

**SOCIAL CLASS AND VOTING BEHAVIOUR OF THE PEOPLE
IN MUKONO MUNICIPALITY,
KAMPALA, UGANDA.**

A Thesis

Presented to the College of
Higher Degrees and Research of
Kampala International University
Kampala, Uganda.

In Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirement for the Master's Degree
In Public Administration and Management

By:

Namayengo Lydiah

MPA/17351/102/DU

September, 2012

DECLARATION A

I, the undersigned declare that this is my own original work and has never been presented to any organization or institution of higher learning either as a paper or for any academic award.

Signature



NAMAYENGO LYDIAH

MPA/17351/102/DU

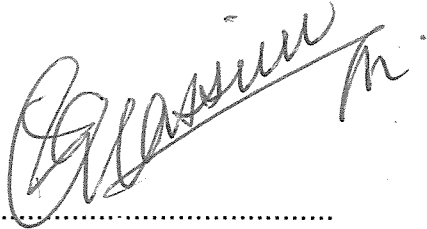
Date:

01/11/2012

DECLARATION B

This is to acknowledge that this work by Namayengo Lydia has been under my close supervision and is now ready for submission to the School of Post Graduate Studies of Kampala International University with my approval.

Signature:.....



DR. KASSIM SEKABIRA
(SUPERVISOR)

Date

01/11/2012

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to her dad and mum, Mr. and Mrs. Mayanja Godfrey, her husband, her daughter Precious and the entire Mayanja family members who have always been there for all her life most especially her sister Catherine Mayanja, Jimmy, Fred, Eddy, Junior, Faith who have always inspired her to be what she am today that she can really make it to this point.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The researcher thanks the Almighty God for enabling her maneuver through all the tough, hard times and trying moments I have had in life. My dream of this award would not have become true without his guidance, protection and assurance that all things are possible if u believe in him.

I acknowledge the management of Kampala international university especially her supervisor Dr. Kassim Sekabira, the Town Clerk, Mayor and entire Mukono municipal council for accepting her to carry out her research in their area and all the voters for filling in her questionnaires, Dr. Nuwamanya Richard, and all my lecturers for their assistance during this study.

Furthermore, she acknowledges the DVC, CHDR Dr. Sumil N. for having sacrificed their time and efforts to ensure her success during the course of the study plus all her panelists for their guidance.

Her special thanks also go to her husband Mr. Njuba Mutebi Peterson for the financial, emotional and moral support during her 2 years of study. She would also like to thank her friends Faith, Robinah, Florence, Anne, Naphiah, Judith and Aminah who have been close to her; for their academic support, plus all other people that she may not be able to mention. May GOD Almighty bless you.

Special regards to her family, the Amos Mayanja Family who have always supported, protected and wished her all the best for life. She don't have enough words to thank you but all she can say is that she will always be grateful for everything you have done for her and pray to the Lord to grant each one of you all your wishes.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PRELIMINARIES

Declaration A	i
Declaration B	ii
Approval	iii
Dedication	iv
Acknowledgement	v
Table of Contents	vi
List of table	viii
Abstract	ix

CHAPTER ONE: THE PROBLEM AND ITS SCOPE

Background of the study	1
Statement of the problem	3
Purpose of the study	5
Research Objectives	5
Research Questions	6
Null Hypothesis	6
Scope of the study	6
Significance of the study	7
Operational definition of key terms	8

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Concepts, Ideas, Opinions from Authors/Experts	10
Theoretical perspectives	15
Related studies	36

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research Design	43
Research population	43
Sample size	43
Sampling procedure	44
Research instruments	44
Validity and Reliability of the instrument	44

Demographic characteristics of respondents	44
Level of influence of social class of people	45
Level of voting behavior	46
Limitations of the study	46

CHAPTER FOUR; DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION

Introduction	48
Data Analysis, presentation and Interpretation	48
Demographic characteristics of the participants	48
Hypothesis	62

CHAPTER FIVE; DISCUSSIONS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction	63
Findings	63
Conclusions	65
Recommendations	66
Areas for further research	67
References	68

APPENDICES

Appendix IA: Acknowledgement from Mukono Town council	71
Appendix IB: Transmittal letter from CHDR	72
Appendix IC: Transmittal letter for the participants	73
Appendix II: Clearance from Ethics committee	74
Appendix III : Informed Consent	75
Appendix IV : Demographic characteristics of participants	76
Appendix V : Questionnaire to determine Social class	77
Appendix VI: Questionnaire to determine Voting behavior	80
AppendixVII: Researcher's Curriculum vitae	81

LIST OF TABLES

Table	page
1. Population and Sample size distribution	42
2. Validity of the data analysis	43
3. Demographic characteristics of the participants in terms of age, gender and religion	47
4. Level of Social class of the people in Mukono Municipality in terms income levels, access to information and education level aspects.	49
5A. Level of voting behavior of the people in Mukono Municipality in terms of personal traits of a candidate, political party affiliation, and electoral institutions and monitors gender and government performance.	52
5B. Level of voting behavior of the people in Mukono Municipality in terms of electoral fraud and election outcome.	54
6. Relationship between the Social class and the Level of voting behavior.	56
7. Regression between the Social class and the Level of voting behavior	57

ABSTRACT

This study established the relationship between social class and voting behavior in the people of Mukono Municipality, Mukono district. Specifically it was guided by four objectives, (1) to determine the demographic characteristics of the participants, (2) to determine the level of influence of social class, (3), to determine the level of voting behavior, and (4) to establish whether there is a significant relationship between social class and voting behavior. The study used descriptive correlation survey and data was collected from 150 participants from Mukono Municipality using questionnaires. Data was described using frequencies for the participants' profile, means for the level of social class and voting behavior and analyzed using Pearson linear correlation coefficient to establish the relationship between social class and voting behavior. The study found out that majority of people in Mukono Municipality are female (58.7%), there are more Catholics (30.7%) than other religions, most were married (48.7%) and age group ranged between 18 and 30 year. Diplomas (22%) and secondary participants (32.6)% constituted more than 50 %, and most participants were renting (53.3%) as their housing status. The findings also indicated a significant relationship between social class and voting behavior since the sig. value was 0.001. From the findings, the following conclusions were made;- People or individuals are usually grouped into classes basing on their economic positions and similar political and economic interests meaning that income levels do influence one's voting behavior and people of the same social class vote in a similar way for the same candidates, people in the same class share the same information which also influence one's voting behavior, some attend rallies and campaigns together while others influence their colleagues to listen to, watch and attempt the same media channels, People of a similar social class may listen to different radio stations, televisions. Therefore people of the same class vote similarly or in a similar way for the same candidates, considering the same issues before voting which include one's education level, personal traits of the candidate, can be affiliated to the same party, their employment affiliation and others vote in a similar way like their family members.

CHAPTER ONE

THE PROBLEM AND ITS SCOPE

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Historically, the analysis of voting behaviour is also known as "Psephology" deriving from the Greek word "Psephos" meaning (a pebble) with which the ancient Athenians indicated their voting decisions. Psephologists in the UK distinguished between the period of 1945 – 1970 which they characterize as the era of electoral stability, two party dominance, party identification and class alignment and the period from 1970 to the present day which is described as the era of declining party identification or partisan de alignment and class de alignment although there are also important arguments as to whether the general elections of 1997 and 2001 ushered in a realignment of UK voting behaviour (Butler and Stokes 1969).

Voting behaviour is one of theories of political behaviour which is an aspect of political science that attempts to quantify and explain the influences that define a person's political views, ideology and levels of political participation. (Karl D and Theodore A).

The modern history of academic voting research began in 1940 at Columbia University where a team of social scientist assembled by Paul Lazarsfeld pioneered the application of survey research to the study of electoral or voting behaviour. This pioneering effort like other major innovations was remarkably sophisticated. Lazarsfeld and his colleagues surveyed 600 prospective voters in a single community (Erie County, Ohio States) seven times over the course of 1940 Presidential campaign with a mixture of new and repeated questions in each successive interview. The results of 1940 Columbia study were published in the people's choice; how the voter makes up his mind in a Presidential campaign (Berelson, *et al*, 1944). The second panel was conducted by Columbia team in Elmira, New York in 1948 provided a basis for a more influential book voting.

Voting has been used as a feature of democracy since the 6th Century BC when democracy was first introduced in Athens as Athenian democracy. However, in Athenian democracy, voting was seen as the least democratic among methods used for selecting public officials and was not always used because elections were believed to inherently favor the wealthy and well-known citizens (rich and prominent people. Assemblies open to all citizens; selection by lot (sortition) and rotation of office were

viewed as more democratic ways of expressing democracy. One of the earliest recorded elections in Athens was a plurality vote that was undesirable to win in the process called Ostracism; where voters chose the citizens they wanted most to exile for ten years (Berelson, *et al.*, 1944).

Most elections in the early history of democracy were held using plurality voting or some variant but as an exception, the state of Venice in the 13th Century adopted the system now known as Approval voting to elect their great leaders. (Apollo N. 1998). Even then, there was manipulation of elections where the primary contests and other election of party leaders could be manipulated where by people who support one party could temporarily join another party in order to help elect a weak candidate for that party's leadership hoping that they will be defeated by the leader of the party that they secretly support (Apollo N. 1998).

Social class was the main determinant of voting behavior back in the 1960s because during that time, Britain was a country in which social class was more apparent and easy to define. Broadly speaking, people were categorized as the upper class, middle class, and the working class. The class based system influenced many people's attitudes and actions, including voting. This led to a stability of voting patterns, which meant that voting habits seemed to be consistent and predictable. During that time, there was a level of class alignment that was related to the strong association of membership of a social class with support for a political party. This meant that people in social classes A to C1 would tend to vote for the Conservative party and those in social classes C2 to E would vote for Labor party. However, this led to a middle England when people in the middle class, lower middle class, and working class aspired to better themselves and seek social mobility.

McKean (1949) believes that elections frauds are almost in every country that has used any form of election and are not characteristic of only public government. Some labor unions have had votes stolen, members kept by force from voting and because of frauds, it has been even necessary for the faculties of some universities to supervise the election of officers for student associations. No system of election maladministration so far devised has prevented all irregularities but the more advanced

statutes steadily make frauds more difficult and detection easier. Many election frauds are manifested through intimidation, vote buying, and selling, misinformation, ballot stuffing and confusing ballot papers as may be seen below. We want to find out in our study the cause of frauds in Uganda's elections.

Statement of the problem

Traditionally, social class has been seen to be the most important factor associated with voting behavior (Hinton2009).

When voting analysis began in 1945, it became clear that social class was the most important factor in the way people traditionally voted and people usually voted according to their natural class and social class was classified into A- upper class, B- middle class, C1 – upper working class, C2 – lower working class and D/E – temporarily or long term un- employed(Hinton2009).

From the 1940s and 1960s, majority of the electorate were strongly linked to one or the other of the two major political parties. Party loyalty was closely corresponded to social class although there were some exceptions. C1 and C2 voters tended to vote for the Labor party and B voters tended to vote for the Conservative party.

In 1967, Pulzer claimed that class is the basis of British party politics and the idea can be substantiated with the fact that labor party was founded with a commitment to the working class and its origins lie in the trade union movement.

During 1946-1970, there was strong party alignment to the dominant two parties in British politics: the Labor and Conservative parties. The membership of political parties was very high compared to that of other countries and people really identified with the party and supported the policies of the party they voted for. Electoral volatility was generally low with few people changing their vote between the elections.

Social class is the hierarchical arrangement of people in society, often as economic or cultural groups. Social class can be determined by things like income, amount of property owned, education level and family.

Various elements of intimidation have also occurred throughout the election period or process by people from one social class to another. Voters from lower class who are not confident about their entitlement to vote have been intimidated by real or implied authority figures like the presiding officers or police men on those respective particular polling stations and people from the upper or other classes who suggest that those who vote when they are not entitled to will be imprisoned, deported or otherwise

punished severally and seriously. And others falsely tell particular people in a given social class that they are not eligible to vote (Lijphart 1994).

There has been existence of Bribery that has greatly affected voting behavior whereby there has been redistribution of budget funds as the authorities like the Ministers or government in power have always bribed the Electorate especially those in lower class indirectly by paying or repaying pension debts to the retired servant, indexing and increasing employees' salaries from time to time in different sectors like health, education, transport and railways.

Vote buying has also affected the voting behavior whereby some political candidates from some social class and political parties most especially the party in power have given voters in lower and middle class money before the election day, distributed material items like kilograms of sugar, meat, clothes, goats for rearing plus many other things while looking for voters and they usually do it at night while others also give huge sums of money to their campaign managers and the campaigning committee of their opposing candidates that they are standing with to bribe them so that they change their mind and minds of those people in their social class and campaign for that candidate while secretly de-campaigning their own candidate with in their social class.

Some other candidates reach to an extent of also bribing the presiding officers plus the polling assistants and polling supervisors so that they change the ballot papers in the areas of certain social classes or even change the results on the declaration forms for the people from lower class areas in their favor.

Legal threats have occurred by utilizing the opportunity of people in some social class' ignorance of election laws and regulations to manipulate other peoples or candidate's votes. In this case, voters in those classes have been made to believe accurately or otherwise that they are not legally entitled to vote or that they are legally obliged to vote in a particular way. So because voters do not know the laws regarding elections, they will do so and because others are not aware of the recent changes in electoral laws and regulations, they always respond too. So this has affected the voting behavior as some voters have not voted in a particular way thus one candidate emerging a winner even when he is not supposed to win that election.

Purpose of the study.

This study intends to investigate is how the influence of social class can affect voting behavior of people by considering family, income levels, employment affiliation, political

party affiliation, gender, education level, personal traits of a candidate, electoral fraud and election outcome, government performance, electoral institutions and monitors and access to information.

- This study intended to explore the influence of social class on Voting Behavior of people in Mukono Municipality, Kampala, Uganda.
- To validate the Public choice theory by Mark .D (2002)
- To test the null hypothesis of no significant relationship between Social Class and voting behavior.

Research Objectives

General Objective:

To determine the relationship of social class on Voting Behavior of people in Mukono Municipality, Kampala, Uganda.

Specific Objectives

1. To identify the demographic characteristics of the participants in terms of; age, gender, religion, marital status, education level and Housing status.
2. To determine the level of influence of Social Class of people in Mukono Municipality, Kampala, Uganda.
3. To determine the level of Voting Behavior of people in Mukono Municipality, Kampala, Uganda.
4. To establish if there is a significant relationship between Social Class on Voting and Behavior of people in Mukono Municipality, Kampala, Uganda.

Research Questions

The study attempt to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the demographic characteristics of the participants in terms of; age, gender, religion, marital status, education level and Housing status?
2. What is the level of influence of Social Class on people in Mukono Municipality, Kampala, Uganda?
3. What is the level of Voting Behavior of people in Mukono Municipality, Mukono Distric Kampala, Uganda?
4. Is there a significant relationship between Social Class and Voting behavior of people in Mukono Municipality, Kampala, Uganda?

