

*Full Length Research Paper*

# Voting behaviour in Uganda since 1996: An investigation into the factors likely to determine voters' choices in the 2011 elections

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Exploring factors likely to influence 2011 poll in Uganda is the main objective of this paper. The data for this study was obtained through a content analysis of election results (1996, 2001 and 2006) and interview, which was carried out in the period between July to October, 2010 across the different regions in the country, North, South, West, East and Central to ascertain the factors that are likely to drive the 2011 poll. Although Uganda's ruling party, the National Resistance Movement (NRM) under the leadership of Museveni has been winning successive democratic elections since it transitioned into democratic rule in 1996; its support has been gradually and steadily declining. The study findings based on elections 1996, 2001 and 2006; and a random survey data from respondents across the different regions in the country through interviews, show that voters reward the incumbent president for fulfilling their demands. The study findings further reveal that factors such as discovery of oil and creation of new districts, infrastructural development among others will be central in influencing the choice of the electorates across these regions. The paper concludes on a point of how NRM the ruling party is likely to perform.

**Key words:** Democratic elections, voting behaviour, party performance.

## INTRODUCTION

One of the central roles of citizens in democracies and other political systems is to make decisions about political matters. In democracies, this involves decisions about which parties or candidates to support in an election, as well as decisions about which issue positions to hold, how to participate in politics. Thus, democratic elections are significant ingredients for credible democracy. It is through the process of election, individual citizens are given opportunity to choose candidates of their choice to run the affairs of their country. Thus, voting is one of the single most important things a citizen can do to ensure that the government operates in the way it is designed and ensure that their personal beliefs are heard by the country's political system. David Easton in 1965 wrote that all political systems function within the context of political culture, which consists of traditions, values, and common knowledge (Magstadt et al., 1993: 16). The people of Uganda have experienced about four democratic elections since National Resistance Movement

(NRM) transitioned into democratic rule. These were the elections held in 1996, 2001, 2006 and they are expected to go to poll in the 2011. Political scientists argue that voting behaviour is influenced by a number of factors such as religion, ethnicity, region and social class among others, (Roskin, 1998). This suggests that voting in elections is quite complex as it involves varying factors. The purpose of this paper is (i) to examine the factors likely to influence voters' choice in the 2011 democratic elections in Uganda (ii) how political parties participating in these elections have been enjoying the support of the electorates. These two-fold objectives will form the springboard of this study.

However, it is imperative to note that successive democratic elections in Uganda have been controversial as oppositions have often challenged the election results being rigged by the incumbent contesting government. In this context, there are limited studies if any in Uganda, which has examined what influences citizens' choice in

voting in democratic election in the country, when it is around the corner.

## Literature review

Election is the process by which a community selects rulers and empowers them to make decisions, takes action 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 state assemblies (Magstadt et al., 1993: 584). On the other hand, a vote is the right to express one's choice or opinion, especially by officially marking a paper or by raising one's hand. Voting behaviour is a set of attitudes and beliefs towards election at the national as well as at the local level. In this context, since Uganda attained independence in 1962, there are so many factors that have been influencing and shaping the democratic elections results in the country, which are beyond the discussion of this paper.

Studies on political behaviour are many and suggest different factors why citizens choose to vote or elect a particular candidate or party. In many countries, government plays a central role in addressing problems affecting their citizens. Therefore, any decision taken in this direction will have a response from the citizens. Andrew and Malhotra (2009) study on presidential election in the United States at county level during the period 1988 to 2004 reveals the impact of voters' decision will very much hinge on government policy outcomes. They found out that there was a relationship between disaster related expenditures by the government and incumbent's reelection prospects. But Erdmann, in his study found that ethnicity was a major factor, which explains voting behaviour in Africa, (Erdmann, 2007).

Oyana (2006: 5) in his study found that the ruling party and opposition leadership specifically Museveni and Besigye respectively had support confined to specific regions in the country based on their policy issues. But Mujaju argues that Museveni benefited greatly from women vote as a result of National Resistance Movement (NRM)'s popularisation of women-related concerns into the political processes in the country. For instance, women are given opportunity at every level of political unit like local councils to the parliamentary seats (Mujaju, 2003: 145).

