fujun et al. (2007), point out that, “the Cronbach alpha with acceptable cutoff point 0.7, demonstrates that all attributes are internally consistent, and as a rule of thumb for describing internal consistency, using Cronbach's alpha is acceptable among many researchers.” The Cronbach’s alpha reliability coefficient for Likert scales test was performed, to ensure reliability of quantitative data. In statistics, Cronbach’s alpha is a coefficient of reliability (Russell, 2011). It is commonly used as a measure of the internal consistency score for a sample of examinees. The instrument was also being subjected to a pilot study where 10 respondent from the population, who were not part of the sample size, were used to test the reliability of the questionnaire. The Cronbach alpha coefficient with a measure of equal or greater than 0.7, was considered acceptable for the instrument after the pilot study.

3.10 Procedure for data collection

The researcher wrote a research proposal after which a defense was made. After a successful defense of the proposal, the researcher got a letter from Uganda Management Institute introducing him to the respondents in the field for data collection. In the first week, establishing contact and making appointments with respondents took precedence. After that, questionnaires were administered to

selected respondents with the help of two research assistants; whose minimum qualification was a university degree. These were also trained by the researcher prior to the exercise. The data collected, was organized and sorted for correctness and analyzed thereafter.

3.11 Data Analysis

Data analysis is the process of inspecting, cleaning, transforming, and modeling data with the goal of discovering useful information, suggesting conclusions, and supporting decision-making (Gorard, 2003). According to Grbich (2007), analysis refers to breaking a whole into its separate components for individual examination.

3.11.1 Quantitative data analysis

Quantitative data analysis refers to a systematic approach, where during investigations the researcher transforms data collected into numerical data (Yin, 2008). After collecting the questionnaires from the respondents, it was coded and subjected to the Statistical Programme for Social Scientists (SPSS) data editor and analyzed using SPSS version 23.

Descriptive statistics such as, mean and standard deviation were employed as well as, relational statistics such as, correlation coefficient and regression models to establish the strength of the relationship between variables.

3.11.2 Qualitative data analysis

Qualitative data analysis is a process of transforming qualitative data that have been collected into forms that explain, understand or interpret peoples' behavior and situations under scrutiny. Qualitative data analysis usually bases on an interpretative approach (Neuendorf, 2002). Qualitative data feedback was transcribed, sorted and classified manually and results on major findings of the study were summarized and presented in a narrative manner.

3.12 Measurement of Variables

The study concentrated on electoral governance and quality of elections. Data on the variables was got by the use of a scaled questionnaire. A 5-point Likert scale where; 1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=not sure, 4=agree and 5=strongly agree was used to tap respondents' perception of their engagement. The research adjusted questions to best suit the information that was being sought, and data retrieved from close-ended questions was used in the quantitative analysis. This was further studied and categorized in context; responses were then grouped basing to the current issues. The Likert scale was chosen because it's easier to use compared to other techniques (Amin, 2005).

3.13 Ethical considerations

The researcher and his team endeavored to observe the following principles as he conducted the study. The research made sure to inform every respondent on the intention of the study and promised to keep all issues discussed concealed.

The researcher ensured that, the respondents' consent was first sought, as a pre-request for interview in order to avoid resistance and harassment by the respondents that is, during the research process

The researcher also ensured that, he refrained from all forms of plagiarism like, owning someone else's work and presenting a report that had ever been submitted by another student among others.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the data that was collected by the researcher from different respondents, that is, the district registrars, local leaders, leaders of related CSO's, police and media, political parties and opinion leaders. Data is presented as per the responses on specific objectives. The data collected from questionnaires is presented in statistical tables whereas, that gathered from the interview is presented in a narrative form. But first, section 4.1 below presents response rate.

4.1 Response rate

A total of 80 tools were designed, 60 of which were questionnaires and 20 interview guides. These were administered to respondents within Mukono Municipality. All questionnaires administered were filled whereas, only 15 interviews were conducted thus, depicting a 94% response rate for the entire survey. This response rate was sufficient, representative and conforms to Mugenda and Mugenda (2003), who stipulated that a response rate of 50% is adequate for analysis and reporting. Furthermore, the author categorized that, a 60% rate is good while a response rate of 70% and over is excellent.

The high response rate was attributed to the fact that; the questionnaires were administered by the researcher in person; who explained the rationale of the respondents to participate in the study. The low response to interviews was due to the fact that respondents did not have sufficient time to respond to questions. The respondents for interviews were been given codes from A to C for purposes of easing analysis.

Table 4.1 Showing the response rate.

Category of respondents	Target population	Actual response	Response rate%	Data collection instrument	Code of respondents'
District Registrars.	2	2	2.5	Interview guide	A
EC operational staff.	11	11	13.75	Questionnaire	
Opinion leaders.	15	15	18.75	Questionnaire	
CSO's and Police leaders.	18	13	16.25	Interview guide	B and C respectively
Media.	12	12	15	Questionnaire	
Political parties leaders.	7	7	8.75	Questionnaire	
Local leaders.	15	15	18.75	Questionnaire	
Total	80	75	93.75		

Source: Primary data 2018

4.2 Demographic characteristics of respondents

This study involved four main categories of respondents. These categories reveal the return rate of the instruments. Tables and figures below highlight characteristics of these respondents;

Table 4.2 Showing results for sex of respondents.

Sex of the respondents

		Frequency	Percent %
Valid	Male	36	60.0
	Female	24	40.0
	Total	60	100.0

Source: primary data 2018.

From the findings in the table above, the researcher wanted to ascertain the gender of the respondents. It was revealed that the majority (60%) of the respondents were male, while 40% of the respondents were female.

Table 4.3 Showing responses on the age of respondents.

Age of the respondents

	Years	Frequency	Percent %
Valid	18 - 28	17	28.3
	29 - 39	28	46.7
	40 - 50	9	15.0
	51 - 60	5	8.3
	Above 60	1	1.7
	Total	60	100.0

Source: primary data 2018.

From the table above, majority of the respondents in this study were youthful as depicted with 28.3% being between 18 and 28 years; 46.7% of the respondents were between 29 and 39, 15% between 40 and 45, 8.3% between 51 and 60 while, only 1.7% of the respondents were above 60 years of age.

Table 4.4 Showing responses on the marital status of the respondents

Marital status of respondents

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Single	27	45.0
	Married	27	45.0
	Divorced	2	3.3
	Separated	4	6.7
	Total	60	100.0

Source: primary data 2018.

From the table above, the researcher also got interested in knowing the marital status of the respondents. Findings revealed that; married and single respondents accounted for 45% each, the divorced were 3.3% while the separated stood at 6.7%.