Null Hypothesis:

There is no significant relationship between Social Class and voting behaviour of people in Mukono Municipality, Kampala, Uganda.

Scope.**Geographical Scope;**

The study was conducted in selected parishes or polling areas in Mukono Municipality Mukono District which included Nsuube/Kauga ward/parish, Ntawo ward, Namumira/Anthony ward and Ggulu ward/parish.

Content Scope.

The study examined the levels of influence of Social Class and Voting behavior and the relationship between Social Class independent and Voting behavior dependent of people.

Theoretical Scope.

The study was confined to Public Choice Theory by Mark .D (2002) which was proved in this study. This study based on Public choice theory which is built on the assumptions that reflect human nationality or individual behavior. It is the main theory regards voting behavior. It assumes that decisions can be reached in a number of procedures including an ordering of individual preferences among others (Heywood 1997).

Significance of the study.

The following disciplines will benefit from the findings of the study;

Public: The people in Mukono District were able to recognize the influence of Social Class they belong to on their Voting behavior and patterns or practices and also knew about the people they relate with influenced so much their decisions.

Researcher: The researcher is able to use the study towards achievement of the partial fulfillment of the award of a master's degree in public administration and management of Kampala International University.

Political leaders: The political leaders are able to learn that Social class greatly influences people's Voting behavior and know other reasons why people vote some

leaders and leave others or why they vote the way they do, plus appreciating the contributions of the voters towards a better Mukono in terms of quality and quantity in voting practices.

Government and policy makers: The Government and policy makers are able to know how to handle people in different social classes. The political leaders and the government can now know the different weaknesses of leaders and suggestions plus recommendations from the voters on how best they can improve, change their policies and how best to serve the people to meet voter's goals and objectives as well as how to keep the support of their electorate without deteriorating.

Future Scholars: The further researchers can utilize the findings of the study to enrich on the theoretical knowledge with more and real world problems for further studies. It's significant not only for local investigation to help bring the issue into focus but also as a reference to Researchers as a source of secondary data.

Electoral Commission: The Electoral Commission and Ministry of Local Government are able to use the findings to know the factors that influence people's decision or choice to vote for a particular candidate and the Voting behavior and look for ways on how to handle and minimize electoral malpractice

Operational Definition of Key Terms

For the purpose of this study, the following Key terms are defined as they are used in this study:-

Demographic characteristics of the participants are the attributes looked for in this study in terms of gender, age, education level, religion, marital status, social class and tribe or Ethnicity.

Social class is the hierarchical arrangement of people in society, often as economic or cultural groups. Social class can be determined by things like income, amount of property owned, education level and family. They include middle class, working and peasants.

Voting behavior is a set of attitudes and beliefs towards election at the national and local level. In this context, it shows the factors that influence and shape the democratic election results in the country. It shows the factors why citizens choose to vote or elect a particular candidate or party.

An election is the process by which a community selects leaders and empowers them to make decisions, take actions to attain common goals and reconciles conflicts within the community. It could be an organized process in which people vote to choose a person to a position of public importance such as Presidency or a group of people to represent them in national or local politics.

Ballot stuffing is the illegal act of one person submitting multiple ballots during voting process in which only one ballot per person is permitted.

Tally centre or central tabulation area is that area in a given district or constituency where the results forms got from different polling stations are brought and gathered together to get the ultimate total of the different posts than election. It usually has staff from the Electoral Commission, presiding officer, polling supervisors of all candidates contesting, polling assistants and some strong supporters or voters who are witnesses and are there to count votes, campaigning managers of candidates plus the entire campaigning team of different candidates.

Polling supervisor is that person appointed by the candidate to oversee, monitor and critically observe the ongoing election/voting exercise on the behalf of the candidate. The polling supervisor may be in charge of many polling stations like five or ten being in charge of a Sub-county.

Polling assistants are those people appointed by the candidate to witness the voting exercise on the voting day of that particular candidate and ensure that results forms are taken to the tally centre after being properly counted.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Concepts, Opinions, Ideas from Authors/ Experts

Social Class

A class can be referred to as a group of human beings who share common interests because they experience common conditions. Sometimes at most, elections have their voting patterns and behavior affected and influenced by class a factor. (Fanuel 2008). He believes there is a working class category which may have rich and poor people within. Working class and lower status citizens are more sensitive to macroeconomic fluctuations than their better - off counter parts. Social class to Hinton (2009) is the Hierarchical arrangement of people in society, often as economic or cultural groups. Social class can be determined by things like income, amount of property owned, education level and family.

Social Class refers to the classification of individuals or groups of people depending on their occupation that they do. These may include the higher professional and managerial and administrative, intermediate professional, skilled manual, semi skilled manual and unskilled manual and finally Residual (casual workers and people dependent wholly on state benefits). (Patrick 2000). However Didmus (2009) defines social class as the hierarchical distinction or stratification between individuals or groups in societies or cultures. He believes that people or usually individuals are grouped into classes basing on their economic positions and similar political and economic interests within the stratification system.

Deg (2000) has argued that 'Socialization is the process through which individuals acquire knowledge, habits and value orientations that will be useful in the future'. The ability to relate on this common level is where the means to shape ideological growth emanates thereby influencing voting behavior.

Ballot stuffing

Ballot stuffing is when one person submits multiple ballots during a vote in which only one ballot per person is permitted. The name originates from the earliest days of this practice in which people literally did stuff more than one ballot in a ballot box at the same time. (Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia)

Detecting ballot-stuffing depends a great deal on how good the record-keeping is. Most election systems match the number of persons showing up to vote with the number of ballots cast, and/or preparing the forms so that they are difficult to fake. A common method still used in small village elections throughout the USA uses two ballot boxes and a single sheet of paper for a ballot. After marking the ballot, the sheet is folded in half, then torn with each part dropped in the corresponding ballot box. The number of marked ballots in one box will equal the number of ballot sheet headers in the other ballot box, thus preventing ballot stuffing. In short, successful ballot-stuffing usually requires the misconduct of genuine registered voters and/or elections personnel (Thompson and Dennis F. 2004)

Ballot-stuffing can be accomplished in a number of ways. Often, a ballot-stuffer casts votes on the behalf of people who did not show up to the polls (known as *telegraphing*); sometimes, votes are even cast by those who are long dead or fictitious characters in TV shows, books, and movies (known as *padding*). Both practices are also referred to as *personation*. In earlier societies with little paperwork, dead people were kept "alive" on paper for the purpose of ballot-stuffing. The family of the deceased often helped along, either to assist their party or for money (Thompson and Dennis F. 2004). Ballot stuffing is possible with one version of the Sequoia touch screen voting machine. It has a yellow button on the back side which when pressed allows repeated vote stuffing. By design, pressing the button triggers the emanation of two audible beeps.

A ballot is a device used to cast votes in an election, and may be a piece of paper or a small ball used in secret voting. It was originally a small ball or blackball) used to record decisions made by voters. Each voter uses one ballot, and ballots are not shared. In the simplest elections, a ballot may be a simple scrap of paper on which each voter writes in the name of a candidate, but governmental elections use pre-printed to protect the secrecy of the votes. The voter casts his/her ballot in a box at a polling station.

In British English, this is usually called a "**ballot paper**". The word "ballot" is used for an election process within an organization (such as a trade union "holding a ballot" of its members) (Mc Cathy 1998).

A **ballot box** is a temporarily sealed container, usually square box though sometimes a tamper resistant bag, with a narrow slot in the top sufficient to accept a ballot paper in an election but which prevents anyone from accessing the votes cast until the close of the voting period. A ballot box may be a cardboard ballot box used during the first federal vote in Washington, D.C., a wooden ballot box like one that was used in the northeastern United States 1870, galvanized metal and a glass globe jar (John 2000).

Election

An **election** is a formal decision-making process by which a population chooses an individual to hold public office. Elections have been the usual mechanism by which modern representative democracy has operated since the 17th century. Elections may fill offices in the legislature, sometimes in the executive and judiciary, and for regional and local government. This process is also used in many other private and business organizations, from clubs to voluntary associations and corporations. Electronic ballots are used in Brazilian elections (Corrado Maria and Daclon 2004).

The universal use of elections as a tool for selecting representatives in modern democracies is in contrast with the practice in the democratic archetype, ancient Athens. As the Elections were considered an oligarchic institution and most political offices were filled using sortition, also known as allotment, by which officeholders were chosen by lot (Daclon 2004). Electoral reform describes the process of introducing fair electoral systems where they are not in place, or improving the fairness or effectiveness of existing systems. Psephology is the study of results and other statistics relating to elections (especially with a view to predicting future results). To *e/ect* means "to choose or make a decision" and so sometimes other forms of ballot such as referendums are referred to as elections, especially in the United States.

Elections were used as early in history as ancient Greece and ancient Rome, and throughout the medieval period to select rulers such as the Holy Roman Emperor and the Pope. In ancient India, around 920 AD, in Tamil Nadu, Palm leaves were used for village assembly elections. The palm leaves with candidate names, will be put inside a mud pot, for counting. This was called *Kudavolai* system. Elections were also used to select rajas by the *gana*. Ancient Arabs also used election to choose their caliph, Uthman and Ali, in the early medieval Rashidun Caliphate; and to select the Pala king

Gopala in early medieval Bengal. The modern "election", which consists of public elections of government officials, didn't emerge until the beginning of the 17th century when the idea of representative government took hold in North America and Europe. (Kornhauser. 1994)

An electoral district (also known as a constituency, riding, ward, division, electoral area or electorate) is a distinct territorial subdivision for holding a separate election for one or more seats in a legislative body. Generally, only voters who reside within the geographical bounds of an electoral district (constituents) are permitted to vote in an election held there (Thompson and Dennis F. 2004).

When elections are called, politicians and their supporters attempt to influence policy by competing directly for the votes of constituents in what are called campaigns. Supporters for a campaign can be either formally organized or loosely affiliated, and frequently utilize campaign advertising. It is common for political scientists to attempt to predict elections via Political Forecasting methods. (Kornhauser. 1994)

Voting behavior

Voting behavior is a set of attitudes and beliefs towards election at the national and local level. In this context, it shows the factors that influence and shape the democratic election results in the country. It shows the factors why citizens choose to vote or elect a particular candidate or party.

According to Rupert (1997), voting behavior is the way in which people tend to vote. To him, voting is influenced by a number of different factors of which the most important ones to him are social class, geography, age and background, issue voting and media.

Voting is the main form of political participation in Liberal democratic societies and the study of voting behavior is a highly specialized sub field with in political science. The analysis of voting patterns in variably focuses on the determinants of why people vote as they do and how they arrive at the decisions they make. Sociologists tend to look at socio-economic determinants of support for political parties, observing the correlations between class, occupation, ethnicity, sex, age and vote; political scientists have concentrated on the influence of political factors such as issues, political programs, electoral campaigns, political programs and the popularity of political leaders

on voting behavior. However both disciplines share much the same terrain, and increasingly have tended to overlap in their analytical approaches (Harrop *et al* 1987).

Many different approaches have been established by different Scholars to explain voting behavior which include: ***Structural or Sociological approaches*** which concentrate on the relationship between individual and social structure, place the vote in a social context, and examine the effects on voting of such variables as social class, language, nationalism, religion, and rural urban contrasts(Harrop *et al* 1987).

Ecological or Aggregate statistical approaches relate voting patterns to the characteristic features of a geographical area like a ward, constituency, parish, or state. Different geographical areas usually have different dynamic characteristics, features and identical characters that politicians identify, use and explore to use as opportunities to convince voters in those respective areas to win their support(Harrop *et al* 1987).

Social psychological approaches relate voting decisions to the voter's psychological predispositions or attitudes, for example his or her party identification, attitudes to candidates and so much more like the emotional or attitudinal feelings that voters have towards candidates, politics and political ideas and ideology (Harrop *et al* 1987).

Finally, ***Rational choice approaches*** attempt to explain voting behavior as the outcome of a series of instrumental cost-benefit calculations by the individual, assessing the relative desirability of specific electoral outcomes in terms of the issues addressed and policies espoused by the different parties or candidates. Each of these broad approaches tends to be associated with different research techniques and each makes different assumptions about what motivates political behavior (Harrop *et al* 1987).

In recent years, studies of voting behavior have become a methodological minefield, as advances in techniques for the analysis of large scale data sets have fuelled existing controversies between different theories and models of voting behavior. Manza et al observe that the relationship between class and voting in the capitalistic democracies of Western Europe and North America shows no evidence of being subject to a universal process of class de alignment, and that at this moment, 'only one

conclusion is firm: there is no democratic capitalist country has vote been entirely independent of class in a national election' (Manza *et al*/2002).

Theoretical Perspectives:-

This study based on Public choice theory which is built on the assumptions that reflect human nationality or individual behavior. It is the main theory regards voting behavior. It assumes that decisions can be reached in a number of procedures including an ordering of individual preferences among others (Heywood 1997). According to this theory, individuals are rational and respond to information regarding their own self interest (Cochran *et al.*, 1995).

It focuses on factors which influence individual's behavior in making decision. In this context, citizens are likely to vote for a particular candidate or party which they feel reflects their desires and interests. Therefore, individuals make decisions basing on their own cost-benefit analysis, so the actual decision is made under conditions of bounded rationality, a condition which involves choosing an alternative that is not intended to maximize satisfaction (Samba 1999). This theory suggests that or believes that voters elect parties or candidates whose program, manifestos or even political ideas give maximum utility from government which makes issues and competence of the candidates matter a lot to the voters(Samba 1999).

Various factors have been developed by Political Scientists to explain the factors that influence voting behavior and the pattern of individual citizens in the democratic election process but this study will be majorly based on Public choice theory and may be other minor theories can come in to supplement it later on under the study.

Jeff and Gainous (2002) developed the party identification theory or mode! which is also instrumental in explaining factors that may influence voters' decision in voting. This theory argues that the act of voting is expressive or is a way of expressing a deep seated loyalty to the party so many people vote with the intention of supporting the political parties they are attached to. In other words, "people will tend to vote for candidates and positions of parties they have come to identify with and pay loyalty" (Sultan 2010).

However, David Butler and Donald Stokes (1974) argue that party identification theory suggests that voter's decisions are influenced much more by social structural variables (especially by their social class position) than by the short term issues, policies and events. They further contend that differing social class positions result in class differences in political socialization processes operating in the family, work place and the wider community which lead to the transmission of broad party images that encourage working class and middle class people to identify themselves with specific parties.

Sultan (2010) talks about the sociological theory which focuses on the impact of social structure of political parties and also emphasizes their values and interests. This theory therefore considers sociological factors like ethical values, civic duty, indoctrination or social pressures which public choice theory and party identification theory do not usually take into account. This theory attempts to rule out the issues or characteristics that identify one party or party members from others, their ideas, interests, values, beliefs and responsibilities plus willingness to perform their duties among people ethically or as regards to political party ethics. All these theories have a central argument of the focus on predicating and explaining what can influence voter's decision to vote for a particular candidate at a given point in time.

