

DETERMINANTS OF VOTING IN MOROGORO MUNICIPALITY

BY

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ABSTRACT

The study was driven by the fact that there is a great proportion of registered voters who do not vote in the elections. This will have negative impact on consolidating democracy and expanding collective decision making through representation if not taken care of. The main objective of the study was to analyze the determinants of voting in Morogoro Municipality while the specific objectives were to assess the knowledge and attitude of voters towards the elections in the study area, estimate the minutes spent by voters going to and queuing at the polling stations, and determine how political party adherence is related to voting. A cross-sectional study design was employed. Data were collected in October and November 2010 during and immediately after the 2010 general elections through a questionnaire, and a semi-structured interview guide, which were administered to a sample of 200 respondents. Data analysis was done using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) computer software. The study findings showed that the overall respondents' attitude towards elections was unfavourable in the study area hence voters' participation in 2010 general elections was low. Using a chi-square test, research findings revealed that the relationship between individuals' levels of civic education and their participation in voting was significant ($\chi^2 = 8.648$, $p = 0.003$), which means that those with higher education participated more than those with lower education. In view of the above findings, it is concluded that in order to increase participation in voting some basic democratic requirements have to be met. These include civic education, timely and adequate information about elections, and trust and transparency to electoral processes as well as free and fair elections. On

the basis of this conclusion, it is recommended that the electoral commission and election candidates should address these issues to increase citizens' participation in elections.

DECLARATION

I, Mwinyi Omary Mwinyi, do hereby declare to the SENATE of Sokoine University of Agriculture (SUA) that this dissertation is my own original work and has neither been submitted nor being concurrently submitted for a higher degree award at any other University.

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Date

The above declaration confirmed.

Dr. Kim A. Kayunze
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Date

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AIM	African Independent Movement
AMNUT	All Muslim National Union of Tanganyika
ANC	African National Congress
ASP	Afro Shirazi Party
CCM	Chama Cha Mapinduzi
CHADEMA	Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo
CUF	Civic United Front
NEC	National Electoral Commission
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
PCCB	Prevention and Combating of Corruption Bureau
PCP	People's Convention Party
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Science
TAMWA	Tanzania Media Women Association
TANU	Tanganyika National Union
TEMCO	Tanzania Election Monitoring Committee
TGNP	Tanzania Gender Networking Program
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
URT	United Republic of Tanzania
UTP	United Tanganyika Party
ZNP	Zanzibar Nationalist Part

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

This chapter describes the introduction of this study. The chapter is divided into six main sections. The first section describes the background information of the study. This is followed by description of the problem statement, justification, objectives, hypotheses and conceptual framework respectively.

1.2 Background Information

Voting in Tanzania has three main functions, first is to create a sentiment of popular consent and participation in public affairs, second is to provide for the orderly succession in government by peaceful transfer of authority to new rulers when the time comes for the old rulers to go through elections and third is to elect the representatives of the people (Msekwa, 1995). Elections, therefore, are very critical in promoting democracy, good governance and societal development. Good governance here means the government elected by the citizens through voting in a free and fair competitive election (Chaligha, 2002). Elections at all levels of government are indeed critical in promoting and consolidating democracy, in which they play several key functions. First and foremost, elections can strengthen democracy if they can form the basis for government authority. In other words, elections can help in legitimizing the government (Msekwa, 2006).

Multiparty politics in Tanzania started at the time of independence, and went on for a few years after independence. The multiparty political system inherited from the colonial period lingered (Msekwa 2006). At the time of independence there were four registered political parties; these were Tanganyika National Union (TANU), the United Tanganyika Party (UTP), the African National Congress (ANC), and All Muslim National Union of Tanganyika (AMNUT). There are some parties which were registered soon after independence; these were the People's Convention Party (PCP), African Independence Movement (AIM), and Peoples Democratic Party (PDP). There was a multiparty system with parliamentary sovereignty and largely autonomous civil organizations such as workers' unions and peasants' cooperatives (TEMCO, 1997). In 1964, the government, under the presidency of Mwalimu Nyerere, abolished the multiparty democracy and decided to converge into a single party system (Norman, 2004). One of the reasons for converging into one party system was the results of general elections of 1960/1961 which saw TANU winning all seats except one (Msekwa, 2006). Thereafter, TANU and A.S.P united to form CCM in 1977 and, therefore, CCM enjoyed supremacy since 1977 to 1992.

Elections in Morogoro under multi-party politics were introduced in 1994. It was preceded by re-introduction of multi-party politics following the 8th constitutional amendment and enactment of political parties all over the country, Act of 1992 (Act No.5 of 1992) which was passed in parliament in May 1992 and assented by the President on 29th May 1992 (Bana, 2007). These changes ushered in reforms in the country's political milieu, paving the way to liberalization of politics, including the formation of many political parties in the country. Following the adoption of multi-party politics, by 1995 Tanzania had thirteen registered political parties which had legal mandate to carry out political work all over the country (Bana, 2007). This was a remarkable development in the political history in Tanzania and Morogoro in

particular taking into account the fact that the country had been under a one-party rule for more than three decades.

In Morogoro Municipality, like in any other place in Tanzania, elections and voting are very important components in promoting democracy and the freedom of choice among the people; people exercise their rights to choose the leaders of their choices. To make that idea possible there are several political parties that operate in Morogoro Municipality; these are CCM, NCCR- MAGEUZI, CHADEMA, CUF, TLP, PPT-MAENDELEO, and JHAZI-MAKINI. However, the active political parties that contested in 2010 general elections were five; these were CCM, CHADEMA, CUF, NCCR-MAGEUZI, and TLP.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

The government and other stakeholders have always made efforts to create conducive environment and awareness to citizens on the importance of voting by setting rules, regulations, by-laws as well as providing civic education so as to make sure that there is citizens' participation in elections. However, voting in Morogoro Municipality does not normally reflect the conducive environment that has been created by the government and other stakeholders. It has been noted that there are number of voters who do not participate in voting. Some of them register but do not vote (NEC, 2006). In 2005 Parliamentary and Presidential elections, for instance, the number of registered voters in Morogoro Municipality was 140 299 but the number of people who voted was 93 064, that is to say 34% of voters registered did not vote in the parliamentary election (NEC, 2006). In 2010 general elections the number of registered voters in Morogoro Municipality was 185 235 but the number of people who voted was 67 361 that is to say 65.4% of all

registered voters did not vote in Morogoro Municipality. This shows that there was a big proportion of registered voters who did not vote in the elections. Therefore, the aim of this research was to assess the determinants of voting in Morogoro Municipality.

1.4 Research Justification

For many people the goal of elections is to determine the electorate's preferences and to allocate political power correspondently. To achieve this, high participation is often considered to be desirable. For example, Lijphart (1997) argues that low turnout is a serious democratic problem because it usually involves unequal turnout, causing unequal political influence. Indeed, if voters turnout is low it is obvious that the result of an election will not reflect the electorate's preferences. Although this situation exists, little research, if any, has been done on the determinants of voting. Therefore, this research was important to generate empirical information to contribute to the pool of knowledge on how citizens view the electoral process in Tanzania and Morogoro Municipality in particular. Furthermore, it will also provide empirical information for academic purposes, politicians and policy makers. The study was in line with cluster III of the National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP) which aims at developing structures and systems of democratic governance that are participatory, representative, accountable and inclusive governance institutions operating at all levels.

1.5 Objectives of the Study

1.5.1 General objective

To analyse the determinants of voting in Morogoro Municipality.

1.5.2 Specific objectives

- i. To assess the knowledge and attitude of voters towards the elections in Morogoro Municipality.
- ii. To estimate the minutes spent by voters going to and queuing in the polling stations.
- iii. To determine how political party adherence is related to voting.

1.6 Hypotheses of the Study

Null hypothesis: There is no significant relationship between individuals' levels of civic education and their participation in voting.

Alternative hypothesis: There is significant relationship between individuals' levels of civic education and their participation in voting.

Null hypothesis: There is no significant relationship between political party adherence and voting.

Alternative hypothesis: There is significant relationship between political party adherence and voting.

1.7 Conceptual Framework for the Study

A conceptual framework is a narrative outline presentation of variables to be studied and hypothetical relationships between and among the variables. The conceptual framework of this study (Fig. 1) shows voting as the dependent variable

that is affected directly by independent variables, namely distance from home to polling stations, voters' civic education, political party adherence, incentives, and peer group pressure. The background variables, namely age, sex, marital status, education and occupation also have an influence on voting. The key variables in the conceptual framework are defined in Appendix 1.

