



POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND VOTING PATTERN IN ZAMBIA: A STUDY OF GENERAL ELECTIONS BETWEEN 2006- 2016 IN NANGOMA CONSTITUENCY, MUMBWA DISTRICT

BY

MOONGA OLIVER

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fulfillment of the requirements of the award of the degree of Masters of
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DECLARATION

I , **Moonga Oliver**, do, hereby declare that this dissertation represents my own work and that it has never been previously submitted for a degree at the University of Zambia or any other University.

Signed:

Date:

APPROVAL

This dissertation of Moonga Oliver has been approved as partial fulfillment of the requirement for the award of degree of Master of Education in Civic Education by the University of Zambia.

Internal Examiner 1 **Signature** **Date:**

Internal Examiner 2..... **Signature**: **Date:**

Internal Examiner 3..... **Signature** **Date:**.....

ABSTRACT

Despite various interventions to improve political participation during periodic elections in Zambia, low rates of political participation and regional voting patterns remain an emerging challenge to the development of democratic governance and also economic development. It was the intention of the study to examine the political participation and voting patterns based on the study case of Nangoma Constituency so that corrective measures could be proposed for implementation by relevant authorities that may help alleviate the identified problem or situation.

The study was guided by transformative learning theory. A Case study design was applied with the help of semi-structured interview using interview guide and questionnaire as instruments for data collection. A purposive sampling and to a lesser extent quota sampling were employed to form an accessible sample size of forty (40) respondents. Ten (10) of these were classified as key informants while thirty (30) were ordinary constituency members from Nangoma Constituency.

The study established that most of the electorates had a fairly positive attitude towards political participation. However, some factors that influence political participation were identified as; for economic benefit, prestige, public respect and democratic right purposes among others. As for the case study of Nangoma Constituency, some of the causal factors that influenced the described trends of voter participation and voting pattern identified include: background relationships (ethnicity, religion), potential for economic liberation, and desire for change of leadership, party manifesto, incumbency factor, media / campaign coverage extent and bribery. Furthermore, the study found that citizens' political participation through voting was affected by some factors such as; lack of effective voter education, unfavorable time of holding elections, quality and capacity of election management, distance to polling stations, issues of electoral violence among others.

Based on the findings it was recommended that i) Electoral Commission of Zambia should conduct effective continuous voter education local stakeholders; ii) Parliament should pass laws that enhance voter safety before, during and after elections; iii) The Electoral Commission of Zambia should hold elections during the dry season; and iv) Electoral Commission of Zambia should intensify Voter Education in far flung areas; v) the Electoral Commission of Zambia should work with traditional leaders and Non-Governmental organizations for the area during voter education.

Keywords: Political participation, Voting pattern, Voter apathy, Voter education

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my three sons, Hope, Ackim and Mwiinga Moonga for their support, patience, sacrifice, corporation and encouragement during the course of my study period.

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ACRONYMS

AVAP	Ant- Voter Apathy Project
CBO	Community Based Organization
CEE	Committee on Ethics and Elections
CDC	Curriculum Development Centre
DVEC	District Voter Education Coordinator
ECZ	Electoral Commission of Zambia
FCCP	Funders' Committee for Civic Participation
FODEP	Forum for Democratic Process
MOE	Ministry of Education
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NRC	National Registration Card
PF	Patriotic Front
UNDP	United National Development Programs
UPND	United Party for National Development
UNZA	University of Zambia
VE	Voter Educator
VEF	Voter Education Facilitator
ZCEA	Zambia Civic Education Association
ZNBC	Zambia National Broadcasting Co-operation

OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS OF TERMS

<i>Electoral ward:</i>	a designated area headed by an elected representative called Ward councilor.
<i>Ordinary villagers/constituents:</i>	none key informants in the accessible sample size of the Study drawn from the rural constituency.
<i>Periodic elections:</i>	constitutional elections organized by national electoral body.
<i>Political efficacy:</i>	the extent to which a national government is responsive to citizens' problems.
<i>Political Participation:</i>	is any activity that shapes, affects, or involves the political sphere with a bias on electoral activities as for this study.
<i>Voting Patterns:</i>	is synonymous with voting behavior. This is where electorates participate politically by taking part in the electoral process and how their decisions are influenced.
<i>Tactical Voting:</i>	is the act of voting for a particular person or political party in order to prevent someone else from winning, rather than because you support that person or party.
<i>Political strong hold:</i>	an area where a political party has overwhelming support than others.
<i>Traditional councilors:</i>	appointed village head leaders as senior advisors to the traditional chief.
<i>Traditional leaders:</i>	chiefs, village headmen/women.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

The chapter discusses the background of the study, statement of the problem and the purpose of the study. In addition, it will state the objectives of the study, study questions and the significance of the study. Finally, the chapter will cover the limitation of the study, the delimitation of the study and definition of the key terms used in the study.

1.2 Background

In democracies, one of the many aspects of the civic culture that many are proud of is the extent and freedom to which citizens can participate in their political system. Whether they are voting for a new member of parliament, or participating in public protest they feel fairly certain that their actions would have an influence on society's politics in some way (Patterson, 2003). Such civic activities are forms of political participation, and they are a critical part of any vibrant democracy. As the term suggests, political participation simply means that citizens were free to actively and responsibly participate in the political processes by making their opinions and beliefs known (Hornsby, 2011). In social sciences, the term 'political science' is often used to describe an action taken by a citizen to influence the outcome of a political issue (Swanpoel, 2006).

Political participation and voting patterns in Zambia could be traced way back to the days shortly before and after political independence struggle. However, before independence most Africans were not allowed to actively participate politically (Kabamba and Michael, 2004). In 1962, Northern Rhodesia held elections under the British colonial government where United National Independence Party (UNIP) and African National Congress (ANC) both for indigenous Africans were allowed to vote together with the British party. Despite the high voter apathy recorded due to various reasons the voting pattern was ethnically inclined. The results indicated that most of the tribes from the former Northwestern Rhodesia (i.e Southern, Western, Northwestern, part of Central and Lusaka provinces) voted for ANC Harry Nkunbula, while those from Northeastern Rhodesia (i.e Now Esthern, Northern, Muchinga, Luapula, Part of Central and Copperbelt Provinces) voted for UNIP under Kenneth Kaunda while the whites voted for British Colonial representative. Unfortunately there was no outright winner, so UNIP and ANC agreed to work

together in a coalition arrangement. Thereafter, Zambia became an independent state on 24th October, 1964 with Kenneth Kaunda as the republican president. Dr. Kaunda ruled for 27 years with various simulations of elections being held. However, in 1973 through dialogue with other opposition political players in the spirit for unity of purpose and development, Zambia became a one party participatory democratic state. This step was perceived to be a better way to diffuse political tension based on political party affiliation (Brokers & Hoppers, 1986). To a common Zambian, the move was seen as a way of protecting people from ethnic conflicts based on party affiliations. But, the real reason for change from multiparty system to one party system was promoted to ensure that UNIP under Kenneth Kaunda remained unchallenged. According to (Kabamba and Michael, 2004) President Kaunda's one party participatory democracy; which gave more administrative power to the executive organ of government later on developed into an unpopular autocracy only supported by police state methods suppressing citizens political rights and freedoms.

Due to increased pressure mounted by citizens through a united pressure group called Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) for a revolutionary change of government which started in 1990, the one party state was eventually abolished and multiparty democracy was re-introduced in the republican constitution through partial amendment (Robert, 2011). President Kenneth Kaunda was further pressured by the citizens to call for early general elections. The MMD pressure group was later registered as a political party led by Mr. Chiluba Fredrick Jacob Titus a former trade unionist to challenge President Kaunda. The general elections were held in October 1991 and UNIP was defeated with eighty percent (80%) to twenty percent (20%) by the newly formed Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD). From the 1991 multiparty democratic elections to 2016, Zambia had held seven (7) general elections and one (2) additional presidential elections in 2008 and 2015 respectively. Over the years, there have been fluctuations in the number of electorates participating in elections with growing manifestation of what could be described as regional and tribal voting pattern especially from 2001 to date which was assumed to have been influenced by both internal and external factors. It is at the core of this study that an investigation into Political Participation and Voting pattern in Zambia using the study case of Nangoma was undertaken.

1.2.1 Voter Participation Records for some previous Periodic Elections in Zambia

The Forum for Democratic Process (FODEP) and Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) among others institutions recorded Zambia's official general and Presidential election results between 2006 and 2016 voter turnout. Some of the final Presidential voter participation rates for the country were; 2006-70.8%; 2008- 45.4%; 2011-53.7% and 2015-36% (ECZ, website).

For Nangoma Constituency, the following were the official voter turnout rates for some elections: 2011- total registered voters 32 207, total votes cast 15 326, total valid votes 15 053, total voter turnout rate was 47.6% (ECZ, 2011). In 2015 presidential elections, total registered voters- 25 455, total votes cast- 8 559, total valid votes- 8 478, none voters- 16 896 (66.4%), total voter participation rate- 33.6% (FODEP, 2015). ECZ (2015) states that the voter turnout in 2015 presidential election held after the death of the then incumbent president Mr. Sata Michael Chilufya, declared Mr. Edgar Lungu emerging as winner with 36% of the votes, but recorded high voter apathy.

The total voter turnout on 11 August 2016 election for the case of Nangoma constituency was 62.5%. The total registered voters in Nangoma constituency were 34,261. The valid presidential votes cast were 20, 885. The total rejected votes were 536. Thus the total votes cast for the election was 21,421, then total registered who did not vote were 12 840. The voter apathy rate was 37.5% (ECZ, 2016).

The voter turnout analysis indicated that amidst the voter education conducted prior to elections; the voter apathy rates were still high (Kabamba and Michael, 2004). From the established information, the fluctuating rates of voter turnout at national level and lack of continuous voter education provision justified the fact that there were challenges or gaps encountered in the implementation process of voter education in Zambia aimed at promoting active voter participation. However, from the recorded election result data, less than half of the registered voters voted in 2008 presidential elections. This was a source of serious concern especially in the area of progress towards practical and sound democratic governance (FODEP, 2015).

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Democracy promotes free and active citizens' participation in national politics to enhance legitimacy of elected leaders. To achieve this goal the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) does conduct periodic voter education to the citizenry. Despite conducting voter education by electoral bodies and other civil societies prior to most periodic elections in Zambia, the voting pattern and levels of electoral participation were described as low, of poor quality, regional and to a larger extent tribal in nature (ECZ, 2015).

For instance, voter participation rates and voting pattern sampled from different constituencies and regions considering the two major political parties (Patriotic Front-PF led by Edgar Chagwa Lungu-ECL and United Party for National Development-UPND led by Hichilema Hakainde – HH) in 2016 at that time were recorded as follows: Nangoma constituency in Central Province, UPND- 7 783 votes against PF- 542; Chama north constituency in Muchinga province, PF-4 632 votes against UPND with 909 votes; Chavuma Constituency in N/Western Region, UPND- 6 185 votes against PF with 963 votes; Choma Central in Southern province, UPND- 21 021 votes against PF with 2 139 votes; Mansa Central Constituency in Luapula Region, PF- 10 631 votes against 1 278 votes. Such trends of voting pattern have been maintained since 2008 to 2016. The trends of voter participation described above in part 1.1.1 coupled with the voting pattern in part 1.2 indicate a situation of regional and to a larger extent ethnically inclined voting behavior in this paper had identified some current resultant problems (ECZ, 2016).

Therefore, the resultant problems among others based on low voter turnout or high voter apathy coupled with the observed trends of voting pattern have compromised the legitimacy levels of elected leaders with minority voter support. In some instances, voters themselves have questioned the elections results. The study focused on the political participation and voting pattern in Zambia: a case of the general elections between 2006 and 2016 in Nangoma constituency of Mumbwa district with the aim of finding a lasting solution to the problems in the title.

1.4 Purpose of the study

The purpose of the study was to examine political participation and voting patterns in Zambia particularly Nangoma constituency of Mumbwa district. The study covered the period between

2006 and 2016. It was aimed that the findings of the study could reduce on the disparities in political participation and the problem of voting based on wrong reasons.

1.5 Research Objectives

The study was guided by the following specific objectives:

- i) To identify the factors that influence citizen's political participation.
- ii) To determine the effects of voter education and voting patterns on political participation and development
- iii) To identify some factors that affect electoral participation.
- iv) To establish strategies of promoting citizens' electoral participation.

1.6 Research Questions

In trying to achieve the above stated objectives, the study used the following research questions:

- i) What factors influence citizen's political participation?
- ii) Does voter education influence voting pattern and political participation?
- iii) What are some of the factors that negatively affect voter participation?
- iv) How can citizens' participation in elections be promoted?

1.7 Significance of the Study

Findings of the study would provide valuable data on causal factors and effects of low political participation and voting pattern in Zambia for policy makers so that they work out strategies towards improving the political environment for active citizens' political participation to promote democratic governance. The study aimed at studying the electoral behavioral trends in some general elections in Zambia between 2006 and 2016. The study findings were critical because they would help give solutions to the actual determinants of political participation and voter behavior for Nangoma constituency in particular. The findings would also help policy makers and stakeholders to plan and implement electoral policies in a more effective manner. Additionally, recommendations from the study when implemented would help increase political participation and prevent negative voter behavior in the case of Nangoma constituency and else were.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

Every academic study conducted anchors on a theoretical guidance to provide the study and researcher with a specific direction. Hornsby (2011) contends that theoretical framework consists of concepts and definitions that give the researcher a guiding perspective for the study. The study was guided by transformative learning theory.

The transformative learning theory guided the study as it explains how the adults who are electorates can learn skills during voter education sessions in order to be transformed and develop a critical and rational mind. Such knowledge and skills would help them to vote rationally during elections without being influenced by selfish politicians (Patton, 2003).

In the same vein, electorates in particular as key stakeholders were urged to be active participants beyond just casting a vote rather their votes or choice must involve quality of psychology and attitude towards democratic citizens' participation (Pateman, 2006).

The objective was that electorates should aim at examining the aspiring electoral candidates without undue irrational influence by factors such as ethnicity, political party and bribe but based on personal conviction. Voters should always exercise their freedom of choice, participation; acquire voter information and education in order to make rational choice and decisions during political participation such as voting. Thus, Voters mind set need to be fully transformed to achieve and promote active electoral participation.