Levels of influence of social class:-

Hinton (2009) argues that there are a number of factors which affect the way people vote in elections. These are a mixture of long term and short term factors and also sociological and political factors and one of these factors is social class as it has been argued that voting behavior may be largely determined by social class.

Social class to Hinton (2009) is the Hierarchical arrangement of people in society, often as economic or cultural groups. Social class can be determined by things like income, amount of property owned, education level and family.

Social Class refers to the classification of individuals or groups of people depending on their occupation that they do. These may include the higher professional and managerial and administrative, intermediate professional, skilled manual, semi skilled manual and unskilled manual and finally Residual (casual workers and people dependent wholly on state benefits) (Patrick 2009).

However Dewa (2009) defines social class as the hierarchical distinction or stratification between individuals or groups in societies or cultures. He believes that people or usually individuals are grouped into classes basing on their economic positions and similar political and economic interests within the stratification system (Wikipedia, The free Encyclopedia).

A class can be referred to as a group of human beings who share common interests because they experience common conditions. Sometimes at most, elections have their voting patterns and behavior affected and influenced by class a factor. He believes there is a working class category which may have rich and poor people within. Working class and lower status citizens are more sensitive to macroeconomic fluctuations than their better - off counter parts (Fanuel 2008). Macroeconomic down turns result into increased voter participation as lower status voters express their grievances at the polls. This benefits political parties and coalitions with expressly working and lower class appeals although increased turn out primarily help parties that are working class or economically disadvantages oriented which makes the effect on party support substantially greater (Fanuel 2008).

Social class according to Dewa (2009) can be divided up into five different categories which include the working class, the Peasant class, middle class, Elite class and the informal sector business class that comprises of foreign currency dealers, fuel buyers and sellers and the informal market traders. These groups usually take advantages of the chaotic economy under siege from west during elections and make huge profits out of the chaos. So they usually vote for the government power to be able to continue with their informal but lucrative dealings.

However, the institute of marketing developed a scheme of identifying one's social class measured by occupation that was used in early studies of voting behavior and individuals were assigned to social classes A, B, C1, C2, D and E defined as follows:- A = Higher professional, managerial and Administrative B = Intermediate Professional, managerial and administrative, C1 = Supervisory clerical and other non – manual; C2 = Skilled manual; D = Semi – skilled and unskilled manual; E = Residual including casual workers and people dependent wholly on state benefits.

But Butler and Stokes (1974) used a modified version of the schema in which they subdivided the C1 grouping into 'skilled or supervisory non – manual' and 'lower non-manual categories' because they wished to investigate the possibility of significant party identification within the broad C1 category.

When voting analysis began in 1945, it became clear that social class was the most important factor in the way people traditionally voted and people usually voted according to their natural class and social class was classified into A- upper class, B- middle class, C1 – upper working class, C2 – lower working class and D/E – temporarily or long term unemployed. From the 1940s and 1960s, majority of the electorate were strongly linked to one or the other of the two major political parties. Party loyalty was closely corresponded to social class although there were some exceptions. C1 and C2 voters tended to vote for the Labor party and B voters tended to vote for the Conservative party. All in all, under this study, we are going to use the classification of Dewa (2009) that includes working class, peasant class, Elite class, middle class and the informal sector business class. (*Health 1991*)

During 1946-1970, there was strong party alignment to the dominant two parties in British politics: the Labor and Conservative parties. The membership of political parties was very high compared to that of other countries and people really identified with the party and supported the policies of the party they voted for. Electoral volatility was generally low with few people changing their vote between the elections.

In 1963, Butler and Stokes put forward the sociological model of voting behavior which had a basic idea that social class indicated how a person is socialized within their family which leads to party identification that in turn leads to voting intentions and political attitudes.

However, Hinton (2009) argues that since 1970's there has been a slow but steady change in trends and voting behavior as regards to social class voting patterns of working class and middle or upper class. While working class voted for Labor party and the middle/upper class voted for conservative party, things have changed social class is still a major determinant voting behavior although it is not the only one.

Indeed, class remains the major influence on voting behavior and further more consumption cleavages like housing tenure (which are not especially novel) are merely correlates of class and do not have important independent effects on voting behavior calling for what they call an "Interactionist" approach to the analysis of the relationship between the social structure, party performance and vote, health and his colleagues (1991) argue that labor's electoral failure in the 1980s was largely a result of a cross-the-board political failures rather than the underlying social change), principally the policy failures of the 1964 – 1970 labor governments' the increasing number of third party (Liberal) candidates standing in working class constituencies the failure of labor party to devise a credible economic policy, and its internal unity (Health 1991).

Therefore, class origins and class attitudes still influence how people or voters vote although class organizations like the labor party have not always been successful in mobilizing this potential in the political sphere (Health 1991).

Levels of voting behavior:

The most interesting questions about an election are not concerned with who won but with why people voted the way they did or what the implications of the results are which questions are not easily answered. Our major concern characterizes the study of voting behavior that is explaining the election results by identifying the sources of individual voting behavior, election outcome by understanding how and why the voters made up their minds.

Several factors can be identified as reasons for choosing a candidate in an election and Abramowitz (2004) believes that most voters select candidates because of their orientations on issues of public policy (like how much do they know about public policies or how informed are the candidates about general public policies since public policy affects or concerns the general public, so each citizen is concerned about it. He also believes that voters do consider the candidate's assessment of government performance whereby does the candidate know how the government is performing? Is he able to identify loop holes or gaps in government's performance? Does he/ she know what role or services is the government supposed to play in the state or country or what services that the government should provide and what are the priority areas that

any government is supposed to act on first before any other area or department. If the candidate knows them and the government has not provided, what is he or she going to do about it or how is he/ she going to change this situation when voted to power? (Abramowitz 2004)

He still contends that voters look at or carry out an evaluation of the personal traits of the candidates before they do decide to vote for them which issues might include one's education level. Competence, audibility, having leadership skills and other traits, being ambitious, personal integrity, his/her financial ability having the same political ideas and views which favor people or having the same political interests like the voters which will influence them to vote for you in the elections. Usually voters want people to identify with and they do prefer candidates of the same political ideas, beliefs, views and attitudes usually concerning matters of health, education, transport, security and economic analysis because birds of the same feathers flock together. (Robert L. *et al.* 1976).

Hinton (2009) argues that there are many factors which affect the way people vote in elections which are a mixture of long term and short term factors, sociological and political factors. However Allan A 2004 believes they are social factors attitudinal factors, long term and short term factors as may be seen in our research.

Deutsch and Theodor (2010) believes that voting behavior, one of the theories of political behavior attempts to quantify and explain the influences that define a person's political views, ideology, and levels of political participation. They also argue that voting behavior can be influenced by political orientation. There are three main sources of influence that shape political orientation which creates long term effects on voting behavior.

Generally, the primary influence originates from family, children will often adopt their parents ideological values and interests because they believe in their parents as them knowing the right thing for their future and the country at large some theorists like Theodore A have argued that family tends to be the strongest most influential force which exists over the lifetime. (Deutsch 2010)

They further argue that teachers at school and other educational authority figures have significant impact on political orientation from as early as the age of 4 years, up to until 18 years, children spend about 25% of their time involved in their educational processes. (John 1996) Post secondary education significantly raises the impact of political awareness and orientation which in turn influences voting behavior because they do get information about politics, political issues, public policy issues which are all key determinants of voting behavior. *Ahern et al (1999)* in their study 'Gender and voting behavior' also emphasized education as one of the reasons women voted for their candidates but not sex as women participated in the political process by addressing and protesting against pressing social and political issues.

An October 2004 study of 1202 college undergraduates across the United States showed that 87% of college students were registered to vote compared to a national average of 64% of American adults. Another study at St. Clara University also showed that 84% of their students were registered to vote. This also confirms to it that childhood and adolescent stages of personal growth have the highest level of impression ability.

Deutsch and Theodor [2010] lastly believe peers or socialites also affect political orientation that in turn influences voting behavior. Friends and comrades often have the advantage of being part of the same generation, which collectively develops a unique set of societal issues (Kart 1996).

Deg (2011) has argued that 'Socialization is the process through which individuals acquire knowledge, habits and value orientations that will be useful in the future'. The ability to relate on this common level is where the means to shape ideological growth emanates thereby influencing voting behavior.

Other long term factors may include assessment of economic issues or economic analysis of the country in a given economy, whereby for example stable countries like USA prefer to join or identify with political parties or political candidates with manifestos that portray interest of maintaining a stable economy. So they look at mostly issues of the foreign policy and monetary policy, reduction in taxes and licenses offering subsidies to farmers, and other national small scale industries in the country. So such

issues that affect the people and the economy not only to day but even in the future so much influence the voting behavior of the electorate (Deg 2011).

Allan A (2004) contends that political party identification and ideology is one of the more general long term/ run factors that influence voting behavior primarily by affecting the attitudes that are more immediate to the vote decision in a particular year. Not so many voters change their party identification or ideology from one election to another the next and the changes that do occur are fairly small ones ideology is really a long term factor because you find people who are conservative like Uganda that may be supporting Democratic party (DP) and National Resistant Movement Party (NRM) Without any concrete reasons but just support the party., they do not even know what DP is, its ideas views and interests, the leaders of the party or even what the party aims to achieve in the future but are staunch supporters of the party. Or even socialists like in Uganda people's Congress (UPC) party who' behave as brothers and sisters, consider each other as comrades, no one is above the other and also put on hanging clothes as a culture in their party. All these issues influence voting behavior (Nsibambi 1998).

Another factor that influences voting behavior which Dewa 2009 perceives to be internal factor is media. Both the print and electronic media used by contesters to pass their adverts and campaigning material to people also allows the incumbents and aspiring candidates to air out their views, ideas, propaganda and communicate their manifestos to the millions and millions of people in the country on the radios, Television, internet, Newspapers and Email. These messages are what people or voters listen to, judge and know who the right candidate to vote for is, which political party to follow and what the government has provided, what services it should have provided that it has not done or given the people there by assessing government performance.

Karl (2010) also believes that media is crucial in modifying political orientation and influencing voting behavior because people interpret political information on the media relying on individuals specific political ideology that is formed by long term factors. Most political scientists like Key 1996 agree too that the mass media has a profound impact on voting behavior as he asserts that 'Few would agree with the nation that institutions of the mass media are important to contemporary politics in the transition to liberal democratic politics in the Soviet union and Eastern Europe the

media was a key battle ground.' Just like in Uganda 70% of the general population take media to be their number one source of information most especially radios and television that have the widest coverage in the country (Karl 2010).

Election issues like campaigns, rallies, and debates may also influence voting behavior. Theodore 2010 believes that when holding rallies and campaigns, people get information about the propaganda and the manifestos of the candidates physically; where aspiring candidates stand before people to look for votes. The various things and issues they say are usually taken up by people that have attended those rallies, thereby they do decide either to vote for you or leave you in addition to other factors.

Non-governmental Organizations and political activities plus Human Rights Activities may also play a role in influencing voting behavior NGO's usually campaigns for the opposition political parties most especially in the rural areas since they work at grass root level with people (poor people and disadvantaged people). Through hook and crook means. NGO's conduct mobilization and sensitization plus educating the people down there about different political issues and current affairs of the state. Informed citizens become better voters because they usually know what they want. (ADC,) Uganda Human Rights Commission. Human Rights Network, plus many others that have been fighting for people's rights, transparency and accountability in voting and elections. Zimbabwe has various NGOs that have supported and campaigned for mainly the opposition political party (MDC) which include ZCTU, NCA, Crisis coalition, ZINASU and many others which were also behind its origin. These NGOs have played agreed role in influencing voting behavior and voting patterns (Kakuba 2010).

The Electoral or Election institution may also play a role in influencing voting behavior may not be ignored. These institutions in Uganda may not be ignored. These institutions in Uganda may include Ugandan Electoral Commission and in Zimbabwe may include Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) and ZESN. These institutions carrying out voter education and mobilization by educating people about the voting process, how to vote, when to vote, where to vote from, reasons why they should vote for a given candidate, who is eligible for voting and who can stand for given post to be voted, Nominations process and procedures, bad voting practices and where to go to incase voting malpractices do occur during the election time (Karl 2010).

However to some extent it's the Electoral commission itself that promotes voting malpractices and vote rigging because they sometimes lack transparency and they work under the so called 'Order from above' whereby when the President wants or says something for or against some candidate or post, Electoral commission may just go by that command without operating or carrying out its duties independently and autonomously which issues affect the elections results or outcome of an election at the end of it all (Karl 2010) .

Gender may be one of the social factors that may influence voting behavior. The impact of gender on the voting behavior of the American Electorate began to seep into consciousness after the ratification of the 19th Amendment. This Act granted women the right to vote in 1920, while the majority of research related to Gender and voting patterns of Americans has focused on the trends of female voters, the voting conduct of male voters has also evolved over the decades and the voting behavior of each sex continues to have significant impact on the outcomes of local, state and national elections. The early founders of the United States saw politics as an exclusively male domain and the early supporters of women's voting rights were called suffragists'. Suffragists like Lucretius Mott and Elizabeth Stanton were powerful advocates for women's political rights during 1800 and early 1900s but even after a 72 years struggle, women garnered the right to vote (Ahern 1999).

Many women did not exercise their right even after women were able to vote or cast a ballot in local and national elections therefore the initial lack of voter turnout by women was due to lack of time for women to learn how to incorporate voting as a behavior in their life style; also strong gender role expectations encouraged women to view voting as something their husband or father was in charge of and did not see their vote as an important part of their role as a woman (Ahern 1999).

However, Deutsch (2010) contends that over seven decades ago, women earned the right to vote and since then they have been making a difference in the outcomes of political elections and that right to be politically active has granted them the opportunity to expand their knowledge and influence in current affairs as they are now considered

one of the main components in the country's decision making in both politics and economy.

According to the American Political science Association, over the past 2004 Presidential election, women's vote may have decided the outcome of the race. Susan Carol argues that the increase of women influence on political and voting behavior may be because women outnumber men among voters, there are many efforts to increase the registration and women turn out, because of the evident gender gap since 1980 to 2004 election and women constituting a large share of undecided voters who make their decision late in the campaign.

Emotional or Attitudinal morale is another factor which may influence voting behavior of voters because some people really do lack responsibility over politics, elections, campaigns and rallies whereby some people do not even register to vote or to be voters, others who are registered voters may also decide not to vote for any candidate but just ignore elections, others do not even bother to attend rallies and campaigns to get to know who the best candidate is, while others do not even want to listen to political debates on the radio stations and usually change the channels of the Television once they find political debates. So in other words, many people may have a bad perception about politics, have low morale, and interest towards politics as some think they are not affected by politics. So this may be a big factor that influences one's voting behavior (Njuba 2010).

Civic competence may also influence voting behavior and the election outcomes where by the level of awareness on various issues of policy and politics to some or most people may be low including the common man because you find that some citizens may not know what a good election process is and even when there has been voting malpractices during election time like ballot stuffing, the people may not stand up to boldly fight for their right to vote, transparency and Accountability to achieve a free and fair election which affects voting behavior and election outcome (Njuba 2010)..