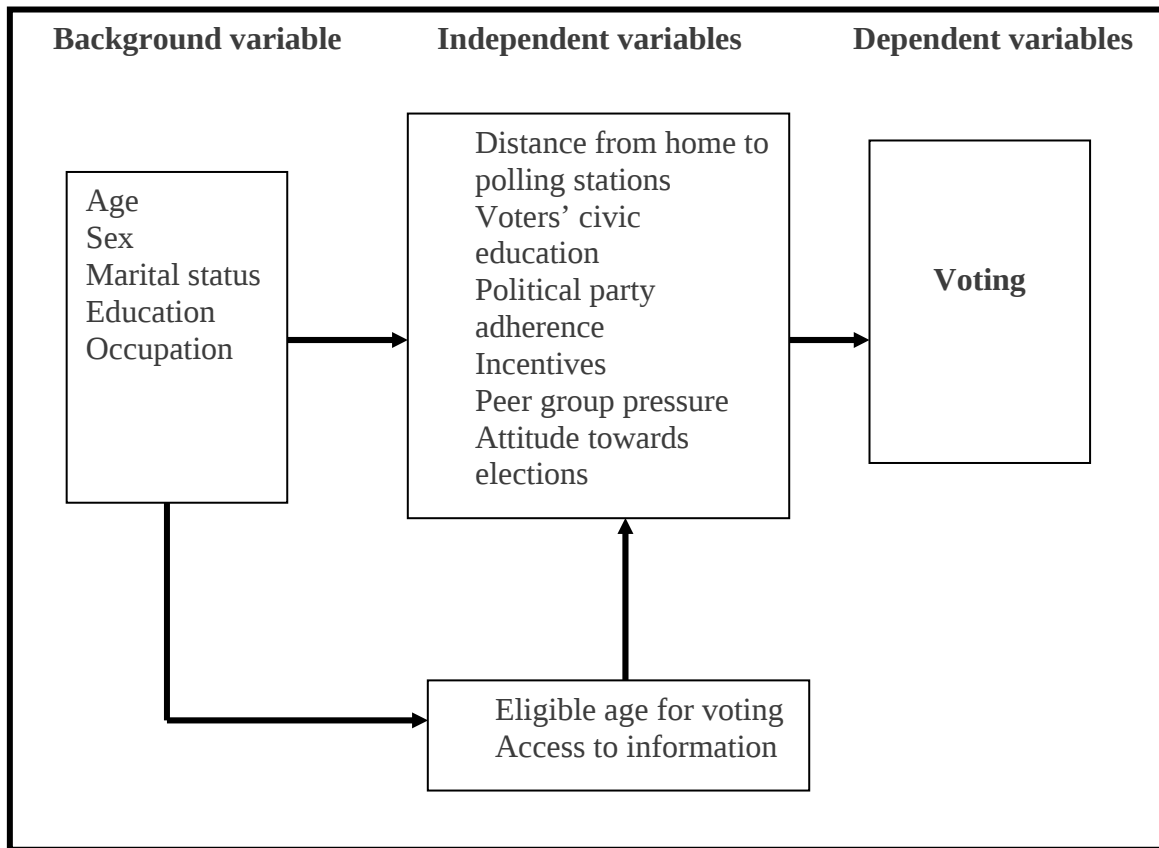


Figure 1: A conceptual framework for the study of determinants of voting

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Overview

This chapter is divided into three sections. Section 2.2 discusses description of the key concepts, i.e. civic education, role of political parties, peer group pressure, distance to polling station, incentives, democracy, political participation, and elections. Section 2.3 discusses the democratization process in Tanzania. It then proceeds by discussing the access to electoral information in Tanzania in Section 2.4.

2.2 Description of Key Concepts

2.2.1 Civic education

Simon (1998) defines civic education as an important component of education that prepares citizens to participate in the public life of a democracy, to use their rights and to discharge their responsibilities with the necessary knowledge and skills. American schools, for instance, have advanced a distinctively civic mission since the earliest days of the Republic. It was immediately recognized that a free society must ultimately depend on its citizens, and that the way to infuse the people with the necessary qualities is through education. As one step of this education process, higher education has been assuming the mission to foster citizens with the spirit to lead. Civic education is very important for the welfare of Tanzanian democracy. According to American bureau of democracy, universal citizenship is a distinct product of the modern state system i.e. a state system that recognizes the political

equality of citizens in the process of decision-making. People are, however, neither born democratic nor are they all educated about their citizenship rights and duties; it is civic or political education that fosters youths' democratic attitudes, skills and knowledge to engage and work on important public issues and make democracy a way of life. Civic education aims to equip boys and girls for life in the public realm and engages them in the analysis of major rules and regulations of society, public and private institutions, actors and vital social issues enabling them to find ways to resolve social problems. The commitment of citizens to civic education means that each problem thus selected is of social significance. In this sense, civic education is training for democratic citizenship. Preparation for democratic citizenship requires that youths develop a habit of service, civic skills, and the competence needed for adequate civic action.

According to USAID (2002), over the past decades, civic education has become a major component of its agenda; by the end of 1990s, the agency spending on civic education programmes reached thirty million US dollars a year. For a democracy to survive and flourish, a critical mass of its citizens must possess the skills, embody the values, and manifest the behaviours that accord with democracy. They must know enough about the basic features of a democratic political system to be able to access it when their interests are at stake, and they must believe in the importance of certain key democratic values, such as tolerance for divergent viewpoints and support for the rule of law. They must also be willing and able to participate in local and national politics, and they must believe that their

participation is important to the continued viability of the democratic political system.

2.2.2 The role of political parties

Political parties and their roles in democratic development have changed significantly between 1980s to 1990s, both in industrialized western democracies and in newly developing democratic nations (Schattschneider, 1999). While the changes have resulted in a weakening of the connections between citizens and the state, there remains widespread consensus that political parties are essential elements in democratic societies. As a matter of fact, the condition of parties is the best evidence of the nature of any regime. The most important distinction between democracy and dictatorship can be made in terms of party politics. The parties are not therefore merely appendages of modern government; they are in the centre of it and can play a determinative and creative role in it. Therefore, adherence to political parties is expected to have positive impact on the participation in political matters.

2.2.3 Peer group pressure

Harris (2000) defines peers as groups of people or children who are roughly in the same age and who share the same social characteristics in the society. Morgan and Grube (1991) suggest that closeness of peer group relationship would be a critical factor in determining peer influence in doing something. Peer pressure on political matters tends to influence young people to participate in elections by following information from the peers.

2.2.4 Distance to polling station

A polling station, polling place or, simply, a poll is a location where voters cast ballots in elections (Barbara, 2010). The integrity of an election depends on providing accessible, safe and efficient polling places for all registered voters in an electoral constituency. Selecting poll locations and providing staff and equipment are basic requirements for governments holding elections. Polls are located in electoral districts such as wards. The number of polls in a ward depends on the population of voters and physical size of the ward. In Tanzania elections are usually held once in five years; so governments often use public buildings such as schools, open grounds, city and town halls and community centres as polls. According to MPSA Annual National Conference (2008), there is an impact of distance to polling station upon electoral turnout. The United Kingdom is notable among western liberal democracies for its relatively large turnout gap, the percentage point difference between turnout at elections for the Westminster parliament compared to that for other institutions, including local councils and the supra-national European parliament. It suggests that there is indeed a relationship between distance and voter turnout which is stronger for the lower salience European and local elections than it is for the higher salience national elections. Hence, it is concluded that the local geography of the polling station can have a significant impact on voter turnout and that there should be a more strategic approach to the location of polling stations.

Mills (2002) suggests that assessment of the role of physical accessibility in governing rates of turnout would be based on individual voter information, specifically, distance (or an equivalent measure) to the polling station and whether a

vote was cast. This is based on the aggregate turnout and accessibility information. Although this may introduce potential ecological errors where aggregate information is used to infer individual behaviour, it allows demographic information to be incorporated. Accessibility is measured here as the straight-line distance separating the voter from the place of voting. It is assumed that the journey to vote begins at home. Therefore, accessibility is defined in terms of the average distance travelled by all voters.

2.2.5 Incentives

According to Encarta Microsoft dictionary (2007), incentive is something that encourages or motivates somebody to do something. In order for a candidate to be elected, politicians have to offer visible proof of their accomplishments before the next elections. Thus, they may lack incentive to tackle reforms which will only produce benefits after their period of office (Gersbach, 2007).

Vergene (2006) argues that democratic political institutions would provide those political incentive structures which are able to induce better policy choices. Elections prompt accountability in two ways. They provide political competition, and help governance to be more efficient by alleviating the moral hazard issue or mitigating the adverse selection phenomenon. By weeding out incompetent politicians and giving those in power an incentive to put in effort, elections are believed to provide suitable incentives for efficient governance. Therefore, electoral pressure may lead politicians to manipulate public policy in order to increase their chances of winning elections.

However, political budget cycles theory seems highly inconsistent with the fiscal preferences of voters. This examines how fiscal policy affects the re-election probabilities of incumbents and concludes that a government, which damages the financial position of the country and harms its chances of re-election. Thus, voters are fiscal conservatives, punishing high spending or deficits through polls. The strongest evidence suggesting that deficits do not help re-election prospects comes from Brender and Drazen (2005) in a sample of 74 countries over the period 1960-2003 as cited by Vergene (2006). Indeed, they found no evidence that election-year deficits help re-election in any group of countries, including developed and less developed ones, and countries with different government or electoral systems.

Brender and Drazen (2006) also reconcile those two contradictory views by showing that political budget cycles are a phenomenon of new democracies in which voters lack the necessary information to assess economic policy, as well as the ability to properly process this information. They further argue that political budget cycles decrease over time, as countries gain experience in competitive electoral processes. Block (2002) as cited by Vergne (2006) provides evidence that government spending shifts toward more visible, current expenditure and away from public investment in order to convince voters in elections. Therefore, the government in power has an advantage to convince the public to keep on voting for its achievements, resource allocations and availability of public goods.

2.2.6 Democracy

The word democracy has been defined in different contexts and different ways since it started in Ancient Greece and Roman Empire period although the main focus is the rule by the people whereby people are involved in decision making processes and it was only exercised at local government level. The democracy of the city-states of classical Greece during the early years of the Republic was unlike the democracies of today. There was direct democracy in which all citizens could speak and vote in assemblies that resembled town meetings. Representative government was unknown and unnecessary because of the small size of the city-states almost never more than 10,000 citizens (Encarta, 2007). Roman democracy resembled that of the Greeks, although Rome sometimes granted citizenship to men of non-Roman descent. Roman Stoicism, which defined the human race as part of a divine principle, and the Jewish and Christian religions, which emphasized the rights of the underprivileged and the equality of all before God, contributed to the development of modern democratic theory.

Stasavage (2003) argues that the increase of the African democratic movements of the early 1990s opinions varied widely about the effect of democratization on economic performance and on economic policy. While some authors predicted that democracy would be associated with major economic changes, other observers were less optimistic, suggesting that the adoption of the formal trappings of multiparty democracy would have only a limited impact on policy choices made by governments. Donor behaviour has direct impact on the democratization process in Sub-Saharan Africa. Literature on democratic transitions concentrates almost

exclusively on their domestic aspects and overlooks the donors' role, which is of particular relevance in sub-Saharan Africa. However, they focus more on the international context (structure) than on international actors. Moreover, accounts of democracy promotion tend to ignore the sometimes anti-democratic effects of donor intervention (Brown, 2001).