1.9 The organization of the thesis

The thesis is composed of six chapters with an overview for every chapter. Chapter one comprises of the; overview, study background, statement of the problem, research objectives and related questions as well as definitions of operational terms are presented. Chapter two contains the general overview of critical issues pertaining to political participation and voting pattern as itemized and some related situations from a global, African to Zambian perspectives. Chapter three is methodology which outlines the procedures and methods that were employed in collecting, analyzing and interpreting the data obtained from the field. It covers research design, study population, sample size, research instruments, ethical consideration, validity and reliability issues the research. Chapter four contains data collected in the field and presented according to

the objectives. Chapter five consists of discussion of research findings. This is done by making comparisons between participant's accounts and supporting literature from other scholars. Chapter six contains conclusion and recommendations, and it is the final chapter that summarizes the study and makes suggestions for practical implementations and implications based on the findings.

1.10 Chapter Summary

This chapter provided the background of the study which outlined the political perspective of Zambia starting from the 1960s to date with a bias on citizens' electoral participation and voting behavior in relation to voting pattern. The study background had shown the fluctuations in voter participation based on various recent general and presidential elections that Zambia held between 2006 and 2016. The chapter also outlined the purpose of the study, objectives and the research questions that facilitated the collection of data. The chapter further stated the significance of the study with the help of some operational definitions. Lastly, the organization of the thesis was articulated.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Overview

This chapter contains a review of literature on the issues concerning political participation and voter behavior in relation to voting pattern. Due to limited studies on political participation and voting behavior in Zambia the literature reviewed was not particulate to Zambia. Most studies conducted in Zambia at the time focused on causes of voter apathy and electoral violence. However, limited studies have been conducted on active political participation in the area of voting behavior and pattern. Therefore, the chapter focuses on exploratory review of literature that relate to elections and democracy. The chapter begins by exploring the concepts of political participation and voting patterns. It then progresses with exploration of democratic citizens' political participation with a bias on electoral participation based on global, continental and Zambian perspectives. Thereafter, an attempt was made to examine the questions on factors that influence citizens' political/electoral participation and voting patterns and how the problems arising as a result of such could be ameliorated.

2.2 Political participation and Voting Patterns

2.2.1 Participation and Voting

The two concepts namely participation and voting are in some cases used interchangeably especially by lay people, but, the two terms are too different issues. We cannot talk about democracy without delving into the intrinsic nature of citizens' political participation and voting behavior. For none experts, political participation entails a status quo where citizens actively or merely take part in the politics of their society without intimidation and this participation is by choice and not coercion (Patterson, 2003). As rightly, argued by Swanpoel (2006:24), "the citizens are involved in their own governance; they do not just passively accept the dictums of others or acquiesce to the demands of others". Aristotle also states it in his Politics (c 340 BC), "If liberty and equality, as is thought by some, are chiefly to be found in democracy, they will be attained when all persons alike share in the government to the utmost." In other words, the ideals of democracy are most completely realized when every member of the political community actively shares in its governance. Members of the political community are its citizens; hence citizenship in a democracy is membership in the body politic (Patterson, 2003). Membership

implies active participation, but not participation for participation's sake. Citizen participation in a democratic society must be based on informed, critical reflection, and on the understanding and acceptance of the rights and responsibilities that go with that membership (Ranger, 1973).

2.2.2 Political participation

Then, what is political participation? Participation in electoral processes involves much more than just casting a vote. Political participation derives from the freedom to speak out, assemble and associate; the ability to take part in the conduct of public affairs; and the opportunity to register as a candidate, to campaign, to be elected and to hold office at all levels of government (Patterson, 2003). Under international standards, men and women have an equal right to participate fully in all aspects of the political processes. In practice, however, it is often harder for women to exercise this right. In post-conflict countries, there are frequently extra barriers to women's participation, and special care is required to ensure that their rights are respected and protected in this regard (Wilson, 2003).

Political parties are among the most important institutions affecting women's political participation. In most countries, parties determine which candidates are nominated and elected and which issues achieve national prominence (ZCEA, 2004). The role of women in political parties is therefore a key determinant of their prospects for political empowerment, particularly at the national level. Because political parties are so influential in shaping women's political prospects, Governments and international organizations seeking to advance the participation of women in elections justifiably tend to focus on the role of political parties (PANOS, 2004).

The most common route to elected office is through political parties. Most candidates depend on political parties for their nomination, base of electoral support, and help during the election campaigns, financial resources, and continued assistance after their election (Ballington & Fick, 1999). While some candidates run for office independent of political parties, it is far more difficult to win election without the backing of a political organization, especially at the national level. Hence, most people seeking an entrée into politics must usually affiliate to political parties of their choice. Political parties vary greatly in the extent to which they seek to promote women into leadership positions and to recruit women as party candidates, as well as in the extent to which they address political, economic and social issues of special concern (Bevir, 2006).

2.2.3 Conventional and Unconventional Political Participation

Based on the above treatise, political participation can be defined as any activity that shapes, affects, or involves the political sphere (Patterson, 2003). Political participation ranges from voting, attending a political rally, committing an act of terrorism, and also sending a letter to a representative (Bevir, 2006). Broadly speaking, there are three types of participation which include conventional, unconventional and illegal political participation. According to Allingham (1999) conventional political participation have an encompassment of those activities that we expect of good citizens in a democracy. For most people, participation occurs every few years at election time. People strongly committed to politics are more likely to participate on a regular basis. Robert (2011) lists examples of conventional political participation and includes voting, volunteering for a political campaign, making a campaign donation, belonging to activist groups, and serving in public office.

Unconventional participation includes activities that are legal but often considered inappropriate (Chibba, 2009). Young people, students, and those with grave concerns about a regime's policies are most likely to engage in unconventional participation. Unconventional political participation includes signing petitions, supporting boycotts, and staging demonstrations and protests.

2.2.4 Illegal Political Participation

The third extreme form of political participation is illegal participation. According to Berkin, Goody & Swervina (2001) illegal political participation involves activities that break the law in a democratic dispensation. Most of the time, people resort to illegal participation only when legal means have failed to create significant political change. According to Patterson (2003) Illegal political participation may come in the form of political assassination, terrorism, and sabotaging an opponent's campaign through theft or vandalism.

In the USA, the Watergate scandal is one such example of political espionage. The Watergate scandal which brought down the presidency of Richard Nixon in 1974 involved illegal political participation (Dutch, 2001). The Nixon campaign working actively with the Nixon Administration used espionage and subversion against its opponents to win the election. For example, Nixon supporters forged letters from opposing candidates, such as the infamous "Canuck Letter," to discredit those candidates (Dutch, 2001). The scandal got its name from the

Watergate offices of the Democratic National Committee, which members of the Nixon campaign had broken into in order to plant spying devices and to steal files.

2.2.5 Levels of Political Participation

Most democratic citizens feel that some level of political participation, particularly conventional participation, is admirable and acceptable (Patterson, 2003). But political participation could be hard in the sense that one must find time, and perhaps money, in order to actively participate. So why did people do it? People participate in politics because some of the following: idealism, responsibility, self-interest and mere enjoyment. According to Alexis (2000) the political idealist believes strongly in a particular idea connected to a certain group or individual vying for political office. In many instances, idealist do not easily change their support to other individuals because of the conviction based on what their beliefs and the political candidates' capabilities to deliver.

Those who consider political participation as a responsibility align their principles to the norms of democratic citizenship. According to Patterson (2003) those who see political participation as a responsibility are not easily discouraged because they believe that political participation must be enjoyed by all responsible citizens. They may see those who do not participate politically as irresponsible and not worthy the term citizen. In addition, Dutch (2001) argues that those who participate politically consider themselves to have understood the tenets of democracy and consider their opponents as civically illiterate. The responsible citizens have similarities to those participating in politics due to self-interest but the difference is the pecuniary advantage attached. This is rightly put by Swanpoel (2006) who states that individuals who participate in politics out of self-interest are mainly driven by personal profit or agenda which may have many forms such as employment, money, contracts or any other factor that is seen by the individual to be motivating.

Political participation is also seen as a source of enjoyment. According to Allingham (1999) citizens participate politically simply because they enjoy public activity, either because of the activity itself or because of companionship during political engagements. This shows that political participation anchored on both intrinsic and extrinsic motivators as seen above.

2.3 Voting Patterns or Behavior

Voting is the common form of political participation in liberal democratic societies and the study of voting behavior has been a highly specialized sub-field within political science. The analysis of voting patterns invariably focuses on the determinants of why people vote as they do and how they arrive at the decisions they make (Committee on Ethics and Elections-CEE, 1999). Sociologists tend to look to the socio-economic determinants of support for political parties, observing the correlations between class, occupation, ethnicity, sex, age and vote; political scientists have concentrated on the influence of political factors such as issues, political programs, electoral campaigns, and the popularity of party leaders on voting behavior (UNDP, 2013). However, both disciplines share much the same terrain, and increasingly have tended to overlap in their analytical approaches.

In Britain there has been a long-running debate about whether the influence of social class on voting behavior had declined, and about the extent to which the process was associated with the dilution of loyalty to the two major political parties which had dominated the political system since the Second World War (Howard, 2010). Proponents of such arguments like Sarlvik & Crewe (1999) argued that both absolute class voting which was the overall proportion of the electorate who vote for their 'natural' class party and relative class voting which was the relative strength of the parties in different classes had declined continuously since the late 1960s and that was connected to the decline in the share of the Conservative and Labor Party votes. They attribute the dealignment to a number of underlying social changes such as: changes in the occupational structure, the decline in the size of the manual working class, social mobility, and growth of cross-class families all of which are said to undermine the socio-economic cohesiveness of class (Sarlvik & Crewe, 1999). As a result of class fragmentation, issues have become a more important influence on how electorates vote, and voters evaluate the political parties as self-interested individuals rather than on a collective or class basis.

In a similar vein, proponents of the thesis of consumption-sector cleavages argue that increasing fragmentation had reduced the political distinctiveness of social classes and that as a result of the growing importance of consumption, differences between those who were dependent on public rather than private consumption of goods and services were the source of new political alignments (Heath, 2006). These sectoral distinctions have replaced class as the most salient

structural cleavage, both in terms of debate between the political parties and voting behavior (Heath, 2006). In Europe, the private consumption of goods and services increases the propensity to vote conservative while those dependent on public provision vote labor (Dutch, 2001). As with the theory of class and partisan dealignment, that of consumption sectoral cleavage emphasizes the growing importance of the media in shaping individual interests, and the particularly damaging effects of these changes on working-class support for labor (Smith, 2006).

2.3.1 Class Voting

However, opponents of this view such as Sarlvick & Crewe (2008) and Bevir (2006) argue that class dealignment was a consequence of partisan realignment rather than a cause. While absolute levels of class voting had declined, ‘trendless fluctuation’ in relative class voting suggests that social classes still retain their political distinctiveness (Allingham, 1999). Indeed, class remains the major influence on voting patterns; and furthermore, consumption cleavages such as housing tenure were merely correlates of class, and did not have important independent effects on voting behavior (Ballington & Fick, 1999). Calling for what they call an ‘integrationists’ approach to the analysis of the relationship between social structure, party performance, vote, and Health, Tomlison & Jaguar (2002) argue that Labor's electoral failure in the 1980s was largely the result of across-the-board political failures, principally the policy failures of the 1964–70 Labor governments, the increasing number of third party (Liberal) candidates standing in working-class constituencies, the failure of the Labor Party to devise a credible economic policy, and its internal disunity. Class origins and class attitudes still influence how people vote although class organizations like the Labor Party have not always been successful in mobilizing this potential in the political sphere (Tomlison & Jaguar, 2002).

In recent years, studies of voting patterns have become a methodological minefield, as advances in techniques for the analysis of large-scale data-sets have fuelled existing controversies between different theories and models of voting behavior (Lim, 2007). Concluding his admirable and exhaustive review of this literature Lim (2007: 34) observed “The relationship between class and voting in the capitalist democracies of Western Europe and North America showed no evidence of being subject to a universal process of class dealignment, and that, at this juncture, only one conclusion was firm: in no democratic capitalist country had vote been entirely independent of class in a national election”.

2.3.2 Affective Voting (Emotional)

Additionally, a growing literature on the significance of ‘affect’ in politics finds that affective states play a role in public voting pattern that could be both beneficial and biasing. ‘Affect’ here refers to the experience of emotion or feeling, which is often described in contrast to cognition (Hornsby, 2011). The work largely followed from findings in psychology regarding the ways in which affective states were involved in human judgment and decision-making (Tomlison & Jaguar 2002). Research in political science has traditionally ignored non-rational considerations in its theories of mass political behavior, but the incorporation of social psychology has become increasingly common. In exploring the benefits of affect on voting, researchers such as Lim (2007) and Patterson (2003) have argued that affective states such as anxiety and enthusiasm encourage the evaluation of new political information and thus benefit political behavior by leading to more considered choices. Others, such as Dutch (2001) and Norrdlund (1996) however, have discovered ways in which affect such as emotion and mood can significantly bias the voting choices of the electorate. For example, evidence has shown that a variety of events that are irrelevant to the evaluation of candidates but can stir emotions, such as the outcome of football matches and weather, can significantly affect voting decisions (Lim, 2007).

Supporting the reality of affective voting, Zambia in 2008 experienced such a method after the death of the incumbent president Mr. Levy Patrick Mwanawasa when by then the Vice President Mr. Rupiah Banda as member of the ruling Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) acted as Republican President within 90 days as provided in the Constitution. His cabinet decided to carry out the body viewing of the late president Mwanawasa through all the nine provincial headquarters by then with a hidden agenda of campaigning to gain sympathy votes during the 2008 presidential election. Fortunately, the strategy could be analyzed that it worked successfully for Mr. Banda Rupiah by narrowly winning that election which his closest opponent disputed publicly though never challenged it in the court of law but waited while strategizing for 2011 general elections which Mr. Micheal Chilufya Sata as leader of the Patriotic Front (PF) party clearly won and was recorded as second historical victory for an opposition party in Zambian politics for dislodging the incumbent party in government after the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) did the same in 1991.