This has earned Museveni's regime to enjoy women support during elections as well as shaping voting pattern among women. Mujaju further points out that in the 1996 election issues such as the living wage of the public servants, privatisation, "Entandikwa scheme" (a revolving credit scheme) and the Obote regime factor, played a part in influencing peoples' voting choice. For instance, the revolving credit scheme was designed to assist the poor to start income generating projects and NRM utilised

it to dish out cash to the people build and consolidate support from the people.

## Theoretical framework

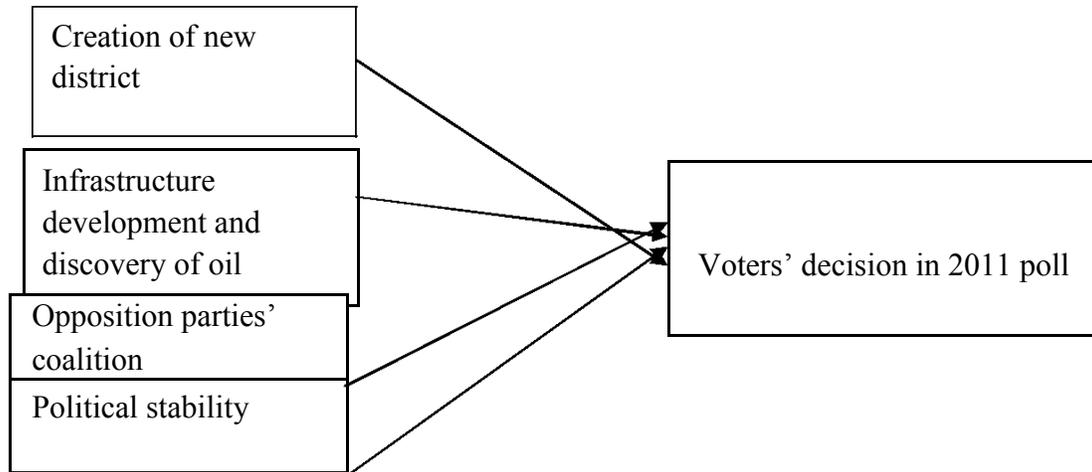
There are theories that have been developed by political scientists to explain the factors that influence the voting behaviour and the pattern of individual citizens in the democratic election process. For example, public choice theory, party identification theory and sociological theory among others.

In light of this, the theoretical basis for analysis in this study focuses on a combination of three theories mentioned above, which attempt to explain the effect of condition and events on elections and the voting political behaviour. These are the rational choice, socio-logical and party identification theories. These theories too highlight how the influence of electorates' attitudes and behaviour towards government policies and decision making can determine their voting pattern during elections. Therefore, in this study much emphasis is placed on electoral incentives that are likely to influence 2011 poll in Uganda.

The public choice theory: This theory is built on the assumptions that reflect human rationality or individual behaviour. It maintains that decisions can be reached in a number of procedures including an ordering of individual preferences among others (Heywood, 1997: 382). This theory assumes that individuals are rational and respond to information regarding their own self-interest (Cochran and Malone, 1995: 59). It focuses on factors, which influences individual's behaviour in making decision. In this context, citizens are likely to vote for the candidate or a particular party, which they feel reflect their desires and interests. Thus, individuals make decision based on their own cost benefit analysis. Hence the actual decision is made under conditions of bounded rationality, a condition which involves one choosing an alternative intended not to maximise satisfaction (Sambo, 1999: 299). This suggests that voters elect parties or candidates whose programme gives maximal utility from government. Thus, issues and competence matter, nothing else. However, this approach has limitations, which cannot permit to singly explain the factors that determine individuals' behaviour. For instance, it is not possible to account for a variety of behaviours that exist among different individuals in the society. Therefore, other theories come into play.

Thus, besides public choice theory, Jeff and Gainous (2002) looks at:

Party identification theory too as one of the theories, which is instrumental in explaining factors that may influence voters' in their decision in voting. This theory argues that the act of voting is expressive or a way of expressing a deep-seated loyalty to the party. Thus,



**Figure 1.** Theoretical framework.

many 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. This is the core argument built in this theory.