2.2.7 Political participation

The concept of political participation is very broad especially in this modern democratic process where citizens have the rights to engage themselves in political matters. In Tanzania, for instance, this right is guaranteed in the constitution (URT constitution, Act 15 of 1984) article 5 (1). According to Apter (1987), different political systems stress political participation relevant to immediate contexts of their social situations given that a political type is a means to solve problems; each system type of democracy has its advantages and disadvantages. None of them is permanent any more than the context of social life is permanent, political representation is a variable thing, and its forms and consequences are different in each type of political system. Dewa (2009) argues that macroeconomic downturn results in increased voters' participation in 2008 election in Zimbabwe as lower status voters expressed their grievances at the polls. Msekwa (2006) pointed out that there are various essential elements to any electoral system that should provide the maximum possible participation of citizens in order to be truly democratic. Without an appropriate electoral system, faith in the entire democratic process will be questioned.

2.2.8 Elections

Elections are processes in which citizens in a polity are given the opportunity to be selected by vote individuals or groups for public position or office (URT, 2003). An election is a formal act of collective political decision making. It is thus an important event in every political system based on political competition. Tanzania was a democratic one party state because of its impeccable electoral record throughout that period of single party system. The first general elections in Tanzania under one-party state constitution were held regularly every five years in 1965, 1970, 1975, 1980, 1985 and 1990. Msekwa (2006) argues that an election is a procedure by which members of communities or organizations choose their representatives who will hold office during a specific period.

2.3 Democratization Process in Tanzania

Tanzania officially became a multi-party state on 1st July, 1992, after the country's Constitution had been amended to that effect. It has been said repeatedly by political scientists and managers, that the current democratization process which is taking place in Africa needs to be planned, in order to achieve a smooth and orderly transition from the one party system of governments to multi-party democracy. In the specific case of Tanzania, the process which ultimately resulted in changing the political system from the one party system to political pluralism kicked off with the appointment, on 27th February 1991, of a Presidential Commission for one party or multiparty political system under the Chairmanship of the Chief Justice of the United Republic of Tanzania, Mr. Justice Francis Nyalali. This Commission subsequently became known as the "Nyalali Commission" (Msekwa, 2004).

2.4 Access to Elections Information in Tanzania

According to International Human Rights Standards, the extent of fairness, balance and impartialities to which the media, both public and private would report the elections should be balanced. The obligation of publicly- funded media to inform the public impartially about election issues stipulated in Article 25 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (TEMCO, 2000). Converse (1962) as cited by Mukandala and Killian (2000) observed many years ago that exposure to political communication is positively associated with general level of political awareness, and the effect of the media on public opinion varies with how the individual approaches political messages. The media control in the time of monopoly politics was the responsibility of the state although it has changed in this current democratic culture whereby there is an increase of private media in the country in which they provide an image of impartiality despite the fact that there are some reports published by NEC and TEMCO after the 1995 multiparty elections that there was favouritism for a certain parties and candidates by the news media.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Overview

This chapter presents the details and methods used by the researcher to collect and analyze data on the study. The chapter is divided into seven main sections. Section 3.2 is the description of the study area and its justification for selection, Section 3.3 that presents research design, while Section 3.4 presents sampling design and sample size. Section 3.5 describes data collection, which followed by secondary data collection in Section 3.6 and Section 3.7 describes data analysis. The last Section (3.8) presents limitations and problems of the study.

3.2 Description of the Study Area and its Justification for Selection

The study was conducted in Morogoro Municipality in Morogoro Region. Morogoro Municipality is one of the six districts of Morogoro Region (URT, 2006). The Municipality consists of 29 wards and 274 streets (URT, 2006). It is located 200 km West of Dar es Salaam along the Tanzania – Zambia highway. Morogoro urban has a total population of 265,586 people (URT, 2002). The main economic activity in the district is agriculture. The main crops grown are food crops such as maize, bananas, fruits, and the cash crop grown is sisal. There are dwellers of various ethnic groups in Morogoro Urban District; Waluguru is the main ethnic group though there are many other ethnic groups from all over Tanzania. Morogoro Municipality was selected for the study because it had 34% of registered voters who did not vote in the 2005 general elections compared to 30% of all registered voters

who did not vote all over the country (NEC, 2006). In 2010 general elections 65.4% of all registered voters did not vote compared to 57.2% of all registered voters who did not vote all over the country. Therefore, Morogoro Municipality had a higher percentage of non- voters as compared to most other places in Tanzania.

3.2.1 Population of the study

The population for the study was adults aged of 23 years and above. The selection of the population was due to the fact that this age group had participated in the 2005 elections. Therefore, it was likely to provide more useful information compared to people who had never voted.

3.3 Research Design

A cross-sectional research design was used in this study. Under this research design data were collected at a single point in time without repetition. The design was chosen because of being economical in terms of time, financial resources and nature of the study objectives (Kothari, 2004). According to IDRC (2003), this allowed for description of the variables as well as for determination of relationships among the variables.

3.4 Sampling Design and Sample Size

Simple random sampling was employed to select a total number of 200 respondents that were obtained by using the sample size formula presented below. For populations that are large, Cochran (1963:75) developed the equation to yield a representative sample for proportions.

$$n = \frac{z^2 pq}{e^2}$$

Where n = the sample size,

Z = Standard normal deviation set at 1.96 (or simply 2.0)

corresponding to 95% confidence level.

e = desired level of precision, which is 0.05

p = the estimated proportion of an attribute that is present in the population

$q = 1-p$, is the estimated proportion of an attribute that is not presented in population

The value for Z is found in statistical tables which contain the area under the normal curve.

$$\text{Therefore, } n = \frac{(2)^2 \cdot (0.50 \times 0.50)}{(0.05)^2}$$

$$n = 400$$

NOTE: This sample size formula provides the number of respondents that need to be selected. However, half (50%) of the sample size was used due to the limitations of time and funds (Kothari, 2004).

Four wards were randomly selected; in each ward 50 respondents were randomly selected from the sampling frames. Sampling frames were obtained in Morogoro Municipal Council. Focus group discussants were selected on the basis of their sex categories and age. Eight to ten discussants were selected for one street in each ward. A total number of four people were used as key informants, including three people from political parties and one person from the Municipal Director's Office.

3.5 Data Collection

3.5.1 Instruments for data collection

A structured questionnaire was the main instrument for the research. Direct observation and a checklist of items for Focus group discussion (FDG) were also used to collect quantitative and qualitative data.

3.5.2 Methods of data collection

Data collection began in the second week of October 2010 and was completed after four weeks. Qualitative as well as quantitative data collection was preceded by a pilot study conducted in all four wards one week before the general elections. The researcher and three trained research assistants administered the questionnaire. Each person interviewed five respondents per day. Every day during the evening time the principal researcher checked the completed questionnaire copies for consistency and accuracy of responses. Primary and secondary data were collected. For primary data collection three methods were used, namely questionnaire administration or interview schedule, FGD and key informant interview.

3.5.3 Administration of questionnaire

A structured questionnaire with open ended and closed ended questions was developed and administered to the selected respondents for collection of quantitative data. The tool was used to collect the information on demographic and socio-economic factors that influence voting.

3.5.4 Focus group discussion

FGD was conducted in order to supplement and qualify the information on the determinants of voting, and the extent of political adherence among the

respondents, which had been obtained through questionnaire administration. The key informants who were the first to be identified selected the participants, and then simple random method was employed to reduce bias. Participants were invited two days in advance. In each ward i.e. Sabasaba, Chamwino, Kihonda Magorofani, and Mazimbu, a session of group discussion was held. The composition of group discussants was youths and adults who were eligible for voting in the general elections. The groups were also combined according to age and sex. Each group was made up of 8 to 12 participants. All participants sat on chairs, which were arranged in a circle. The principal researcher and two research assistants conducted the discussion. The principal researcher was the moderator while one of the two assistants was a recorder of the discussions and the other one was an assistant researcher. The principal researcher introduced himself and then introduced the recorder/note taker. The Kiswahili language was used during discussions. The moderator introduced the topic and allowed the group to discuss. All the discussions were held for about two hours in each session.

3.5.5 Key informant interview

Leaders of three political parties and one person from the Municipal director's office were included in this part of data collection. The key informant interview was guided by a semi-structured checklist. Information included was how political parties influence voters to vote, whether administration of the elections can influence voting and how political parties' promises during elections can be fulfilled.

3.6 Secondary Data Collection

Secondary data of this study were obtained from Sokoine National Agriculture Library (SNAL), University of Dar es Salaam Main Library, Morogoro Municipal Council, REDET, NEC and TEMCO publications, and private sources. Sources of secondary data also included population census reports of 2002 and internet publications.

3.7 Data Analysis

3.7.1 Data analysis, editing, coding and processing

Both quantitative and qualitative methods of data analysis were employed. For quantitative methods, descriptive and inferential statistics were used. In descriptive statistical analysis, frequencies, percentages, means, standard deviations, minimum and maximum values of individual variables were computed. Inferential analysis was done using chi-square analysis to determine whether there were significant relationships between voting and some independent variables.

For qualitative methods, structural content functional analysis was used for data collected through FGD and key informant interview.

3.8 Limitations and Problems of the Study

The first limitation was that data were obtained from people who had attained the age of 23 years and above, though there were other people such as those who had eighteen to twenty two years who could have been interviewed. This was so for

having respondents who had voted at least two times, in 2010 and 2005 general elections.

Initially, it was difficult to get information concerning party adherence from respondents based on the fear that they could be spied by the government intelligence system. The majority said that they did not engage themselves in opposition political parties. But after detailed explanations, they responded willingly to the questions.

When the survey was conducted, it was a period for general elections in the country. Campaign meetings interfered with some appointments for interviews since it was not possible for respondents to remain in their houses when there were campaigns in their area. This prolonged the days of interview with some informants, especially those leaders of Political parties.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 Overview

This chapter presents results and discussions of the results. It gives the general view concerning the issue of voting and elections in general. The results of the study are presented and discussed in line with the study objectives and hypotheses. The results are divided into three sections. Section 4.2 describes the relevant socio-demographic characteristics of respondents i.e. age, sex, education level, religion, marital status, occupation, and political party adherence of respondents. Also section 4.3 discusses knowledge and attitude of voters towards elections. Sections 4.4 and 4.5 present and discuss the minutes spent by voters walking to and queuing at the polling stations and the relationship between political party adherence and voting.

4.2 Socio-Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

Seven aspects of socio-economic characteristics namely age, sex, education level, religion, marital status, occupation and political party adherence of respondents were asked about, and the results are presented below.