2.3.3 Variables of Voting Behaviors

Several variables have been proposed that may moderate the relationship between emotion and voting. Researchers have shown that one such variable may be political sophistication, with higher sophisticated voters more likely to experience emotions in response to political stimuli and thus more prone to emotional biases in voting choice (Patterson, 2003). Affective intensity has also been shown to moderate the relationship between affect and voting, with one study finding a doubling of estimated effect for higher-intensity affective shocks (Dutch, 2001). For example, anger increases the use of generalized knowledge and reliance upon stereotypes and other heuristics. An experiment on students at the University of Massachusetts Amherst showed that people who had been primed with an anger condition relied less upon issue-concordance when choosing between candidates than those who had been primed with fear (Milner, 2005). In a separate laboratory study, subjects primed with the anger emotion were significantly less likely to seek information about a candidate and spent less time reviewing a candidate's policy positions on the web (Milner, 2005).

Affective intelligence theory identifies anxiety as an emotion that increases political attentiveness while decreasing reliance on party identification when deciding between candidates, thus improving decision-making capabilities (Lim, 2007). Voters who report anxiety regarding an election are more likely to vote for candidates whose policies they prefer, and party members who report feeling anxious regarding a candidate are twice as likely to defect and vote for the opposition candidate (CEE, 1999). Others have denied that anxiety's indirect influence on voting behavior has been proven to the exclusion of alternative explanations, such as the possibility that less preferred candidates produce feelings of anxiety, as opposed to the reverse (Allingham, 1999). Furthermore, studies in psychology have shown that people experiencing fear rely on more detailed processing when making choices. One study found that subjects primed with fear spent more time seeking information on the web before a hypothetical voting exercise than those primed with anger (Lewinsky, 2008).

2.4 Global, Continental and National perspectives on Political Participation and Voting Pattern

2.4.1 Global Perspective of Political Participation and Voting Pattern

Political participation involves a wide range of activities designed for citizens to influence government on public decisions such as public policy formulation. Furthermore, citizens in a democratic nation are required to participate actively in the electoral process by voting during periodic elections. Political participation through voting is more dependent on the effectiveness of voter education programs which have the capacity to develop a conducive environment in which free, fair, transparent and credible democratic elections can take place. Voter education prepares and motivates citizens to develop a sense of feeling that they have a responsibility of actively participate in political affairs with enough knowledge to help them make rational decisions (Heath, 2006). The section intends to have an introspection of citizens' political participation from a global perspective by use of sampled countries outside Africa as a continent.

2.4.1.1 United States of America (U.S.A)

In the USA, at stake in 2002 elections was control of the congress, in which the party had the leading voice on legislation affecting education, health, welfare and the environment. On the other hand, which party would have the greater say in how United States of America responded to the challenges therefore, with so much at stake, it was highly expected many Americans would have turned up in large numbers to cast their ballot for their preferred party and candidate. However, to the contrary, more than half of American adults did not vote in the 2002 election. There was a very low voter turnout or rather high rate of voter apathy in that developed democratic country (Patterson, 2003). Unfortunately that poor voter participation recorded was after a massive voter education campaign by the new media and public service groups. In fact it was recorded that the number of electorates who did not vote in that election was far greater than the number of votes the winning party received in the congressional races. That situation recorded in a developed democratic country, demonstrated how serious and global the issue of voter apathy had become. The global issue of growing tendency of voter apathy demands concerted ideas and efforts to find solutions without much delay otherwise democratic governance is at risk of collapsing beyond reconstruction.

In a summative study of the 2002 elections, Willis (2003) found that voting behavior and political participation had been on the wane due to the increased dislike of political players' behavior. Significant from the findings by Willis (2003) were that the war in Iraq and other countries orchestrated by the president of the USA resulted in unnecessary deaths. This showed that incumbency factors affected the perception of American citizens on politics at that time and their attitude towards participation. The conclusion was that voting behavior and political participation at any time could be affected by government's way of handling national matters.

2.4.1.2 European Union

With reference to the European Union report of 2014, the report shows that the development of supranational structures alters the meaning of citizenship and participation (EU, 2014). Processes of political and economic integration at European level as well as at global level have put into question the limiting factor of participation within national borders (Soysal, 1997). In parallel, economic processes and social developments increasingly span across countries, regions and continents, aggregating the number of issues and reasons for engagement which extend beyond the traditional boundaries of countries. Young people increasingly live long periods in other countries other than their country of birth, and therefore can nurture attachments to different places. This process of globalization has also contributed to the general crisis of political parties and elections. National politicians are less and less able to address problems and influence policies in the national context due to internationalization, European integration and the increasing reliance on expert bodies (EU, 2014). As a result of the above development, and also the increasing 'mediatization' of party politics, the parties' traditional role of intermediating between different interests has weakened significantly, and they function more as mere 'election machinery' (Hoikkala, 2009: 30). These processes have led to political parties' loss of legitimacy in the eyes of citizens of all age groups. However, older generations had already taken up the voting 'habit' before their disillusionment occurred and so it is reflected to a lesser extent in their voting pattern (Kestila-Kekkonen, 2009).

2.4.1.3 India and Voter Participation

Since her independence in 1947, India has been governed by parliamentary democracy. The central actor in a democratic election has been active voter participation which is paramount to

the successful functioning of a democracy. Electoral Commission of India-ECI (2013) contends that the world in general had continued to record a decline in voter participation during periodic elections which would inevitably point to a democratic deficit. As such voter education was one of the key corrective measures that could help improve political participation through voting compared to other available factors. In order to encourage electorates to participate by voting during elections, the electoral commission chose to use young people and students to implement voter education in residential areas and academic institutions as campus ambassadors such as in Colleges and Universities. Campus Ambassadors are empowered to organize voter education programs in coordination with District Education Officers on voter awareness and participation. They further include electoral related issues into various extra-curricular activities on their campus.

2.4.1.4 Newzealand and Voter Participation

Newzealand had in the last three decades experienced a dramatic fall in the voter turnout. From a comparatively respectable 89% in 1981 to 69% in 2011. However, this was not a problem unique to Newzealand but voter turnout had been declining steadily in most developed democracies around the world. Unfortunately, Newzealand downward trend of voter participation was particularly steep.

2.4.1.5 Youths' Perception of Political Participation

Large proportion of today's young people in Western democracies grew up in relative wealth, where consumption and competition are dominant ideologies (Kestilä-Kekkonen, 2009). The underlying principles of consumption and competition most importantly 'choice' is also getting integrated into political participation (Kestilä-Kekkonen, 2009). In parallel, a 'generational shift' is taking place from 'materialist' to 'post-materialist' values that influence political preferences and interests (Inglehart, 1990). This generally means that young people tend to be more focused on 'quality of life' issues such as environmental protection or human rights (Ballington, & Fick, 1999). These changes favor more issue-specific, ad hoc and campaign-like political action.

The generational shift also reflects in young people's increasing non-linear transition to adulthood (Hoikkala, 2009). Unlike previous generations, young people experience fragmented routes to financial and social independence. Entry to the labor market takes longer and is often

interspersed with gaps in employment due to scarcity of jobs or further education and training (Inglehart, 1990: 12). Similarly, financial independence and living independently often alternates with dependence on parental support or house sharing as necessary.

In the words of Willis, societies are becoming increasingly individualized not only because people can determine their own place within a social hierarchy, but also because ‘the places to which the individuals may gain access and in which they may wish to settle are melting fast and can hardly serve as targets for “life projects” (Willis 2003:5). The flexibility needed to adjust to this kind of instability, and the resulting loose ties young people may have to essential aspects of their life, changes the way young people perceive their citizenship and political participation.

As such, the intensity and modes of participation can shift across time, embracing membership of new communities along with changes in their priorities and interests. In other words, political participation is transforming to become more ad hoc, personalized and ‘self-expressive’ (Lim, 2007). For all these reasons, young people tend to feel that traditional forms of participation are inadequate to influence policy-making in areas important to them. They neither see that their interests were well represented by elected politicians, nor do they feel that their voice is heard effectively (Soysal, 1997). On the one hand, young people feel excluded from traditional, mainstream ways of influencing political decision-making (Patterson, 2003); party membership is becoming increasingly older and traditional political fora provide barriers to youth participation. On the other hand, young people are the ones opting for new forms of participation that offer them more personally meaningful, informal, and non-institutionalized channels of action (Inglehart, 1990).

Nevertheless, this does not mean that young people do not trust parties and electoral politics or do not believe in democratic participation in the traditional sense. Kestilä-Kekkonen (2009: 156) shows that 18-30 year olds have, in fact, a higher trust in parties and in the effectiveness of elections than older age groups, despite their lower electoral participation. However, due to the changing perceptions of citizenship(s), they no longer perceive voting at national elections as a ‘duty’ (Lewinsky, 2008). Instead, their notion of citizenship and political participation changes: it becomes geographically dispersed, and more individualistic and efficacy-driven than based on emotional and normative considerations.

As a result, young people regard voting as one option among many, and they show their political engagement in many different issues that can potentially influence policies more directly (Kestilä-Kekkonen, 2009). Thus, new ways of perceiving citizenship transform political participation. Traditional channels which intermediate between different interests and traditional fora that allow individuals to express their political opinions might not be regarded by young people as appropriate or effective in a globalized, Europeanized and at the same time fragmented reality. Young people's political participation must therefore be analyzed and evaluated from this perspective.

The sense of citizenship stems from the interrelation between three main dimensions: the feeling of belonging to a political entity, acknowledgment of its rules and formal procedures, and trust in the efficiency and effectiveness of that entity to bring about concrete benefits (Patterson, 2003). In other words, one believes oneself to be a citizen when one: attaches emotional importance to being a member of a polity; accepts the related rights and duties as legitimate; and believes there are concrete gains resulting from its membership.

2.4.1.6 Global Perspective on Factors Affecting Citizens' Political Participation and Voting Patterns

Some studies have been conducted in various parts at global level to identify on matters that relate to factors affecting citizens' political participation. This section will focus on the global perception on factor affecting citizens' political participation and voting pattern.

It has been argued that change is the only permanent thing (Howard, 2010) and as such sometimes citizens chose to vote in a certain pattern so that they can influence the needed change. According to Howard (2010), Barack Obama had an outright victory in the 2008 elections in the USA because people wanted change. In addition, Michael (2010) argued that the millennial's were against the status quo which had been built over the years; hence, they decided to vote against the Republican candidate. This shows that sometimes citizens vote in a certain pattern just to ensure that change comes into force. In other words they used tactical voting just to prevent the Republican candidate from winning.

In Venezuela, Suez (2007) found that media coverage was at the hefty of influencing political participation especially when voting in that country. Suez (2007) observed various lacunas in the

way public media was used and this included the extent of bias towards giving airtime to opposition political parties. In his paper, Suez (2007) argued that since public media covered exclusively the ruling parties advertisement it was no-longer public but a private arm of the ruling political party. From these arguments it was therefore, critical that public media and other media observed professionalism and avoided committing perceived biases as that behavior would jeopardize public confidence on public institutions.

2.4.1.7 Some Global Strategies of Improving Citizens' Political Participation

Studies globally have revealed that some interventions to improve citizens' political participation were identified and implemented.

In Venezuela, Suez (2007) proposed that laws limiting certain behaviors during elections would reduce the levels of malpractices that the country faced. Suez (2007) argued that for citizens to participate politically they must be free from intimidation and the intimidators must be punished to deter would be offenders.

In Melbourne Australia, Lewis (2002) observed that voter education was not achieving the intended benefits because voter educators were underpaid. Lewis (2002) argued that the commission in charge of elections contributed to the failure of voter education exercise because they under paid the facilitators and this prevented more voter education officers joining and those who got contracted not reaching far flung areas.

In Newzealand, the Electoral Commission came up with some strategies for improving political and voter participation in future elections. Such strategies focused on the three key streams of work. Firstly, start a national discussion on the implication of declining voter participation. Secondly, provide public information and education resources that facilitate participation. Thirdly, research on what affects electoral participation. However, the primary focus was targeting the youths and new Newzealanders (Kowhiri, 2013).

2.4.1.8 Global Voter Education and Facilitation Methods

Voter education as a form of education could be a formal and informal way of dissemination of information, materials and programs intended to sensitize citizens who are or would be eligible voters at the time or in future about the electoral procedures, requirements and the importance of elections as well as taking part in actual voting (Lewinsky, 2003). He further contends that informal voter education was inevitable. It was an incidental form of voter education done in public place such as market places, social gatherings, public meetings and others. However, the challenge with such education was the limited time to allow intensive interaction with voters during the education session. The voter education facilitator must be skillful enough not to frustrate the target citizenry with affecting them with their main business.

Heath (2006) also described incidental voter education essential due to some factor such time and general negative attitude by voters towards arranged voter education sessions. Citizens are equipped with necessary electoral information to help them participate effectively in political matters of that nature.

Tomlison and Jaguar (2002) postulated that voter education provides voters with knowledge, skills and basic electoral related information such as their rights and responsibilities. It also raises the voters' awareness and understanding of the importance of citizens' participation during periodic elections and democracy. Facilitation of voter education provides options or methods, guidance and organizations offering voter education.

The method of voter education used include participative methodology or community mobilization, voter education campaign, electronic media such as radio and television and print media such as posters, bill boards, newspapers (CEE, 1999). Facilitators should use participatory methodologies whenever possible. These are presentation methods that encourage all those attending to take part. For example, the voter education facilitator (VEF) can put questions to participants or request them to ask questions concerning the electoral process. The facilitator should lead the discussion so as to make sure that it reflects real life situations and everyday activities in the area in order for them to relate to what is being discussed. Voter education facilitators should not assume that participants do not know anything about the issues being discussed (Heath, 2006). It is important that facilitators start by checking the level of the

participants' knowledge of the issues to be discussed. Some of the examples of participatory learning techniques include structured discussions, brainstorming, buzz groups, stories, role play and use of posters.

Voter education is provided using print media such as newspaper, posters and neon bill boards. The use of these media is subject to certain factors like accessibility to the main road network, availability of electric power, level of literacy. For the newspaper to be used effectively there is need to be near the main road in order to have access to newspapers. For the use of neon billboard there is need to have access to hydro-electric power. As for ordinary posters they only become effective depending on the reading abilities of the target group of people (EU, 2014).