Ethnicity or Ethnic group or Tribe may also affect voting behavior and election results too. An Ethnic group can be a group of human beings, whose members identify with each other usually on the basis of preferential endogamy or real common ancestry,

Tribal identity is marked by the recognition from others of a group's distinctiveness and common cultural, linguistic (language), religious, behavioral or biological traits real or presumed as indicators of contrast to other groups. For example in Uganda we have Tribes like Baganda, Banyankole, Batooro, Bakiga. So certain tribes want to identify with and support political parties with candidates of their tribes and some political parties are being for Baganda specific tribes like Democratic Party being for Baganda, NRM and FDC for Banyankole and Bakiga or for all tribes (Nsibambi 1998).

Religions, Age and Marital status may also be influential factors on one's voting behavior due to the perception that some people think politics and voting is attached to age whereby young people most especially the youth may be active voters and may vote for candidates with political of their interests since they know who a suitable candidate should be and they go for political parties with concepts and ideologies that may solve their problems for example Unemployment, Brain drain, Discrimination, Nepotism and Tribalism, currency depreciation, fuel shortage. Elderly may vote for those that may preserve the status quo. Catholics may vote for a fellow catholic, Muslims may vote for a Muslim yet Protestants may vote for any as long as he is competent married people may vote for ones in power to secure their family while singles don't care about that (Butler 2002).

The focus on voting to Janda *et al* (2005) or nonvoting has a methodological advantages as it enables us to employ a regression analysis to handle concrete statistical figures on voting behavior. Never the less, it has some methodological disadvantages like casting a vote is not necessarily a good indicator of political participation because many activities like protest and participation in village representative assembly can and should be seen as forms of political participation. The focus on voting or non – voting often excludes the study of other types of political participation like participation in village management and supervision which are crucial but where we often lack statistical data (Njuba 2010).

McKean (1949) believes that elections frauds are almost in every country that has used any form of election and are not characteristic of only public government. Some labor unions have had votes stolen, members kept by force from voting and because of frauds, it has been even necessary for the faculties of some universities to

supervise the election of officers for student associations. No system of election maladministration so far devised has prevented all irregularities but the more advanced statutes steadily make frauds more difficult and detection easier. Many election frauds are manifested through intimidation, vote buying, and selling, misinformation, ballot stuffing and confusing ballot papers as may be seen below. We want to find out in our study the cause of frauds in Uganda's elections.

Violence or threats of violence may lead to electoral frauds hence producing wrong election results. Under this, voters from a particular demographic area or area that is known to support a particular party or candidate are directly threatened by supporters of another party or candidate hired by them to vote for them by force or not to vote their candidate. In other cases, supporters of a particular party may make it known that if a particular village or neighborhood is found to have voted the wrong way reprisals may be made against that community. While another method to make a general threat or violence may be to set up a bomb threat which has the effect of closing a particular polling place thus making it difficult for people in that area to vote (Janda, *et al* 2005).

Dayton (1949) argues that there has been existence of election fraud and violence which has greatly affected voting behavior election outcome in most elections. Any type of election fraud is of course a frustration or pollution of the process of popular self governance. If a citizen's vote is miscounted or if it is offset by a vote cast in the name of a deceased or fictitious person, the citizen does not govern himself but he is governed by the person who manipulated the election process. When a group is prevented from voting by the maladministration of election laws or fraud or by force, it loses its political power and consequently finds/itself unable to better or improve its conditions. The large number of elective offices and spoils system have contributed to the number of electoral frauds in the United States and to the widespread use of fraud, because when a large number of people depend on the livelihood upon carrying out their precincts, they operate under a degree of temptation often too great for their characters to resist and if they cannot win by one means, they will win by another (Mackie 1992).

There has also been or may be various attacks on polling places or polling stations whereby polling stations or places in area known to support a particular party like the opposition political party that is very strong or ruling party or candidate in power may be targeted for vandalism, destruction or threats thereby making it difficult or impossible for people in that area to vote. And even when some people in such areas do vote, votes of the candidates or political party that they do not support may be stolen or confused hence leading to cancellation of the whole polling station or counting them but producing out wrong election results – favoring a candidate or political party that would not have won the election at that station.

Legal threats may also be manifested by utilizing the opportunity of people/voter's ignorance of election laws and regulations to manipulate other peoples or candidate's votes. In this case, voters may be made to believe accurately or otherwise that they are not legally entitle to vote or that they are legally obliged to vote in a particular way. So because voters do not know the laws regarding elections, they will dose and because others are not aware of the recent changes in electoral laws and regulations, they might respond too. So this may affect the election outcome as some voters may not vote in a particular way thus one candidate emerging a winner even when he was not supposed to win that election (Mackie 1992).

Viable elements of intimidation may also occur throughout the election period or process. Voters who are not confident about their entitlement to vote may be intimidated by real or implied authority figures like the presiding officers or police men on those respective particular polling stations who may suggest that those who vote when they are not entitled to will be imprisoned, deported or otherwise punished severally and seriously. For example in 2004, Wisconsin and elsewhere, voters received flyers that said *"If you already voted in any election this year, you cannot vote in the Presidential election"* implying that those who had voted earlier in the primary elections were ineligible to vote. Also *"if anybody in your family has ever been found guilty of anything, you can't vote in the Presidential election. Finally, if you violate any of these laws, you can get 10 years imprisonment and your children will be taken away from you"*. Another method allegedly used in Cook county Illinois in 2004 is to falsely tell particular people that they are not eligible to vote (Lijphart 1994).

Economic threats may also affect the election outcome or results. In company towns where one company employs most of the working population, the company may threaten workers with disciplinary action if they do not vote the way their employer dictates. One method of doing this is the "shoe-polish method" which entails coating the voting machine's lever or button of the opposing candidate(s) with shoe polish. This method works when an employee of a company that orders him to vote a certain way votes contrary to those orders. After the voter exits the voting booth, a conspirator to the fraud (a precinct captain or other local person in collusion with the employee's management) shakes the voter. The conspirator, then, subtly checks the voter's hands for any shoe polish or notes. If the conspirator finds shoe polish or notes in the voter's hands, then that unfortunate voter gets fired immediately or faces other unpleasant consequences. (Notani, *et al.*, 1998).

Falsifying the election results may also affect the outcome of an election whereby additional ballots can be introduced under the names of those registered voters who did not vote during the election exercise, ballots for the "wrong" candidate may be invalidated by damaging them while other ballots may be replaced. The authorities like the presiding officers, polling supervisors and polling assistants may be controlled (election committee staff) by the senior authorities like the Electoral Commission who may also prevent control and critical observation and assessment of elections by the independent election monitors and observers. (Rogowski *et al.*, 187).

Bribery may affect the election outcome whereby there may be redistribution of budget finds as the authorities like the Ministers or Government in power may bribe the Electorate indirectly by paying or repaying pension debts to the retired servant, indexing and increasing employees' salaries from time to time in different sectors like health, education, transport and railways. The federal government can also control governors or members of Parliament by measuring donations to their regions or constituencies.

Vote buying may also affect at election outcome whereby some political candidates from political parties most especially the party in power may decide to give voters money before the election day, distribute material items like kilograms of sugar, meat, clothes, goats for rearing plus many other things while looking for voters and

they usually do it at night while others also give huge sums of money to their campaign managers and the campaigning committee of their opposing candidates that they are standing with to bribe them so that they change their mind and campaign for that candidate while secretly de-campaigning their own candidate. Some other candidates reach to an extent of also bribing the presiding officers plus the polling assistants and polling supervisors so that they change the ballot papers or even change the results on the declaration forms in his favor. Therefore, voters may be given money or other rewards to vote in a particular way during an election exercise which may affect election result through declaring one candidate a winner yet he/she was not supposed to be the truthful winner of those elections (Mackie 1992).

Distribution or spread of false and misleading information about some candidates to the voters or even general public may affect the election outcome whereby some candidates who have opposition candidates that are very strong, that have strong ground support from the voters and are more likely to win the elections may decide to buy some people to start spreading false or misleading information to the people so as to reduce on the support he/she has and this may be done gradually from one person to another, or from small groups of people to large groups, on radio stations, say it on television programs and even on rallies and campaigns while looking for votes. Some others may use other media channels like internet social networks like face book to their friends or even publish in the Magazines and the Newspapers. So some voters may take it correctly and do decide to hate that candidate thereby voting the other candidate sending the information which may make him or her win the elections thereby affecting the election outcome so we want to find out in our study whether such issues can also affect election results in Mukono Municipality in Uganda (Mackie 1992).

Confusing ballot papers may also affect the election results whereby some presiding officers and polling assistants that are bribed by some candidates may be used to confuse ballot papers most especially when many posts with many candidates are being elected on the same day. They may usually bring in ballot papers for a wrong post for the right candidate on a right day and a right polling station and because most voters like 70% are usually illiterate and ignorant, they are not able to read and see whether it is the right post. And because others cannot write, they are

made to put their thumb print on a wrong candidate that they do not prefer to vote on that post. Ballot papers may also be sued to discourage voters for a particular candidate or party using complicated designs by the printer and granted by the electoral commission to favor the government in power most especially on presidential elections to favor the incumbent or parliamentary elections to favor candidates for the party in power. They may also produce out faint photos of the strong opposition candidates without even show in their party symbols and make their very clear for the voters to get confused and not vote for them.

Ballot stuffing is the process whereby a person casts or submits multiple ballots during a voting exercise in which one ballot per person is permitted or allowed. In other words you might find voters picking like five ballot papers on the same post and casting them favoring a given candidate or even you find presiding officers and polling assistants who may give many ballot papers to one voter for the same post to cast them or they may cast them themselves to favor one candidate or party. Some others may fill the ballot papers at night after conniving together with the candidate, campaign managers and some authorities or staff from the electoral commission and then bring them very early in the morning to put them in the box before. Other people or voters come or prolong the voting process on such days till night to be able to put in those ballot papers that were cast that favor a given candidate. Such acts surely affect the outcome of the election and voting behavior.

The large number of elective offices and the spoils system have contributed to the number of election frauds in the United States and to the wide spread elsewhere may also affect election outcome and voting behavior. The continuous creation of new districts with new posts and vacancies plus many other constituencies emerging from sub-counties and counties some of which are irrelevant and consist of many jobless and unemployed people that are desperately looking for survival will always largely depend on these political posts to earn a living upon carrying out their precincts so they do operate under a high degree of temptation often too great for their characters to resist and too ambitious to stay without their posts as they also expect too much from these posts in the shortest time possible. So they will always make sure that they will win by another (Notani 1998).

The so called issue of Administrative resource may also affect the outcome of an election and thus voting behavior. Administrative resource is the ability of the political parties or candidates to use their official positions or government connections they have to influence the outcome of the elections. This term is widely used in Russia and other former USSR countries because the practice is widespread, well known and is openly discussed by public and media and is one of the major factors in most elections. Similar practices are used to a varying degree all over the world including countries that are usually considered democratic (Notani *et al.*, 1998). Two other major factors according to Notani (1998) apart from administrative resource are the ideology (candidate's agenda) and use of political technologies like Public Relations (PR), and campaign organization.

Administrative resource can be applied in the following ways. Mobilization of organizational and financial resources whereby the authorities or people in power can easily pressurize the businessmen to fund the preferred candidates and political parties throughout nomination exercise, rallies, campaigns and in passing messages on different media channels to be able to reach down to the people or voters on the grounds and to sustain different political debates on various television stations in their favor as well as avoiding opinion polls that do put them down. Such kinds of messages regarding their manifestos and what they promise to do for the people if voted into power against might entice the voters to elect them again. For example, before the Russian elections, the money is often used to create "authorities parties" based not on a particular ideology but on affiliation with the government and easy access to money. (Notani *et al.*, 1998).

The already established laws can also be selectively applied to assist the friendly candidates to the people in power by hindering their competition in elections or to stand as an opposed candidates to be able to win the elections. Laws can also be twisted to make the competing candidates look illegal and hence be disqualified from standing for a given post in an election. The authorities can also use the election laws to their advantage by creating a pretext for appealing the results later if the unfavorable candidate is winning the election. The authorities can also use frequent tax inspections, police searches and arrests to punish the businessmen who fund the competing candidates. And another option may also be to stop some groups of people who are likely to vote against the preferred candidate from voting. (Rogaski, *et al.*, 1987).

Government controlled organizations like the army, prison hospitals and public schools through administrative resources can be mobilized for signature collection and other goals and may also be used in ballot stuffing as they may be forced to vote in a particular way to favor their candidate or even to cast more votes than entitled to. They can also pressurize their employees and customers for voting for particular candidate and exercise control over votes cast by housing the polling stations in their homes or destined schools so as to be able to manipulate the election results easily.

Although there has been existence of too much fraud in various elections, some scholars have suggested some measures that may be applied so as to prevent or even reduce on the electoral frauds prevalent everywhere and some of them may include the following:-

The registration, ballot and election laws have been built over years to repress or forbid one fraud after another; they are monuments to a multitude of abuses and they must grow to meet each newly invented ballot or registration fraud since some scholars like Rogwski 1987 have argued that they are the same laws which have been manipulated to promote the continuous electoral frauds through administrative resource (Rogwski 1987).

The registration laws may include the compulsory registration where counties make their registration laws compulsory that every one citizen who wishes to vote must register before designated elections officials at some date or during some period of time set by the electoral commission or the law prior to an election which helps to prevent confusion and some other election malpractices "periodic registration" is another law where the old voting lists are discarded at intervals after the elections and all the would be voters re-register again in case there is another election or whenever a fresh election is going to be conducted. This is usually done to avoid ghost voters; that is to rule out all the voters who died and no longer exist, those who shifted and changed location due to may be jobs or getting permanent residence.

Permanent registration may be another law where; once a voter registers, he remains on the list as long as his status remains unchanged. He/she usually doesn't have to keep on reregistering again on every election as he or she is permanently on

the register and this helps you not to worry of whether you will vote or not. This helps to prevent the frauds thorough avoiding double registration where one may register in one area and then go to another village to register there on another polling station thus casting more than one vote for the same post. He also helps to solve this problem of changing voters names from one polling station to another without even their consent as they are rest assured that once registered, your name will always be on the list and in the same polling station always (Rogwski 1987).

Absentee registration is another where people who have gone out of the state for public employment or members of the military service submit their copy of the birth certificate for age and civil service record plus literacy or other tests and he is registered in his absentia (Dayton 1949). This helps to avoid some people missing registration for voting while they are busy doing their jobs or fulfilling other state duties which will in turn make them vote for their desired candidate to be able to win the elections.

State laws differ widely on the degree and the means of identification as some allow identification of official's knowledge, production of legal documents like birth certificates or naturalization papers or witnesses. In some cases, a registrant is only described by height, color, weight and so forth on the poll books or registration lists. Some election laws make some provisions for transfers that is permitting a registered voter to transfer his registration from one district to another without repeating the literacy or other tests, so it may be concluded that states should not relax their registration laws but tighten them more. As frauds appear, new machinery, technology and techniques are developed to cope up with them and old requirements state and are retained and the new one is added (McKean 1949).