4.2.1 Age of respondents

Table 1 provides a summary of the results about ages of the respondents. In total, 76% of the interviewed respondents were aged between 23 to 42 years, 21.5% were between 43 to 62 years while 2% were above 63 years. The average age was 35.5.

The results also show that 64.5% of the respondents were aged at least 28 years. This implies that most of the respondents had a wide voting experience.

4.2.2 Sex of respondents

The sample of the respondents interviewed comprised 61% men and 39% women (Table 1). Fewer females were included in the research since the research was not based on either sex, and therefore either of the sex could provide accurate information.

4.2.3 Level of education

Slightly more than two-fifths (41.5%) of the respondents presented in Table 1 had completed primary school level, 23% of respondents completed form four and 7.5% of the respondents had completed high school education. However, 6% of all the respondents had not completed primary school education and 2.5% of respondents had attained adult education, and 12% of respondents had attained higher education.

4.2.4 Religion of respondents

There were two dominant religions in the study area whereby 54% of the respondents were Christians and 46% were Muslims. The results imply that most of the communities of Morogoro Municipality are characterized by two dominant religions.

4.2.5 Marital status

The results in Table 1 show that 62.5% of the respondents were married while only 1% was separated. Others were 31%, 4%, and 1.5% not yet married, widowed, and

divorced respectively. These results reflect typical characteristics of many areas in Tanzania whereby 60% women and 40% men are married (NBS, 2005).

4.2.6 Occupation

The results in Table 1 show that 40% of the respondents were categorized into other economic activities as compared to the rest, whereby 10% of the respondents were civil servants, 17% farmers, and 33% were business people. These results show the characteristics of most urban areas in Tanzania whereby few people are engaged in farming activities; most of the people employ themselves in different activities and others are employed either by the government or by private sectors.

4.2.7 Political party adherence of respondents

The results show that 58% of respondents adhered to political parties while 42% were not members of any political party.

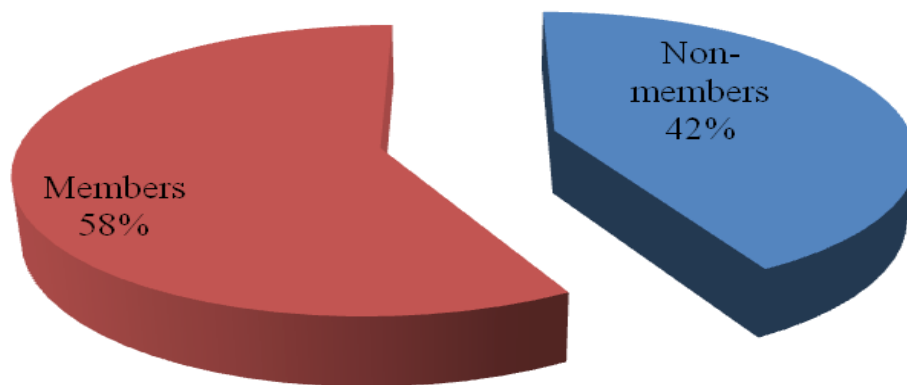


Figure 2: Political party adherence

Table 1: Socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents (N=200)

Parameter	Value	(%)
Age in years	23-32	56.0
	33-42	20.5
	43-52	11.0
	53-62	10.5
	>62	2.0
Total		100.0
Sex	Male	61.0
	Female	39.0
Total		100.0
Level of education	Adult education	2.5
	Below standard seven	6.0
	Standard seven	41.5
	Below form four	3.0
	Form four	23.0
	Form six	7.5
	Higher education	12.0
	Others	4.5
Total		100.0
Religion	Christian	54
	Muslim	46
Total		100.0
Marital status	Not yet married	31.0
	Married	62.5
	Divorced	1.5
	Separated	1.0
	Widowed	4.0
Total		100.0
Occupation	Farmer	17.0
	Business person	33.0
	Civil servant	10.0
	Others	40.0
Total		100.0

4.3 Determinants of Voting

Knowledge and attitude of voters towards elections in Morogoro Municipality in this study were measured through an index scale and a Likert scale respectively.

4.3.1 Knowledge of voters towards elections

Knowledge of voters towards elections was determined by using a 50-point index scale which comprised ten statements as seen in Table 2. This section attempts to categorize the knowledge of voters into two levels i.e. lower knowledge and higher knowledge which were set for the purpose of analysis in this study. Lower knowledge of voters towards elections ranged from 0 to 24.9 cut-off point while higher knowledge ranged from 25 to 50 points. The cut-off points were based on the average of overall knowledge which was 25 points.

Table 2: An index scale to assess the knowledge of voters towards elections in Morogoro Municipality

S/N	Statement	Maximum score	Actual score by respondent
1	Voting is a basic right of every citizen	5	
2	Elections can transform livelihood of voters	5	
3	Voters can hold politicians responsible through voting	5	
4	Preparations of elections are favourable for voters to vote	5	
5	The elections were free and fair in Morogoro Municipality in October 2010	5	
6	Is it true that votes can be stolen during the election processes	5	
7	Not voting in the elections is the best way to express anger to the government	5	
8	Political parties have the responsibility to convince voters to vote	5	
9	Voting starts with registration in the permanent voters book	5	
10	Voters have the responsibility to educate themselves on the importance of elections	5	
	Total	50	

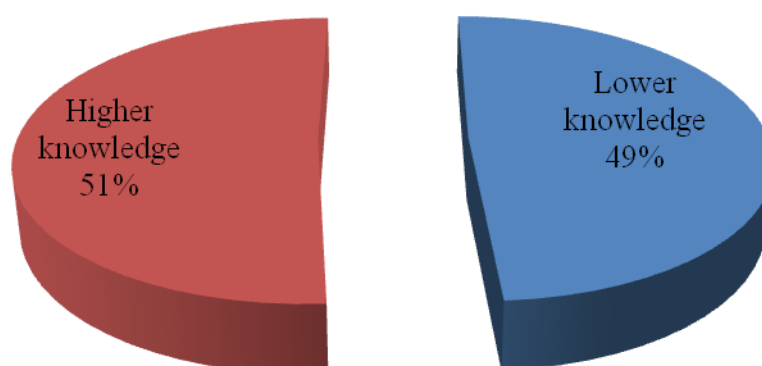


Figure 3: Two groups of overall knowledge

The above results show that the majority of the respondents had higher knowledge of elections in Morogoro Municipality. The above results can be justified on the fact that the study was conducted in an urban area where there was an adequate access to information through public and private media.

4.3.2 Attitude of voters towards elections in Morogoro Municipality

Attitude of voters in this study was measured by using a 60-point a Likert scale which comprised twelve statements implying liking and disliking elections. Half of the statements had negative connotation while the other half had positive connotation. For every statement the respondents were asked to indicate whether they strongly disagreed (1), disagreed (2), were neutral (3), agreed (4), or strongly agreed (5) with the statement. The answers of the respondents are presented in Table 3. For easy comparison, the scores for strongly agree and agree were grouped into agree; the scores for neutral were left intact; and the scores for strongly disagree and disagree were grouped into disagree.

Table 3: Respondents' scores on the items of the Likert-scale (N= 200)

Attitudinal statement	Disagree (%)	Undecided (%)	Agree (%)
To register in the permanent voters registration book is not important	90.5	2.5	7.0
The electoral processes for voting are very favourable to voters	41.5	9.0	49.5
Voting in elections is not necessary	82.0	2.0	16.0
Polling stations are located very close to residence	19.0	10.0	71.0
It is not necessary for elderly people to participate in the elections	85.0	2.5	12.5
Political parties influence people to vote	26.5	16.5	57.0
It is very important for a person above 18 years of age to be registered in the permanent voters registration book	4.5	25.5	70
The electoral processes for voting discourages people to vote	42.0	13.5	44.5
Voting in the elections is a basic right for every adult person	7.0	3.5	89.5
The location of polling stations hinders people to vote	58.0	18.5	23.5
The only purpose of voting is to get new leaders	72.5	5.5	22.0
Political parties are playing a key role to influence people in the elections	29.0	20.5	50.5

Based on the methodology described, overall 18 (9%) had neutral attitude (i.e., they scored 36 out of 60 points); 122 (61%) had unfavourable attitude (i.e., they scored less than 36 out of 60 points); and (30%) had favourable attitude (i.e. they scored 37 points and above). The average score was 34.9 over 60.0. This implies that, overall, the respondents' attitude towards elections was unfavourable. The results in Table 3 are comparable to those of the parliamentary and presidential elections reported by the National Electoral Commission (NEC) in Morogoro Municipality and at the National level respectively whereby only 36.4% of registered voters voted in Morogoro Municipality and only 42.8% of registered voters voted in 2010 general election all over the country (NEC, 2010).

The relationship between voting and attitude towards elections was determined by cross tabulation and chi- square analysis to find whether the two variables were significantly related. The results are indicated in Table 4.

Table 4: Cross-tabulation results indicating relationships between voting and attitude towards elections

Attitude	Voting	
	Voted	Did not vote
Unfavourable attitude	57.9	65.1
Neutral attitude	9.6	8.1
Favourable attitude	32.5	26.7

Pearson chi-square = 1.076 (p = 0.584); Linear association = 1.002 (p = 0.317)

A greater proportion (65.1%) of respondents who did not vote had unfavourable attitude towards elections. Only 32.5% of respondents who voted had favourable attitude towards elections. These results show that attitude had relationship with voting whereby unfavourable attitude goes with the act of not voting, albeit the

relationship was not statistically significant ($p = 0.584$). These results might have been caused by the fact that a greater proportion (57.9%) of respondents who voted also had unfavourable attitude.

To determine the relationship between knowledge on civic education and attitude towards elections, cross-tabulation and chi-square analysis were used to find whether the two variables were significantly related. The results are indicated in Table 5.