In addition, voter education is provided through social campaigns by political parties and civil society organizations (Funders' Committee for Civic Participation-FCCP, 2009). This method of voter education can be referred to as community mobilization. For voter education activities using this method to be effective, facilitators must first get to organize publicity strategies. Some of the publicity strategize include, the use of public and private service administrators and community leaders, contact community based organizations (CBOs) and non-governmental organization (NGO), contact traditional leaders, contact religious leaders and also use door to door invitation. The goal of a voter education campaign is to create learning experience in order to encourage and motivate electorates to participate in elections, and to assist them in making informed decisions regarding their vote (Dutch, 2001).

It is important to emphasize and note that voter education providers must observe a sense of objectivity and neutrality as they carry out this duty. This implies that these facilitators need to be neutral and non-partisan at all times when presenting voter education (Ballington, 1999). Facilitators will be subject to close scrutiny during their work so it is essential that they are neutral and objective. Voter education facilitators should not support or argue for particular views or opinions during the activities. Political neutrality means providing factual, objective information and all the deferent points of view on an issue and leaving it to the participants to decide which point of view they prefer (Hornsby, 2011).

2.4.2 Continental (Africa) Perspectives of Political Participation

2.4.2.1 South Africa and Voter Participation

South Africa's successful transition from white minority domination to inclusive democracy culminated in the first all race elections in May 1994. The success of the election anchored on the full and massive participation of the minority black Africans who were at that time allowed to participate confidently and freely in the election process. It must be acknowledge that voter education played a fundamental role in ensuring democratic participation and transmitting key information (Tutu, 1999).

Furthermore, over 19 million new enfranchised citizens voted in April, 1995 election of South Africa's new born democracy which emerged victorious. The 1994 election was a clear testimony of the importance of voter education towards voter participation. Massive voter education was instrumental in setting for democratic participation (IEC, 1994).

Additionally, it was observed during South Africa's first democratic elections that the question of voter participation through the well dissemination of voter education was at stake to the process of democratization. Therefore, the South African Broadcasting Cooperation (SABC) and a range of Organization from the Civil Society partnered for unity of purpose in the process of voter education programs. The target audience was identified as all potential South African voters, with special emphasis on women, youths, rural people, town and informal sector dwellers (IEC, 2004).

2.4.2.2 Nigeria and Political participation

In most instances, more often than not, authoritarian rule survives on patron- clientele ties and relationships, ethnically or regionally based. In such instances state domination is perceived as being exercised by a particular ethnic group, religion or region. As for Nigeria, it is perceived to be controlled by the defined as ethnic majorities to the exclusion of minority groups, either at the national or local levels, which usually led to political power struggles coupled with activities of violence in order to cling to power at all cost (Best, 2004).

2.4.2.3 Sierra Leone, Liberia, Egypt and Political Participation

The similar situation in the three mentioned countries like in Nigeria, led to protracted civil war and state collapse in the sense that a combination of other strategies of monopolizing political participation and power. Political identity framed by ethnicity, region, clan and religion was a key factor in the construction of power domination as evident in different attempt to ensure territorial distribution of power through federalism on the African continent (Best, 2004).

2.4.2.4 African Perspective on Factors Affecting Citizens' Political Participation

Several studies have been conducted in other countries aimed at ascertaining the level of political participation of the citizens. In Botswana, Moria (2001) found that majority of citizens participated politically through voting while only a handful and the educated elite participated in other ways. According to Moria (2001) this was the status quo for majority of rural constituencies because they did not really understand their civil responsibilities other than voting alone. The study findings were saddening because majority some of the constituencies had members of parliament because no local individual was available to contest due to high illiteracy levels.

The findings by Moria (2001) were resonated by Mugusu (2006) in Namibia who also found that majority of the population in the study area participated politically through voting alone and left running for office as a call to the educated. These findings are unfortunate because attaining an education does not make one a good leader. Fortunately, Mugusu (2006) observed that the major drawback was high civic illiteracy and not functional illiteracy. From these findings it is arguably right to opine that the problem of political participation cannot be blamed on the general public but government departments that fail to educate the masses on the various ways of political participation. As Patterson (2003) argues "The fallacy of politics being for the educated must be demythologized." The argument by Smith may be construed to mean that beliefs that put certain constraints on political participation must be opposed using a well-designed learning process which puts all in the ambit of political participation.

In Mozambique, Dotolokilo (2009) found that some politicians bought their way into political office by constantly giving small payments to the electorate. Such behaviors affect the credibility electoral processes and hampers democratic exchange of political offices. Dotolokilo (2009)

argued that payment of bribes prevented candidates with integrity from winning elections because the criminals are given space to buy votes at will through beer, clothes or monetary tokens. This was against the tenets of democracy where the candidate with the majority number of votes wins and not the candidate who buys votes.

In Zimbabwe, Mukigwara (1999) found that some voters were merely overwhelmed by the beer that politicians gave in large quantities during elections and that such politicians had no interest in the plight of the poor majority. The findings by Suez (2007) resurfaced in Zimbabwe, in a study by Mugwara (2008) who also posited dissatisfaction on the way public media was used by the ZANU-PF in the period forerunning the general elections.

On the contrary, for the educated elite, bribes and media coverage did not have a huge influence as most of them made their decisions based on what the political party manifestos stated (Meimo, 2003). In South Africa, The study by Meimo (2003) showed that despite media having an influence in the voting patterns a small group of educated elites seem not to be influenced by the media noise rather it was the craft writings in the manifesto that bought a candidate their vote. These argument was also raised by Lewis (2002) in Australia who found that majority of voters with minimum education qualification reaching secondary level did not fall for on the devils call of sloganeering during electoral campaigns. The result showed that despite the dilution in political participation there still exist a few people who stand on the true meaning of democracy which is based on substance and not just jolly songs (Chibba, 2009).

In addition, Lewis (2002) found that some voters were only moved by politicians with a well-crafted plan to better the economy, and mere ranting did not help a political candidate amass votes from certain cliques of prospective voters. This meant that when making an appeal to the middle level income earners, a politician had to change his or her approach for them to be successful. Unfortunately, in Zambia no comprehensive study has been conducted to this fall as majority of studies only covered certain areas of interest.

2.4.2.5 Some Strategies to Improve Citizens' Political Participation

Due to various studies that have been conducted in relation to political participation and voting behavior a number of strategies have been brought forward to arrest the situation. Mugwara (2008) who opined that the major reason for reduced political participation in rural areas of

Harare was a lack of adequate voter education and that it was important that the commission responsible with the electoral process and elections increase funding on voter education. The findings by Mugwara (2008) have been supported by Dotolokilo (2009) and Moria (2001) who also proposed more funding as a way of resolving the problem of low political participation.

Media laws have been at the center of the debate on political participation. In South Africa, Meimo (2003) argued that the media laws that existed then did not promote a level political playing space and as such the government needed to work with the electoral commission to bring laws that were modern and that promote democracy. Meimo (2003) saw biases in the way public media behaved by airing only advertisements that were in favor of the ruling political party.

Furthermore, Mugusu (2006) saw coordination of community based groups with the commission in charge of elections as a successful way of delivering voter education. This was agreed upon by Moria (2001) who also believed that working with community based organizations widened the coverage circumference of voter educators because their officers live within the locality.

2.5.3 National (Zambia) Perspective of Political Participation and Voting Patterns

One fundamental principle of democratic governance is citizen participation in political, economic and social activities. For democracy to work effectively, citizens must have the right information and opportunity to participate in decision making processes, because that is the basis of democracy which promotes democratic governance (ECZ, 2012). However, citizen must be well informed about their rights, duties and responsibilities in order for them to actively participate in public life issues. For instance, it is the right of every citizen in Zambia who has reached the voting age to participate in every election as long as the procedures and requirements of the Electoral process are met (ECZ, 2012). Zambian citizens become eligible to vote when they attain the age of 18 years and must possess a Green national Registration Card, and be registered as voters (ECZ, 2011). Therefore, all individuals who meet these qualifications are expected to take part in elections through voting as a democratic right and duty. It is every democratic country's expectation that in every election there is a high voter turnout in order to promote legitimacy of elected leadership.

2.4.3.1 Qualifications of candidature as Republican President, Member of Parliament and Ward Councilor

Article 100 (1) of the 2016 amended constitution provides for the qualifications of a citizen to contest the position of the president. The following are the qualifications (a) is a citizen by birth or descent; (b) has been ordinarily resident in Zambia; (c) is at least thirty-five years old; (d) is a registered voter; (e) has obtained, as a minimum academic qualification, a grade twelve certificate or its equivalent; (f) is fluent in the official language; (g) has paid that person's taxes or has made arrangements, satisfactory to the appropriate tax authority, for the payment of the taxes; (h) declares that person's assets and liabilities, as prescribed; (i) pays the prescribed election fee on, or before, the date fixed for the delivery of nomination papers; and (j) is supported by at least one hundred registered voters from each Province. The academic requirement of grade 12 minimum has resulted in debate as some sectors of society argue that wisdom and good leadership is not learned through school (GRZ, 2016).

According to Article 70 of the amended constitution provides qualifications for members of parliament. The article states (1) Subject to clause (2), a person is eligible to be elected as a Member of Parliament, if that person (a) is a citizen; (b) is at least twenty-one years old; (c) is a registered voter; (d) has obtained, as a minimum academic qualification, a grade twelve certificate or its equivalent; and (e) declares that person's assets and liabilities, as prescribed. Under members of parliament qualifications the grade 12 requirement is still controversial.

Article 153 (4) provides that a person qualifies to be elected as a councilor, excluding councilors specified under clause (2) (b), if that person (a) is not a Member of Parliament; (b) is not less than nineteen years of age; (c) has obtained, as a minimum academic qualification, a grade twelve certificate or its equivalent; (d) is a citizen or a holder of a resident permit, resident in the district; and (e) has a certificate of clearance showing the payment of council taxes, where applicable. Under councilors also the grade 12 qualification requirement is outstanding (GRZ, 2016).

2.4.3.2 Voter Participation

To the contrary, in most countries both developed and developing the challenge of low voter turnout or voter participation remain common and serious today. The possible solution to such a

challenge demands that the national electoral authority together with other stake holders work together in providing voter education using effective methods and strategies to mitigate high voter apathy records (Hamwiinga, 2004). Voting is a form of political participation which enhances the growth of democratic governance in most countries across the globe. FODEP (2015) records that political and voter participation go beyond casting a vote. It involves sharing ideas in activities designed to influence public policy and leadership such as joining political parties and interest and so on.

2.4.3.3 The functions of the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ)

In Zambia, the electoral commission of Zambia (ECZ) is the body mandated to conduct elections through Article 76 of the constitution of Zambia, Cap 1 of the laws of Zambia. The commission has powers under section 129 of the Electoral Act No.12 of 2006 to make regulation which prescribe the conduct of elections. Furthermore, it is an independent Electoral Management Body that has both constitutional and statutory functions (ECZ, 2011).

The electoral Commission of Zambia under its mandate has the function to conduct presidential, parliamentary and local government elections without any interference. Before any political and constitutional election is conducted, depending on the availability of resources, the commission has to provide or conduct a voter education exercise in order to educate as well as encourage electorates to exercise their franchise. The intensification of conducting voter education prior to any constitutional election comes as a result of the emerging global issue of worrisome declining voter turnout or participation rates (FODEP, 2015).

2.4.3.4 Voter turnout in Zambia

The electoral commission of Zambia had on many occasions successfully conducted and supervised free and fair elections ranging from presidential, parliamentary to local government elections (AVAP, 2007). In order to exemplify the problem of low voter participation as one of the challenges of the commission faces. A sample of the 2011 Presidential election statistics in terms of voters registered, votes cast and invalid votes shows these discrepancies. For example, in the 20th September, 2011 general elections, the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) captured a total of 5, 167, 154 votes on the official voter's register out of the estimated 6, 069, 753 eligible voters which was 86% of eligible voters (ECZ, 2011). By the year 2011, with the hih

level of anti-voter apathy campaigns by the electoral Commission of Zambia and many civil society groups, it was hoped that there would be improvement in yielding high voter turnout but the situation proved to be stagnant.

The actual total voter turnout recorded in that election was 2,772,264 which amount to 53.65%. The invalid votes recorded were 39,602 amounting to 1.42%. Therefore, total valid votes recorded were 2,732,662. The situation in terms of poor voter turnout was not different as that obtained in various countries around Africa (UNDP, 2013).

The implication from the sampled countries in terms of voter participation was that the interest of citizens towards voting continued to decline (Robert, 2011). Such a state of affairs was a threat to the development of effective democratic governance. However, the emerging challenge of voter apathy was at the verge of eroding the globally promoted governance system of democracy. Nonetheless, amidst intensive conduction of voter education before every election there was little or no improvement at times in voter turnout especially that the commission attends to some of the identified factors affecting the effective implementation of voter education? It is therefore, important that studies with a ruralized niche be conducted in various constituencies in Zambia so that specific factors affecting political participation and voter patterns are identified and this is the gap the study intended to bridge (UNDP, 2013).

2.4.3.5 Voter Education and Participation

Voter participation has been taken to a higher level were citizens are conscientized on the value of their vote in every election. The introduction of voter education is not just for encouraging citizens to merely participate in voting but to cast a quality vote towards candidates of their choice based on constructive and progressive reasoning. ECZ (2012) contends that voter education is the form of education provided to the general citizenry or electorates to enable them participate meaningfully in elections by voting freely and fairly without any form of intimidation. Voters are encouraged without any form of intimidation. Voters are encouraged to make rational choice decision when exercising their suffrage. Voter education aims at providing voters with knowledge and information their voters need in order to skillfully take part in an election by voting. It raises the voters' awareness and understanding of the importance of

elections in a democracy. It further seeks to provide the citizens with the expected knowledge and skills to empower them to participate meaningfully in the electoral process.

However, Mutesa, F (2006) contends that the Zambia's situation has been observed to have total government influence on their voter programs without the input from the Civil Society Organizations.