To prevent fraud in the central tabulation area of votes or tally centre, there has to be a public list of the result from every single polling station. In other words, the Declaration of Results (DR) forms from every polling station should be produced to the tally centre on time by official people presiding officers with the company of the police to avoid being tempered with on the way plus some witnesses who can completely swear that those were the results got at the polling station. This helps the voters to

prove that the results they witnessed in their election office or polling station are correctly incorporated into the totals.

Ensuring transparency may also prevent fraud in an election whereby most methods of preventing fraud involve making the election process completely transparent to all voters from nomination of candidates through the entire process of casting of votes and tabulation to release or declaration of the final results of the election. And a key feature in ensuring the integrity of any part of the electoral process is a strict chain of custody. End-to-end auditable voting systems may prevent or control frauds whereby the voters may be given a receipt to allow them to verify their vote was cast correctly and an audit mechanism to verify that the results were tabulated correctly and all votes were cast by valid voters. However, the ballot receipt does not permit voters to prove to others how they voted, since this would open the door towards forced voting and blackmail. End to end systems include punch scan and scan integrity, the latter being an add-on to optical systems instead of a replacement. (Army 1994).

In many cases, election observers and monitors are also used to help prevent fraud and assure voters that the election is fair. International observers (bilateral and multilateral) for two and many countries may be invited to observe the election exercise throughout voting and the counting of votes. Some examples include election observation, by the Organization for security and cooperation in Europe (OSCE), European Union Election observation missions, observation missions of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) as well as International Observation organized by NGO's like European Network of Election Monitoring Organizations (ENEMO).

In addition, national legislatures of countries often permit domestic observation. Domestic election observation can either be partisan (representing the interest of one or a group of contestants) or non-partisan (usually done by the civil society groups). Legislations of various countries permit various forms and extents of International and Domestic election observation (Army 1994).

Election observation is also prescribed by various International legal instruments. For example paragraph 8 of the 1990 Copenhagen Document states that the (OSCE) participating states and any other appropriate private Institutions and organizations who may wish to do so to observe the course of their national election proceedings, to

the extent permitted by the law. They will also endeavor to facilitate similar access for election proceedings held below the national level. Such observers will undertake not to interfere in the election proceedings (Boix *et al.*, 1999).

Although these various measures have been suggested to prevent and reduce on the electoral frauds, almost all elections still face some form of electoral fraud so they are not good enough to stop and completely prevent electoral frauds, that's why we are conducting this study to rule out what the root causes of electoral frauds are what probably can be done to prevent them completely and to know why people of voters behave the way they do and vote that way in elections.

Related studies;

Indeed, class remains the major influence on voting behavior and further more consumption cleavages like housing tenure (which are not especially novel) are merely correlates of class and do not have important independent effects on voting behavior calling for what they call an "Interactionist" approach to the analysis of the relationship between the social structure, party performance and vote, health and his colleagues (1991) argue that labor's electoral failure in the 1980s was largely a result of a cross-the-board political failures rather than the underlying social change), principally the policy failures of the 1964 – 1970 labor governments' the increasing number of third party (Liberal) candidates standing in working class constituencies the failure of labor party to devise a credible economic policy, and its internal unity.

Therefore, class origins and class attitudes still influence how people or voters vote although class organizations like the labor party have not always been successful in mobilizing this potential in the political sphere (Health 1991).

In Britain, there has been a long running debate about whether the influence of social class on voting behavior has declined (the so called "class de alignment thesis") and about the extent to which this process is associated with the dilution of loyalty of the two major parties (conservative and labor party) which have dominated the political system since the second World War ("Partisan de alignment thesis"). Proponents of these arguments that include Sarlurkand in their book "Decade of De alignment 1983 argue that both the absolute class voting (the overall proportion of the electorate who vote for their "natural" class party) and the relative class voting (the relative strength of

the parties in different classes) have declined continuously since the late 1960's and that this is connected to the decline in the share of the conservative and labor party votes (Mackie 1992).

They attribute this de alignment to a number of underlying social changes:- changes in the occupational structure, decline in the size of the manual working class, social mobility and growth of cross-class families all of which are said to undermine the socio-economic cohesiveness of class. As a result of class fragmentation, they believe that issues have become a more important influence on how voters vote, and electors evaluate the political parties as self interested individuals rather than on a collective or class basis (Mackie 1992).

In a similar vein, proponents of the thesis of consumption – sector cleavages argue that increasing fragmentation has reduced the political distinctiveness of social classes and due to the growing importance of consumption, differences between those dependent on public rather than private consumption of goods and services like (housing, transport, education and health) are the source of new political alignments. These sectoral distinctions have replaced class as the most salient structural cleavage, both in terms of debate between the political parties and in terms of behavior. The private consumption of goods and services increases the propensity to vote conservative while those dependent on public goods provision vote labor. As with the theory of class and partisan de alignment, that of consumption sectoral cleavage emphasizes the growing importance of the media in shaping individual interests and the particularly damaging effects of these changes on working class support for labor (Dunmet, *et al.*, 1997).

However opponents of this view (Health et al Understanding Political Change 1991) argue that class de alignment is a consequence of partisan de alignment rather than a cause. While absolute levels of class voting have declined, “trend less fluctuation” in relative class voting suggests that social classes still retain their political distinctiveness (Dunmet, *et al.*, 1997).

In recent years, studies of voting behavior have become a methodology mine fields as advances in techniques for the analysis of large scale data sets have fueled existing controversies between different theories and models of voting behavior. Concluding their admirable and exhaustive review of this literature, Jeff Manza, Michael

Hunt and Clem Brooks (1996) observe that the relationship between class and voting in the democracies of Western Europe and North America shows no evidence of being subject to a universal process of class de alignment and that only one conclusion is firm in no democratic capitalist country has vote been entirely independent of class in a national election (Class voting in capitalist democracies since World War Two De alignment, Realignment, or trend less fluctuation; Annual Review of Sociology 1995).

Butter D and Donald .S (1969) used the party identification model in "political change in Britain" (1969: Second Edition 1974) to explain the relationships between social class and voting behavior between 1945 and 1970. Working class voters and middle class voters were shown to vote mainly for the labor and conservative parties respectively although there were also significant percentages of deviant voters who did not vote predictably according to their social class. In 1945 – 1970 there were also observable correlations between voting behavior and age, gender, region, religion and ethnicity in Britain (Stokes 1969).

The period 1945 – 1970 was described as a period of relative electoral stability dominated by two major political parties conservative and labor party which regularly gained approximately 90% of the votes case in general elections which under the conditions of the "first past the post" electoral system translated into approximately 98% of Parliamentary seats while Ulster Unionist Party (UUP) gained a further 10 – 12 seats and could be relied upon to regularly support the conservative party in Parliament. Neither the Liberal nor Nationalist party offered any real challenge to this 2 party dominance.

Psychologists at the time demonstrated that voting behavior was clearly correlated with a range of social variables including social class, age, gender, region, religion and "race" or ethnicity and that social class was the most significant influence on voting behaviour which enable Puzler to write in Political Representation and Election (1967) that "class is the basis of British party policies? All else is embellishment and detail," a conclusion which was fully endorsed by David Butler and Donald stokes in their famous study "Political change in Britain (1969) Second Edition (1974).

These relationships between social class and voting behavior were explained in terms of party identification model which originated in the electoral research conducted in 1940's and 1950's at the University of Michigan and some of the core elements include that approximately 90% of participants in Butler and Stokes surveys stated that they identify with either conservative party, labor party or to a lesser extent liberal party and the participants' party identification usually remained relatively stable over the course of several elections and often throughout lives sometimes hardening with age.

Their party identification was correlated strongly with their actual voting behavior such that for example in the Local Elections of 1963, 85% of conservative identifiers, 95% of labor identifiers and 88% of Liberal identifiers voted in accordance with their stated party identification.

Majority of participants in the study according to Butler and Stokes (1974) were prepared to assign themselves to the working class or to the middle class or in small minority cases to the upper class. Therefore, there was a high correlation between respondent's objective social class position and their party identification.

In early studies of voting behavior, social class was usually measured by occupation as in the schema developed by the Institute of Marketing in which individuals are assigned to "social classes" A, B, C1, C2, D and E as follows: A = Higher professional, managerial and administrative; B = Intermediate professional, managerial and administrative; C1 = supervisory, clerical and other non-manual; C2 = skilled manual, D = semi-skilled and unskilled manual; E = Residual including casual workers and people dependent wholly on state benefits.

Scholarly interpretations of election outcomes continue to be produced with some regularity, but they have continued to be stymied by the difficulty of generating convincing estimates of the impact of specific issues, candidates and campaign events. Indeed, it is probably no confidence that the most detailed and ambitious works of electoral interpretation since the 1970s have been based either on recursive causal models (Miller and Shanks 1982) or on tabulations of the reasons offered by voters themselves for supporting one candidate or the other. While both of these approaches have significant limitations, both also have the substantial virtue of facilitating straightforward accounting of the potentially distinct bases of individual and collective

electoral choice—a crucial prerequisite for illuminating the broader political implications of voting behavior (Kelly 1983).

If scholars in recent years have devoted too little attention to interpreting election outcomes, they have devoted even less attention to understanding other people's interpretations of election outcomes. Conley's (2001) study of Presidential Mandates and Gross back, Peterson, and Stimson's (2006) analysis of Mandate Politics are surprisingly rare in focusing on how the elite political community, happily ignorant of the latest regression analyses of NES survey data, interprets the verdict of the electorate. Here, as in many other instances, the ready availability of detailed survey data seems to have distracted us from more consequential aspects of our subject matter for which the attitudes of voters happen to be of distinctly secondary importance.

Another notable blind spot is the interrelationship between electoral behavior and the party system. Much of the best scholarship in the latter realm has focused on "critical elections" and "realignments" predating the era of detailed survey data (Key 1955; Key 1959; Burnham 1970; Sundquist 1983). While Mayhew (2002) has cataloged the empirical limitations of this historical genre, we have yet to develop an equally compelling alternative account of how the interaction of party elites and masses defines what elections are about at any given time. Stimson's (1989) analysis of the racial realignment of the 1960s as a process of "issue evolution" provides an illuminating start in that direction, and Adam's (1997) application of the same framework to the evolving role of abortion in the party system of the 1970s and 80s underscores its utility. In both cases, the authors found strong evidence that changing views among partisan elites preceded and contributed to partisan change in the mass electorate. But how and why party elites take the sides they do on issues like these, how their choices are shaped by correct or incorrect beliefs about the likely responses of supporters and opponents, and how "evolution" with respect to any one issue spurs or depends upon other changes in the political and social bases of party coalitions are all topics deserving much more sustained scholarly attention.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, scholars of electoral politics have much more to learn about when, how, and to what extent election outcomes shape the

course of public policy. At a very general level, politics scientists recognize—even if many ordinary Americans do not—that elections have significant consequences. Since the 1970s, the ideological gulf in voting behavior between Democratic and Republican members of congress has widened considerably (Poole et al 1999) Democratic and Republican senators representing the same states typically differ more in their voting behavior than senators of the same party representing the most liberal and most conservative states in the country (Bartels 2008). And Democratic and Republican presidents have historically presided over vastly disparate economic fortunes for middle-class and poor people (Bartels 2008). However, despite having observed these impressive partisan contracts, we are from having a detailed understanding of the policy consequences of election outcomes on an issue-by-issue and context-by-context basis.

The most ambitious attempt by contemporary scholars to integrate analyses of public opinion, electoral behavior, party politics, and public policy is Erikson *et al.*, (2002) volume, *The Macro Polity*. Building on a series of related studies of “public mood,” presidential approval, “macro partisanship,” and dynamic representation, Erikson, *et al.*, 2002 developed an impressively comprehensive “system model” in which the broad policy choices of elected officials both reflect and help to shape broad currents of public opinion. Although the authors of *The Macro Polity* stressed the direct responsiveness of government policy to shifts in public sentiment, their findings imply that the policy changes that would be produced by shifting from the most liberal public mood on record to the most conservative public on record are dwarfed by the changes produced when a typical Democrat replaces a typical Republican in the White House (Erikson, *et al.*, 2002,).

These partisan disparities in policy cast considerable doubt on the political relevance of the median voter theorem developed by Anthony Downs, Duncan Black, and their successors. They also cast considerable light on the political consequences of electoral politics in the contemporary American settings. Electoral matter, and thus so does electoral behavior. But if election outcomes largely drive policy, what drives election outcomes? (Erikson *et al.*, 2002).

Erikson, *et al.*, 2002 analyses of election outcomes focus on “rational retrospections” based on the state of the economy, judgments of ideological proximity, and shifting partisan loyalties and presidential approval reflecting these and other factors. Inevitably, in an analysis focusing on 12 presidential election outcomes, the ratio of explanatory variables to data is disconcertingly high—1 count 17 distinct regression models with an average of 3.7 parameter estimates each, plus additional analyses of congressional election outcomes.

However, even aside from the inevitable fragility of the empirical results, which the authors duly note, there is the nagging question of how much is really being explained. Much of the impressive statistical performance of these regression models turns out to be attributable to “transient macro-partisanship” —shifts in partisan sentiment over the course of the election year that are “volatile and essentially uncorrelated with the other variables of the model.... These otherwise unaccounted for causes explain a considerable share of the outcome” (Erikson, *et al.*, 2002). If the future course of public policy is powerfully shaped by “volatile” and “unaccounted-for causes” of election outcomes, is The Macro Polity really such a well-oiled democratic machine? This is one point at which broad integrative analysis will have to build upon a more detailed understanding of electoral behavior.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Research Design

The study employed descriptive correlation. Descriptive studies are non- experimental researches that describe the characteristics of a particular individual or a group. It deals with the relationship between variables, testing of Hypothesis and development of generalizations and use of theories that have universal validity.

Research Population

The target population included a total of 39,965 voters and political leaders or candidates, 10 political analysts, 06 opinion leaders, 10 electoral commission experts and 10 campaign managers of Mukono Municipality, Kampala, Uganda.

Sample Size

In view of the nature of the target population, where the number for voters is many, a sample will be taken from each category. Table 1 below shows the participants of the study with the following categories: Selected polling areas or parishes, target population and sample size. The Sloven`s formula is used to determine the minimum sample size.

$$n = \frac{N}{1+N(e^2)}$$

N= total population

e is constant = 0.05

n= sample size

Table 1: Population and sample size distribution

Division	Target population	Sample size	Percentage
Mukono central	1600	80	55%
Goma division	1450	70	45%

Source: Electoral Commission 2011

The study has towns in that are highly urbanized, sub urbanized as well as villages that are highly rural, those with a history of open, legal people`s struggle and Christian as well as Muslim-dominated areas. The study was conducted in Goma division and Mukono Central division which has 38 villages, 80 participants and 42 villages, 70 participants respectively.

Sampling Procedures:

Youth participants were used because of the specific or particular group of participants required in the study. Systematic random sampling was used to finally select the participants with the consideration to the computed minimum sample size from the list of qualified participants chosen.