Table 5: Cross-tabulation results indicating relationships between having knowledge on civic education and attitude towards elections

Attitude	Knowledge	
	Lower knowledge	Higher knowledge
Unfavourable attitude	50.0	50.0
Neutral attitude	38.9	61.1
Favourable attitude	48.3	51.7

Pearson chi-square = 0.776 ($p = 0.678$); Linear association = 1.091 ($p = 0.763$)

A greater proportion (61.1%) of respondents who had higher knowledge on civic education had neutral attitude towards elections and 51.7% of the respondents who had higher knowledge on civic education had favourable attitude towards elections as indicated in Table 5 above. These results show that most of the respondents who had higher knowledge on civic education scored above 50% of neutral and favourable attitude. These results also show that higher knowledge on civic education had relationship with attitude of respondents towards elections. However, the relationship was not significant ($p = 0.678$). Therefore, the respondents with higher and lower knowledge were likely to have the same attitude towards elections. The above findings from section 4.3 meet the first objective of the

research which was to assess the knowledge and attitude of voters towards the elections in Morogoro Municipality.

4.4 Minutes Spent by Voters Going to and Queuing at the Polling Stations

The maximum number of minutes spent by voters was 25; the minimum was 1 minute and the mean was 11.04 minutes. To estimate the minutes spent walking to the polling stations respondents were asked how many minutes they had spent to reach the polling stations. More than one-fifth (22.6%) of all the respondents had spent fifteen minutes to reach the polling stations. About one-fifth (20.9%) of the respondents had spent 10 minutes to reach the polls. More than one-eighth (13.9%) of the respondents had spent five minutes to reach the polling stations. Therefore, slightly more than three-fifths (60.8%) of all the respondents who voted had spent less than 15 minutes to reach the polling stations. Only 39.2% of the respondents who voted had spent from 15 to 25 minutes to reach the polling stations. Only 1.7% of the respondents had spent 25 minutes (maximum) to reach the polls. Likewise, 1.7% of respondents had spent 1 minute (minimum) to reach the polling stations. The numbers and proportions of minutes spent by voters to the polling stations are presented in Figure 4.

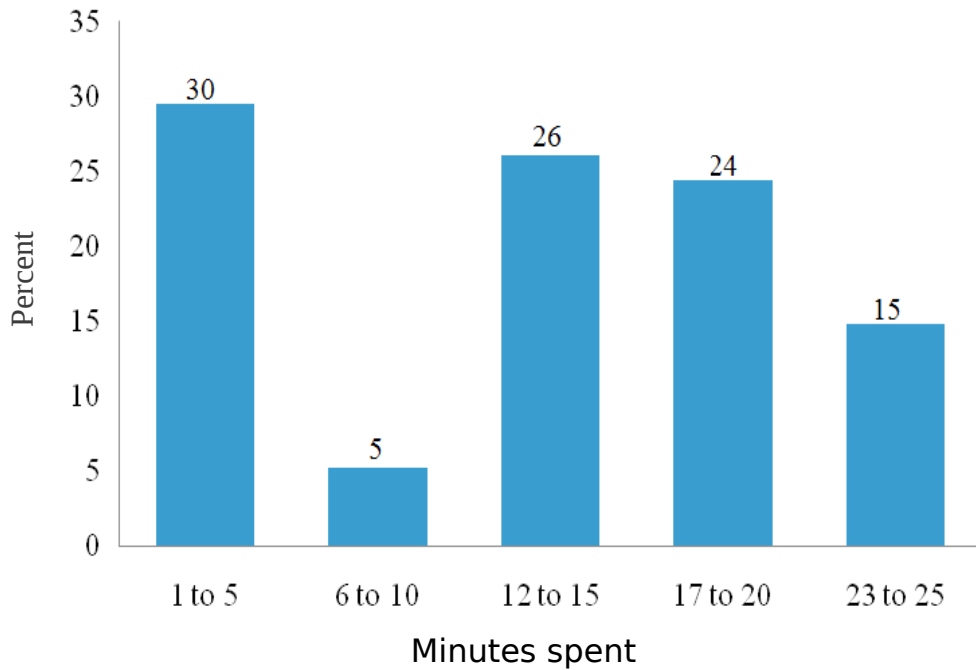


Figure 4: Minutes spent by voters walking to the polling stations

These results show that 30% of the respondents spent between 1 to 5 minutes. Only 15% of the respondents had spent between 23 to 25 minutes to reach the polling stations. A greater proportion (55%) of respondents had spent between 6 to 20 minutes to reach the polling stations. Therefore, these results show that most of the polling stations were not very far from voters' residences.

Four means of transport were mainly used by voters from home to the polling stations; they were foot, public transport, motorcycle and bicycle. The numbers and proportions of people who use transport those transport means are presented in Figure 5.

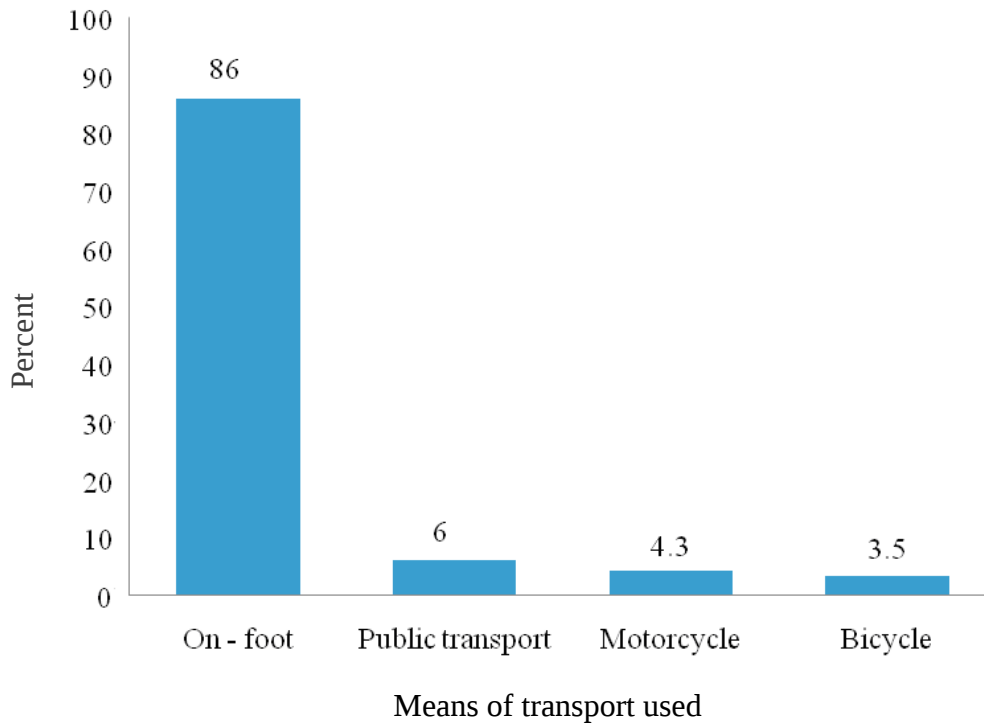


Figure 5: Means of transport used by voters from home to the polls

These results show that a greater proportion (86.1%) of the respondents used their feet as a means of transport from where they stay to the polling stations; 6.1% used public transport; 4.3% used motorcycles; and 3.5% used bicycles as a means of transport from home to the polling stations. These results show that the polling stations were not very far from respondents' residence since a greater proportion (86.1%) of them went on foot.

4.4.1 Distance from home to polling stations in metres

To estimate the distance from the residence to the polling stations, respondents were asked how many metres they walked from their homes or residences to the polls. One-fifth (20%) of the respondents walked the distance of 300 metres; 14.8%

walked the distance of 200 metres; 82.6% walked shorter distances i.e. less than five hundred metres, while 17.4% walked longer distances i.e. five hundred metres and above. Longer and shorter distances were determined using a cut- off points of 430.48 metres, which was the average. Only 0.9% of respondents walked the maximum distance of 4000 metres.

These results show that only a small proportion (17.4%) of respondents walked the longer distance of 500 metres and above from their homes or residences to the polling stations. These results might have been caused by the fact that earlier in 2010 Morogoro Municipality expanded its wards of residence from 19 wards to 29 wards; these changes led to splitting of some wards into more wards for example, Mazimbu ward was divided into Lukobe, Chamwino, and Mazimbu itself. Likewise Kihonda Mbuyuni was divided into Kihonda Magorofani and Mbuyuni (URT, 2010). Therefore, polling stations were very close to voters the residents.

4.4.2 Queues at the polling stations

To assess whether there were long queues at the polling stations, the respondents were asked if they faced long queues in the polling stations. More than a half (54%) of the respondents did not stand in long queues; 46% of the respondents stood in long queues in the polling stations.

These results justify that there were enough polling stations in the four wards studied which eased the voting process. In each ward of research there were two to

three sub-polling stations due to the fact that wards of Morogoro Municipality were expanded in 2010.

The relationship between wards of respondents and long queues was determined by cross tabulation and chi-square analysis to find whether the two variables were significantly related. The results are indicated in Table 6.

Table 6: Cross tabulation results indicating the relationship between wards of respondents and long queues

Wards of residence	Long queues	
	Yes (%)	No (%)
Mazimbu	41.4	58.6
Chamwino	67.9	32.1
Sabasaba	46.4	53.6
Kihonda Magorofani	34.5	65.5

Pearson chi-square = 7.073 = (p = 0.070), Leiner association = 0.991 (p = 0.320)

The results in Table 6 show that a greater proportional (67.9%) of the respondents who stayed in Chamwino ward were standing in long queues at the polling stations unlike the respondents of the other three wards. These results show that the turnout in Chamwino was higher compared to other wards of respondents. However, there was no significant relationship between the ward of residence and long queues (p = 0.073). The above findings from section 4.4 meet the second objective of the research which was to estimate the minutes spent by voters walking to and queuing at the polling stations.

4.5 Relationships between Determinants of Voting and Voting

The relationships between determinants of voting and voting were determined by cross-tabulation results and chi-square analysis to find out whether each determinant was significantly related to voting or not.

4.5.1 Relationship between types of political party and voting

The political parties that respondents adhered to were CCM, CUF, CHADEMA, NCCR-MAGEUZI and TLP. More than a half of the respondents (53.4%) who adhered to political parties were CCM members followed by 19.8% of CHADEMA, 16.4% of CUF and 5.2% of NCCR-MAGEUZI and TLP. These results are presented in Figure 6.