2.4.3.6 Voter Information

Voter information on the other hand is about the basic information that voters need in order to participate meaningfully in an election. This includes information on issues such as voter registration exercise time and dates, nomination of candidates, the duration of campaign process, polling day and announcements of results. Voter information constitutes mostly basic facts about elections. Voters must be provided with all the basic information about the voting exercise so that they can make quality voting in order to put in office quality leaders who are morally upright with developmental objectives. Both voter education and information are basic essentials for successful elections. They contribute to elections being credible, free and fair. It is important that all eligible voters have access to voter education and information to help them make informed choices. It is for this noble principle that every country's electoral body such as the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) are mandated to provide voter education and information at the right time and with the availability of resources in support of elections (ECZ, 2011).

2.4.3.7 Providers of voter education

In Zambia, voter education is provided by a number of organizations with permission from the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) which is supported by the legal framework of under article 76 of the constitution of Zambia, Cap 1 of the laws of Zambia. Article 76 of the constitution of Zambia provides for the constitutional functions of the Electoral Commission of Zambia. Other organizations that supplement to the effort of Electoral Commission of Zambia in providing voter education include, forum for democratic process (FODEP), Anti-Voter Apathy (AVAP), Zambia Civic Education Association (ZCEA), the media and academic institutions (ECZ, 2012)

In the same vein, the ECZ is mandated to accredit registered stake holders interested in providing voter education at times with the resource support of the electoral commission, other local and foreign co-operating partners. Prior to every periodic election, some of the active Civil Society Organizations in providing voter education and carry out research programs related to elections. These include; FODEP, AVAP, ZCEA, SACCORD and many others (FODEP, 2011).

PANOS (2004) records that the evaluation report from the 2001 tripartite elections in Zambia indicated that the electronic media especially the radio was the most dependable instrument through which voter education was provided. This was because the cooperating partners and the civil society organizations lay particular stress on supporting of the training of the community media journalists in specialized reporting such as election reporting for which cooperating partners mostly foreign based supported the community media initiatives which took advantage of the new information and communication technology.

FODEP (2015) reported that much of the information had not been said on the remote areas of Zambia. The implication was that most of the rural constituencies which had little or no access to radio signals were vulnerable to receiving updated voter education. Mainly it was the state owned poor radio signals that could offer voter information in the remote rural constituencies that was perceived to be biased towards government. The community radio stations were known to offer balanced voter information to enable citizens to freely participate in the elections and enable a large number of electorate to make rational choices based on acquired voter education (PANOS, 2004). While voter information is the responsibility of the election authority such as the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ), voter education is the responsibility of both of the election authority and civil society. Additionally, a variety of other government agencies may also help out in informing and educating citizens. It is a known fact that National Electoral Authority are mandated by law to perform this role on all election matters, civil society organization may have, as part of their mission, a commitment of voter education and political participation (ZCEA, 2004)

Both voter education and information are essential for successful election regardless of the location. They contribute to elections being credible, free and fair. It is important that all qualified electorates have access to voter education and information to enable them to make

informed choices. It is for that reason that the electoral commissions of most countries are providing voter education and information in support of elections (ECZ, 2012).

2.3.3.8 Facilitation methods of voter education

Voter education provides voters with knowledge and information on their rights and responsibilities during elections. It raises the voters' awareness and understanding of the importance of elections in a democracy (Mundia, 2015). It seeks to provide the citizens with knowledge and skills to enable them participate meaningfully in the electoral process. Facilitation of voter education provides options or methods and guidance and organizations presenting voter education. These available methods will only be applicable depending on the situation and the type of target or group of the voter education is being presented to. In choosing the right voter education method, a voter facilitator should consider not only how the activity should be conducted but also why it should be done that way. It is important therefore, to consider the method to be used in providing information or discussing ideas and its effectiveness in creating understanding in the learner (ECZ, 2012).

The choice of method to be used at any given situation will be influenced by certain factors. These factors include: type of participant; the number of participants likely to attend the venue and facilities available; the time available; the other resources available to the facilitator; the issue or subject matters to be covered; the knowledge and literacy levels of the participant, and the interest of the participant to certain extent (ECZ, 2012).

The use of electronic media such as radio, television, video show and phones or on line social media for voter education is on the increase (ZCEA, 2004). Voter education using these methods should be well organized in advance by recording the information to be disseminated to the target group or the public. The use of radio and television in Zambia as a method of voter education is mostly used by the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ, 2012). However, other organization can use the radio and television facilities to provide voter education to the public through organized media presentation. The use of on-line media with the development of communication technology in providing voter education is becoming popular in Zambia (Samuko, 2016: The Post Newspaper).

Facilitation of voter education also involves tolerance for other people's opinion. For instance many participants at voter education activities will have partisan views on various issues and may be supporters' of different political parties. It is the facilitators' responsibility to remain firm and focused on the objectives of the voter education activities and to keep control of the discussion (ECZ, 2012).

2.4.3.9 Informal and formal Voter Education Events

Many of the voter education activities that will take place at the community level will be informal meetings and discussions. These informal voter education meetings are likely to take place after the community members have finished work and completed their scheduled daily activities. The activities range from farming, fishing and marketeering. The timing of the voter education activities will often depend on what kind of economic activities the particular community is engaged in and when people are available. In short, informal education is incidental in form meaning it can take place anywhere at any time depending on the preparedness of the voter education facilitator (VEF). For example, a facilitator could attend a public meeting and ask for a limited amount of time to discuss electoral education issues. Voter education facilities could also attend a meeting of community members in a youth, welfare, religious or women's group. Therefore, informal opportunities may take place wherever people are gathered and are able to cooperate to be talked to. These places include market place, fishing camp, social gathering, at domestic water points or pumps and so on. However, time for the interaction may be limited and the facilitator should be very skillful to provide information which is appropriate. The facilitator should tactfully take every possible opportunity to address groups of potential electorates in different communities (FODEP, 2011).

Formal activities are those that are organized specifically to provide voter education to a target group. These activities may be in form of a briefing or an interactive workshop depending on the available time, size and interest of the audiences. Some examples of formal activities include workshops, leaders meeting, meeting with civil society groups, religious gatherings and voter education meetings specifically organized for community members. When organizing for a workshop, facilitators should outline the objectives to be achieved at the end, which should be evaluated in order to know whether the workshop was a success or not. It is always important for the facilitators at the end of the workshop to get the participant feedback on whether the set

objectives were achieved and the entire activity was conducted to their satisfaction. The efforts to conduct these voter education activities are done before a scheduled election especially in a democracy so as to reduce voter apathy while at the same time electorates are informed on the importance of their participation in a democratic election (ECZ, 2012).

2.5 General Perception on Complex Relationship between Elections and Democracy

Elections are very important in a democratic process because through them electorates choose their administrative representatives. The term election is described as an act of decision making where people collectively elect representatives, leaders for a given portfolio and tenure of office to govern on their behalf. Elections are one of the principles of democracy. Democracy though it is a contested concept it broadly means “rule by the people” (UNDP, 2013). This implies that the power to rule lies with the people. The people decide on who and how they should be governed through active participation in elections (Patterson, 2003).

Therefore, the relationship between democracy and election is that in a democracy people are the highest authority and are the source of power and decisions must reflect the will of the people (Kabamba and Micheal, 2004). Elections are democracy at work. During elections people can assess the importance of their representatives and choose to re-elect them or elect new ones. Through elections leaders are given authority to govern on behalf of the electorate or citizens. Citizens have a primary responsibility and key to influence and set the agenda of their own country. The democratic agenda of the country must be based on the needs and priorities of all citizens. This can only be assured when citizens actively participate in public affairs of their country and make their demands known to their representative when they are elected to make decisions on their behalf. This is why all eligible citizens to vote must participate in election all the time (ECZ, 2012).

2.5.1 Importance of Elections in a Democracy

Voter education and elections are like two sides of a coin. Voter education provides information to citizens on the importance of participating in an election, and also understanding the electoral process. Periodic elections are important in democratic governance for several reasons. Elections enable citizens to participate in their governance system, recruit their political leaders for their

government, provide representation, hold leaders accountable, build legitimacy, influence policy and educate voters among other important aspects (Resentone and Hansen, 1993).

Furthermore, in a representative democracy, voter education could encourage and remind citizens to be fully responsible in the governance process by voting in an election so as to promote legitimacy of their elected leaders (Lim, 2007). While voter education aims at promoting citizen participation in election it is on the other hand discouraging voter apathy which is a threat to the development of democratic governance. Voters are provided with voter information and education that equip them with skills to make informed choices in an election because their vote counts. The process of political campaigning also provides the electorates with basic information about political parties, their candidates, and manifesto (Soysal, 1997).

2.5.2 Importance of Citizen Participation

Democracy is important because it guards the rights and promotes the freedoms of citizens. It gives citizens an opportunity to participate in making decision on public affairs that affect their daily life (Ballington& Fick, 1999). While the specific form that democracy takes varies according to economic, cultural and historical circumstances, it is argued that democracy should, quite generally, be seen in terms of social equality (Patterson, 2003). Some of the key importance of democracy includes promotion of freedom, justice and human rights, rule of law, Accountability and promotion of equality. Equality extends to such things as having ones interests into account, equality of economic and other opportunities and equality of access to information. Democracy rejects discrimination against any person regardless of one physical, economic, social, and spiritual, health, or any other status. Furthermore, democracy promotes citizen participation in public affairs such as elections (Dutch, 2001).

The essence of democracy according to Ginsberg et al (2009) in Mundia (2015) was active participation of citizens in choosing their leaders and the ability of the people to influence the decisions they make. Furthermore, the idea of placing of placing power in the hands of the citizens is referred as “popular sovereignty”. Ideally, democracy envisions an engaged citizenry prepared to exercise its power over elected leaders in order to make them accountable and responsible to their actions.

Citizen participation in a democracy should go beyond casting a vote during elections. For instance citizens should be fully involved in developing and implementing public policies and in ensuring leaders are accountable for the decisions they make on their behalf. In this respect, through civic education and voter education, citizens should be made knowledgeable about legislative provisions and other regulations that give them opportunities to get involved in decision making process at any given level (Milner, 2005).

It is the duty and responsibility of every Zambian citizen to promote democracy through voting in national and local government elections provided he/she meets the basic requirements. Voter participation is one way of active involvement in decision making (GRZ, 1996).

2.6 Some Identified Research Gaps and Related Research Studies

This section intends to show some related studies already undertaken and justify the supposedly gaps left which require to be filled by some interested researchers in future in the same way the writer of this study was motivated. The following are some of the related studies already conducted:

Mulyata Hills (2011) The impact of Voter education on voter participation: The case of Kaunda Square Square Stage (1) Compound in Lusaka.

Gap :- State the effect of low voter turnout on democratic governance

- Examine factors that motivate citizens to participate in politics

Mundia, L.M (2015) An Assessment of Voter Education Program Conducted by the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) and the Civil Society in Zambia.

Gap:-Establish factors that influence the current trend of voting pattern by citizens.

GIZ (2011) Voter Apathy in Zambia: Democratization, State and Civil Society Programs (Good Governance), Zambia.

Gap:- Establish some negative effects of the current trend of voting pattern in Zambia.

Research Gaps: From the outlined research studies in part 2.5 of the reports conducted by other researchers, none had touched on the area of voting pattern or behavior which has consistently

developed to unprecedented levels such as experienced during some general and other periodic elections in Zambia particularly between 2006 and 2016. It is therefore, the intention of this study to bridge the identified information gap through a research topic entitled “Political Participation and Voting pattern in Zambia: A study of periodic elections between 2006 and 2016 in Nangoma Constituency”. Some of the interesting and to some extent worrisome questions of concern were that: why electorates seem to be voting on political party, tribal or ethnic and perhaps on regional lines. Some of the already visible and anticipated problems are that there was disunity in diversity, selective degree of infrastructure development, poor quality of voting, and voter apathy to mention but a few.

This study intends to establish the causal factor that influence or motivate citizens to participate in politics and vote in a certain pattern that has been described as low, poor, partisan and ethnic in nature. There after suggest some possible corrective measures to the relevant authorities.

2.7 Chapter summary

This chapter looked at political participation and voting pattern or behavior using some related reviewed literature. The first section was introduction, followed by forms of voting, the global, African and Zambian perspective of political participation and voting patterns, voter education and participation. The chapter also looked at both formal and informal sources of voter information about the electoral process. Furthermore, relationship between elections and democracy, importance of elections in a democracy and significant of citizen participation have been discussed. The chapter further provided literature on factors that affect political participation and measures that could be put in place. The chapter also presented the general perception pertaining complex relationship between election and democracy in the light of active political citizens’ participation and voting behavior. Lastly, the chapter also provided a section to show the research gaps which needed to be bridged by undertaking similar studies on such topics with the intention of finding solutions to various identified problems.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1. Overview

This chapter outlines the methods which were used to collect data for the study. It comprises of a section on the research design that was used. It also describes the population, participants in the sample, the sample size and sampling procedure. Furthermore, the chapter presents the research instruments, data collection methods, data analysis methods, ethics and study limitations.

3.2. Research Design

The research design employed was a case study. A case study is an in-depth investigation of an individual, group, institution or phenomenon (Masabila and Nataila. 2013). The principle behind case studies is that a detailed array of information about a case may be discovered which may have an overarching relationship to other cases. Therefore, researchers use case studies to reduce the amount of data being collected but instead concentrate on a single phenomenon (De Vos, 2000). The study was an exemplification of a case study as it was intended to analyze in detail “Political participation and voting pattern: a study of the 2016 general elections in Nangoma constituency”. The study also fits into the case study design because it largely described the experiences of the electorates and voter education officers. The study used more of a qualitative approach than quantitative aspects. According to (Masabila and Nataila, 2013) the qualitative approach helps the educational research to obtain an in-depth data both within and outside the school environment. It gives a detailed analysis of the views and explanations of the respondents on the topic. A miniature of quantitative aspects was however embodied in the research. Quantitative methods used include averages, percentages and frequencies in summarizing the views of the major stakeholders in the study. In summary the study employed a mixed research design.

3.3. Population

The study targeted electorates, voter education officers, ward councilors, professional teachers, local serving NGO representatives and traditional leaders living and those who once served in Nangoma Constituency. The ordinary electorates were paramount in this study because they were the most vulnerable in terms of lacking electoral information access yet they were key

factors in such periodic elections of any democratic society. They knew the challenges they faced in their pursuit to deliver their civic duty of voting. They had potential of providing valid suggestions on policies and strategies which they wanted to be implemented as regards to promoting political and electoral participation in the case of Nangoma constituency and beyond borders. The voter education facilitators were also at the center of the study due to their valuable experience and knowledge that they had in relation to the topic under study. In addition, the traditional leaders had experience as regards to the challenges their subjects faced when it came to elections. According to ECZ (2016) the total approximate population of registered voters in Nangoma Constituency by 2016 general election was 34,261.