Sociological theory focuses on the impact of social structure of political parties and emphasises the values and interests. In other words, it considers sociological factors such as ethical values, civic duty, indoctrination, or social pressures, etc... which public choice theory and party identification theory do not usually take into account. The central arguments of these theories are in the focus of how they can suit in predicting and explaining what would influence voters in the 2011 poll. The framework for this study derived from argument of these theories is shown in Figure 1.

From Figure 1, it is shown that there is a relationship between creation of new district, infrastructure development, discovery of oil, opposition parties coalition and political stability on one hand and voters' decision on the other.

## **METHODOLOGY**

This study gathered data from both secondary and primary sources. The secondary sources included textbooks and Journals while the primary sources constituted election results from electoral commission, male, female and youth voters Table 1. The data collected was both quantitative and qualitative. Qualitative data was collected using semi-structured and unstructured interviews. Equal numbers of voting age respondents (male=218, female=93 and youth=42) from each region were selected randomly on streets and interviewed irrespective of their party affiliation and other socio-demographic characteristics. The purpose of selecting equal number was to minimize biasness from a particular party and dominant view from a particular region. The study also used available data from the above mentioned sources to analyse the impact of government policy outcomes on voters' choice in elections.

## **PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION**

### **Factors likely to determine voters decision**

In an attempt to highlight the factors that are likely to influence voters' in the 2011 poll, respondents from different regions in the country expressed their views and opinion over the matter as discussed below.

### **Infrastructure development and discovery of oil**

Out of the total respondents interviewed, 62% respondents from the five regions in the country mentioned that NRM has tried to develop infrastructures such as roads, schools and health centres. They stressed that newly tarmacked Kafu-Masindi road in the western part of the country and Soroti-Lira road, are a great hope for the rapid transformation of these areas. Specifically they said, "These roads will change everything". On further probe, 40% of the total respondents, particularly those who claimed to hail from areas where oil has been discovered said that "it is not only the road but the oil too that has been discovered in the western part and north-west of the country will be an important factor, especially for NRM. They argued that this was a new development attributed to NRM government. They opined that areas such as "Bunyoro will not be the same in two to three years time." They generally said that "if the roads are fixed, the schools constructed, the health centres stocked with medicine and we have power in our homes ... we shall have benefited" and the government needs to be supported for further development. However, the key issue is how a common person will benefit from the oil. It was revealed by respondents that indeed, Uganda's oil will be a major factor in influencing voters in the 2011 elections especially in areas where oil wells have been discovered. But respondents from oil-rich areas

**Table 1.** Sample study population.

Category of respondents			Instrument of data collection used
Male Voters	-	1090	Unstructured interviews
Female voters	-	465	
Youth	-	210	Less structured interviews
Total	-	1765	

expressed fear that even before the real drilling starts, people from elsewhere are benefiting from 'our oil.

But there are also other electoral issues like the poor roads, ailing health system, problems with the education system and the much-hyped prosperity for all programme monies. Thirty five percent of the total respondents opined that these reasons will be essential in deciding who becomes President in the 2011 elections. Besides, they also expressed that in some communities for example, the Banyoro and Baganda are known to rally around a cause like the land issue and their traditional institutions (federal), which they felt will play a role in motivating them into making decision whom to vote for. They stated this has for instance been demonstrated by the Banyoro, when they stood by their king during the war against the British colonialists. They strongly indicated that to this day the Omukama Kabalega's nationalism runs in every Munyoro's blood. He led the resistance that not only cost him his throne, but led to the subduing of his people. Since the restoration of traditional rulers, the kingdom has been rebuilt but under a republican dispensation that will not allow its political clout. However, the local people appreciate that their king is reigning after being dethroned in 1967 by the Uganda People's Congress (UPC) government. Similar view seems to be alive among the Baganda on the 1966 Buganda crisis and September 2009 riot that claimed lives in Buganda including the closure of Central Broadcasting station (CBS) radio.