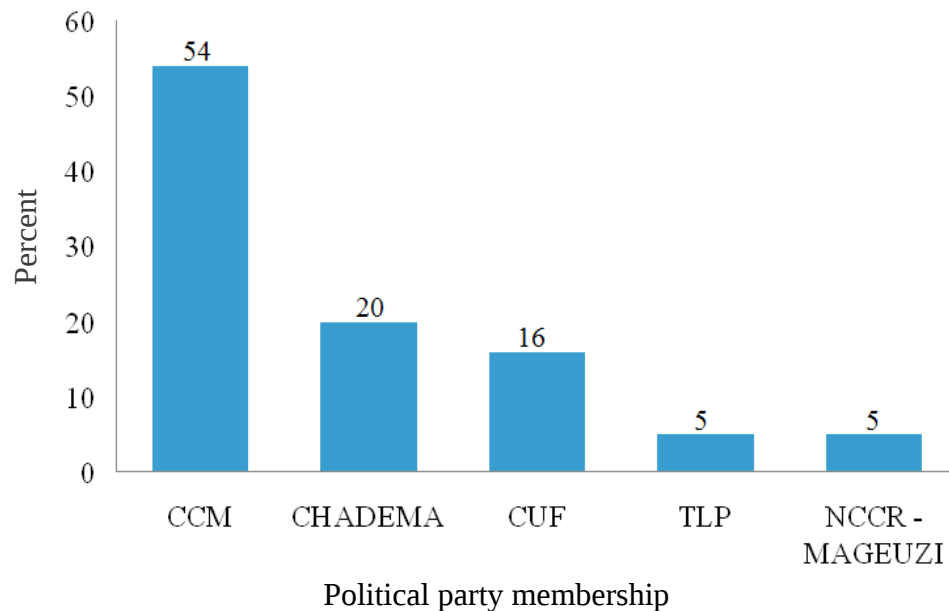


Figure 6: Political party membership

The relationship between types of political parties and voting was determined by cross-tabulation and chi-square analysis to find whether the two variables were significantly related. The results are indicated in Table 7.

Table 7: Cross- tabulation results indicating the relationship between types of political parties and voting

Political parties	Voting	
	Did not vote (%)	Voted (%)
CCM	41.9	58.1
CUF	52.6	47.4
CHADEMA	47.8	52.2
NCCR-MAGEUZI	50.0	50.0
TLP	33.3	66.7

Pearson chi-square= 1.147 (p=0.887), Linear association= 0.026 (p= 0.871)

These results show that 66.7 % of the respondents who voted were members of TLP followed by 58.1% of CCM. The results also authenticated the dominance of the ruling party (CCM) in Morogoro Municipality since it had more members compared to any other political party in the study area. Since 2000 general elections it had won in all wards of the Municipality and the constituency at large (NEC, 2010).

The effectiveness of opposition seems to have been hindered by so many weaknesses. Most of the opposition parties have not managed to replicate the extent of popular recognition and support at the grassroots level which CCM currently enjoys, both in terms of membership numbers as well as a large network of elected leaders at the local Government, Ward, Village and Hamlet levels (Msekwa, 2006).

There were variations of political party adherence within categories of wards studied. Although there was a great proportion (58%) of political party adherence in all the four wards of respondents, a greater proportion (68%) of the respondents who adhered to political parties were staying in Chamwino; 58.5% of the

respondents were staying in Kihonda Magorofani, followed by 56% of Sabasaba, and 52% in Mazimbu. These findings are presented in Table 8.

Table 8: Distribution of party adherents among the respondents

Wards of respondent	Political party adherence	
	Those who adhered to any political party (%)	Those who did adhere to any political party (%)
Mazimbu	52.0	48.0
Chamwino	68.0	32.0
Sabasaba	56.0	44.0
Kihonda Magorofani	58.5	41.5

These results show that, in all the four wards, political parties were operating and most of the people were adherents to parties. This shows that political parties are relatively capable of conducting their activities because they had high interaction with the people.

4.6 Relationship between party influence and voting

The relationship between political party influence and voting was determined by cross tabulation and chi-square analysis to find whether the two variables were significantly related. The results are indicated in Table 9.

Table 9: Cross tabulation results indicating relationship between party influence and voting

Political party influence	Voting	
	Voted (%)	Did not vote (%)
Yes	55.6	44.4
No	59.0	41.0

Pearson chi-square = 0.240 (p= 0.624), Leamer association = 0.239 (p= 0.625)
 A greater proportion (59%) of those who were not influenced to vote by any political party voted, unlike 55.6% of those who were influenced by parties to vote. These results are paradoxical because the converse was expected. Although more

respondents who voted were not adherents of any political party, the relationship was not significant ($p= 0.624$). This paradox might have been caused by the failure of a big proportion (65.4%) of registered voters who did not vote in the previous general elections in Morogoro Municipality (NEC, 2010).

4.7 Other Determinants of Voting

To assess whether the respondents had voted for particular political parties for certain reasons, the respondents were asked whether they had been convinced by the policies of the political parties, whether they trusted political parties, whether they preferred the candidates, whether they were motivated by the incentives provided by the parties. About two-thirds (64.5%) of all the respondents claimed that the policies of the particular parties had convinced them to participate in the elections; 31.5% of all the respondents argued that they were not impressed by the policies of political parties and they considered other factors such as adherence to political parties. Sixty-five percent (65%) of all the respondents claimed that they had trust in political parties during the elections. Only 43% of all respondents claimed that they had trust in candidates during the election period while 57% of all the respondents had trust in political parties and only 45% of respondents claimed that they were convinced to vote for particular parties for their previous achievements. Therefore 55% of the respondents were not impressed by the achievements of any political party that was in place.

Table 10: Determinants of voting in the 2010 general elections

Indicators	Indicators of voting	
	Yes	No
	Number (%)	Number (%)

Indicators	Indicators of voting			
Policy	129	64.5	71	35.5
Trust	130	65.0	70	35.0
Preference of candidates	86	43.0	144	57.0
Incentives (previous achievements)	90	45.0	110	55.0

These results show that a greater proportion (64.5%) of the respondents was convinced by the policies of particular parties and 65% of the respondents had trust in political parties. Therefore, trust in political parties as well as in policies of parties had an influence on voting in the 2010 general elections. Preference of candidates and incentives did not convince most of respondents to vote.

4.7.1 Relationships between other determinants of voting and voting

The relationships between other determinants of voting and voting were determined using cross-tabulation and chi-square analysis to find out whether the variables were significantly related as presented below.

4.7.1.1 Relationship between policies of the party and voting

The relationship between policies of the party and voting was determined by cross tabulation and chi-square analysis to find whether the two variables were significantly related. The results are indicated in Table 14.

Table 11: Cross tabulation results indicating relationship between voting and party policies

Policy of the parties	Voting	
	Did not vote (%)	Voted (%)

Yes	40.3	59.7
No	47.9	52.1

Pearson chi-square = 1.073 (p= 0.300), Leamer association = 1.067 (p= 0.302)

A greater proportion (59.7%) of those who were convinced by the policies of political parties voted, unlike 52.1% of those who were not convinced with policies of political party. These results show that a greater proportion of respondents who voted were convinced to vote by the policies of political parties. However, the relationship was not significant (p= 0.300). Therefore, the respondents who were convinced by the policies and those who were not were likely to vote. Rowena *et al.* (1991) argue that voting involves making a calculated decision about which party or candidate to support on the basis of policy preferences and assessments of their positions.

4.7.1.2 Relationship between trust in political parties and voting

The relationship between voting and trust to political parties was determined by cross tabulation and chi-square analysis to find whether the two variables were significantly related. The results are indicated in Table 12.

Table 12: Cross tabulation results indicating relationship between voting and trust to political parties

Trust to political parties	Voting	
	Did not vote (%)	Voted (%)
Trusted	40.8	59.2
Did not trust	47.1	52.9

Pearson chi-square 0.754= (p=0.385), Leamer association = 0.750 (p= 0.386)
 These results show that 59.2% of all the respondents who voted had trust in political parties whereas 52.9% of respondents who voted had no trust in political parties. However, the relationship was not significant (p= 0.385). Therefore, the likelihood of voting between respondents who had trust in political parties and those who did not have trust were almost the same. Empirical research has

provided quite convincing evidence that lack of political trust has strong effects on electoral behavior; low levels of political trust indicate that citizens, on average, have a negative perception of the way the political system in their country functions (Hooghe *et al.*, 2011). Therefore, low level of political trust could pose a threat to political party's system.

4.7.1.3 Relationship between preference of candidates and voting

The relationship between voting and preference of candidates was determined by cross tabulation and chi-square analysis to find whether the two variables were significantly related. The results are indicated in Table 13.

Table 13: Cross tabulation results indicating relationship between voting and preference of candidates

Candidates	Voting	
	Did not vote (%)	Voted (%)
Prefer candidates	45.3	54.7
Didn't prefer candidate	41.2	58.8

Pearson chi-square 0.340= (p=0.560), Leamer association = 0.338 (p= 0.561)

A greater proportion (58.8%) of all candidates who voted had no preference to candidates unlike 54.7% of those who voted because they preferred candidates. These results suggest that in the 2010 general elections voters had increased their focus on the campaigns by voting for good policies and not candidates compared to 1995 general elections whereby the majority of voters tended to assess the candidates' personal qualities (Msekwa, 2006). These results are paradoxical because the converse was expected, although the relationship was not significant (p = 0.560). This paradox might have been due to the fact that, in Tanzania, political

parties are the main stakeholders of elections and the candidates are selected by political parties to contest in the elections. Therefore, party adherence was closely associated with voting whereby more than a half (55.6%) of the respondents voted due to their adherence to parties while most of the respondents (59%) voted due to other factors. This ideal model also assumes that the voters fully understand the alternatives which are being offered to them, and that they will, rationally, make their choices on the basis of that understanding. Sinclair (2006) argued that voters share information during elections and in the process of sharing information in conversations, no single voter needs to spend hours researching the candidates to gather enough information to make an informed choice. Instead, each voter may aggregate the information she/ he receives in the course of the conversations. Since the voter is aggregating information from her friends and family, the conclusions she can draw are constrained by the set of information available within her social framework. Then, regardless of the voter's preferences, she/he is likely to have the same beliefs about the candidates as his/her friends and family.

4.7.1.4 Relationship between political parties' achievements and voting

The relationship between voting and political parties' achievements was determined by cross tabulation and chi-square analysis to find whether the two variables were significantly related. The results are indicated in Table 14.