Research Instruments:

The research tools was utilized in this study and include; (1) face sheet to gather data on the participants demographic characteristics (gender, age, religion, education levels, marital status and housing circumstances); (2) Researcher devised questionnaires to determine the level of social class and voting behavior. The response modes and scoring areas follows;- for social class and voting behavior (1) ; Agree, (2) ;Strongly agree, (3); Disagree, (4); Strongly disagree and (5); None of the above.

Validity and Reliability

Content validity was determined by subjecting the researcher devised questionnaires on social class and voting behavior to judgment by the content experts who estimated the validity on the basis of their experience such as male and female voters and political leaders.

Table 2: Validity of research instruments

Variable	Items	Returned	Percentage
Social class	150	150	100%
Voting behavior	150	150	100%

The test re-test technique were used to determine the reliability (accuracy) of the researcher devised instrument to twenty qualified participants from Mukono North Constituency who were not be included in the actual study. In this technique, the questionnaires were administered twice to the same subjects and the test was reliable and trait was measured stable, the results were consistent and essentially the same in both times.

Data Gathering Procedure.

Before the Administration of the Questionnaire;-

1. An introduction letter was obtained from the school of Post Graduates for the researcher to solicit approval or permission to conduct the study in the respective parishes in Mukono Municipality. The research was conducted basing on

convenience and appointments management of Mukono Municipality and then questionnaires will be administered.

2. When approved, the researcher secured a list of the qualified participants from the concerned district officials like the Town clerk and the mayor and selected participants through systematic random sampling from this list to arrive at the minimum sample size.
3. The participants were briefed and explained about the study and were requested to sign the informed consent (Appendix 3)
4. Reproduced more than enough questionnaires for distribution
5. Selected research assistants who assisted me in data collection, briefed and oriented them to be in order to be consistent in administering the questionnaires.

During Administration of the Questionnaire:-

1. The participants were requested to answer completely and not to leave any part of the questionnaire unanswered.
2. The researcher and assistants emphasized getting back of the questionnaire within seven days from the date of distribution.
3. On retrieval, all returned questionnaires were checked if all answered
4. After administration of Questionnaire; The data was collated, encoded into the computer and statistically treated using the statistical package for social sciences (SPSS).

Data Analysis.

It involved editing, categorizing and tabulating the collected data sets. The frequency and percentage distribution was used to determine the demographic characteristics of the participants. The mean and standard deviations were applied for the levels of social class and voting behavior. Pearson correlation coefficient(r) and sig value were employed to establish the relationship between social class and voting behavior.

The following mean range was used to arrive at the mean of the individual indicators and interpretations;-

For the level of social class on voting behavior;

Mean Range	Response Mode	Interpretation
3.26—4.00	Strongly agree	very high
2.51—3.25	Agree	High
1.76—2.50	Disagree	Low
1.00—1.75	Strongly disagree	Very low

Ethical Considerations

To ensure confidentiality of the information provided by the participants and to ascertain the practice of ethics in this study, the following activities were implemented by the researcher;

1. The participants were be coded instead of reflecting their names.
2. Solicited permission through a written request to the concerned officials of Mukono district that is town clerk and town mayor.
3. Requested the participants to sign the informed consent form (Appendix 3).
4. Acknowledged the authors quoted in this study.
5. Presented the findings in a generalized manner.

Limitations of the study:-

1. Some questionnaires were not returned, others were not completely answered because some participants had travelled, others were sick, hospitalized and others refused to participate in the study.
2. Some participants had personal biases about the study. This is because people are no longer interested in politics because various candidates have made empty promises in the campaigns which they cannot fulfill, other politicians are selfish, they don't care about the people but care about themselves, so people have lost hope in voting since when they vote, votes are stolen and the ones they vote are not the ones who win.
3. Some other participants delayed to fill in the questionnaires as they took more time than expected and planned which delayed the process of data analysis.
4. Some people have a misconception about research, in order to minimize if not eradicate the threats to the validity of findings in this study.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

INTRODUCTION

The study carried out was an attempt to find out the influence of social class on voting behavior of people in Mukono Municipality, Kampala, Uganda. It is mainly concerned with the presentation and analysis of data collected. It involves analysis of the findings based on the tools used in obtaining the data from the selected population.

Demographic characteristics of people of Mukono Municipality

In the analysis, the data was obtained from one hundred fifty (150) people of Mukono Municipality found in Kampala, Uganda. The data was presented by using Tables. Results in table 3 shows the demographic characteristics of the participants in terms of age, gender and religion which were discussed as below;

Age of participants, the category 18-30 total of 75 had (50%) scored highest, people of 30-45 years total 61 scored (40.7%) while 45 and above total 14 had (9.3%) and scored lowest on the age demographic factor. This implies that majority of the people in Mukono Municipality involved in voting were the youths who register most for voting, vote, stand for political posts and are informed about politics.

Gender of the participants, the Females total of 88 (58.7) scored highest while males total of 62 (40.7%) on the gender demographic factor. This implies that females or the women are more than the men in the area of study and are more involved in political activities than the males.

Religion, the Catholics with a total of 46 participants (30.7%) scored highest, Muslims total of 36 had (24%), Pentecostals total of 33 scored (22%), Protestants total of 28 had (18.7%) and others like the SDA total of 7 (4.7%) scored lowest on the religious demographic factor. Therefore, the Catholics still outweighed the participants in Mukono Municipality; people converted to Pentecostal churches have increased while the SDA are still few even in the population of Mukono.

On marital status, the married people total of 73 with (48.7) scored highest in the study, while the singles totaling to 62 had (41.3%), and the divorced total of 15 (10%) scored lowest on the marital status. This meant that majority of the participants were married as married people are more involved in politics so as to keep the status quo with the essence of preserving their marriages and families lives most especially their children. Singles too are still many in the study and their interest in politics too is not doubted.

Table 3
Demographic characteristics of people of Mukono Municipality

Profile	Frequency	Percent
Age		
18-30	75	50.0
30-45	61	40.7
45 and above	14	9.3
Total	150	100.0
Gender		
Male	61	40.7
Female	88	58.7
Total	150	100.0
Religion		
Catholic	46	30.7
Pentecostals	33	22.0
Moslems	36	24.0
Protestants	28	18.7
Others	7	4.7
Total	150	100.0
Marital status		
Single	62	41.3
Married	73	48.7
Divorced	15	10.0
Total	150	100.0
Education level		
Primary	20	13.3
Secondary	49	32.6
Certificate	23	21.7
Diploma	33	22.0
Bachelor	24	16.0
Others	1	0.7
Total	150	100.0
Housing status		
Home owner	41	27.3
Renting	80	53.3
Dependent	29	19.3
Total	150	100.0

Education level has findings that the people with secondary level, total of 49 were the majority scored highest (32.6%), the diploma holders were 33 in total and scored 22%, the ones with certificate in some training became third with a total of 23 thus 21.7%, bachelors degree holders were 24 in total and had 16% while others like masters and PhD (7%) scored lowest.

Finally, on housing status, majority of the people total of 80 are still renting (53.3%) thereby scoring highest, the home owners total of 41 scored 27.3% and dependants total of 29 (19.3%) scored highest on this demographic factor implying that most of the voters are still renting so have a lot of factors to consider while voting.

Level of influence of Social Class on people in terms of income levels, access to information and education level

The first independent variable in this study was Social Class on people in terms of income levels, access to information and education level In order to obtain this, the researcher asked questions which were measured by four Likart scale and their responses were summarized using means as indicated in table below;

Key interpretation of means

Mean range	response mode	interpretation
3.26-4.00	strongly agree	very high
2.51-3.25	agree	high
1.76-2.50	disagree	low
1.00-1.75	strongly disagree	very low

Results in table 4 shows the level of influence of Social Class on people in terms of income levels, access to information and education level. Social class means values which ranged between 1.77 and 2.87.

Income levels had three elements which include; Are you able to take your children to any school on time had 2.65 (high) which scored highest, I take care of some other siblings had 2.51 (high), and I can meet my hospital bills without fail had 2.29 (low) which was the lowest on this aspect. Income levels had an average mean of 2.29 (high).

Table 4

Level of influence of Social Class of people in Mukono Municipality

ories	Mean	Interpretation	Rank
t on income levels			
able to take your children to any school on time	2.65	high	1
care of some other siblings	2.51	high	2
meet my hospital bills without fail.	2.29	Low	3
AGE MEAN	2.48	Low	
t on access to information			
newspapers, TVs and radios that my friends use are what I use	2.79	high	1
am very interested in political issues and debates on radios all the time	2.46	Low	2
do not attend campaigns and rallies during election period.	2.17	Low	3
do not access political information from Newspapers, Magazines, TVs	1.77	Low	4
AGE MEAN	2.24	Low	
t on education level			
support a political party formed by people of my education level	2.87	high	1
people of similar education level vote the same person I vote.	2.65	high	2
consider a candidate's education level before voting for him/ her	2.07		3
AGE MEAN	2.53	high	
t on employment affiliation			
candidate I vote should have more income and property than mine.	3.16	high	1
do not attend the campaigns and political debates without my friends	3.13	high	2
do not attend the campaigns and political debates with my colleagues at work	2.71	high	3
people I work with can influence me to vote for a given candidate	2.50	Low	4
AGE MEAN	2.87	high	
t on a family			
support a candidate that my family members support	3.06	high	1
support candidates that people with the same family status like me vote	3.06	high	2
consider whether one owns a family to be my friend	2.65	high	3
AGE MEAN	2.92	high	
ALL MEAN	2.61	high	

Source; Primary data 2012

Access to information had four elements which include; I can access political information from Newspapers, Magazines, TVs had mean of 1.77 (low), I always attend campaigns and rallies during election period had mean of 2.17 (low), and Am very interested in political issues and debates on radios all the time scored highest with mean of 2.46 (low).

Access to information had an average mean of 2.24 (low) which means that people of the same social class do not necessarily use the same media channels, attend campaigns and rallies together during election period or even go together for voting but can vote in a similar way.

Education level had three elements which include; I support a political party formed by people of my education level scored highest with mean of 2.87 (high), My friends of similar education level vote the same person/political party like I vote had mean of 2.65 (high), I consider a candidate's education level before voting for him/ her which had mean of 2.07 was ranked low.

Education level had an average mean of 2.53 (high) meaning that people vote candidates who are educated, with similar or higher education level than theirs, with political parties of their education level and prefer having friends of the same education level thus belonging to the same social class which in turn makes them vote the same way.

Concerning Social class means values here were all high as they ranged between 2.50 and 3.16. Employment affiliation had four elements which include; The candidate I vote should have similar or more income and property than mine. level scored highest with mean of 3.16 (high), I cannot attend the campaigns and political debates without my friends at work had mean of 3.13 (high), I attend the campaigns and political debates with my colleagues at work had mean of 2.71 (high) and The people I work with can influence me to vote for a given candidate had mean of 2.50 (high).

Employment affiliation had an average mean of 2.87 (high). This implies that people at the same workplace and in similar positions can influence others to vote in a similar way and people in the same positions like managers belong to the same social class.

Family aspects had three indicators which include; I vote a candidate that my family members support which scored highest with mean of 3.06 (high)., I support candidates that people with the same family status like me vote had mean of 3.06 (high), and I consider whether one owns a family to be my friend had mean of 2.65 that was also ranked high.

Family aspects had an average mean of 2.92(high) meaning that people of the same family status belong to the same social class and they vote in a similar way thus greatly influencing voting behavior since family scored high according to the study.

Level of Voting Behavior of people in Mukono Municipality

The third objective in this study was to determine the level of Voting Behavior of people. In order to achieve this objective, twenty seven questions were asked and the response scale ranging from 1=strongly agree, 2=agree, 3=disagree and 4=strongly disagree.

Their responses were summarized in spss using means

Mean range	response mode	interpretation
3.26-4.00	strongly agree	very high
2.51-3.25	agree	high
1.76-2.50	disagree	low
1.00-1.75	strongly disagree	very low

Results in table 5 shows the mean values for level of Voting Behavior of people in terms of personal traits of a candidate, political party affiliation and electoral institutions and monitors and their mean values ranged from low to high that is 1.70 to 3.31.

On personal traits of a candidate we had three aspects which include, I vote a candidate who has the same political ideas and interests like me which scored highest with mean of 1.95 (low), I vote a candidate informed about good governance came second with 1.90 (low) as mean, and I consider a candidate's qualities or personal qualities before I vote for him had 1.87 as the mean. Its average mean was also low with 1.90.

Political party affiliation also had three aspects which include; I vote a political party in power to safeguard my Job family and property that scored mean of 3.31 (very high), similar to I support a candidate of my religion 3.31 (very high), and I only vote for candidates who support my political party scored a mean of 2.56 was (high) while its average mean was high (3.06).

Table 5 A
Level of Voting Behavior of people in Mukono Municipality.

Issues	Mean	Interpretation	Rank
on personal traits of a candidate			
or a candidate who has the same political ideas and interests like me	1.95	Low	1
candidate that's informed about good governance	1.90	Low	2
er a candidate's qualities or personal qualities before I vote for him.	1.87	Low	3
GE MEAN	1.90	Low	
on political party affiliation			
ote for candidates who support my political party	2.56	high	1
t a candidate of my religion	3.31	high	2
political party in power to safeguard my Job, family and property.	3.31	high	3
GE MEAN	3.06	high	
on electoral institutions and monitors			
observers and monitors can make the election process transparent.	2.47	Low	1
I Institutions like the Electoral Commission can influence me to vote eone through the messages they publish during election period	2.46	Low	2
I commission may produce right or wrong election results	1.70	Very low	3
GE MEAN	2.53		
aspect			
vote candidates of ruling party due to affirmative action and on of women's rights.	2.81	High	1
en are not registered & fail to vote because they are busy	2.54	High	2
ease of women participation affects the election outcome.	2.07	Low	3
lections, women usually vote much than the men do.	2.01	Low	4
attend campaign rallies and political debates like or more than men	2.01	Low	5
omen have equal rights to vote freely due to their right to vote	1.91	Low	6
GE MEAN	2.22	Low	
on government performance			
r candidate who is at good terms & for problem solving.	2.96	High	1
r candidates with a record truck of performance	1.89	Low	2
GE MEAN	2.42	Low	

Key 1955; Key 1959; Burnham 1970; Sundquist 1983, Mayhew 2002, Stimson 1989 and Adam 1997 are the authors who also found strong evidence that changing views among partisan elites preceded and contributed to partisan change in the mass electorate and that people have strong love for their political party and that political party affiliation can greatly influence one's social class and voting behavior.

Electoral institutions and monitors had three indicators that include; Election observers and monitors can make the election process transparent that scored mean 2.47 (low), Electoral Institutions like the Electoral Commission can influence me to vote for someone through the messages they publish during election period had mean of 2.46 (low), and Electoral commission may produce right or wrong election results scored lowest with mean of 1.70 (low) and average mean of 2.21(low) meaning that even with the presence of Electoral institutions and monitors, people can still steal votes, elections may not be transparent.