But interesting to note is that 24 years ago Ugandans' allegiance has been shifting in the confines of NRM. In 1996, Ugandans demonstrated love by voting for President Yoweri Museveni with 75.5% of the votes. In subsequent elections that is, 2001 and 2006 he still secured victories by 69.33% in 2001 and 59.26% in 2006 respectively (Electoral Commission Results 2006, 2001 and 1996). This shows a decline of about 7% every five years. In the light of this, the opposition, especially Forum for Democratic Change (FDC), which is main challenger to NRM sees an opportunity and is making forays into different parts of the country. The President of FDC for instance, Col. Dr Kizza Besigye has made several trips to different parts of the country according to the respondents. And FDC has gained considerable support in major towns in the country. During the study it was

observed that towns such as Mbale in the eastern part of the country, Hoima and Buliisa town councils in the west, Lira and Gulu Municipalities among other urban areas are strong hold of opposition party. Interestingly, the study revealed that there seem to be low support for the opposition in rural areas, a factor NRM seem to capitalize on to perpetuate their confidence to win the 2011 election, some respondents argued.

Furthermore, respondents expressed that the main fears of the opposition was that their parties are being intimidated. From the opinion of the respondents, unless there is radical change in the next few months, the rural areas shall remain an NRM stronghold. It will take affront towards the Kabaka and Omukama and mishandling of land matters to weaken it. However, conflicts over land in some parts of the country such as Buganda, Kibaale and Buliisa districts in the west will certainly be key issues in the 2011 election. The opposition, however, has failed to 'jump' onto the issue and use it to make inroads in Bunyoro. It is Museveni who has demonstrated eagerness to the extent of proposing "ring fencing" as a solution, to the political conflicts between the Banyoro and Bakiga.

Besides oil, land is the other major issue. There are fears among the locals about the fragile security of their land. "People will surely vote for whoever has been fighting to save their land as well as protecting them from eviction," respondents argued. A closer scrutiny of the views of the respondents, Land is the underlying issue pitting some communities against each other. "We shall not vote for NRM if the land question is not solved," some respondents vows. But several development projects in the region that are attributed to Museveni such as construction of roads, including the Kafu-Masindi and the ones around the Albertine valley, have been repaired. These in addition to the pending extraction of oil are causing excitement among the public. Respondents interviewed from the west said that infrastructure development will count less in favour of NRM. Respondents from the west pointed out that "Hoima has got only 11 km of tarmac roads". "The 11km start from the Kafu Bridge up to the town; that is what belongs to the Banyoro." They said that they are hoping to see the tarmac road running from Kigumba through Masindi to Hoima and then onwards to Kyenjojo. This road, they

**Table 2.** Presidential candidates performance in 1996 2006 elections.

<b>Election</b>	<b>Candidates</b>	<b>Nominating parties</b>	<b>Votes</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
2006	Museven (Incumbent)	NRM	4109449	59.26
	Kizza-Bisigye	FDC	2592954	37.39
	Ssebana Kizito	DP	109583	1.58
	Abed Bwanika	Independent	65874	0.95
	Miria Obote	UPC	5701	0.82
Total				100
2001	Museven	NRM	5123360	69.33
	Kizza-Bisigye	FDC	2055795	27.82
	Mayanja Kibirige Muhammad	JEEMA	73790	1.0
	Francis Bwengye	-	22751	0.31
	Aggrey Awori	UPC	103915	1.41
	Karuhanga Chapaa	-	10080	0.14
Total				100
1996	Museven	NRM	6417500	75.5
	Kawanga Ssemogerere Paul	DP	1895500	22.3
	Mayanja Kibirige Muhammad	JEEMA	187000	2.2
Total				100

Source. Survey of electoral commission results 2006, 2001 and 1996.

claimed, will cut across the heart of Bunyoro and the rural people will share in the spoils. Respondents from the north said that though NRM government tarmacked Soroti-Lira road and has promised to tarmac Apach-Kitgum via Lira, its performance may not be as good as for the opposition. They specifically mentioned that elites are likely to vote for the movement but majority voters especially in the Lango region are for UPC and other opposition parties such as DP and FDC. The study revealed that people in this region seem to be so much attached to their party affiliation and more willing to vote for than being influenced by NRM government programmes. They also said that DP is likely to sweep all votes from the Acholi communities because of its President; N Robert Mao whom they said has served his people diligently.