Table 14: Cross tabulation results indicating relationship between voting and parties' achievements

Party achievements	Voting	
	Did not vote (%)	Voted (%)
Yes	46.7	53.3
No	40.0	60.0

Pearson chi-square 0.898= (p=0.343), Leamer association = 0.893 (p= 0.345)

Three-fifths (60%) of all respondents who voted were not convinced by any achievement of political party unlike 53.3% of those who voted due to being convinced by achievements of political parties. These results are paradoxical because the opposite was expected, although the relationship was not significant ($p = 0.343$). This paradox might have been due to the immaturity of opposition political parties in the study area whereby in most cases achievements were associated with the ruling party (CCM) since it is the only party which won in the constituency since re-introduction of multiparty politics in 1992 in Tanzania (Msekwa, 2006). A classical democratic theory states that voters collect information on party platforms, policy pronouncements, legislative voting, etc, on all candidates and cast their vote for the candidate who offers them the best package.

4.7.1.5 Relationship between party incentives and voting

The relationship between party incentives and voting was determined by cross tabulation and chi-square analysis to find whether the two variables were significantly related. The results are indicated in Table 15.

Table 15: Cross tabulation results indicating the relationship between party incentives and voting

Voting	Political party incentives	
	Those who got incentives from political parties (%)	Those who did not get incentives from any political party (%)
Those who voted	42.1	57.9
Those who did not vote	48.8	51.2

Pearson Chi-Square = 0.898 ($p = 0.343$); Likelihood Ratio = 0.897 ($p = 0.344$)

The results in Table 15 show that a greater proportion (57.9%) of the respondents who did not get incentives from parties voted while only 42.1% of respondents who got incentives voted. However, there was no significant relationship between political party incentives and voting ($p = 0.343$) but the result is desirable. This means that political party incentive had negative association with voting. This desirable result might be caused by the efforts made by the government to form new election expenses act of 2010; Act No 4 of 2010 (URT, 2010). Also the effectiveness of PCCB to enforce that law during the election period might have been a cause.

4.7.1.6 Relationship between peer group pressure and voting

The relationship between peer group pressure and voting was determined by cross tabulation and chi-square analysis to find whether the two variables were significantly related. The results are indicated in Table 16.

Table 16: Cross tabulation results indicating the relationship between peer group pressure and voting

Voting	Peer group pressure	
	Those who were convinced by peer group pressure (%)	Those who were not convinced by peer group pressure (%)
Those who voted	1.8	98.2
Those who did not vote	5.8	94.2

Pearson Chi-Square = 2.392 (p = 0.122); Likelihood Ratio = 2.396 (p = 0.122)

Almost all (98.2%) of those who voted did not vote as a result of peer group pressure. Only 1.8% of the respondents who voted were convinced by peer group pressure. However, the relationship was not significant (p = 0.122). This means that peer group pressure had no positive association with voting. This paradoxical result might have been caused by the fact that voters' turnout was very low in the study area whereby only 34.6% of registered voters voted (NEC, 2010).

4.7.1.7 Relationship between distance from residence to polling stations and voting

The relationship between residence from home to polling stations and voting was determined by cross tabulation and chi-square analysis to find whether the two variables were significantly related. The results are indicated in Table 17.

Table 17: Cross tabulation results indicating the relationship between voting and distance from residence to polling stations

Distance from residence	Voting	
	Those who voted (%)	Those who did not vote (%)
Shorter distance	43.0	98.8
Longer distance	57.0	1.2

Pearson Chi-Square = 69.168 (p = 0.000); Likelihood Ratio = 86.990 (p = 0.000)

These results show that a greater proportion (98.8%) of respondents who stayed very close to polling stations did not vote. Only 43% of the respondents who voted came from short distances while 57% of the respondents who voted came from long distances. Although these results are quite opposite from what was expected, the relationship was significant ($p = 0.000$) at the 0.1 % level of significance. These opposite results can be explained by the fact that the long and short distances were not very far since they were determined through a cut off points of 430.48 metres, which was the mean distance. According to the Municipal election monitoring committee (2010), polling stations in the study area were set very close to people's residences since the wards of residence were divided in 2010.

4.8 Hypotheses testing results

To test the first hypothesis of the study, chi- square analysis was used to determine whether there was significant relationship between individuals' levels of civic education and participation in voting. The results show that the relationship was significant ($p = 0.003$). Therefore, the alternative hypothesis, which was that there is significant relationship between individuals' levels of civic education and their participation in voting, is confirmed, and the null hypothesis (its converse) is rejected.

Table 18: Cross tabulation results indicating the relationship between voting and knowledge on civic education

Voting	Civic education	
	Those with lower civic education (%)	Those with higher civic education (%)
Those who voted	39.5	60.5
Those who did not vote	60.5	39.5

Pearson Chi-Square = 8.648 (p = 0.003); Likelihood Ratio = 0.706 (p = 0.003)

The results in Table 18 mean that a respondent with higher knowledge on civic education and another one with lower knowledge on civic education voted differently in the in 2010 general elections whereby 60.5% of respondents with higher knowledge on civic education voted while 39.5% of the respondents with lower knowledge on civic education did not vote. In Table 18, since levels of significance (p- values) for Pearson's chi-square, likelihood ratio are less than 0.05, which is the lowest level of significance, there was significant association between voting and having higher knowledge on civic education at the 1% level of significance.

To test the second hypothesis of the study, chi- square analysis was used to determine whether there was significant relationship between political party adherence and voting. The result shows that the relationship was not significant (p = 0.240). Therefore, the null hypothesis, which was not significant relationship between voting and political party adherence, is accepted and the alterative hypothesis (its converse) is rejected.

Table 19: Cross tabulation results indicating the relationship between voting and political party adherence

Voting	Political party adherence	
	Those who adhered to a political party (%)	Those who did not adhere to any political party (%)
Those who voted	57.0	43.0
Those who did not vote	60.5	39.5

Pearson Chi-Square = 0.240 (p = 0.624); Likelihood Ratio = 0.240 (p = 0.730)

The results in Table 19 show that a greater proportion (57%) of respondents who adhered to political parties voted while only 43% of respondents who did not adhere to any political party voted. However, there was no significant relationship between political party adherence and voting (p = 0.624). This means that, although political party adherence was positively associated with voting, the relationship is not big. Therefore, people who adhered to political parties and those who were not could vote almost the same in the elections.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Overview

This chapter gives a brief account of the findings and recommendations made from the findings of the study. The major objective of this study was to analyse the determinants of voting in Morogoro Municipality. The study aimed at achieving the following specific objectives: (a) to assess the knowledge and attitude of voters towards the elections in Morogoro Municipality, (b) to estimate the minutes spent by voters going to and queuing at the polling stations, and (c) to determine how political party adherence is related to voting. This chapter also gives conclusion derived from the findings and recommendations derived from the conclusions.

5.2 Conclusion

Based on the findings from this study that 57% of the respondents voted in the 2010 general elections, it is concluded that the peoples' attitude towards elections is unfavourable in Morogoro Municipality. Also based on the findings that the majority of the respondents adhered to political parties, there are more male respondents adhering to political parties compared to female respondents because most of women and specifically married women depend on men to decide on what they should or should not do. Again based on the findings that 51.1% of all the respondents had higher knowledge of civic education, it is concluded that knowledge on civic education is very important to influence participation in the

elections; the majority of the respondents with higher knowledge voted in the 2010 general elections.

Findings on the minutes spent by voters going to and queuing in the polls revealed that the maximum number of minutes spent by voters going to the polling stations was 25, the minimum was 1 minute and the average time spent was 11 minutes. Again the study revealed that more than one-fifth (22.6%) of the voters spent 15 minutes; about one-fifth (20.9%) of the respondents spent 10 minutes to reach to polls; and more than one-eighth (13.9%) of the respondents spent 5 minutes to reach polling stations. Based on the finding that the majority of the respondents spent less than fifteen minutes to reach the polling stations, it is concluded that the location of polling stations was very important to influence people to vote in the elections. Also, based on the findings that more than a half (54%) of the respondents did not stand in long queues, it is concluded that the increase in wards from 19 to 29 had positive effect on elections, particularly reducing congestions at polling stations during the elections.

It was observed from the findings that respondents who stayed in Chamwino ward were standing in longer queues at the polling stations than the respondents of the other three wards of research. Based on the findings that over 65% of the voters who stayed in Chamwino ward were standing in longer queues, it is concluded that political awareness is very huge in Chamwino ward vis-à-vis other wards of research; otherwise the people of the ward would have not voted.

Findings on how political party adherence is related to voting revealed that more than a half of the respondents adhered to political parties. It was also observed that more than a half (53.4%) of all the respondents who adhered to political parties

specifically adhered to the ruling party (CCM), and less than a half (46.6%) of all the respondents adhered to opposition political parties. Based on the finding that CCM had more members than any other political party, it is concluded that opposition political parties are not mature enough to compete with the ruling party (CCM) at the same level. Regarding the opposition political parties, findings show that they are very weak in terms of resources, few members, and they are poorly distributed at the grassroots levels. Based on the findings that the proportions of registered voters who voted were higher for TLP and CCM parties compared to CUF, CHADEMA, and NCCR- MAGEUZI, it is concluded that the two parties have so huge networks at the grassroots levels that they can influence their members to vote in the community compared to other political parties.

It was also observed from the findings that more than 65% of the respondents who stayed at Chamwino ward adhered to political parties than the other wards of research. This implies that ward of residence is associated with interactions with the political parties. In view of this, it is concluded that in areas where political party adherence is high participation in elections is also high. Higher political party adherence is comparatively more likely to influence voting in the elections than lower political party adherence.

Based on the results of testing the first hypothesis, which showed that a respondent with higher knowledge on civic education and another one with lower knowledge on civic education voted differently in the 2010 general elections ($p = 0.003$), it is concluded that civic education is significantly related to voting.

Based on the results of testing the second hypothesis, which showed that the relationship between political party adherence and voting was not significant ($p=0.624$), it is concluded that people who adhere to political parties and those who do not can vote almost the same.