Table 4.5 Showing responses on respondents' relationship with Electoral Commission.

Respondents' relationship with Electoral Commission

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Staff	9	15.0
	CSO, Police, Media	11	18.3
	Opinion leader/voter	28	46.7
	Local/political party leader	12	20
	Total	60	100.0

Source: Primary data 2018.

From the findings in the table above, it was revealed that majority of the respondents were; opinion leaders/voters with 46.7%, followed by local/political party leaders at 20%, CSOs, police and the media leaders at 18.3 %, and finally the EC staff which covered 15% of the survey.

Table 4.6 Showing responses on the education level of the respondents.

Education level of the respondents

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Never studied	2	3.3
	Primary	5	8.3
	Secondary	18	30.0
	University	35	58.3
	Total	60	100.0

Source: Primary data 2018

The table above, shows the level of education of the respondents. The researcher found it necessary to also look at the level of education of the respondents as this would affect the level of accuracy of information gathered. It was interesting to discover that, majority of the respondents (58.3%) had attained degree level education, 30% had at least secondary level education, 8.3% of the respondents had attained primary level education while, 3.3% of the respondents had not attained any level of education.

4.3 Findings on electoral accountability and the quality of elections in Mukono Municipality.

This objective was addressed by asking respondents to indicate the extent to which they agree or disagree with statements about the variables on a five-point Likert Scale. The researcher analyzed the data generated from the questionnaires pertaining this objective, and compared them with findings from the interview session conducted. Responses from the interviews (presented in italics) supported the seven statements of the questionnaire that had questions designed in a closed ended format. The five-point Likert scale consisted of statements which consecutively represented; strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree and strongly disagree respectively.

Table 4.7 Frequency Table and descriptive statistics showing responses on the relationship between electoral accountability and the quality of elections

Relationship between electoral accountability and quality of elections	SDA %	DA %	U %	A %	SA %	Mean	SD
The EC of Uganda organizes and manages all electoral activities.	1.7	6.7	1.7	38.3	51.7	4.32	0.93
The EC independently supervises all electoral activities.	6.7	11.7	13.3	35.0	33.3	3.77	1.226
The EC announces winners within agreed time.	5.0	23.3	11.7	25.0	35.0	3.62	1.316
The EC is neutral while coordinating elections.	15.0	20.0	11.7	26.7	26.7	3.30	1.442
The EC updates and informs Ugandans on all electoral activities during the whole process.	8.3	16.7	5.0	31.7	38.3	3.75	1.348
After announcing the election results, the EC gives an account of the electoral outcomes to Ugandans.	15.0	20.0	11.7	20.0	33.3	3.37	1.495
The EC gives accountability of the finances received from government.	11.7	18.3	20.0	16.7	33.3	3.42	1.418

Source: Primary data 2018

The researcher sought the relationship between electoral accountability and quality of elections. A number of questions were asked in relation to this objective; to determine whether the EC of Uganda organizes and manages all electoral activities. Majority of the respondents (90 %) were in agreement with this statement and revealed that, this was true. However, it was also noted that 8.4 % of the respondents disagreed.

This effect was further affirmed by a higher mean of 4.32 and a low standard deviation of 0.93 which imply that, truly, the EC organizes and manages all the electoral activities.

During an interview with respondents in category A, it was revealed that, the Electoral Commission organizes and manages all electoral activities.

The researcher further wanted to know whether the EC independently supervises all electoral activities. Majority of the responses agreed that, indeed the EC independently supervises all electoral activities as reflected by the 68.3% response rate. However, this was contradicted by the 18.4% who revealed that the EC does not independently supervise all the electoral activities. Further analysis of data revealed that, the higher mean of 3.77 and standard deviation of 1.226 showed that the EC of Uganda independently supervises all its electoral activities.

The responses from the interview with respondents C, also confirmed that, the EC independently supervises all electoral activities. It was affirmed by the respondents A, who pointed out that “the EC appoints supervisors at all sub counties/division and parishes/wards who help in supervising all electoral activities.”

When asked whether the EC announces winners within the agreed time, majority of the responses showed that, the EC truly announces winners within the agreed time. This was reflected by 60% of the responses although, 28.3% of the responses were in contradiction. The slightly higher mean of 3.62 and lower standard deviation of 1.316 means that the EC announces winners within the agreed time.

This view was the same from the interviews held with respondents’ B and C, who confirmed that the EC announces winners in the agreed time.

When it came to the question about EC’s neutrality while coordinating elections, majority of the respondents (53.4%) said that the EC is neutral while coordinating elections but, 35% of the responses disagreed. Further analysis showed that; the EC is neutral in its coordination of electoral activities. This was reflected by the higher mean and a lower standard deviation of 3.30 and 1.442 respectively.

Responses from the interview with respondents A, showed that, the EC is neutral. They revealed and stated that, “whatever the EC does during elections is in the interest of the public and all Ugandans. Therefore, they have to be neutral to all participants.”

The researcher also sought to find out if the EC updates and informs Ugandans on all electoral activities during the whole process. It was discovered that majority of the respondents (70%) stated that, the EC updates and informs Ugandans on electoral activities during the whole process. 20% of respondents disagreed but, following the higher population in agreement and evidenced with a higher mean of 3.75 and a standard deviation of 1.348, its right for one to conclude that the EC updates and informs Ugandans on all electoral activities during the whole process.

From the interview with respondents A, the researcher confirmed that, indeed the EC updates Ugandans on all electoral activities. The respondent further pointed out that, “the EC always carries out civic education and sensitization of voters through the media; in all popular local languages to enable easy understanding.”

The researcher was also interested in knowing whether, after announcing the election results, the EC gives an account of the electoral outcomes to Ugandans. Majority of the respondents agreed that, indeed after the results have been announced, the EC gives an account of the electoral outcomes to Ugandans. Statistics depicted a 53.3% response rate in agreement but also, 35% of the respondents negated this. Statistical analysis revealed a mean of 3.37 with a standard deviation of 1.495 which connoted that, EC gives account of electoral results during their declaration.

The interview held with respondents B, also revealed the same findings, i.e. the Electoral Commission gives an account of the electoral results during the declaration process.

About the investigation on whether the EC gives accountability of the finances received from government. It was revealed that, yes indeed the EC gives accountability of funds received. This was reflected by a slight majority of 50% respondents but, 30% of the respondents revealed otherwise. The higher mean of 3.42 and a low standard deviation of 1.418 depicts that the EC gives accountability of the finances received from government.