A total of 77% respondents across all regions also emphasized and mentioned that the health and education sectors need attention. For example, respondents from the west specifically said that in addition to the referral hospital in Hoima, there are small hospitals in Kiryandongo, Masindi town and Kagadi. On top of that, the Government has constructed one health centre in every sub-county. People have interpreted this as a gesture of a government that cares, but there is still more to be done. "We need drugs and doctors in the hospitals," said respondents interviewed. Several schools have full classes but the most of the structures need to be renovated. This has not dampened the spirit of the parents who despite of the state of buildings and

standard of education are now sending their children to school under Universal Primary Education and Universal Secondary Education a thing that was not possible 15 years ago. This was a common view across all regions among the respondents. And it is perhaps correct to argue that these issues will partly play a role in influencing voters for a particular candidate in the 2011 elections.

In addition, respondents especially from the Elgon zone revealed that government programmes such as rural electrification seem to be appreciated by those who have benefited from this programmes. But it was also said that land slide disaster that claimed many lives in Bududa, it was stated that government has not paid enough attention on resettling the affected persons despite enormous support from various Non-Governmental Organisations. However, Museven has been gradually losing popularity as illustrated by election results since 1996 in Table 2.

Table 2 shows that the political support for Museven and his NRM ruling party has been gradually but steadily declining. In the 1996 election Museven obtained 75.5%, this declined to 69.33% in 2001 and in 2006 it fell to 59.26%.

### **The parties factor: Coalition**

The organisational nature and capacity of the major opposition parties stands very significant in influencing

the 2011 election. Respondents mentioned that if the main opposition parties particularly Uganda Peoples' Congress (UPC), Democratic Party (DP) and Forum for Democratic Change (FDC) including other small parties when they manage well their internal political power struggle, voters are more likely to give more support to the opposition. It was stressed that the most challenging issue to the opposition parties was to field a single candidate to contest against long serving NRM party in power. This suggests that if opposition fails to agree on a suitable candidate, many voters are likely to vote for the NRM. Respondents also mentioned that the refusal of DP and other parties like Peoples' Progressive Party (PPP) to join the Inter-Party Cooperation (IPC), a loose alliance of opposition parties that are preparing to field a single candidate in the 2011 presidential election was a disservice to the opposition. DP enjoys the position of being one of the oldest parties in the country but it ranks third strongest after NRM and FDC, it currently has nine members of parliament. It is perhaps correct to argue that the internal wrangles that have hit Democratic Party (DP) and their refusal to join IPC, NRM the ruling party will eventually benefit from this failure of the opposition parties to unite before 2011 election. It was also stated by the respondents that opposition has to ensure enough voter education. This was considered to be attributing to poor voter turnout. Therefore, opposition parties have a major role to play in voters' mobilisation and civic education. It was revealed that many people just ignore participation in voting exercise while others have little knowledge in the electoral process.

### **Creation of new districts**

In an effort to explain and understand better, how the 2011 election voting behaviour is likely to be shaped, it is imperative to look at the impact of creation of new districts too in the country. This is another factor, which was often mentioned by the respondents that it will feature very much in influencing and determining the voting decision among the voters in the 2011 poll in Uganda. It is a policy attributed to NRM. Since NRM came to power in 1986, the spirit of service delivery to the people has been at its peak. Many districts have been created with a view of bringing services nearer to the people. This is a new development in politics in Uganda, where citizens have successfully demanded for districts while others are yet to get answer to their demand. During the interview survey many respondents indicated that those people who have been given district status upon their demand are likely to vote for the ruling government. They mentioned that this is one of the positive score Museven and his NRM party had done well. And they believe that this is going to have a bearing on the voting behaviour. Table 3 show how the ruling performance of the ruling NRM party in the new district

created before 2006 presidential election.