3.4 Sampling Procedure

3.4.1 Sample Size

The accessible study sample size involved forty (40) respondents distributed as: two (2) council officials, two (2) Headmen, two (2) teachers, two (2) members from any of the two civil society Organization(NGO) operating in Nangoma Constituency, two (2) voter education facilitators and thirty (30) ordinary villagers. From the study sample, ten (10) specialized respondents were categorized as key informants while the rest were ordinary constituents based in Nangoma Constituency. The key informants were purposely identified to provide classified variety of information needed to meet some demands of the study objectives. The small numbers were representative of the small accessible population of such individuals but with high chances of access to the needed information. On the other hand, the bigger share was allocated to the ordinary constituents to represent the majority electorates and help validate the general conclusion drawn from the research findings. However, ordinary community members were interviewed using structured and semi-structured interview guides. Therefore, purposive sampling to a larger extent was used with the help of quota sampling to a lesser extent to take care of gender promotions in the sample size.

Table 1: Sample Size Distribution

Main categories	Respondent class	Range of Respondent	Total # of respondents
Key informants	Council officials	R1- 2	2
	Head men	R3- 4	2
	Teachers	R 5- 6	2
	NGOs	R7- 8	2
	Voter educators	R9- 10	2
Ordinary constituents	General electorates	R11- 40	30
Total sample size		10+30	40

3.4.1.0: Sex of Respondents

Table 2 shows the sex distribution of the respondents. From the total of 40 respondents 15 or 38% were female while 25 or 62% were male.

Table 2: Sex distribution

Sex	No. Respondents	Percentages
Females	15	38
Males	25	62
TOTAL	40	100

3.4.1.1 Age of Respondents

Age of respondents was one of the factors that determined the success of the study. The age of respondents between the age of 20 and 39 were 16 or 40%, followed by those with 60 years and above who were 14 or 35% and then those with 40 to 59 were 10 or 25%.

Table 3: Age of respondents

Age	Frequency	Percentage
20-39	16	40
40- 59	10	25
60 and Above	14	35
TOTAL	40	100

3.4.1.2 Educational level of Respondents

Table 4 shows the education level of respondents. Out of the total of 40 respondents, 18 or 45% a primary level of education, 11or 27.5%) had a secondary level of education, 7 or 17.7% had Certificate and Diploma level of education and lastly 4 or 10% had higher level of education. The composition shows that the study sample had respondents with characteristics cutting across the general society and as such the findings could be relied upon.

Table 4: Education level

Education Level	Frequency	Percentage
Primary Level	18	45
Secondary Level	11	27.5
Certificate/ Diploma Level	7	17.5
Degree or Higher	4	10
TOTAL	40	100

3.4. Data Collection and Processing

Collection of data for the study was done by semi-structured interviews and questionnaires. Despite the interview guide difference in the order and manner of phrasing questions between those for the key informants and ordinary villagers, they had common answers. Therefore, data was processed by coding scheme based on the designed common questionnaire model to help the researcher analyze the responses easily.

3.5. Data Presentation

The most common form of analysis of qualitative data is observer impression which is subjective in nature. The data was examined and presented by statistical techniques. The study employed the use of coding as an interpretive technique. It was used for both qualitative and quantitative data collected and analyzed in the study.

3.6. Data Analysis

Data collected was analyzed using simple descriptive analysis of qualitative research. The qualitative data obtained from interviews for instance was analyzed using a quick impressionist summary. Summarizing key findings from interview responses was involved.

3.7. Data Validation and reliability.

In order to verify the validity and reliability of the research tools, the tools were tested by pilot survey with a small sample before being administered to the actual study respondents. This is in line with De Vos (2000) who argued that pilot testing of research tools helps the researcher redesign his tools when they do not collect the required information from the respondents. Pilot testing would also provide an opportunity for researcher to learn of the possible outcome of the study if the tools were able to elicit the correct responses.

Accidental sampling was used by the researcher in the initial pilot study before the actual study. Accidental random sampling refers to selecting respondents who are suddenly met (Masabila and Nataila, 2013). The researcher went to one village where people were asked to take part in the pilot study. The researcher explained the purpose of the research visit and later randomly selected participants for the pilot study. Responses were collected using the data collection tools

that had been designed by the researcher. The responses from the pilot study were compared with the study objectives. The questions that seemed not to meet the objectives were adjusted and the exercise repeated until the objectives were met using the instruments.

Reliability was tested using inter-rater and test-retest reliability. Inter-rater reliability is also referred to as inter-observer (Heath, 2006). According to Lee (2009) inter-rater reliability is an estimate of the agreement between two testers who administer the same instrument to the same individual. A fellow teacher of civic education was asked to administer the instrument to randomly selected respondents to confirm consistence. This form of reliability is an appropriate method of determining the effectiveness of data collection.

Test re-test reliability is the consistency of the measure to give similar results from one administration to another (Tuckman, 2006). The results can be affected by the time lapse but test-retest reliability promotes consistence in research findings (Masabila and Nataila, 2013). To ensure that the instrument used was reliable the instrument was retested with the same respondents and the consistence assessed. According to Tuckman (2006) test re-test reliability helps confirm the possibility of the instrument being successfully used in collecting data in the study. The test-retest reliability index was 0.8 and calculated using the formulae: number of agreements divided by disagreements and multiplied by 100. Therefore, data collected using the questionnaires and interview guides in the study were valid and the data could be relied upon.

3.8. Ethical Considerations during Data Collection

Qualitative data analysis is never far from ethical issues. The researcher followed and respected the ethics concerning how to treat respondents taking part in a study. The identity of the respondents for the study was treated as confidential in order to encourage them to speak out rationally about emerging study findings, Tuckman (2006). Such elements include privacy, confidentiality and anonymity of the respondents. The researcher negotiated with participants early in the study the approach that would be taken to protect privacy and maintain confidentiality. Selected participants were asked to review reports or other products before the public to gauge the extent to which their privacy had been appropriately preserved.

3.9. Limitation and Delimitation

3.9.1 Limitation

These were factors that negatively affected the researcher to effectively and efficiently undertake the study and produce the finished document as planned. Some of the challenges encountered include; inadequate time and financial resources. The vastness of Nangoma constituency required enough resources for easy mobility during data collection. The issue of time affected the research operation since it was done on part-time basis such as during spare time when the researcher was free from duties of formal employment since study leave was denied to him. English Language barrier was a challenge especially with the respondents to whom the interview guide was used because some of them had no formal education. To resolve the problem, researcher had to interpret the questions in the interview guide from English into Chitonga or any other language the respondent was comfortable with in order to bridge the gap. The researcher experienced some set-backs from respondents when it came to expressing themselves and providing factual information. This obstacle to data gathering was resolved through using probing skills that help remove the phony part of the respondent when giving information. Time management during the interview sessions was a challenge and in order for researcher to collect conclusive data, he extended the interview sessions to 15 minutes per person. This paid off despite lengthening the data collection period which in the onset the researcher had projected to take 2 weeks only but ended up taking 4 weeks. Additionally some target key informants would not be easily accessed during the process of data collection such as voter education facilitators who were not local residents of Nangoma area. This problem was managed by sending the documents by mail and giving a 5 day period for these respondents to complete filling in the questionnaires and interview guide. Amid all these limitations the study was successful.

3.9.2 Delimitation

The study was more confined to discuss voter participation in relation to voting pattern among many other forms of political participation. The study was further limited to collect data from electorates, residents and distinguished key informants as respondents and also those who once

served within the boundaries of Nangoma Constituency located in Mumbwa district in different capacities or responsibilities.

3.10 Chapter Summary

The chapter outlined critical areas in the research methodology used in the study. It clearly explained the research design and identified it as a case study. A clear explanation of the merits of case studies was given in relation to the title of the study. The chapter also described the study population, nature of participants in the sample, the sample size, sampling procedure, research instruments, data collection methods, data analysis methods, ethics and study limitations. Such key items gave a glimpse of how the research was undertaken and any other special considerations were itemized in the chapter. The next chapter was concerned with presentation of all the crude data that was collected in the field for the study. Crude data implied the data presented before discussion to provide meaning, direction, conclusions and suggested solutions thereafter.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.1 Overview

This chapter presents findings of the study. The study was guided by four (4) research objectives which were thematically organized to establish the needed information. The first objective was to identify the factors that influence citizen political participation biased towards elections. The second was to examine the effects of voter education on voter turnout. The third, to find the factors that negatively affects voter participation. The fourth objective was to establish strategies of promoting citizen participation in elections. All the data in the study was collected using questionnaires and interviews. The data was presented in tandem with research objectives though in some cases objectives were split into more sub-titles when researcher was convinced that such a split would bring about coordination and clear presentation of the findings. The findings are presented according to the main study objectives.

4.2 Factors that influence citizen political (electoral) participation

Classified responses on the question concerning what factors influence political participation among Zambian citizens were collected. Political participation involves those actions of individual citizens by which they sought to influence or to support government and internal politics (Patterson, 2003). A number of factors were raised by the respondents as itemized below.

4.2.1 Economic Benefit

The study revealed that eighteen representing (45%) of respondents believed that citizens participated in politics for economic benefit or liberation. Below are some of the responses:

R11 stated:

Some individuals take part in politics because it is the easiest way to get rich. It is fast money and one only needs to be associated with a politician to clinch easy deals and contracts according to different levels. For this reason I am also strongly contemplating on entering the political arena because it is the sure way of getting rich fast.

R16 stated:

..... The economic benefit at the end of the spectrum encourages many people to participate in politics. It is evident enough that wealth is fast gained by one becoming an active politician. Some people who were very poor recently have become rich by merely joining politics as supporters or candidates.

Those who were interviewed also believed that political/electoral participation was hinged on economic benefit. Below were two of the responses recorded,

R1 stated:

Majority of people participate in politics in order to become rich because it is much easier to be make money through politics than working hard.

R2 stated:

I will continue voting for the political leader who is a successful economist and farmer at personal level because am surviving through farming. We have tried other political leaders before but they have failed to improve the agriculture sector and the economic status of this country despite making inspiring promises during campaigns. So am not tribal.....but merely to exercise the right to elect visionary leadership.

4.2.2 Prestige

Findings indicated that eight representing 20% of respondents felt that political participation was influenced by the prestige associated with it.

R10 stated:

Political participation especially when associated with a winning candidate brings with it a level of prestige. Once a citizen is connected to politicians society begins to respect them.

R15 stated:

People participate in politics because it is a sign of rising up the social strata and no one would be happy to be at the lower end of the social stratum.

4.2.3 Respect

The findings indicated that twenty four or 60% of the respondents believed that political participation was due to the respect associated with political position in society.

R30 indicated:

If you want to be respected in society, politics should be your choice career, you do not have to run for office but merely create relations with those in power and all will be well for you.

4.2.4 Citizens' right, duty and responsibility

From the findings, 16 (40%) of the respondents declared that in democracy, citizens were legally free to elect leaders of their choice. For instance,

R5:

As a woman I have the right, duty and responsibility to vote for the right leader

4.3 Forms of political Participation

When respondents were asked on how they participate in politics, they gave various ways. The research findings showed that thirty or 75% of the respondents believed that by merely took part in voting. Two or 5% of respondents participated politically by helping with voter education. However, most respondents favored door-to-door voter education method, while another three or 7.5% believed that active participation should be through contesting for elected positions. Two or 5% of respondents saw political career to be for the educated citizens and so the only way they participated in politics was through helping in the campaigning process. Three or 7.5% respondents made small contributions to those who ran for political office. The table below shows the summary of the responses.

Table 5: Forms of Political Participation

Form of Participation	Respondents	Percentage %
Voting	30	75
Voter Education	2	5
Contesting a Position	3	7.5
Campaigning	2	5
Financial Contributions	3	7.5
TOTAL	40	100

4.4 Factors that Influence Voting Pattern during an Election

Did you vote in the last presidential elections? If so, whom did you vote for and why? Results from the findings indicated that different factors influence voters during general elections. The study also revealed that most voters made their political and electoral decisions, based on some factors other than real issues. Some of the various factors given by the respondents include:

4.4.1 Background Relationship with the Candidate (Ethnic, party, religion, and region)

The findings were that twelve representing 30% of respondents voted in the way they did due to the historical relationship they had with the candidate. The relationship included was not only limited to ethnicity or present status. Below were some of the responses from the questionnaires.

R13 stated:

I voted for because he is my tribes mate. Wakoniwako waziba (support your local team). You cannot leave your tribesman and vote for a candidate from another region who does not understand what you pass through as an individual.

R18 indicated:

I can only vote a candidate who comes from the same region because such a person understands what we go through every day. For example, here we are farmers and if we vote for a person who does not know anything about farming chances are that he or she will not promote farming.

4.4.2 Outright bribery

The study established that four or 10% of the total sampled respondents were of the view that in many cases voters were influenced by bribes which most politicians dish out during the campaign period.

R4 stated:

I voted forbecause he offered me wrappers and gave all those who attended his preparatory meeting money to use as we went about campaigning. We could not resist receiving money because the price of Mealie meal had gone up and money was very scarce

4.4.3 Desire and potential to Improve Economic Wellbeing

The findings indicated that seven or (28%) of the respondents were of the view that the desire for an improved economy made them vote for or against the incumbent. If during the incumbent's mandate the economy improved, such a candidate had a higher chance of being re-elected.

R9 stated:

I voted against the incumbent because the economy is in tatters and wished that the new presidency would bring about economic development. I made this decision after reading through the different political party manifestos.

R13 stated:

We chose politicians so that they can better our lives and if within their five year mandate they disappoint us, we have the right to get rid of such leaders and replace them.

4.4.4 Desire for Change

Change was the only thing that was permanent. The study found that three or (7.5%) of the respondents were of the view that change of government was inevitable and they mainly made decisions such as voting against the incumbency due to the mere need for that same change.

R25 stated:

I just wanted change of government so that we could see how a new party would run the country and the economy.