Interviewees also presented differing views; respondents A stated that, the Electoral Commission gives accountability of the finances while, others respondents (B and C) were not certain if EC gives accountability of funds received.

4.4 Correlation analysis for electoral accountability and the quality of elections.

Using Pearson correlation coefficient, a bi-variate correlation analysis was carried out amongst electoral accountability and the quality of elections and emerging results were as shown in the table below.

Table 4.8 Showing correlation results for relationship between electoral accountability and the quality of elections.

Correlations

		Electoral accountability	Quality of Elections
Electoral accountability	Pearson Correlation	1	.430**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.001
	N	60	60
Quality of Elections	Pearson Correlation	.430**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	
	N	60	60

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

Results in table 4.8 above show a positive relationship at $r = .430^{**}$ between electoral accountability and the quality of elections. The coefficient of determination shows that, electoral accountability accounted for 43.0% improvement in the quality of elections. The significance (p) test was also carried out and the results showed that, a significance of the correlation (.001) is less than the recommended critical significance at 0.01. Therefore, the relationship was significant and the hypothesis; “electoral accountability has a positive significant influence on the quality of elections.” was accepted.

4.5 Regression analysis results for electoral accountability and the quality of election.

To establish the perspective significance of electoral accountability on the quality of elections in Mukono Municipality. By using the which the ANOVA statistics of Adjusted R2 and significance (p), a simple regression analysis was conducted and results unveiled were as shown in table below.

Table 4.9 Showing regression results for relationship between electoral accountability and the quality of elections.

Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	F	Sig.
1	.430 ^a	.185	.171	1.456	13.183	.001 ^b

a. Predictors: (Constant), Electoral accountability.

Findings in Table 4.9 show a moderate linear relationship (Multiple $R = .430$) between, electoral accountability and the quality of elections. The adjusted R-square shows that, electoral accountability accounted for 17.1% in improving the quality of elections. These findings were subjected to an ANOVA test, which showed that, the significance (Sig = .001) was well below the critical significance at .01 level and further analysis by fisher’s ratio ($F = 13.183$) led to the acceptance of the findings.

4.6 Findings on electoral laws and the quality of elections in Mukono Municipality.

The objective was met by asking respondents to express their opinions on whether they disagreed or agreed on a five point Likert Scale. After analysis, the researcher discovered that, the questionnaires generated responses and findings from interviews conducted supported the seven statements. The questionnaire had closed ended statements on a five point Likert scale; which comprised of choices such as; strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree and strongly disagree respectively.

Table 4.10 Frequency Table and descriptive statistics showing responses on the relationship between electoral laws and the quality of elections in Mukono Municipality.

Effect of electoral laws on the quality of elections	SDA%	DA%	U%	A%	SA%	MEAN	SD
Electoral laws are functional in Uganda during elections.	10.0	11.7	13.3	31.7	33.3	3.67	1.323
The EC follows stipulated electoral laws during the electoral process.	3.3	23.3	8.3	38.3	26.7	3.62	1.209
The electoral laws put in place are free and fair to all political players.	18.3	15.0	10.0	25.0	31.7	3.37	1.518
The state does not interfere with electoral laws during the electoral process.	23.3	21.7	5.0	23.3	26.7	3.08	1.576
As a voter, I have complete trust in the electoral laws of Uganda.	28.3	21.7	11.7	8.3	30.0	2.90	1.633
The EC follows international laws on election.	8.3	16.7	33.3	20.0	21.7	3.30	1.225
The EC has competent staff who understand the electoral laws.	10.0	13.3	15.0	31.7	30.0	3.58	1.319

Source: primary data 2018.

From the findings (above) on whether electoral laws are functional in Uganda during elections, majority of the respondents revealed that, truly the laws are functional as reflected by; 31% of the respondents who agreed, 33.3% who strongly agreed, 10% strongly disagreed and 11 % just disagreed. The higher mean of 3.67 and a low standard deviation of 1.323 testifies that electoral laws are functional in Uganda.

This view was shared by the responses during the interviews held with respondents A and C; who revealed that, electoral laws are functional during the electoral process.

On the issue concerning if the EC follows stipulated electoral laws during the electoral process, it was discovered that, majority of the respondents confessed that the EC follows stipulated electoral laws during the electoral process. This was reflected by 65% of the responses but, 26.6% disagreed. The mean of 3.62 and standard deviation of 1.209 shows that the EC follows stipulated electoral laws during the electoral process.

This view was also represented by the interview carried out between respondents A; who revealed that, EC tries their best to follow the stipulated laws concerning elections in Uganda.

From the findings on whether electoral laws in place are free and fair to all political players, majority of the respondents (56.7%) revealed that the electoral laws put in place are free and fair to all political players, this was against a margin of 33.3% respondents who disagreed. The higher mean of 3.37 and a standard deviation of 1.518 depicted that, electoral laws in place are free and fair to all political players.

The responses from the interviews were not any different, both respondents A, B and C, agreed that the laws put in place are free and fair. However, respondents' B pointed out that, the problem is with the implementation of those laws which is biased especially; in favor of the ruling party against the opposition hence, claiming the lack of a leveled ground.

The researcher further wanted to ascertain whether the state does not interfere with electoral laws during the electoral process. Here, 50% of the respondents agreed that, the state does not interfere with the electoral laws during the electoral process, this was against a slightly smaller margin of 45% which disagreed. However, a high mean of 3.08 and a standard deviation of 1.576 shows that the state does not interfere with the electoral laws during the electoral process.

This view was shared with respondents' C during the interview. Who stated that, "the state only comes-in to prevent crime and not to interfere with the electoral process." However, reports from the media insist that, there is political interference; which is carried out indirectly.

On whether as a voter, one has complete trust in the electoral laws of Uganda, 50% of the respondents disagreed with the statement; meaning they do not have complete trust in the electoral laws of Uganda. 30% strongly agreed that as voters, they had complete trust in the electoral laws of Uganda. SPSS analysis put the mean at 2.90 and the standard deviation at 1.633, thus, portraying that voters do not have complete trust in the electoral laws of Uganda.

This view was also shared by respondents' B, who stated that, they doubt the independence of the EC. When this was directed to the EC staff. They declined to respond arguing that, it's the voters and stakeholders to evaluate them.

The researcher also sought to find out whether the EC of Uganda follows international laws on elections. 41.7% of the respondents were in agreement and affirmed that, EC follows international laws concerning elections. Nonetheless, 25% of the respondents disagreed. Hence, the high mean of 3.30 against a standard deviation of 1.228 did connote that, EC does follow international laws concerning elections.