5.3 Recommendations

Based on the above conclusions the following recommendations are made to help different development stakeholders at various levels, including voters themselves, on how civic education may contribute significantly to voting.

5.3.1 Recommendations for policy makers

Based on the conclusion that the overall attitude towards elections was unfavourable, and in most cases it was characterised by low turnout, it is recommended that the government, through the National Electoral Commission (NEC), should strengthen her concerted efforts in expanding and increasing adequate information about the importance of elections. More specifically, the government is urged to establish civic education programmes/ projects in order to raise knowledge on the importance of participating in voting. More knowledge on civic education may influence rapid increase of participation in voting. Seminars and workshops should be conducted by the National Electoral Commission (NEC) for local leaders to sensitize them on various election issues, such as the implication of low participation in elections on consolidation of true democracy. These leaders would then spread the messages to the grass root population.

Based on the conclusion that knowledge on civic education has significant relation with voting, it is recommended to the government and policy makers to formulate policies that will enable voters to feel the responsibility of participation as well as

to provide the civic education to the grassroots levels where the majority can be reached. The government should establish the information centres about the elections in every ward in the country in order to access the information about elections before and even after the elections.

Following the conclusion that enough polling stations during the elections is very crucial to increase community participation in the elections, it is recommended that the government should keep that practice of having enough polling stations, and it should also increase more polling stations in the coming elections. The formation of NEC should base on transparency and inclusive process which will include different stakeholders from various social groups in order to bring trust to voters and political parties. The National Electoral Commission (NEC) should expand to the grassroots levels as an independent commission to all districts of the country. It should not depend on the regional as well as district council officials. This will improve effectiveness of NEC on preparing and monitoring elections in the country.

5.3.2 Recommendations for political parties

Based on the conclusion that high political party adherence influences high participation in elections, it is recommended that political parties should expand to the grassroots levels in order to increase the number of members as well as to increase participation in elections. Most of the political parties are urban centred and in most cases they emerge soon before the elections.

Following the conclusion that oppositions political parties are not mature enough in terms of resources, the number of their members and their distribution at the grassroots level, it is recommended that opposition parties should strengthen

themselves from the grassroots in order to increase more members as well as to increase competition with the ruling party (CCM). The increase in number of members will also increase income to these parties.

5.3.3 Recommendations for authorities and voters in the constituency

Based on the conclusion that voting was very high in Chamwino ward compared to the other three wards, it is recommended that voters in Morogoro constituency should be sensitized by the authorities and political parties on the importance of voting in the development of the country. Following the low turnout in 2010 general elections in Morogoro Municipality constituency, it is recommended that more sensitization to voters should be carried out in the constituency in order to increase turnout in the coming elections.

Following the delay of the elections results, it is recommended that the authorities in the constituency should abandon the delay of election results in order to avoid any chaos which could arise. The authority is urged to improve good relationship with voters based on trust and transparency to the whole electoral processes. Moreover, they are advised to establish the elections information centres within the constituency in order to have more information about elections. That could raise awareness and probably increase participation in voting.

5.4 Recommendations for Further Research

The data from this research have allowed us to do analysis, which has given us an insight into the voting situation and its socio-demographic factors in the surveyed area. However, a lot remains to be done to better understand all determinants of

voting in the area. Therefore, there is a need to cover large samples and areas of each factor in order to determine the underlying factors influencing voting. This survey drew a sample from only four wards.

Secondly, it is important that other factors that influence voting be investigated. The proximate determinants of voting such as peace and harmony, sluggish economic development, and poor living conditions in the area need to be examined.

Lastly, another area of research could be to investigate why some constituencies such as Morogoro Municipality, in the country have low rates of participation in voting, while other constituencies such as Arusha, Ubungo and Mbeya have very high rates of participation in voting.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Operational definitions of key variables and their indicators

Variable	Operational definition
Background variables	
Age	Net years since one was born
Sex	The state of being male or female in biological sense
Marital status	Having a spouse at the time of interview
Education	The number of years one went to school
Occupation	The main legal economic activity by which one earns a living
Dependent variable	
Voting	An act of casting a ballot in the ballot boxes
Independent variables	
Distance from home to polls	The length of space separating area of residence and the polling stations
Civic education	Education about country's affairs
Party adherence	Political party membership and followers
Incentives	Some packages given to voters to influence them to vote for someone
Peer group pressure	A social group consisting of people who are equal or almost equal in such respects as age, education or social class

Appendix 2: Questionnaire designed for research on the determinants of voting in Morogoro Municipality.

The main objective of this study is to analyze the determinants of voting in Morogoro Municipality.

QUESTIONNAIRE IDENTIFICATION

Date of interview.....

District.....

Name of ward.....

Name of enumerator.....

SECTION A: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

In this section let us discuss on the background information

1. Sex (Record of sex of respondent)

[1] Male

[2] Female

2. How old are you? (In years)

[1] 23-34

[2] 35-44

[5] 65 and above

[3] 45-54

4] 55-64

3. What is your education level?

[1] Adult education

[2]Below Standard VII

[3]Standard VII

[4]Below Form IV

[5]Form IV

[6]Form VI

[7]Higher education

[8] Others (Specify)

.....

4. What is your religion?

[1] Muslim

[2] Christian

[3] Others (Specify).....

5. What is your marital status?

[1]Not yet married

[2]Married

[3]Divorced

[4]Separated

[5]Widowed

6. What is your occupation?

[1] Farmer;

[2] Business person

[3] Civil servant;

[4]Other activities (Specify).....

SECTION B: Attitude of voters towards elections

In this section I would like to ask you some questions about your attitude and knowledge towards elections

A likert scale to assess the attitude of voters towards elections

Attitudinal statement	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Undecided (3)	Agree (4)	Strongly agree (5)
1.To register in the permanent voters registration book is not important					
2.The electoral processes for voting are very favourable to voters					
3.Voting in elections is not necessary					
4.Polling stations are located very close to residence					
5.It is not necessary for elderly people to participate in the elections					
6.Political parties are influencing people to vote					
7.It is very important for a person above 18 years of age to be registered in the permanent voters registration book					
8.The electoral processes for voting discourages people to vote					
9.Voting in the elections is a basic right for every adult person					
10.The location of polling stations hinders people to vote					
11.The only purpose of voting is to get new leaders					
12.Political parties are not playing a key role to influence people in the elections					

An index scale to assess the knowledge of voters towards elections in Morogoro Municipality

S/N	Statement	Maximum score	Actual score by respondent
1	Voting is a basic right of every citizen	5	
2	Elections can transform livelihood of voters	5	
3	Voters can hold politicians responsible through voting	5	
4	Preparations of elections are favourable for voters to vote	5	
5	Does the election free in Morogoro Municipality	5	
6	Is it true that votes can be stolen during the processes	5	
7	Not voting in the elections is the best way to express anger to the government	5	
8	Political parties have the responsibility to convince voters to vote	5	
9	Voting starts with registration in the permanent voters book	5	
10	Voters have the responsibility to educate themselves the importance of elections in Morogoro Municipality	5	
	Total	50	

**SECTION C: ESTIMATING THE MINUTES SPENT BY VOTERS
WALKING TO AND QUEUING IN THE POLLING STATIONS.**

23. Are you staying nearby the polling station?

- 1.

24. How many minutes did you spent to reach the polling station?

- 1. 1 to 5 minutes
- 2. 6 to 10 minutes
- 3. Others (Specify)

.....

25. Did you use any kind of transport to the polling station?

- 1. YES
- 2. NO

26. Give reasons to your

answer.....

27. How many minutes did you spent in the polling station?

- 1. 5 to 15 minutes
- 2. 16 to 25 minutes
- 3. Others (Specify)

.....

.....

.....

28. Did you fall in the long queue when you are at the polling station?

- 1. YES
- 2. NO

29. Do you know any other polling stations that available in this ward?

- 1. YES
- 2. NO

30. Give reasons to your answer.....

.....

SECTION D: HOW VOTERS ARE BEING INFLUENCED BY POLITICAL PARTIES TOWARDS THEIR INVOLVEMENT IN ELECTIONS

31. Are you influenced to vote for a particular party due to its policies?
1. YES
2. NO

32. Give reasons to your answer.....
.....

33. Did you participate in elections as a result of being influenced by the candidate?
1. YES
2. NO

34 .Give reasons to your answer.....

35. Does the party's past achievements influence you to vote?
1. YES
2. NO

36. Give reasons to your answer.....
.....

37. Did you vote because of the trust you have to a particular party?
1. YES
2. NO

38. Give reasons to your answers.....
.....

39. Did you vote for an active political party?
1. YES
2. NO

40. Give reasons to your answer
.....
.....

41. Mention three factors that influenced you to vote for a particular party
1.
2.
3.

42. Mention the quality in which a candidate must have so that can influence you to vote for
1.
2.
3.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION

Appendix 3: Checklist for Focused group discussion-Voters and non voters

1. Political parties existing in Morogoro Municipality and proportions of their adherents
2. General comments on people's participation in the elections in Morogoro Municipality
3. Major problems that faced voters in the just-ended elections
4. Importance of elections to development
5. Knowledge of word civic education and its types
6. Knowledge of an organisation which provides civic education and electoral information?
7. Do you believe that through ballots politician can be held accountable?
Explain how
8. Talking on the past achievement by the political parties, are you convinced
9. Community development can be contributed by the existence of political parties
10. Reasons behind some people having not voted
11. Whether anything was wrong with the just-ended general elections at the polling station, ward, constituency, and/or national level
12. Any advice for improvement of elections next time in view of the above shortcomings

Appendix 4: Checklist for Key informants' interview

1. Importance of voting and monitoring the elections
2. Prerequisites for effective participation in elections
3. Conditions for free and fair elections in Morogoro Municipality
4. What are the prerequisites of effective participation in the elections?
5. Whether the locations of polling stations are favourable to voters
6. Whether important facilities needed in the elections were there
7. Steps taken by parties as well as the National Electoral Commission to influence voters to vote
8. Essence of community participation in the elections
9. Do you think that voters understand the importance of voting, If yes explain, if no why?
10. What are the reasons which make some people to vote and others not
11. Whether anything was wrong with the just-ended general elections at the polling station, ward, constituency, and/or national level
12. Any advice to improve elections next time in view of the above shortcomings