From Table 3, the Museven and his ruling NRM party has been winning in most of the newly created districts in the country apart from those from the northern part of the country (see new districts(in bold) in Table 3 ). Now that districts have increased to the tune of 114, this factor is likely favour NRM in the 2011 poll based on the previous presidential election in 2006. The districts (in bold) in Table 3 are some of the districts that have been formed by NRM since it came to power in 1986. And these new districts tended to vote for government, perhaps in appreciation for their creation.

However, the performance of NRM in the Northern part has been poor due to persistent political insurgency caused by Lord Resistance Army (LRA). Respondents reported that NRM's performance in this region is likely to improve following an end of the LRA war. The once an area of war insurgency, has started experiencing political stability. They cited example such as parliamentary bye election that has been conducted in the north including those in other parts of the country, which were once opposition's "safe water" have been won by NRM, the ruling party. It was stated by respondents that the shift in voting behaviour in these by-elections, where the opposition had consolidated their support base has to do with improvement in the security situation in the northern part of the country. This is also likely to play a role as an incentive to the voters' decision in the 2011 election. The northern people have hardly had peace during the NRM regime. Most of the years, they have been living in camps as refugees in their own country. These camps were created by government in an effort to protect people from being attacked by Kony and his LRA army. But life became unbearable in camps besides short supply of essential needs of life such as food and water, regardless of other basic needs of life. The opposition capitalised on this, to create resentment among people against NRM government. It is perhaps possible to argue that the subsequent people from the north voting against the NRM has been due to miserable and deplorable life they have been experiencing, with little hope of the government providing permanent solution to the insurgency in the area. But most of the internally displaced people have been resettled back to their home after spending twenty or so years in camps and are beginning to engage in development activities to improve their condition. The impression from the respondents suggests that though Museven and his NRM party may not win in this region, his performance is likely to be better than the previous elections. The argument here is that the opposition will no longer capitalise on the war factor to win the support of the people. This supports Blattman (2009) findings that abduction had an impact voting behaviour of the Youth who had ever been abducted or witnessed violent acts, had the probability of voting. The study showed that those youth who had voted in 2005 referendum were former abductees.