Divergent opinions were revealed from the interviews; some of the respondents especially, B and C, seemed not certain as to whether international laws are followed or not. However, respondents' A insisted that, the EC follows the international laws concerning elections in conducting any electoral related activity.

Finally, the researcher also went out to find out whether the EC has competent staff; who understand the electoral laws. From the respondents, 61.7% agreed that the EC has competent staff but, 23.3%

disagreed. Going-by a high mean of 3.58 and a standard deviation of 1.319, this entails that EC has competent staff who understand the electoral laws.

This view was also talked about in an interview with respondents’ A, who stated that, “all EC staff are competent enough, in fact, majority of them are graduates; they even receive regular trainings. So, they have what it takes. “Respondents’ A, emphasized.

4.7 Correlation analysis for electoral accountability and the quality of elections.

The Pearson correlation coefficient was used to analyse the bi-variate correlation amongst electoral laws and quality of elections and results were as reflected in the table below.

Table 4.11 Showing correlation results for relationship between electoral laws and the quality of elections.

Correlations

		Quality of Elections	Electoral laws
Quality of Elections	Pearson Correlation.	1	.515**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	60	60
Electoral laws	Pearson Correlation.	.515**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	60	60

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

Table 4.11 show a positive relationship at $r = .515^{**}$ between, electoral laws and the quality of elections. The coefficient of determination shows that electoral laws accounted for 51.5% improvement in the quality of elections. The test of significance (p) was also carried out on these findings and results showed a significance of the correlation (.000). This was well below the recommended critical significance of 0.01. Hence, the relationship was significant and the hypothesis, “electoral laws have a positive significant influence on the quality of elections.” was consented to.

4.8 Regression analysis results for electoral accountability and the quality of elections.

To establish the perspective significance of electoral laws on the quality of elections in Mukono Municipality, the ANOVA statistics of Adjusted R² and significance (p) was conducted using a simple regression analysis and results attained are reflected in the below.

Table 4.12 Showing regression results for relationship between electoral laws and the quality of elections.

Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	F	Sig.
1	.515 ^a	.265	.253	1.383	20.942	.000 ^b

a. Predictors: (Constant), Electoral laws

The findings in Table 4.12 show a moderate linear relationship (Multiple R=.515) between, electoral laws and quality of elections. The adjusted R square shows that electoral laws account for 25.3% in improving the quality of elections. Further tests using the ANOVA test were carried out and showed that, the significance (Sig = .000) less than the critical significance at .01 level. The fisher's ratio (F=20.942) also indicated that the findings were compelling hence, they were accepted.

4.9 Findings on citizens' participation and the quality of elections in Mukono Municipality.

This objective was met by requiring respondents to express their levels of agreement or disagreement on the five point Likert Scale. After which, the researcher did analysis of the responses that the questionnaires generated and compared them together with the views from the interviews conducted. It was discovered that these responses supported the seven statements of the questionnaire which was closed ended on a five point Likert scale. The scale consisted of one up to five (1-5) statements which represented; strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree and strongly disagree respectively.

Table 4.13 Frequency Table and descriptive statistics showing responses on the relationship between citizens' participation and quality of elections in Mukono Municipality.

Effect of citizens' participation on the quality of elections.	SDA %	DA%	U%	A%	SA%	MEAN	SD
The EC of Uganda has a national framework for citizen sensitization on political participation.	0.00	10.0	25.0	38.3	26.7	3.82	0.948
I am familiar with electoral processes in Uganda.	3.3	10.0	5.0	45.0	36.7	4.02	1.066
I am aware of my right to participate in the voting process.	1.7	1.7	6.7	41.7	48.3	4.33	0.816
As a voter, I am familiar with the requirements for running for office.	3.3	15.0	11.7	25.0	45.0	3.93	1.219
I know what to do in case my electoral rights are violated.	6.7	11.7	10.0	28.3	43.3	3.90	1.272
As a voter, I am given opportunity to participate in the whole electoral process.	1.7	11.7	6.7	36.7	43.3	4.08	1.062
I have regularly participated in the electoral process for the past 10 years.	11.7	11.7	8.3	31.7	36.7	3.70	1.381
The EC engages all key stakeholders in the electoral process.	13.3	6.7	26.7	31.7	21.7	3.42	1.279

Source: primary data 2018.

From the findings in the table above, it was revealed that majority of the respondents; who were asked whether the EC of Uganda has a national framework for citizen sensitization on political participation. 65% agreed whereas only 10% disagreed. The mean was 3.82 and standard deviation of 0.948 implying that, the EC of Uganda has a national framework for citizen sensitization on political participation.

This view was affirmed by respondents' A, who pointed out that, "this is part of the policies governing elections in Uganda. As EC, all effort is invested in order to sensitize every Ugandan."

The findings on whether the respondents are familiar with the electoral processes in Uganda revealed that; 81.7% of them agreed to be familiar with the electoral processes in Uganda while, 13.3% disagreed. The higher mean of 4.02 and a low standard deviation of 1.066 showed that Ugandans are familiar with the electoral processes.

The interview responses were not any different as they also revealed that, majority of the respondents' A and C, were familiar with the electoral process in Uganda because; it's clearly published and emphasized by the EC during election period.

when respondents were also asked whether they were aware of their right to participate in the voting process, an overwhelming 90% agreed whereas, 3.4% disagreed. Further analysis revealed that, the respondents are aware of their right to participate in the electoral/voting process as it reflected a mean of 4.33 which was much higher than the standard deviation of 0.816.

This was also observed during the interviews; when all the respondents (A,B and C) expressed knowledge of their rights to participate in the voting/electoral process.

On whether the voters are familiar with the requirements for one to contest for an elective position (office), majority of the respondents revealed that, truly they are familiar with the requirements stipulated in the law. An overwhelming 70% of the responses were in agreement while, only 18.3% of the respondents disagreed. The mean was 3.93 and standard deviation was 1.219 implying that, indeed voters are familiar with the requirements need to contest for an elective position/office.

Interviewed respondents (A, B and C) expressed familiarity with the requirements needed to contest for an elective position (office). In fact, respondents' B clearly pointed out that, "I have a minimum of senior six certificate, I am a registered voter so, I only need money to pay nomination fees because I cannot fail to get the required number of signatures."

Majority of the respondents also agreed to the question asked on whether, the respondents knew what to do in case their electoral rights were violated; 71.6% of the responses agreed and 18.4% respondents disagreed. Statistical analysis arrived at the decision that, voters know what to do in case their electoral

rights are violated. It reflected a higher mean of 3.90 and a standard deviation of 1.272 which is much lower than the mean.