R29 stated:

Sometimes we just desire for change and vote against the incumbent and choose a new leader while expectant of a better leadership.

4.4.5 Extent of Media Coverage

The study revealed that media coverage was limited and that affected the choices made on political candidates. The results showed that five or (12.5%) of the respondents observed that public media coverage of political parties was biased towards ruling party only while the private media was divided over covering opposition parties determined by private arrangement.

R3 stated:

I voted for the candidates who had more state media coverage than others on ZNBC the only TV station I have access to. However, I have just heard that there are other candidates also advertised on some private media such as Muvi TV.

R10 stated:

As a rural dweller with the current poor agricultural business activities, I have no Television set and therefore no access to all the candidates contesting elections in my area who could explain their manifesto to us.

4.4.6 Incumbency Factors

The study findings recorded that certain factors like how the incumbent carries himself in public, general behavior and many others influence the voting pattern in an area. Therefore, four or (10%) of the sampled respondents were of the view that incumbency factors had an influence on the electoral decisions over the choice of candidates made by electorates.

R38 stated:

I voted against the incumbent because his behavior did not show any interest in the plight of the poor.

R40 stated:

I voted for the incumbent candidate though he was not very educated and contested as independent at least I have seen some few development projects he has done unlike voting for a stranger who might be worse than him despite being rich and educated.

4.4.7 Party Manifesto

The findings indicated that five or (12.5%) of respondents believed that party manifesto had an influence on the decisions made by citizens during elections. Some respondents could show some mixed feelings and elements of pessimisms about the reality promises in terms of implementation when such candidates are voted in power based on historical experiences.

R3 stated:

I voted for the candidates who stood on the ticket of the party I thought met the aspirations of the poor majority after reading party manifestos.

R9 stated:

I read through party manifestos and chose according to my conviction as regard to the party manifesto. A party manifesto gives a guide on what the individual when elected will enforce.

Table 6 shows a summary of various factors that influence voter decisions during elections.

Table 6: Factors Influencing Voting Decisions/Pattern

REASONS FOR VOTING A CERTAIN CANDIDATE	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE%
Voter background	12	30
Outright bribery	4	10
Desire for Change	3	7.5
Extent of media Coverage	5	12.5
Incumbency Factors	4	10
Party Manifesto	5	12.5
Desire to Improve Economic Well-being	7	17.5
TOTAL	40	100

4.5 Factors Affecting Voter participation

When respondents were asked to identify some factors according to their experiences that affect voting behavior and pattern, four factors stood out and are listed below. To the respondents these factors had great bearing on their decisions either to take part in the electoral process or not.

4.5.1 Voter Education

The study revealed that voter education affected voter participation due to some factors or reasons. Research findings indicated that twenty eight or 70% of respondents were of the view that lack of voter sensitization to most electorates contributed to the increasing rates of voter apathy in Nangoma Constituency. Below are some of the responses.

R13 stated:

I did not vote because of lack of awareness. No voter educator came to our area in the remote part of Sichonzu Ward of Nangoma Constituency to educate us about voting in 2016.

R16 stated:

Voter Education can increase voter turnout because majority of electorates can be well informed and not to be caught unawares on Election Day.

In addition, some respondents were of the view that voter education when presented in local languages and not only in urban areas could help alleviate voter apathy. Furthermore, the following were some of the responses:

R23 stated:

Voter education would increase voter turnout but majority of voter educators concentrate in urban areas resulting in those who need the education not receiving the necessary information.

R33 stated:

Voter education has a positive effect on voter turnout but it was mainly presented in English making it very difficult for most common villagers to understand clearly.

To the contrary, a small group of the respondents were of the view that voter education had no impact on voter turnout because electorates shun elections due to the negative behavior portrayed by politicians who do not seem to care for the plight of the voter. Here emphasis was on how politicians enrich themselves once they were voted into office of authority at the detriment of the poor in society.

R1 stated:

Voter education has no major impact on voter turnout because people are dissatisfied with the way politicians behave. Most politicians do not care about the needs of the majority poor electorates but were only interested to amass personal wealth.

R6 stated:

Voter education is a waste of time. What we need are leaders who care for the plight of the poor and ensure that the welfare of a common person in the constituency is uplifted.

People have given up because elections come and go but no tangible developmental change is seen in our constituency.

4.5.2 Season when Elections are held

Some respondents were of the view that the season when elections were held had an impact on voting pattern. The results showed that thirty or 75% of the respondents believed that the season had a huge negative impact on voter participation in Nangoma rural Constituency especially.

In the same vein, the following responses were issued;

R11 stated:

Holding elections during rainy season affects voter turnout because if the day of elections is rainy, many people who feel frustrated by the greedy nature of most politicians may not be able to leave their homes just for voting thus resulting in increased voter apathy, so holding elections during the dry season helps reduce the negative effects of the weather.

R26 stated:

Holding elections during the dry season results in increased participation because most electorates here in Nangoma were farmers and during the dry season we are not busy making it appropriate for us to take part in elections.

Furthermore, R34 stated:

During the rainy season we need to decide either to leave our field works and go to vote for greedy politicians or concentrate on our work to feed our families. Majority of us would rather stay away from elections when they are held during the rainy season.

While a few respondents believed that the rainy season had no effect on voter turnout because it was the sole responsibility of every citizen to elect leaders through voting. Some of the respondents had different and opposite views over season in terms of affecting voting behavior:

R20 stated:

It is our responsibility to elect leaders and as a result everything else can wait as we go to cast our votes. Each voter must guard the vote jealously because it counts and has value. So season when elections are held has no effect on voter turnout.

R8 stated:

To vote is a duty of every citizen, so it does not matter when the elections are held.

In the same vein, R 18 stated:

Season has no effect because if an individual decides to vote, they will even in the rainy season. So it is the extent to which one understands their civic responsibilities that affect voting and not when elections are held.

The table shows a statistical summary of responses pertaining to season having an effect on voting pattern.

Table 7: Effects of Season on Voter Turnout

	Yes	No	Not Responded (Mute)
Number of Respondents	30	6	4
Percentage (%)	75	15	10

4.5.3 Distance to Polling Stations

The findings showed that twenty one or 52.5% of the respondents believed that distance from homes to polling stations affected voter participation. They espoused that those who were located in close proximity to polling stations had a higher likelihood of taking part in voting as compared to those who stayed far away from the polling stations. Two responses on this part were recorded.

R23 stated:

We do not take part in the elections because the distance from our homes to polling stations is prohibitive. Imagine covering five miles or more just to go and vote for

politicians who do nothing or very little to better our lives but only amassing their own wealth. It is a big insult to say the least.

R31 stated:

I will only start voting when polling stations are close by. For now the distance is too much for me to cover.

4.5.4 Electoral Violence (Causes and effects)

The study revealed that violence during elections influence voting behavior. The records indicated that eighteen or 45% of the total target respondents were of the view that in some cases violence prevented them from electoral activity participation.

R22 stated:

Pockets of violence towards Election Day instill fear in the electorate and as such they chose not to take part in the elections. For example, in the August, 2016 elections physical violence was reported by the media and in some cases lives were lost. So I did not vote because of anger especially that it was mostly my party cadres killed.

During data collected, R30 stated:

Violence during elections prevents people from participating effectively. If citizens were to participate freely in electoral politics, the police must protect the rights of every citizen with impartiality.

When respondents were asked on what were the causes of electoral violence during elections, there were divergent views. From the research findings thirty-two or 80% of all respondents believed that the cause of electoral violence was poverty, then twenty-four representing 60% said it was unemployment, additionally, twenty-eight or 70% suggested that weak penalties for violators of the electoral code of conduct gave room for electoral violence. Furthermore, sixteen or 40% saw weak governance and corruption as perpetrators of some forms violence. In addition, ten or 25% respondents were of the view that ethnic divisions also caused violence

during elections and thirty-eight or 95% were of the view that illiteracy or lack of formal education caused violence.

The table shows a summary of these findings. **Note:** some respondents gave more than one reason hence; the total frequency may not be reminiscent of the actual total because the numbers overlap.

Table 8: Causes of Electoral Violence

Reasons	Frequency	Percentage %
Poverty	32	80
Unemployment	24	60
Weak penalties	28	70
Weak governance & corruption	16	40
Lack of Formal Education	38	95
Ethnic divisions	10	25

4.6 Effects of Voting Pattern on Political Participation

Following the voting pattern experienced in Zambia in the recent few elections between 2008 and 2016 which were generally described as being of low turnout, tribal, regional and Partisan in nature, respondent were provided a chance to identify some of the visible and expected negative effects to Participatory democracy.

R1 stated:

We have not seen satisfying infrastructure and economic development since 2006 when Nangoma constituency has been a strong hold of the opposition UPND party to 2016. Biased and lack of even distribution of developmental projects was evident in the area.

R10 stated:

After the 2015 presidential elections moving towards 2016 general election, Zambia had continued experiencing unprecedented levels of ethnic divisions in social places, electoral violence, extreme personalization of power, nepotism, cardalism empowerment.....Sivintu.

4.7 Strategies to Promote Political Participation and Voting

Respondents were asked to suggest some strategies which would help promote electoral participation and in the constituency and various strategies were given. A number of strategies were established by some respondents as outlined in the research report.

4.7.1 Continuous Voter Education

The findings recorded that twenty five or 62.5% of the respondents were of the view that voter education must be a continuous process so that the electorates can get acquainted with the voting process and their civil responsibilities. According to the respondents the status quo had been that voter education was mostly conducted within three months before the elections day. Some of the 9 responses were recorded.

For instance, R5 stated:

If voter education was a continuous process people would acquire adequate knowledge concerning elections and prevent possible manipulations that may be orchestrated by politicians. It was lack of information that made some electorates to accept bribes.

In the same vein, R34 stated:

“The electoral commission must ensure that voter education was an ongoing exercise so that people have time to understand the information and be able to vote rationally based on sufficient and well assimilated information. Knowledge is known as power.”

Furthermore, R40 suggested:

Traditional leaders such as chiefs, village heads, and local serving Non-Governmental Organizations could be engaged to help facilitate voter education through their activities in their areas if well supported and motivated.

4.7.2 Enact Laws that Punish Perpetrators of electoral Malpractices

Research findings revealed that twenty-two or 55% of the target respondents suggested that to promote electoral participation through voting, parliament must enact laws that protect all citizens from brutal attacks by sponsored political party opponents or cadres. Some ideas through responses were collected.

For example, R21 stated:

Parliament must introduce laws that give stricter punishment to electoral code of conduct offenders without segregation regardless of political party affiliation.

In the same vein, R26 stated:

Laws must be crafted in such a way that prospective perpetrators of political and electoral malpractices are deterred such as disqualifying erring aspiring political party candidates.

4.7.3 Hold Elections during the Dry Season

Some respondents were of the view that holding elections around the rain season negatively affected participation. Study findings established that eighteen or 45% of the accessible respondents suggested that the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) must adopt a deliberate public policy to hold general elections.

For instance, R27 stated:

Elections must be held in the dry season since majority of citizens in Nangoma constituency are farmers, therefore holding elections during the dry season may not crash with their farming projects.

During interviews R35 stated:

Holding elections during the dry season prevents delays in counting and transportation of election results because the roads are passable and rivers are not flooded.

Furthermore, no chance of disturbance by rains which may prevent people from voting and electoral related activities.

4.7.4 Effective and impartial application of media laws

The findings recorded that ten or 25% of the target respondents suggested that there was no need for change or enacting of new media laws because the current laws could still help level the political playing environment when implemented professionally and effectively.

R11 stated:

The government should ensure that existing media laws were professionally and effectively implemented and media houses found flouting these laws must be met with the force of the law.

In the same vein, R13 stated:

The Electoral Commission of Zambia should ensure that public media do not only disseminate campaigns for the party in power but for all parties contesting an election.

4.7.5 Motivating Voter Educators

From the research findings, six or 15% of the target respondents suggested that voter educators must be motivated through providing them with reliable transport and good wages because these were the major hindrances to successful voter education implementation.

For instance, R30 stated:

The State Electoral Commission must provide adequate transport logistics for use by voter educators as they go about educating citizens in the political field due to vastness of assigned catchment areas.

R35 stated:

Wages must be raised to attract more voter educators to work diligently in the process. Possibly during sensitization workshops a separate amount must be put aside for refreshment of participants as this will attract more people to attend voter education sessions among other incentives.

4.7.6 Work with local NGOs and focal Persons in Educating Electorates

Findings from the field showed that five or 12.5% of the respondents suggested that the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) should work hand in glove with NGOs serving in various constituencies by suggesting that voter education be included in their programs.

R39 stated:

Non-Governmental organizations working within a particular constituency must be engaged by government to include voter education programs and activities in their outreach programs under special coordinated arrangement. The integration of voter education activities would be a motivating factor to the target audience.

In the same vein, R5 stated:

Since NGOs run some local programs to alleviate poverty through acquisition of knowledge skills. Therefore, the inclusion of voter education activities may help reduce the levels of irrational voting and also the burden of the ECZ. Also engage local traditional leaders and village appointed focal persons to work with local serving NGO's.

4.8 Chapter Summary

This chapter presented the findings of the study. The results indicated that citizens participate in politics through voting, voter education, contesting for a position, campaigning and financial contributions. It was also revealed that voting pattern was influenced by factors such as identification with candidate, outright bribery and potential to improve economic wellbeing, desire for change, extent of media coverage, incumbency factors and party manifesto. A number

of factors affecting voting behavior and pattern were established including voter education, favorable season when elections are held, distance to polling station, and violence during elections. The various causes of violence were stated by various respondents. In order to improve the citizens' political participation and control the growing trend of the described unfavorable form of voting pattern in Zambia and Nangoma in particular as a study case, some proposed strategies were identified aimed at promoting political participation and voting among the citizens. The findings were only intended to be presented as obtained because discussion was a preserve of the next chapter (5).The section provided an opportunity of attending to the entire specific study objectives in relation to the corresponding objective questions.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

5.1 Overview

This section provides an opportunity for the researcher to discuss the study findings or results in relation to both research questions derived from specific objectives of the identified study topic and the existing knowledge from other scholars who attempted to examine similar study areas of the social science discipline. The researcher intends to demonstrate his knowledge about the study topic by interpreting the findings and outlining specific meaning with a view of proposing workable solutions to the identified problem. Therefore, from the study it was found that political participation and voting pattern were mediated by various factors. But as a condition to a functioning democracy, these two paradigms must be promoted so that only democratically elected leaders assume office as supported by Lim (2007) who stated that active political participation defines a real democracy while positive voter behavior ensures that all the tenets of democracy are met. This section discusses in details the findings obtained in the field through qualitative research paradigm. It is outlined with the same objectives that guided this study such as: to identify the factors that influence citizen political participation, examine effects of voter education and voting patterns on political participation; and establish strategies of promoting citizen participation during elections among others. As a way of understanding the meaning of the data collected on the study entitled “Political Participation and Voting Patterns in Zambia: A Study of some General Elections between 2006-2016 in Nangoma Constituency,” an interpretation of the emergent objective themes was done by relating the key findings to existing literature or knowledge on the study topic.