Results above shows the mean values for level of Voting Behavior of people in terms of gender aspect and government performance. The mean values for these aspects ranged from low to high that is from 1.83 to 2.96.

Gender aspect had six elements. These include; Women vote candidates of ruling party due to affirmative action and protection of women's rights; scored highest with mean 2.81 (high)., Some men are not registered voters and fail to vote because they are busy to do so had mean 2.54 (high), Women attend campaign rallies and political debates like or more than men was low with mean of 2.01 (low), Men and women have equal rights so should vote freely due to their right to vote had mean of 1.91 (low), The increase of women participation in electoral process affects the election outcome had a mean 2.07 (low) and During elections, women usually vote much more than the men do had mean of 2.01 (low).

Government performance had two elements; I vote for candidate who is at good terms with ruling party for problem solving; and I vote for candidates with a record track of performance; which scored mean of 2.96 (high) and 1.89 (low) respectively.

Government performance had an average mean of 2.42 (high) which means that people now in the same social class consider voting people in the ruling party because they know that they can easily influence policies and deliver the services they want.

Table 5B;

Level of Voting Behavior of people in Mukono Municipality

Categories	Mean	Interpretation	Rank
Aspect on electoral fraud and election outcome			
Having a public list of the results from every single polling station to prevent fraud.	2.22	Low	1
Voters may be given money and other rewards for voting in a particular way.	2.11	Low	2
Voter's names missing on the register is discouraging to voters	1.91	Low	6
Ballot stuffing occurs when a person casts more votes than they are entitled to.	2.05	Low	4
Voting systems face threats of some form of Electoral fraud	2.06	Low	3
Distributing misleading information and Changing vote totals affects election results.	1.93	Low	5
Confusing and destroying ballot papers may discourage voters from voting	1.86	Low	10
Transparency in election process to all voters produces right election results.	1.83	Low	11
Transferring people's names to other polling stations without their consent discourage voters	1.89	Low	9
Intimidation and vote buying are also forms of electoral fraud in elections	1.89	Low	8
VERAGE MEAN	1.97	Low	
OVER-ALL MEAN	2.30	Low	

Source: - Primary data 2012

Results in table above shows the mean values for level of Voting Behavior of people in terms of Electoral fraud and election outcome had ten indicators that include; Having a public list of the results from every single polling place prevent fraud which scored highest with 2.22 (low), Voters may be given money and other rewards for voting in a particular way ; had 2.11 (low), All voting systems face threats of some form of Electoral fraud had 2.06 (low), Ballot stuffing occurs when a person casts more votes than they are entitled to; had mean of 2.05 (low), Distributing misleading information and Changing vote totals affects election results had mean of 1.93 (low).

Voter's names missing on the register is discouraging to voters had mean of 1.91 (low), Intimidation and vote buying are also forms of electoral fraud in elections; had mean of 1.89 (low), Transferring people's names to other polling stations without their consent discourage voters; had mean of 1.89 (low), Confusing and destroying ballot papers may discourage voters from voting; mean of 1.86 (low), and Transparency in election process to all voters produces right election results; with lowest had 1.83(low). The average mean was ranked low with 1.97.

Relationship between the influence of Social Class and Voting Behavior

The last objective in this study was to establish whether there is a significant relationship between influence of social class and voting behavior. On this, the researcher stated a null hypothesis that there is no significant relationship between influence of social class and voting behavior. To achieve this last objective and to test this null hypothesis, the researcher correlated the means for influence of social class and all aspects on voting behavior using the Pearson's Linear Correlation Coefficient, as indicated in table 6.

The results on the relationship between Social class and voting behavior are shown in table above. There is no significant relationship between Social class and all the aspects of voting behavior among people in Mukono Municipality, Kampala, Uganda (sig=.111) suggesting that social class in Mukono Municipality influences their voting behavior.

The hypothesis tested was that, there is "no significant relationship between social class and voting behavior among people in Mukono Municipality, Mukono District. This therefore, means that the Null Hypothesis has been accepted.

Table 6:**Relationship between the influence of Social Class and Voting Behavior**

Variables correlated	R-value	Sig	Interpretation	Decision on Ho
Influence of Social Class vs personal traits of a candidate	.921	.255	Insignificant relationship	Accepted
Influence of Social Class vs political party affiliation	-.711	.497	Negative Insignificant relationship	Accepted
Influence of Social Class vs electoral institutions and monitors	.968	.163	Insignificant relationship	Accepted
Influence of Social Class vs gender aspects	.995	.065	Insignificant relationship	Accepted
Influence of Social Class vs election fraud	.996	.058	Insignificant relationship	Accepted
Influence of Social Class vs Over all Voting Behavior of voters	.400	.111	Insignificant relationship	Accepted

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

Therefore there was no significant relationship between social class and voting behavior among people of Mukono. This means that the people of Mukono belong to different social classes and these classes influence them to vote a given way. Therefore people of the same class vote similarly or in a similar way for the same candidates, considering the same issues before voting which include one's education level, personal traits of the candidate, can be affiliated to the same party, their employment affiliation and others vote in a similar way like their family members.

Table7**Regression analysis between influence of social class and voting behavior**

Variables regressed	Adjusted R square	F value	Sig	Interpretation	Decision on Ho
	.047	1.195	.354	Insignificant effect	Accepted
Coefficients	Beta	t-value	Sig.		
Constant)		2.422	.094	Insignificant effect	Accepted
social class influence	-.534	-1.093	.354	Negative insignificant effect	Accepted

The linear regression in table 7 indicate that the influence of social class have no effect on the voting behaviors of people of Mukono Municipality Kampala Uganda whereby ($f=1.195$, $sig=.354$). The results indicate that all the aspects of influence of social class have no effect on the voting behavior (Adjusted R square=.047).

The coefficients section of this table also indicates insignificant effect depending on the results in the table for example the constant ($t=2.422$, $sig=.094$)

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION, SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

INTRODUCTION

The study aims at finding out the influence of social class on voting behavior among people in Mukono Municipality Kampala, Uganda. The researcher formulated the hypothesis in an attempt to find out the facts about the problems under investigation.

This chapter also discusses, concludes and gives recommendation on what has been found out both in the field and calculations carried out by the researcher. The results were analyzed and interpreted by taking the hypothesis and supporting it with the relevant data.

Findings

The demographic characteristics of participants were studied in terms of age, gender, religion, marital status, education level and housing status and the study found out that;-

Majority of participants were between 18-30 years of age (50%). Majority of participants were Females with a percentage of (58.7%) on the gender characteristic. About religion, the Catholics (30.7%) scored highest and others scored lowest (7%). The married were the majority as they scored highest with (48.7%) on the marital status. Most participants were for secondary level (32.6%) as it scored highest on education level. And majority of the people were renting (53.3%) under housing status as it was the highest.

The level of social class was found to be high on almost all aspects with overall mean was 2.61. The average mean values for education level (2.53), employment affiliation (2.87), and family (2.92) were ranked high.

The level of voting behavior was high with overall mean of 2.30, the mean values for political party affiliation (3.06) ranked high, and the mean values for employment affiliation (2.87) were high therefore it contributes so much in influencing voters to vote for a given candidate.

The findings indicate a positive insignificant relationship between the level social class and level of voting behavior. This is shown by the fact that the sig. value

was greater than the maximum sig. value of 0.05 considered in social sciences. (R value= .400, Sig. value= .111).

Finally, there was insignificant effect between the influence of social class and voting behavior. This implies that the social class of people does not affect the voting behavior of people especially in Mukono Municipality Kampala Uganda.

This further confirms the assumption by Robert. (1976), Deg 2011, Njuba 2010, Dewa 2009 that People of the same social class vote similarly or in a similar way for the same candidates, considering the same issues before voting which include one's education level, personal traits of the candidate, can be affiliated to the same party, their employment affiliation and others vote in a similar way like their family members and Dewa (2009) divided up social class into five different categories which include the working class, the Peasant class, middle class, Elite class and the informal sector business class that comprises of foreign currency dealers, fuel buyers and sellers and the informal market traders.

Broadly speaking, people were categorized as the upper class, middle class, and the lower class. The class based system influenced many people's attitudes and actions, including voting. So people doing a similar type of job or class of work vote in a similar way or even for the same candidate.

He still claims that people want candidates to identify with and they do prefer candidates of the same social class, political ideas, beliefs, views and attitudes usually concerning matters of health, education, transport, security and economic analysis which has been proven true and correct in this study and research that was carried out. Therefore social class influences one's voting behavior.

In other words, people now want to vote for candidates who are educated because they can easily legislate and take the country forward since they know about good governance, democracy, can fight for people's human rights due to the education attained There by making voting behavior influenced by one's social class.

Conclusions

From the purpose of the study, the researcher generated the following conclusions;

Strengths

Most of the respondents were youth ranging between 18-30 years and married indicating that elderly people did not involve themselves so much in politics especially in Mukono Municipality.

I can meet my hospital bills without fail and I can access political information from Newspapers, Magazines, and TVs. These low aspects indicate that people are very poor in that few people can afford to meet their basic needs and of which some are ignorant about politics.

Voting behavior of people was found to be low, meaning that respondents or members do not consider voting as a very important thing in their lives.

Sharing of the same information occurs among people in the same class and accessibility to information also influence one's voting behavior since they share similar characteristics, some attend rallies and campaigns together while others influence their colleagues to listen to, watch and attempt the same media channels.

People of a similar social class may listen to different radio stations, televisions, watch different news stations and news papers what suits their interests but each of the members in the social class will always meet and discuss amongst themselves and then agree to what an ideal candidate to vote should be like (qualities and personal traits), what good governance should be and assessment of government performance to iron out the strength and weaknesses.

The people have always fulfilled their role of voting for the candidates with reference to their social class although some people now have started losing hope and morale in voting since most politicians do not fulfill their promises and the candidates they vote are not the ones that win the elections. This is because; the Null Hypothesis tested was rejected, meaning that, there is "a significant relationship" between the two variables (social class and voting behavior) in Mukono Municipality, Kampala, Uganda. Therefore, voters have considered their income levels, employment affiliation, have accessed information and considered candidate's education level before voting for them.

Weaknesses

There were more married female and youths indicating a big gap in gender and age group of people in Mukono Municipality.

Influence of social class was low on aspect of information I can access political information from Newspapers, Magazines and TVs and on the aspects of electoral institutions and monitors Electoral commission may produce right or wrong election results which was found to be very low.

Testing the null hypotheses

The null hypothesis of no significant relationship in the level of social class and voting behavior was accepted

However, the null hypothesis of no significant relationship between the level of social class and level of voting behavior was accepted. A conclusion was taken that the higher the social class does not lead to high voting behavior at 45% level of significance.

Existing Gaps that were Identified and contribution to Knowledge

No study had compared the influence of social class and voting behavior in Mukono Municipality Kampala Uganda. This study covered by gap and contributed towards knowledge generation by revealing that social class and voting behavior significantly differ.

Recommendations

From the findings and the conclusions of the study, the researcher recommends that there is need to uplift the voters in Mukono Municipality Kampala Uganda since most of the respondents were found to be youths ranging between 18-30 years.

Social class

- People or individuals in the same social class basing on their economic positions and similar political and economic interests should cooperate together in all aspects including voting since social class can influence one's voting behavior and people of the same social class vote in a similar way for the same candidates considering the same factors.
- People should effectively vote for the candidates they wish to be their leaders considering their social class, the ones that are committed, they think they can easily approach in case of anything and can question for accountability.

Voting behavior

- People should look at or carry out an evaluation of the personal traits of the candidates before they do decide to vote for them which issues include one's education level.

- People should vote candidates with competence, audibility, having leadership skills and other traits, being ambitious, personal integrity, and having the same political ideas and views which favor people or having the same political interests like the voters because they can better work for them since they know all their problems and concerns.
- Political leaders should not discriminate people basing on their class, they should work for their people who voted for them irrespective of what social class they fall into and know how to handle people from each social class and what message to give to them when voting and what approach to use to solve their issues.
- People in Mukono and Uganda at large should be given opportunities to actively participate in decision making through voting since the 1995 Constitution of Uganda stipulates that all power belongs to the people and they are the people affected by the decisions made by the political leaders and beneficiaries of services delivered .
- People should vote candidates that can put up mechanisms to stop election malpractices like vote buying, intimidation of voters during rallies, campaigns and during casting of votes to uphold the people's right to vote and observe democracy since these entirely influence one's voting behavior.

Areas for further Research.

There is need to do research about the following topics to improve more on the knowledge of other scholars;-

1. The influence of electoral institutions on voting behavior.
2. Voting behavior and service delivery.
3. Political party affiliation and voting behavior.
4. Creation of new districts and service delivery. Many constituencies and districts have been established lately due to various political reasons, therefore a

thorough study should be conducted to find out if these constituencies and districts are serving their role as proclaimed by the political leaders, if the services are really being delivered satisfactorily to the people or are they doing more harm than good. And if not, what should be done to ensure proper service delivery.

5. How and why political party elites take the sides they do on issues like voting and elections and how "evolution" with respect to any one issue spurs or depends upon other changes in the political and social bases of party coalitions are all topics deserving much more sustained scholarly attention.

REFERENCES:

- AFP The Times* (2008) Fanuel Jongwe, "Ex minister takes on Mugabe", South Africa, February 5.
- African Journal of Political Science and International Relations* Vol.3 (11), pp 490-496, November 2009 ISSN 1996-0832 @ 2009 Academic journals.
- African Journal of Political Science and International Relations* Vol. 5(1), pp. 21-29, January 2011 ISSN 1996-0823. © 2011 Academic Journals.
- Alan Abraham Witz* (2004) *Voice of the people: Elections in the* Mc Graw Hill Publishing Company. New York USA.
- Andrew H, Maholtra N* (2009) "Myopic Voters and Natural Disaster Policy". *Am. Political Science Review*, 1003(3): (387-406)
- Anthony Down* (1975) *Economic Theory of Democracy: influence of electoral Politics*. Mc Graw hill co Limited, USA.
- Apollo Nsibambi* (1998) *Decentralization and Civil society in Uganda. The Quest for Good governance*. Fountain Publishers Limited, Kampala, Uganda.
- Army McGrath*, (1994), *The Forging of Votes, The Fraudging of votes*, Tower House Publications, Kensington NSW.
- BBC News* (2008) Rival wins key supporter BBC News, March 1 2008.
- Benoit, Jean-Pierre and Lewis A. Kornhauser. 1994. "Social Choice in a Representative Democracy." *American Political Science Review* 88.1: 185-192.
- Black, Earl, and Marle Black*. (2002) *The Rise of Southern Republicans*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Burnham, Walter Dean*. (1970) *Critical Elections and the Mainspring of American Politics*. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Campbell, Angus, Phillip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes. (1960) *The American Voter*. New York: John Wiley.
- Corrado Maria, Daclon. 2004. US elections and war on terrorism – Interview with professor Massimo Teodori *Analisi Difesa*, n. 50
- David Mackie* (1992) *The Election, A Voter's Guide*, The Guardian Book. Fourth Estate Publishers Limited. 289, Westbourne Grove.
- Didmus Dewa* (2009) *factors affecting voting Behaviour and voting Patterns in Zimbabwe's harmonized Elections*; Midlands State University of Zimbabwe.