All Interviewees (A, B and C) also revealed that, they know what to do in case their electoral rights are violated.

The respondents were also asked whether as voters they are given opportunity to participate in the electoral process. 74% of the respondents were in agreement while, 13.4% disagreed. This was supported with a high mean of 4.08 and a lower standard deviation of 1.062. Thus, implying that the voters are given opportunity to participate in the whole electoral process.

From the interviews, it was proved by respondents' A, "all voters have a right to participate in the electoral process. The commission can not infringe on anyone's rights because it's criminal to do so." Respondents' A, said.

When finding out whether the respondents had regularly participated in the electoral process for the past 10 years, it was revealed that 68.4% of the respondents were in agreement but, 23.4% of the respondents disagreed. This was reflected by the high mean of 3.70 and a lower standard deviation of 1.381. Thus, it was found out that EC regularly engaged citizens' in the electoral process.

This question was also asked during interview sessions, it was not surprising that majority of the respondents (B and C) had been participating in the electoral process both as, voters and observers.

The researcher also sought to discover whether EC engages all key stakeholders in the electoral process. 53.4% of the respondents agreed that all stakeholders in the electoral process are engaged whereas, 20% disagreed. This was later confirmed by a higher mean of 3.42 against a low standard deviation of 1.279. Hence, implying that all key stakeholders are indeed engaged.

According to the remarks made by respondents' A, it was confirmed that, all the stakeholders are engaged; either through media or physically during the elections. This view was further confirmed by respondents' C who said that, "the force together with other stakeholders are always invited by the EC to assist in the electoral process." Respondents' C, affirmed.

4.10 Correlation analysis for citizens' participation and the quality of elections.

Pearson correlation coefficient was used to analyse the bi-variate correlation amongst citizens' participation and the quality of elections and results were as shown below.

Table 4.14 Showing correlation results for relationship between citizens' participation and the quality of elections

Correlations

		Quality of Elections	Citizens' participation
Quality of Elections	Pearson Correlation	1	.419**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.001
	N	60	60
Citizens' participation	Pearson Correlation	.419**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	
	N	60	60

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

The results in table 4.14 shows a positive relationship at $r = .419^{**}$ between, citizens' participation and Quality of election outcomes. The coefficient of determination shows that, citizens' participation accounted for 41.9% improvement in the quality of elections. Findings significance (p) were as well carried out and results showed, a correlation (.001) which was less than the recommended critical significance at 0.01. Hence, the relationship was significant and the hypothesis, "citizens' participation has a positive significant influence on the quality of elections," was found compelling.

4.11 Regression analysis results for citizens' participation and the quality of elections.

To establish the perspective significance of citizens' participation on the quality of elections in Mukono Municipality, a simple regression analysis was carried out, the ANOVA statistics of Adjusted R² and significance (p) were applied and results were as reflected in the table below.

Table 4.15 Showing regression results for relationship between citizens' participation and the quality of elections.

Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	F	Sig.
1	.419 ^a	.175	.161	1.465	12.342	.001 ^b

a. Predictors (constant), citizens' participation

Table 4.15 show a linear relationship (Multiple R=.419) amongst citizens' participation and quality of elections in Mukono Municipality. The adjusted R square shows that, citizens' participation accounts for 16.1% towards improving quality of elections. The findings were put to an ANOVA test, and this gave a significance (Sig = .001) which was less than the critical significance .01 level. This further was summarized by using fisher's ratio (F=12.342) hence, the results were accepted.

4.12 Presentation of findings on the dependent variable quality of elections in Mukono Municipality.

Quality of elections in Mukono Municipality was conceptualized into eight items. These eight items were closed ended statements which were rated on a five-point Likert scale of one up to five (1-5) which represented; strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree and strongly disagree respectively as shown in table 4.16 below.

Table 4.16 Frequency Table and descriptive statistics showing responses on the quality of elections in Mukono Municipality

Statements on quality of elections	SDA%	DA%	UN%	A%	SA%	MEAN	AD
Elections in Uganda are democratic, free and fair.	31.7	18.3	10.0	16.7	23.3	2.83	1.600
As a voter am free to cast my vote and my vote counts at the end of the elections.	10.0	13.3	10.0	26.7	40.0	3.73	1.376
There is no voter intimidation during the electoral process.	31.7	31.7	1.7	16.7	18.3	2.58	1.533
Electoral materials arrive in time for the electoral process to move on smoothly.	20.0	23.3	6.7	16.7	33.3	3.20	1.592
There is no election violence during and after the electoral process.	25.0	36.7	8.3	16.7	13.3	2.57	1.382
The election results are always announced and winners declared within the specified time.	10.0	16.7	8.3	26.7	38.3	3.67	1.398
The voters are usually satisfied with the results of the elections.	36.7	18.3	1.7	13.3	30.0	2.82	1.732
The participants usually concede defeat and accept the outcome of the elections without petitions.	27.1	33.9	5.1	11.9	22.0	2.67	1.536

Source: primary data 2018.

In this section, the researcher was interested in knowing the quality of elections in Uganda, he therefore asked whether elections in Uganda are democratic and free-and-fair. A slight majority of the respondents (50.0%) disagreed; that the elections in Uganda are not democratic and entirely free-and-fair, 10% of the respondents were not certain but another, 10% the respondents agreed with the statement. The mean was 2.83 while, the standard deviation was 1.600. Hence, implying that, the respondents did not conclusively reveal that that the elections in Uganda are not democratic.

Respondents' views during the interviews reflected that, elections are always rigged in favour of the incumbents through; voter bribery, violence and intimidation of the voters. This was highlighted by respondents' B and C; thereby, asserting that there is no leveled ground for participants during elections.

The responses on whether voters are free to cast and witness the counting of votes after an election was answered by majority (66.7%) in agreeing; that they cast and witness that counting of votes. Although, some contradicted (23.3%) of the respondents and 10% where not sure. The higher mean of 3.73 and a lower standard deviation of 1.376 implied that, there is freedom of voting and there is transparency during voting counting.

Respondents (A and C) during the interviews were in support and further revealed that, voters are really given the freedom to cast their votes. This was emphasized by respondents' A, who said that, "every Ugandan who is above 18 years, and is a registered voter, has a right to vote or be voted into any elective position that they wish to contest for."

The question regarding matters of voter intimidation during elections, received a majority of respondents agreeing (63.4%) that, there was voter intimidation, 35% disagreed while 1.75% were uncertain of its existence. During the analysis, the mean was 2.58 and the standard deviation was 1.533; which signaled the existence of voter intimidation during the electoral process.