**Table 3.** Performance in 2006 presidential election by different candidates in new districts formed by NRM.

District	Registered voters	Presidential candidates				
		Abed Bwanika (%)	Besigye Kizza (%)	Obote Kalule Miria (%)	Sebana Joseph Kizito (%)	Yoweri Kaguta Museveni (%)
Adjumani	49447	779 (2.38)	19919(60.75)	165 (0.5)	648 (1.98)	11277 (34.39)
Amuria	65691	1063 (2.46)	33602(77.73)	594(1.37)	709 (1.64)	7260 (16.79)
Apac	240639	3335 (2.1)	115840 (72.81)	11019 (6.93)	3272(2.06)	25625 (16.11)
Arua	281954	4435 (2.45)	103133 (56.95)	2158 (1.19)	3941(2.18)	67436 (37.24)
Bugiri	177525	1091 (0.93)	39632(33.88)	771(0.66)	1026(0.88)	74457 (63.65)
Bukwo	23925	114 (0.66)	1286(7.39)	36 (0.21)	90 (0.52)	15865 (91.23)
Bundibugyo	89035	1102 (1.9)	10691(18.41)	363(0.63)	1169(2.01)	44735 (77.05)
Bushenyi	308013	1082 (0.47)	51050(22.14)	299(0.13)	1212(0.53)	176909 (76.73)
Busia	111091	896 (1.19)	28817(38.17)	872(1.16)	885 (1.17)	44020 (58.31)
Butaleja	69822	608 (1.26)	17176(35.64)	919(1.91)	459 (0.95)	29026 (60.23)
Gulu	215953	2406 (1.89)	104910 (82.37)	1423 (1.12)	1793(1.41)	16827 (13.21)
Hoima	133384	663 (0.71)	14697(15.77)	312(0.33)	545 (0.58)	76952 (82.59)
Ibanda	87951	198 (0.31)	6734 (10.52)	55 (0.09)	281 (0.44)	56726 (88.64)
Iganga	286740	1021 (0.57)	52459(29.26)	729(0.41)	1075 (0.6)	124025 (69.17)
Isingiro	142507	322 (0.29)	14745(13.33)	103(0.09)	433 (0.39)	95040 (85.9)
Jinja	163681	526 (0.53)	43834(44.03)	487(0.49)	453 (0.46)	54259 (54.5)
Kaabong	41861	526 (2.18)	1807(7.49)	494(2.05)	1001(4.15)	20302 (84.14)
Kabale	214840	547 (0.36)	34244(22.79)	152 (0.1)	395 (0.26)	114919 (76.48)
Kabarole	153042	438 (0.42)	14961(14.42)	202(0.19)	988 (0.95)	87154 (84.01)
Kaberamaido	60437	711 (1.59)	34612(77.19)	536 (1.2)	630(1.4)	8351 (18.62)
Kalangala	24200	118 (0.87)	5555 (41.19)	28 (0.21)	539 (4)	7246 (53.73)
Kaliro	59288	227 (0.51)	4121 (9.2)	87 (0.19)	285 (0.64)	40076 (89.46)
Kampala	764283	3045 (0.7)	245004 (56.69)	1425 (0.33)	11993 (2.78)	170688 (39.5)
Kamuli	207242	846 (0.61)	25187(18.03)	431(0.31)	1016(0.73)	112236 (80.33)
Kamwenge	127799	365 (0.39)	8909(9.53)	97 (0.1)	632 (0.68)	83436 (89.29)
Kanungu	96091	344 (0.49)	16109(22.86)	61 (0.09)	359 (0.51)	53600 (76.06)
Kapchorwa	61891	265 (0.62)	9296 (21.67)	80 (0.19)	112 (0.26)	33144 (77.26)
Kasese	210826	1507 (1.12)	70936(52.61)	499(0.37)	1598(1.19)	60301 (44.72)
Katakwi	45494	894 (2.79)	16845(52.51)	435(1.36)	963 (3)	12940 (40.34)
Kayunga	126005	477 (0.59)	24044(29.65)	395(0.49)	1030(1.27)	55152 (68.01)
Kibaale	180770	591 (0.46)	10577 (8.22)	453(0.35)	1027 (0.8)	116059 (90.17)
Kiboga	115852	358 (0.5)	11168(15.52)	111(0.15)	861(1.2)	59478 (82.64)
Kiruhura	104992	178 (0.2)	6282(6.92)	100(0.11)	168 (0.19)	84046 (92.59)
Kisoro	99391	326 (0.41)	5175(6.53)	164(0.21)	669 (0.84)	72896 (92.01)
Kitgum	115010	1588 (2.21)	54293(75.47)	1020 (1.42)	1478(2.05)	13562 (18.85)

Table 3. cont.