- Dunnett Michael (1997) *Principles of Electoral Reform*. New York: Oxford University Press. ISBN 0-19-829246-5.
- Farquharson, Robin. 1969. *A Theory of Voting*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Fiorina K, Morris P. (1981) *Retrospective voting in American National Elections*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Jeff G, Ganius J (2002). "Why does Voting get so complicated? A Review of Theories for analyzing Democratic Participation, in *Statistical Science*, 17(4): 383-404. Institute of Mathematical Statistics: Beachwood, USA.
- Kakuba Sultan J (2010) *Voting behavior in Uganda since 1996: An investigation into the factors likely to determine voters' choices in the 2011 elections*. Kampala, Uganda.
- Larry. M. Bartels (2008), *The Oxford Hand Book of American Elections and Political Behaviour*; Department of Politics and Woodrow Wilson School of Public international affairs, Princeton University.
- Layman, Geoffrey.(2001) *The Great Divide: Religion and Cultural Conflict in American Party Politics*. New York: Columbia University of Michigan Press.
- Lazarsfeld, Berelson A and Gaudet .K (1994), *The People' Choice How the Voter makes up his mind in a Presidential Campaign* Columbia.
- Lewis-Beck, Michael S., William G. Jacoby, Helmut Norpoth, and Hebert F. Weisberg. (2008) *The American Voter Revisited*. Ann Arbor, MI : University of Michigan Press.
- M. Harrop and W.L.Miller (1987). *Elections and Voters: A Comparative Perspective and Analysis for Electorate, Sociologists and Politicians*. Mac Milan Publishers UK.
- Magstadt M, Thomas M, Peter MS (1993). *Understanding Politics: Ideas, Institutions, and Issues*, Third Edition, New York: St. Martins Press, p. 584.
- Mc Phee, Belles on and Lazarsfeld (1954) *voting: A study of opinion formation in a Presidential Campaign* New York USA.
- Miller and Shanks 1982; 1996)
- Miller, Warren E., and J. Merril Shanks. (1996) *The New American Voter*. Cambridge, MA: Havard University Press.
- Mueller, Dennis C. 1996. *Constitutional Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Mujaju A* (203) Presidential and Parliamentary Elections in Mbale District: A Case of Bungokho" in Sabit-Makara, Tukahebwa, B. Geoffrey and Byarugaba, E. Foster (Eds.) Voting for Democracy in Uganda: Issues in Recent Elections. Kampala, LDC Publishers Printing Press, p. 145.
- Nie, Norman H., Sidney Verba, and John R. Petrocik. (1976) The Changing American Voter. Cambridge, MA: Havard University Press.
- Owen, Bernard, 2002. "Le système électoral et son effet sur la représentation parlementaire des partis: le cas européen.", LGDJ;
- Paul R. Abramson, John H. Aldrich and David w. Rohde* (2010) change and continuity in the Electons CQ press.
- Phillip Allan (2001) voting Behaviour: Social factors affecting voting Behaviour, Updates on Government and Politics. New York, USA.
- Riker, William. 1980. Liberalism Against Populism: A Confrontation Between the Theory of Democracy and the Theory of Social Choice. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.
- Robert L. Savage, Nimmo and Dan* (1976) Candidates and their images. Pacific Palisades Publishers, CA Good Year.
- Rosie k* (1959), the Psychology of choice: An intellectual study of Presidential Campaigns and Elections New York USA.
- Saunders, Kyle L., and Alan I. Abramowitz.*(2007) The Rise of the Ideological Voter: The Changing Basis of Partisanship in the American Electorate. In the State of Parties, 5th Edition John C. Green and Daniel. Coffey. Lanham, MD: Row man and Littlefield.
- Sithole M* (1979). Zimbabwe struggles with in the struggle. Rujeko Publishers Salisbury. Zimbabwe.
- Thompson, Dennis F. 2004. *Just Elections: Creating a Fair Electoral Process in the U.S.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. ISBN: 978-0226797649
- Wald, Kenneth D* (1987) Religion and Politics in the United States. New York: St. Martin's Press, USA.
- William Flannigan and Nancy Zingale* (2010) Political Behaviour of the American Electorate CQ press Publishers.

APPENDIX 1A: ACKNOWLEDGMENT FROM MUKONO TOWN COUNCIL



THE REPUBLIC OF UGANDA

MUKONO MUNICIPAL COUNCIL

Our Ref: MMC/SRF/124

P.O. Box 201
Phone: 041290359
Mukono- Uganda

Your Ref:

Date: August 14, 2012

To Whom It May Concern

RE: STUDENT RESEARCH

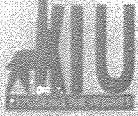
This is to introduce to you Ms. Namayengo Lydia a student of Public Administration at Kampala International University. He wishes to undertake her research within Mukono Municipal Council on the topic "Influence of Social Class and Voting Behavior of Voters in Selected Parishes/Polling Areas in Mukono Municipality, Mukono District" as part of her requirements in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the award of Master's degree.

Please accord her the necessary support.


John M. Behangaana
TOWN CLERK



APPENDIX 1 B
TRANSMITTAL LETTER FROM CHDR



**KAMPALA
INTERNATIONAL
UNIVERSITY**

Ggaba Road - Kansanga
P.O. Box 20000, Kampala, Uganda
Tel: +256 - 414 - 266813 / +256 - 772 - 322563
Fax: +256 - 414 - 501 974
E-mail: admin@kiu.ac.ug
Website: www.kiu.ac.ug

**OFFICE OF THE HEAD OF DEPARTMENT, ECONOMICS AND
MANAGEMENT SCIENCES
COLLEGE OF HIGHER DEGREES AND RESEARCH (CHDR)**

Date: 18, July, 2012

**RE: REQUEST FOR NAMAYENGO LYDIA MPA/17351/102/DU
TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN YOUR ORGANIZATION**

The above mentioned is a bonafide student of Kampala International University pursuing Masters of Arts in Public Administration.

she is currently conducting a research entitled "Influence of Social Class and Voting Behavior of Voters in Selected Parishes /Polling Areas in Mukono Municipality, Mukono District."

Your organization has been identified as a valuable source of information pertaining to her research project. The purpose of this letter is to request you to avail her with the pertinent information she may need.

Any information shared with her from your organization shall be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Any assistance rendered to her will be highly appreciated.

Yours truly,

**Mr. Malinga Ramadhan
Head of Department,
Economics and Management Sciences, (CHDR)**

NOTED BY:
Dr. Sofia Sol T. Gaito
Principal-CHDR

APPENDIX 1 C
TRANSMITTAL LETTER FOR THE PARTICIPANTS

Dear Sir/ Madam

Greetings,

I am a Masters student of Kampala International University pursuing a Masters of Arts in Public Administration and Management. Part of the requirements for this award is a dissertation. I am currying out a study to establish the relationship between **Social Class and Voting Behavior of Voters** in selected parishes/ polling areas in Mukono Municipality, Mukono district in Uganda.

Within this context, I request you to participate in this study by answering the questionnaires provided. Kindly do not leave any option unanswered. The information you will provide shall be for academic purposes only and shall be kept confidentially.

Thanks

Yours faithfully

Ms. Namayengo Lydiah
Researcher (0773157967)
Kampala International University

APPENDIX 11
CLEARANCE FROM ETHICS COMMITTEE

Date_____

Candidate's data

Name_____

Reg. #_____

Course_____

Title_____ of _____ the
study_____

Ethical Review Checklist

The study reviewed considered the following:

- ____Physical safety of Human subjects
- ____Psychological safety
- ____Emotional security
- ____Privacy
- ____Coding of questionnaires/anonymity/confidentiality
- ____Permission to conduct the study
- ____Informed consent
- ____Citations/Authors Recognized

Results of Ethical Review

- ____Approval
- ____Conditional(to provide the Ethics Committee with corrections)
- ____Disapproved/Resubmit proposal

Ethics Committee (Name and Signature)

Chairperson _____

Members_____

APPENDIX III
INFORMED CONSENT

I am giving my consent to be part of the research study of Ms. Namayengo Lydiah that will focus on Social class and voting behavior.

I am assured of privacy and confidentiality and I am given the option to refuse participation or withdraw my participation at any time.

I am informed that the research is voluntary and that the results will be given to me if I request for them.

Initials: -----

Date: -----

APPENDIX IV
FACE SHEET: DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE
PARTICIPANTS;-

Please tick appropriately in the box below.

Age

(18 – 30) ☐

(30 - 45) ☐

(45 and above) ☐

Gender

Male ☐

Female ☐

Religion

Catholic ☐

Penecostals ☐

Moslems ☐

Protestants ☐

Others ☐

Marital status

Single ☐

Married ☐

Divorced ☐

Education level ☐

1. Primary ☐

2. Secondary ☐

3. Certificate ☐

4. Diploma ☐

5. Bachelor ☐

6. Others specify

Housing circumstances:

1. Home owner ☐

2. Renting ☐

3. Dependent ☐

APPENDIX V

QUESTIONNAIRE TO DETERMINE THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL CLASS ON VOTING BEHAVIOUR (For both voters)

Direction 1.

Please write the preferred option on the space provided before each item. Kindly use the rating guide below:-

Response made	Rating	Description	Legend
Agree	1	You agree with some doubt	A
Strongly Agree	2	You agree with no doubt at all	SA
Disagree	3	You disagree with some doubt	D
Strongly Disagree	4	You disagree with no doubt at all	SD

Aspects on income levels

_____1 Are you able to take your children to any school on time?

_____2 I can meet my hospital bills without fail.

_____3 I take care of some other siblings

Aspects on access to information

_____4 I can access political information from Newspapers, Magazines, TVs.

_____5 Am very interested in political issues and debates on radios all the time.

_____6 I always attend campaigns and rallies during election period.

_____7 The Newspapers, TVs and radios that my friends use are what I use.

Aspects on education level

_____8 I consider a candidate's education level before voting for him/ her.

_____9 My friends of similar education level vote the same person/political party like I vote.

_____10 I support a political party formed by people of my education level.

Aspects on employment affiliation

_____12 The people I work with can influence me to vote for a given candidate.

_____13 I cannot attend the campaigns and political debates without my friends at work

_____14 The candidate i vote should have similar or more income and property than mine.

_____15 I attend the campaigns and political debates with my colleagues at work.

Aspects on a family

- _____16 I consider whether one owns a family to be my friend.
- _____17 I support candidates that people with the same family status like me vote.
- _____18 I vote a candidate that my family members support.

APPENDIX VI

QUESTIONNAIRE TO DETERMINE THE LEVEL OF VOTING BEHAVIOUR

Aspects on personal traits of a candidate

_____19 I consider a candidate's qualities or personal qualities before I vote for him.

_____20 I vote for a candidate who has the same political ideas and interests like me

_____21 I vote a candidate that's informed about good governance.

Aspects on political party affiliation

_____22 I only vote for candidates who support my political party.

_____23 I support a candidate of my religion.

_____24 I vote a political party in power to safeguard my Job, family and property.

Aspects on electoral institutions and monitors

_____25 Electoral Institutions like the Electoral Commission can influence me to vote for

Someone through the messages they publish during election period.

_____26 Electoral commission may produce right or wrong election results.

_____27 Election observers and monitors can make the election process transparent.

Gender aspects

_____28 Women vote candidates of ruling party due to affirmative action and protection of men's rights.

_____29 During elections, women usually vote much more than the men do.

_____30 Women attend campaign rallies and political debates like or more than men.

_____31 Some men are not registered voters and fail to vote because they are busy to do so.

_____32 The increase of women participation in electoral process affects the election outcome.

_____33 Men and women have equal rights so should vote freely due to their right to vote

Aspects on government performance

_____34 I vote for candidates with a record track of performance.

_____35 I vote for candidate who is at good terms with ruling party for problem solving.

Aspects on electoral fraud and election outcome

_____36 Voter's names missing on the register is discouraging to voters.

_____37 Confusing and destroying ballot papers may discourage voters from voting.

_____38 Distributing misleading information and Changing vote totals affects election results.

_____39 Transferring people's names to other polling stations without their consent discourages voters.

_____40 Ballot stuffing occurs when a person casts more votes than they are entitled to.

_____41 Intimidation and vote buying are also forms of electoral fraud in elections.

_____42 Transparency in election process to all voters produces right election results.

_____43 Having a public list of the results from every single polling place prevent fraud.

_____44 All voting systems face threats of some form of Electoral fraud.

_____45 Voters may be given money and other rewards for voting in a particular way.

Thanks for your cooperation

APPENDIX VII

RESEARCHER'S CURRICULLUM VITAE

PERSONAL PROFILE:

NAME: NAMAYENGO LYDIAH
GENDER: FEMALE
MARITAL STATUS: MARRIED
NATIONALITY: UGANDAN
RELIGION: PROTESTANT
DATE OF BIRTH: 01 JAN 1987
PLACE OF BIRTH: MASAKA HOSPITAL
CONTACT ADDRESS: P.O.BOX 20,000 KAMPALA
TELEPHONE: 0752 864320

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

Year	School	Qualification
2011-to date	KIU	MAPAM
2007-2010	KIU	Bachelor's Degrees in PA
2005-2007	Masaka Hospital	Certificate in Theatre Techniques
2006	Masaka Institute of Computer studies	Certificate in Computer Application
2003-2004	Masaka S.S.S	U.A.C.E
1999-2002	Arch Bishop Kiwanuka S.S.S	U.C.E
1991-1998	Aunt Rachael P/S	PLE

WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Position
2011- To date	KIU	Teaching Assistant
2008-2010	Kalangala district Local Government	Theatre Assistant
2008-2010	Kalangala district Local Government	Counselor

RESEARCH PUBLICATION

1. The Impact of Decentralization on service delivery in Uganda. A case study of Bujumba County, Kalangala District.

2. My research at Master's level is "Social class and voting behavior of people in Mukono Municipality, Mukono District.

LANGUAGES SPOKEN

English, Lusoga and Luganda

INTERESTS

To continue lecturing in the field of Public Administration

Working especially in Administration and Managing Human Resource

SPECIAL SKILLS

Computer skills (excellent in Microsoft Word, Excel, Power Point, and Access MS DOS)

Communication skills

CAREER OBJECTIVES

To be a Senior Consultant and expert in Public Administration and Management

REFEREES

Dr. Oluca Benjamin Bella

Head of Department for Public Admin & Mass com (KIU)

College of Applied Economic & Management Science

Mobile: 0782539614

Dr. Kassim Ssekabira

Principal for College of Education, IODL & IN- Service (KIU)

Mobile No: 0772 855348

Mr Mukasa Kizito Henry

Chief Administrative officer

Kalangala district Local Government

Mobile: 0772-655373