This was further elaborated by the findings from the interviews, as one respondent A, stated that, "the whole electoral process is militarized and the men in uniform hold guns as if they are ready for war; which scares away some of the voters who would want to vote for the opposition."

On whether electoral materials arrive in time for the electoral process to move on smoothly, an average 50% response was in agreement while, 43.3% disagreed but, also 6.7% of the respondents were

uncertain. The mean results showed 3.20 while the standard deviation was 1.592. This indicates that on average, electoral materials arrive on time for elections to start.

Results from the interviews gave mixed views. Some said, they received polling material late (mid-day) at their polling stations while, others stated that, they received materials on time and elections started smoothly. This view was presented by respondents' B. Conclusively, the materials arrived within the stipulated time and respondents' A, revealed that, those who are inline by the closure time are given time to vote.

The researcher also had interest in ascertaining whether there is no election violence during and after the electoral process. Majority of the respondents (61.7%) disagreed with the statement while, those who agreed were only 30%, and those who were not sure accounted for 8.3%. The mean was 2.57 and standard deviation was 1.382, implying that there is violence during and after elections.

The same was reflected during the interview with respondents' A, who pointed out that, "some of the people who cause violence during elections are under the influence of drugs or alcohol; majority of those who were arrested were found to be drunk." He added.

The responses on whether the election results are always announced and winners declared within the specified time, majority of the respondents 65%, revealed that indeed results are announced within the specified time while, those who disagreed accounted for 26.7%, those who were uncertain were 8.3%. The mean was 3.67 while the standard deviation was 1.398 implying that the results are always announced and winners declared within the specified time.

The responses from interviews also did not differ from those as the respondents A, B and C, revealed that, results are given early enough. Respondents' A, further stated that, "the results are always announced within the first 24hours after elections and winners are declared publicly."

From the responses on whether the voters are usually satisfied with the results of the elections, it was revealed by majority of the respondents (55%) that, the voters are not usually satisfied with the results of election, 43.3% of the responses agreed that the results are usually satisfying and only 1.7% were not certain. The mean results revealed a value of 2.82 and standard deviation of 1.732. Thus, indicating that the voters are not fully satisfied with the results of the elections.

The Interview with respondents' B, revealed that, "majority of the voters are not satisfied with the results especially; outcomes of the presidential election but, have nothing to do about it." Respondents' B, exclaimed. "It's difficult to satisfy all voters in an election. Voters always complain about the results especially, if it's not their candidate that has won." Respondents' C, said.

Finally, the researcher asked whether the participants usually concede defeat and accepted the outcome of the elections without petitions. Majority of the respondents (61%) disagreed with this statement, 33.9% agreed and 5.1% were not sure. The mean was 2.68 while standard deviation was 1.536 implying that, the participants in the elections surely do not accept the outcome of the elections.

The responses from the interviews also agreed with those in questionnaires. "Those who lose elections do not usually accept the results." Some of respondents' B, pointed out. "During the 2006 elections, the candidate Hon. Betty Nambooze Bakireke was rigged and we rejected the outcomes of the elections and petitioned court; we later won the case and even went-on to win sit in parliament." Respondent B, concluded.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the discussion, conclusion and recommendations drawn from the study findings of chapter four. The study objectives are discussed, the conclusions, recommendations and suggestions on further areas to explore are made.

5.2 Summary of the findings

This section sums up findings from the study as per the specific objectives. This study focused on electoral governance and quality of elections in Mukono Municipality. The study was mainly guided by three objectives; first, to examine the relationship between electoral accountability and quality of elections. Second, to find the relationship between electoral laws and quality of elections and third, to analyse the relationship between citizens' participation in the electoral process and the quality of elections in Mukono Municipality.

5.2.1 Electoral accountability and the quality of elections in Mukono Municipality.

Basing on the findings above, electoral accountability has a strong positive influence on the quality of elections. There was a positive relationship according to correlation results ($r = .430^{**}$, $p = .001$); this relationship is statistically significant as $p = .001$ is less than 0.01 level. Descriptive data in-turn showed that, a lion's share of respondents confirmed that electoral accountability determines the quality of elections. This was revealed by a high mean of 3.65 with a low standard deviation of 1.310, thus implying that when electoral accountability is well implemented, the quality of elections is improved.

5.2.2 Electoral laws and the quality of elections in Mukono Municipality.

From the findings above, it was revealed that a slight majority concurred that, electoral laws influence the quality of elections. This is revealed by a higher mean of 3.53 against the lower standard deviation of 1.400 implying that, when electoral laws are strictly observed and adhered to, the quality of elections is improved. The results from linear regression statistics also indicated positive significance as adjusted R-square showed that, electoral laws also account for a 25.3% improvement in the quality of elections. These were also in-line with ANOVA test results that revealed a significance (Sig = .000), which was lower than the critical significance at .01 level as it was summarized in a fisher's ratio (F=20.942).

5.2.3 Citizens' participation and the quality of elections in Mukono Municipality

The regression analysis results revealed by the adjusted R-square show that, citizens' participation in the electoral process accounts for 16.1% improvement in the quality of elections. The ANOVA findings also showed that, significance (Sig = .001) was at a .01 level mark which was lower. This was summarized in a fisher's ratio (F=12.342) thus, implying that citizens' participation has a positive significance on the quality of elections. Descriptive statistics again indicated that, many of the respondents were in agreement that, citizen's participation affects the quality of elections. The higher mean 3.90 clearly reflected this while and the low standard deviation of 1.130 hence, affirming that when citizens' participation is encouraged in the electoral process, the quality of elections is enhanced.

5.3 Discussion of Findings

This section presents the discussion of findings from the study per specific objectives that guided the research.

5.3.1 Electoral accountability and the quality of elections in Mukono Municipality.

In agreement with the findings on this objective, sufficient data was gathered and interpreted. A conclusion was reached; electoral accountability significantly influences the quality of elections. This was as depicted by the descriptive statistics findings; Pearson's correlation coefficients and the linear regression results. These findings were in agreement with some previous scholars such as; Key (1966), who documents that the accountability function of elections is central in any democratic process. In his argument, Key believes that, "the only effective weapon of popular control in a democratic regime is the capacity of the electorate to throw a party out of power." Acemoglu and Robinson (2012), shared this view and they pointed out that, "elections are an integral part of representative democracies. Well-functioning elections contribute to democratic accountability and democratic institutions, which in turn contributes to economic and human development."

The responses from the interviews presented mixed views. Some of the respondents stated that, the EC gives accountability of finances entrusted to them while, others were not sure; some even disagreed.