Koboko	48973	1041 (3.58)	16858 (57.94)	192 (0.66)	663 (2.28)	10343 (35.55)
Kotido	56559	362 (1.17)	2694 (8.7)	273 (0.88)	788 (2.55)	26842 (86.7)
Kumi	158510	2268 (2.05)	75440 (68.09)	1083 (0.98)	1598 (1.44)	30398 (27.44)
Kyenjojo	150354	523 (0.48)	7152 (6.61)	300 (0.28)	940 (0.87)	99291 (91.76)
Lira	247272	3133 (2.07)	121568 (80.41)	11516 (7.62)	2982 (1.97)	11986 (7.93)
Luweero	148042	683 (0.73)	28253 (30.38)	241 (0.26)	2394 (2.57)	61439 (66.06)
Manafa	163807	693 (0.61)	26935 (23.75)	470 (0.41)	609 (0.54)	84688 (74.68)
Masaka	317684	1155 (0.54)	78553 (36.65)	197 (0.09)	7856 (3.67)	126561 (59.05)
Masindi	195112	1417 (1.19)	29555 (24.88)	945 (0.8)	1403 (1.18)	85447 (71.95)
Mayuge	128811	652 (0.86)	26183 (34.49)	623 (0.82)	642 (0.85)	47824 (62.99)
Mbale	162767	620 (0.63)	47856 (48.37)	455 (0.46)	509 (0.51)	49507 (50.03)
Mbarara	175401	339 (0.28)	28270 (23.05)	160 (0.13)	287 (0.23)	93571 (76.31)
Mityana	114425	370 (0.48)	22415 (28.85)	197 (0.25)	2894 (3.72)	51825 (66.7)
Moroto	63095	735 (2.16)	2811 (8.28)	565 (1.66)	1478 (4.35)	28363 (83.54)
Moyo	42137	685 (2.45)	14901 (53.38)	306 (1.1)	414 (1.48)	11610 (41.59)
Mpigi	168103	576 (0.51)	32285 (28.42)	272 (0.24)	4496 (3.96)	75988 (66.88)
Mubende	197597	633 (0.49)	14558 (11.35)	309 (0.24)	1560 (1.22)	111232 (86.7)
Mukono	345689	1514 (0.71)	82743 (38.68)	690 (0.32)	6134 (2.87)	122847 (57.42)
Nakapiripirit	46070	189 (0.74)	1390 (5.41)	146 (0.57)	310 (1.21)	23635 (92.07)
Nakaseke	63541	204 (0.46)	6384 (14.29)	60 (0.13)	763 (1.71)	37260 (83.41)
Nakasongola	56502	164 (0.42)	3600 (9.15)	95 (0.24)	188 (0.48)	35284 (89.71)
Nebbi	176766	2525 (2.13)	56663 (47.87)	2733 (2.31)	2245 (1.9)	54208 (45.79)
Ntungamo	186127	545 (0.38)	40283 (28.45)	169 (0.12)	538 (0.38)	100077 (70.67)
Pader	122802	1538 (2.21)	53921 (77.32)	674 (0.97)	1303 (1.87)	12305 (17.64)
Pallisa	225241	1883 (1.22)	70178 (45.5)	1086 (0.7)	2037 (1.32)	79055 (51.25)
Rakai	206289	556 (0.4)	36980 (26.29)	172 (0.12)	2248 (1.6)	100709 (71.59)
Rukungiri	122711	363 (0.42)	29261 (34.26)	100 (0.12)	256 (0.3)	55436 (64.9)
Sironko	138013	577 (0.6)	35855 (37.4)	239 (0.25)	518 (0.54)	58670 (61.2)
Soroti	149304	1663 (1.59)	84217 (80.5)	773 (0.74)	971 (0.93)	16993 (16.24)
Ssembabule	85016	195 (0.33)	12567 (21.02)	107 (0.18)	610 (1.02)	46320 (77.46)
Tororo	164263	1476 (1.35)	56528 (51.68)	2912 (2.66)	1094 (1)	47374 (43.31)
Wakiso	45796	1720 (0.64)	125306 (46.51)	555 (0.21)	13239 (4.91)	128620 (47.74)
Yumbe	76151	1051 (2.26)	24297 (52.22)	454 (0.98)	893 (1.92)	19832 (42.62)
Total	10450788 (65.83)	65344 (0.95)	2570572 (37.36)	56584 (0.82)	109055 (1.59)	4078677 (59.28)

Source. Survey on the 2006 presidential election.

Another factor that was mentioned by respondents across the different regions in the country is corruption. It was mentioned that government has not taken stringent measures against the “big shots” in government who have been implicated in corruption. Related to this respondents highlighted that unemployment among the youth and the policy towards dealing with this problem may play a significant role in influencing the electorates to vote either the NRM or the opposition.

## Conclusion

The study has highlighted some of the factors, which are most likely to be instrumental in determining peoples' choice of the voting behaviour in the 2011 election in Uganda. There are multi-dimension factors that will drive the voting behaviour in this election. The tendency of voters will be limited to some of these factors discussed above. In fact, little evidence has been provided in terms of how policy instruments are linked to electoral returns. The electoral patterns shown here is that these are responses to the provision of public goods to voters, done by government, and not based on ideological links between voters and candidates. The one important uniqueness of these elections 1996 to 2006 elections is that, for the first time, the incumbent (Museveni) NRM candidate did very well compared to subsequent elections.

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