This was in line with Gibb (2016), who states that, though Uganda's EC employed the Biometric Voter Verification System (BVVS) as the attempt to effectively authenticate the personal identity of voters, they as well circulated "voter location slips" to direct voters of the locality of polling centers. In Supplement, voters were allowed to present their slips as identification, a move that was greatly criticized by external observers claiming that, it plagued logistical problems making accountability hard.

5.3.2 Electoral laws and the quality of elections in Mukono Municipality.

The findings on this objective revealed that, electoral laws positively influence the quality of elections and are therefore, important during elections. These findings were consistently revealed by the descriptive statistics results; Pearson's correlation coefficient results and the linear regression results

which showed, a positive significant relationship between the variables. These findings were in consistency with, Norris (2004), who upon the review of past research strategies and works, agrees that electoral rules seem to count.

In addition, the studies denote that electoral rules are of significant impact and they do not only influence participation but, also the choices of the voters' (Flower 2013). Van der Straeten. et. Al, (2010), ran quasi and natural experiments, and arrived at a conclusion suggesting that, voter decision to vote strategically depends upon electoral rules. In agreement with the findings, Bowler and Donovan (2013), argue that, given the role they play especially, the distribution of power and neutralization of the political arena, electoral laws qualify to be regarded as an institutional framework in the society. The actions of individuals need to be guided by these rules that is, the norms and behavior of voters or citizens; as these may change depending on institutional laws in place. For instance, basing on either, the majority or representative systems.

However, Birch (2013), reveals that, complaints from people who have fallen victim, claim that mandatory electoral rules are of substantial importance, they affect voter turnout because on individual basis they affect the decision to vote. This affirmed what was revealed during the interviews.

The responses from the interviews clearly pointed out that, electoral laws in place are free and fair. However, the problem was with the implementation of those laws which they said was biased especially, towards the ruling party hence, the lack of a leveled ground for even competition. CSO leaders also expressed their doubts about the independence of the electoral commission.

5.3.3 Citizens' participation and the quality of elections in Mukono Municipality.

From the findings on this objective, it was revealed by the regression results that, there is a positive significant relationship between, citizens' participation and the quality of elections. This was in line with, the Pearson's correlation coefficients which presented a positive relationship. It was further supported by, the descriptive statistics findings of mean and standard deviation which showed that, there

is a relationship between the two variables. These findings are in agreement with previous scholars such as; Alexander (2012), and Buhlmann (2011), who argued that “one of the most important principles of a democracy is the freedom to decide autonomously whether, one participates in the democratic process or not.” Similarly, Vanda et. at (2016), stated that, “participation is an investment made by politicians and citizens, with the goal of obtaining a substantial return.” Political parties are adapted to reality of using participation as a planning tool. The authors further argued that, “citizens can influence the final decision in many ways.” As a result, the political spheres will then show citizens that their opinions and efforts are valued thus, leading to political and public gain (Vanda et. at, 2016). Chadwick (2006), revealed that, online presence creates an environment that empowers individuals to freely express their views against more powerful actors.

However, Ashnah et. at (2012), did not agree with these findings, as a good number of Ugandans are reluctant to engage in civic issues, thereby surbotaging public effort that should be directed towards the promotion of transparency. Again, most do not participate in community-based debates and do not register for voting. In some cases, even those who register end up not showing up to cast their vote when the time is due. For instance, the surveys conducted during the Februray 2011 presidential elections revealed that, about 59% registered voters cast their vote.

5.4 Conclusions

The following closings were arrived at basing on the set objectives of the study.

5.4.1 Electoral accountability and the quality of elections in Mukono Municipality.

From the discourse of the findings above, the investigator arrived at a conclusion that, majority of the attributes used to measure electoral accountability importantly influence, the quality of elections as revealed in the descriptive statistics, correlation coefficients and the regression results.

The researcher can also conclude that, the EC has done well in giving accountability during and after the electoral process, as depicted by quantitative findings; which aligned with findings from the interviews. However, the commission does not have a clear accountability programme for the finances received as revealed by the interviews.

5.4.2 Electoral laws and the quality of elections in Mukono Municipality.

From the findings discussed above on electoral laws and the quality of elections, it can be concluded that, electoral laws have a significant positive relationship with the quality of elections; as presented by the descriptive statistics, correlation coefficients and regression results. Nonetheless, the researcher can also conclude basing on findings from interviews that, electoral laws in place are free and fair. However, the problem is with the implementation of those laws which was biased especially, on the side of the ruling party against the opposition which creates an uneven ground for competition during elections.

5.4.3 Citizens' participation and the quality of elections in Mukono municipality.

In regard to citizens' participation and the quality of elections, the researcher can conclude that, citizens' participation has a significant positive influence on the quality of elections; as depicted by the descriptive statistics, the correlation coefficients and the regression results. The researcher can also conclude that, the EC effectively sensitizes and encourages citizens to participate in the electoral activities by, involving all the stakeholder, carrying out civic education and advertising all the activities of the commission before, during and after the elections.

5.5 Recommendations of the study

In consideration of the study findings, the following recommendations were deemed fit after considerations the discussions and conclusions that the study arrived at.

5.5.1 Electoral accountability and the quality of elections in Mukono Municipality.

Research findings indicated that, in the attempt to improve quality election results, the following have to be done;

The EC should continue being transparent and being neutral at all levels of the electoral process as well as, publishing all the necessary documents for the public so as to improve accountability to the citizens.

The researcher also recommends that; the EC should improve on the way they give the financial accountability since; it was found to be wanting during the interviewing process.

5.5.2 Electoral laws and the quality of elections in Mukono Municipality.

Following results from the study indicate that, the following recommendations are advised to improve the quality of elections:

The EC has to continue training their staff especially, the lower level staff so that, they completely understand electoral laws. Also, sensitizing the public in relation to these laws should be continuous; especially, their applicability.

The researcher also recommends that, the commission should remain impartial and none partisan while, implementing electoral laws; as it was accused of bias by leaders of CSOs during the interviews sessions.

5.5.3 Citizens' participation and the quality of elections in Mukono Municipality.

Resulting from the study findings, the following recommendations could suggested to improve the quality of elections:

The EC should set up a program to continuously remind the citizens of their civic rights and roles in the election activities; before, during and after the elections (not just during the election period).

The researcher recommends that; the EC continuously engages all the stakeholders together with citizens' holistically.

5.6 Areas for Further Research.

Wholesomely, the study tried to meet and achieve the set objective as shown in the write-up; however, in the process the researcher has observed certain areas that require further research and these include:

- i) This study has been carried out in Mukono Municipality which is small to determine the study area, therefore a further study ought to be carried out in another area so as to compare the findings and make better conclusions.
- ii) There is need to study how democratic elections promote dictatorships in African countries. This is because, the researcher has noted a trend among African governments to legitimize dictatorial or un-democratic regimes by abusing the electoral processes.
- iii) Another area for research should be, the issue of political parties and campaign financing in Uganda. Owing to the enactment of both, the Political Parties Act and the Election Campaign Finance Act, which provided funding for parties and candidates in elections.

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APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE

UGANDA MANAGEMENT INSTITUTE (UMI)

ELECTORAL GOVERNANCE AND QUALITY OF ELECTIONS; THE CASE OF UGANDA ELECTORAL COMMISSION

SECTION A: Personal Data (circle or tick only as appropriate to you)

1. Gender:

a) Male b) Female

2. Age:

a) 18 – 28 b) 29 - 39 c) 40 – 50 d) 51-61 e) Above 61

3. Marital status

a) Single b) Married c) Divorced d) Separated

4. Your Relationship with the EC

a) Commission Staff b) CSO, police, media c) Opinion leader/voter d) Local/ party leader

5. Education Level:

a) Never studied b) Primary c) Secondary d) University

SECTION B:

Using the scale below please tick the box you think is most appropriate alternative for you. (Likert scale where; 1=strongly agree, 2=agree, 3=not sure, 4=disagree and 5=strongly disagree)

a) Relationship between electoral accountability and quality of elections

		1	2	3	4	5
1	The EC of Uganda organizes and manages all electoral activities.					
2	The EC independently supervises all electoral activities.					
3	The EC announces winners within agreed time					
4	The EC is neutral while coordinating elections					
5	The EC updates and informs Ugandans on all electoral activities during the whole process.					
6	After announcing the election results, the EC gives an account of the electoral outcomes to Ugandans.					
7	The EC gives accountability of the finances received from government.					

b) relationship between electoral law and quality of elections

		1	2	3	4	5
1	Electoral laws are functional in Uganda during elections.					
2	The EC follows stipulated electoral laws during the electoral process.					
3	The electoral laws put in place are free and fair to all political players.					
4	The state does not interfere with electoral laws during the electoral process.					
5	As a voter, I have complete trust in the electoral laws of Uganda.					

6	The EC follows international laws on election.					
7	The EC has competent staffs who understand the electoral laws.					

c) Effect of citizens' participation on the quality of elections

		1	2	3	4	5
1	The EC of Uganda has a national framework for citizen sensitization on political participation.					
2	I am familiar with electoral processes in Uganda.					
3	I am aware of my right to participate in the voting process.					
4	As a voter, I am familiar with the requirements for running for office.					
5	I know what to do in case my electoral rights are violated.					
6	As a voter, I am given opportunity to participate in the whole electoral process.					
7	I have regularly participated in the electoral process for the past 10 years.					
8	The EC engages all key stakeholders in the electoral process.					

d) Effect of accountability on the quality of elections

		1	2	3	4	5
1	Elections in Uganda are democratic, free and fair.					
2	As a voter am free to cast my vote and my vote counts at the end of the elections.					
3	There is no voter intimidation during the electoral process.					

4	Electoral materials arrive in time for the electoral process to move on smoothly.					
5	There is no election violence during and after the electoral process.					
6	The election results are always announced and winners declared within the specified time.					
7	The voters are usually satisfied with the results of the elections.					
8	The participants usually concede defeat and accept the outcome of the elections without petitions.					

THANK YOU FOR YOUR CONTRIBUTION!

APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEW GUIDE

Interview Questions on:

a) Relationship between electoral accountability and quality of elections

- 1) Does the EC of Uganda have a national framework for citizen sensitization on political participation?
- 2) Do you think the voters are aware of the voting in Uganda?
- 3) In your opinion, are the voters given opportunity to participate in the whole electoral process?
- 4) Does the EC engage all key stakeholders in the electoral process?
- 5) How do you think the electoral systems have improved on the level of citizens' participation in the democratic process in Uganda?
- 6) Do you think popular participation is important for the sustenance of democracy in Uganda and why?
- 7) In accessing Uganda's democratic journey, what role do you think the electoral stakeholders have played in creating political awareness and the sensitization of the masses?

(a) Civil society (b) Media (c) Police

b) Relationship between the rule of law and quality of election.

- 8) Do you think the current electoral laws are free and fair to all the players in the electoral process?
- 9) Do you think electoral laws are functional in Uganda, during the electoral process?
- 10) Does the state interfere with the electoral laws during the electoral process?

11) In your opinion, do you think EC has observed the electoral laws during the electoral process in the past 10 years?

12) what are some of the electoral laws, that the EC has Observed or failed to observe during the electoral process in the past 10 years?

13) Do you think that the staff hired by EC to implement or execute its mandate, understand the electoral laws of Uganda?

c) Relationship between citizens' participation in the electoral process and the quality of elections.

14) Does the EC update and inform all Ugandans on electoral activities during the whole electoral process?

15) In what way, do you think that the EC has controlled supervision of the electoral process?

16) After announcing the electoral results, does the EC give an account of the electoral outcomes to all Uganda?

17) How does EC give accountability on the electoral process and the declaration of electoral results?

18) Does the EC give financial accountability for the funds received from the government?

THANK YOU

APPENDIX 3: MORGAN AND KREJCIE TABLE

Table 3.1									
<i>Table for Determining Sample Size of a Known Population</i>									
N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S
10	10	100	80	280	162	800	260	2800	338
15	14	110	86	290	165	850	265	3000	341
20	19	120	92	300	169	900	269	3500	346
25	24	130	97	320	175	950	274	4000	351
30	28	140	103	340	181	1000	278	4500	354
35	32	150	108	360	186	1100	285	5000	357
40	36	160	113	380	191	1200	291	6000	361
45	40	170	118	400	196	1300	297	7000	364
50	44	180	123	420	201	1400	302	8000	367
55	48	190	127	440	205	1500	306	9000	368
60	52	200	132	460	210	1600	310	10000	370
65	56	210	136	480	214	1700	313	15000	375
70	59	220	140	500	217	1800	317	20000	377
75	63	230	144	550	226	1900	320	30000	379
80	66	240	148	600	234	2000	322	40000	380
85	70	250	152	650	242	2200	327	50000	381
90	73	260	155	700	248	2400	331	75000	382
95	76	270	159	750	254	2600	335	1000000	384

*Note: N is Population Size; S is Sample Size**Source: Krejcie & Morgan, 1970*