5.2 Factors that influence citizens’ political participation

The study noted that there were a number of factors that influenced citizen political participation with a bias on electoral activities such as: economic benefit, prestige and respect among other factors. The study findings were in tandem with those of Moria (2001) who in his study of political participation and voter behavior in Botswana found that economic stimuli, prestige and respect accorded to politicians by members of society promoted political participation. According to Patterson (2003) economic benefits are benefits that could be quantified in terms of money generated such as revenue, net income and others. Economic benefits could be measured

and used in business decisions, policy decisions, and market analyses. When economic benefits are used as motivation for political participation, the voting of aspiring candidate for elected position is not done rationally but merely based on who promises more money in exchange for a vote. Therefore, when those participating in politics are crowded with the mind of what they will benefit once a certain politician takes power, the information disseminated is diluted with lies to ensure that certain candidates are disadvantaged while others are advantaged. This is mainly the breeding ground for electing leaders not on merit but monetarily basis (AVAP, 2007). For this reason, majority of politicians who have learned the art of deceiving electorates assume periodic pretense of being kind hearted and promising more money in exchange for votes. Once these politicians are elected to power, they easily disregard the plight of electorates and were only seen in the constituencies towards the next election period.

In addition, prestige is sometimes the driving force to political participation as noted in the findings of this study. Prestige could be defined as a reputation or influence arising from success, achievement, rank, or favorable attributes (Hornsby, 2011). Those driven by prestige to participate in politics may not necessarily run for office but would merely associate with a candidate who won an election with a view to satisfy their ego. According to Dotolokilo (2009) citizens participating in elections based on prestige may turn violent when their candidate seems to lose because they perceive such a loss to be their personal loss. The implication here was that prestige is psychological in nature and prevents any rational analysis of critical issues in life. For this reason, those who support a certain individual would have hate feelings for those supporting other candidates or political parties and this may result into violence. The study results were in tandem with those of Mugusu (2006) who indicated that those who turned violent during an election did so because they felt that the prestige associated with political participation had been threatened by the opposing group.

Furthermore, the study noted that some citizens participated in politics due to the respect accorded to politicians. This respect is to some extent the negative type because such people tend to demand the respect rather than earn it out of their good services they offer. As the saying goes “respect must be earned and not demanded.” Those who enter politics to acquire societal respect end up abusing electorates whom they deem do not accord the supposed respect. These findings were in agreement with Mukigwara (1999: 34) who argued that “if you see a politician

demanding to be respected by electorates, just know that he or she does not intend to serve but to enjoy selfishly the benefits of holding a given public position.” This was a sad turn of events because according to Swanpoel (2003) the real employers of politicians were the electorates and thus it was the politicians who need to humble themselves. Therefore, it was assumed by this study that politicians who get intoxicated by the power of the public offices they hold had no heart for the people that put them there.

The study also found that citizens participated in elections through various ways. Some merely voted others provided voter education; some ran for office, while some only helped through campaigns. It is an agreed fact as found in this study that in a democracy citizens had various ways in which they can take part in the selection of political leaders and governance, and that it was very important for a citizen to find ways in which they could contribute to the politics of their society. The study findings correspond with the observations in Suez (2007) who observed that every citizen can play a part in the governance system of his or her society either by running for office, educating people about the importance of political participation, and helping prospective voters make informed choices about the candidates running for elected office.

While political participation was seen as a cornerstone to a democratic governance system, it was revealed in the study that majority of the respondents did not understand the importance of political participation. The study showed that some citizens may not be interested in politics for some reasons which may have been developed over time or resulting from life experiences. The study found that some people refrain from political participation because they believe that politicians are liars who could not be trusted. In addition, such people believe that politicians were just there to enrich themselves at the expense of the poor majority. These findings were consistent with Meimo (2003) who also opined that some electorates stayed away from voting because of the negative perception they held about politicians and related bad political vices such as violence.

5.3 Factors that Influence Voting Patterns in an election and Voter Participation

5.3.1 Voting Pattern

This study revealed that most voters made their political decisions, and voting decisions, based on factors other than the real issues. It was opined in this study that the region where a voter grew up from had a bearing in the way they perceive candidates from other regions. If a voter identified with a specific candidate the odds were that the candidate will win that vote. For this reason, some voters support certain candidates not because they are the ideal candidate within given parameters. These findings coincided with Moria (2001) who found that voters gave a vote to people with whom they could easily identify with. For example, in Nangoma majority of farmers felt that the best candidate for presidency would be one who was a successful business person and farmer because he or she understood the problems that farmers encounter. Therefore, voter identification with political candidate determined the decisions made on who receives the vote. This is why in some areas such as Nangoma Constituency a certain voting pattern seems to have been maintained for quite some time until the expectation of electorates are satisfied.

5.3.2 Some factors that influence voter participation

5.3.2.1 Bribery

Some voters could vote for a candidate by merely being paid to do so. Those who said that bribery influenced their decisions of choosing a candidate to give a vote argued that it was the only way they benefited from politicians. That attitude was disheartening but it was real on the ground as voters may accept small tokens such as beer, chitenge material, promise of jobs, or actual cash. The issues of bribery for political expedience have been observed in Zimbabwe by Mukigwara (1999) who also found that some people did not really understand the importance of voting and that they could exchange their vote for less than 2 dollar tokens. In addition, Mukigwara (2009) observed that issues of bribes were rampant during elections and that behavior resulted in liars and cheats who were willing to pay bribes assuming office and emptying the national treasury. Such a status quo was unfortunate because in an ideal democracy electorates must not be coerced into voting for a candidate but be allowed to make informed decisions. In Mozambique, Dotolokilo (2009) found that some voters were merely overwhelmed

by the beer that politicians gave in large quantities during elections but these politicians disappeared and only returned to them towards the next elections.

5.3.2.2 Desire for Change

The study also found that electorates sometimes vote against the incumbent due to the desire for change. These findings are also in agreement with Lewis (2002) who concluded that there were certain times when electorates decide to change government by voting against the incumbent. So when electorates decide to change government all other factors that influence voter behavior become ineffective and change of government would be their major goal. According to Lewis (2002) this is the major reason for the difficulty encountered in trying to change government when people have not yet decided to do away with the incumbent. It was therefore, opined in the study that since change was inevitable when the time comes to change government nothing would stop this.

5.3.2.3 Media Coverage

Media coverage affects the behavior of voters during elections. The study found that media coverage had a bearing on the way electorates decide whom to give a vote. A candidate who receives more airwaves in the media tends to receive more votes due to the power of the media in persuading people into making certain decisions. The findings resonate with the findings of Meimo (2003) who observed that more media coverage of one candidate disadvantages those who are not covered. The study found that majority of the people had no capacity to afford paying for private media coverage and the only possible option was state media which also only gave coverage to the incumbent. It was therefore, important that media coverage be extended to all political parties to prevent biased coverage which affected the decisions of voters.

5.3.2.4 Incumbent Factor

In addition, voter behavior, especially decision of whom to give a vote depended on incumbent factors. Incumbent factors may include the way the leader conducts himself, the type of personality portrayed, governance system presided upon, independence of the three arms of government, and respect for rule of law. Incumbent factors were prime in Zimbabwe elections according to the study by Mugwara (2008) where it was found that Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe

got re-elected because he had shown a friendly personality to a common Zimbabwean. This shows that incumbency factors has a bearing on the decisions voters make and any level of dislike for the incumbent may warrant loss of votes.

5.3.2.5 Party Manifesto

The study also found that party manifesto had a bearing on voter behavior especially for those people who have some formal education. A party manifesto is a verbal declaration of the intentions, motives, or views of a political party (Bevir, 2006). In other words a party manifesto is a capsule summary of the main policies of a political party. Those who have some formal education use party manifestos to make decisions of whom to give their vote. These findings are similar to Mugusu (2006) who found that majority of voters with minimum education of up to secondary education are not moved by party slogans but party manifestos. It is therefore, opined that in this study that for a political party to gain votes they must ensure that all types of voters are covered whole else only a specific group will receive the appeal.

5.3.2.6 Desire for Economic Development

Some voters were influenced by the desire to see the economy improved. The study found that some voters look at the bigger picture of the economy and failing to appeal to that factor can make a political candidate lose votes. The findings were in agreement with the findings of Dotolokilo (2009) who also found that some voters were only moved by politicians with a well-crafted plan to better the state of economy, and mere ranting would not help a political candidate amass votes from certain cliques of prospective voters. These meant that some of the voters want to hear real issues and not mere rhetoric for them to cast a vote for a given candidate. However, the longer the electorates are cheated by politicians through rhetoric promises, there after they then start looking for practicing and successful candidates at personal level in the field of economics and agricultural sector development whom they will confidence based on evidence which might coincidentally meet with the ethnic background of both the electorates and candidate.. For instance, the case of Nangoma Constituency, findings from respondents justified their voting behavior or pattern towards the long time contending opposition leader whose professional background are that of a successful economist and farmer since 2006 when he took over as political party president until 2016 general elections (ECZ, 2016).

5.4 Effect of voter education on voter participation (turnout).

This study revealed that motivation for most electorates to participate in voting was based on the desire to have their ideal leaders taking up those elective positions. In addition, voter education has a huge bearing on voter turnout because an informed citizenry is one that takes part in the political system of the society. The findings showed that some of the voters had no intentions of taking part in the elections but after they received some voter education, they got enlightened and decided to participate in voting. That was a clear indication of the impact of voter education on voter turnout. Such findings were in agreement with the findings of Lewis (2002) who postulated that when voter education was provided to electorates, many took part in the elections as compared to when there was no voter education. Therefore, it was opined in this study that lack of voter information and education for most electorates contribute to the ever increasing rate of voter apathy in Nangoma constituency and elsewhere.

In addition, it was found that voter educators did not reach the remotest areas resulting in voters not being well informed. The study further found that the lack of information concerning how to vote and the rights of voters were worse in remote areas than urban areas. The reason for this could be attributed to the fact that those in urban areas had access to voter education through various media making it easy to receive data concerning elections even without the physical voter education being conducted. Findings of the study were well resonated in a similar study in South Africa where Meimo (2003) found that voter education at times did not reach remote areas because voter educators shun far flung areas making the education limited only to those who were already well informed. This meant that for voter education to be effective, voter educators must go down to those remote areas rather than concentrate on urban areas. The lack of voter education negatively affect voter turnout on Election Day.

The study further found that in many cases the season when elections were held affected voting patterns. Zambia has three seasons namely: wet season, cold season and dry season. The wet season runs from around October to April, cold season runs from around April to August while dry season runs from August to early October. Most elections in Zambia have been conducted around October and mainly after the onset of the rains (ECZ, 2012). The last general elections were conducted in August during the dry season and according to the study findings the voter turnout was much higher than most of the elections so far held in Zambia. The study findings

show that when elections are held during the dry season voter turnout increases because during that period prospective voters are on recess from farm work as they are seasonal farmers. Elsewhere just like the findings in this study, Willis (2003) found that the season when elections are held must be friendly if voter turnout is to be promoted? This is because the weather has a direct effect on people's movement. The study found that if it was too cold electorates might shun going to the polling station to cast their vote just like when it is rainy. So avoiding these two extremes was a panacea to increasing voter turnout. Furthermore, electoral violence has been widespread in majority of countries in Africa and that was attributed to a number of factors. The study found that electoral violence came in different forms which include: physical assault, arson, snatching ballot papers and murders. In the UK, Howard (2010) found that the major forms of electoral violence were exchange of fists, burning public buildings and murders emanating from electoral violence. Those findings confirm that African politics had not yet reached the mature stage where the whole electoral process can be violence free.

5.4.1 Electoral Violence

In Zambia, while violence was not recorded in Nangoma constituency during the August 2016 elections, deaths and fist fights were recorded in Lusaka. The study found that the main causes of electoral violence include: poverty, unemployment, corruption, weak penalties, and high illiteracy levels. Poverty in Zambia is very alarming and this gives room for the unemployed majority to be manipulated to perpetuate all forms of electoral violence (Robert, 2011). Poverty is the state of being extremely poor (Hornsby, 2011). It is a situation whereby the individual is not able to meet the basic necessity of life. Individuals exposed to such hardships were more likely to engage in electoral violence than well to do people in society. When the economic hardship becomes too unbearable, the propensity for violence increases. As the saying goes "An army of unemployed youth" then becomes "a tool for electoral violence" (Best, 2004).

Again, it could be captured across the streets of Zambia that electoral violence was instigated as a result of the culture of impunity. The findings tend to show that that ineffectiveness and malfunctioning of the security forces also give people the impetus to stage electoral violence. The ineffectiveness especially on the part of the police service was a major factor which encourages electoral violence. Pre-electoral violence is often associated with killings but the

police services always fail to get to the root of those killings. This failure seems to be creating a culture of impunity and motivation for recurrence of crimes and violence in our society.

The study found that electoral violence was not been met with strong criminal codes in Zambia. Weak penalties or punishment for violators of electoral process also give room for more crimes to be committed. Penalties or punishment are intended to achieve correction, retribution and deterrence. Zambia lack legislation against perpetrators of certain electoral offences. That endangers Zambia's electoral system to all forms of crimes and violence. These findings were in tandem with the study by Mugusu (2006) who found that electoral violence persist because legislation was not tailored in such a way that all those who perpetrate violence were punished accordingly and made examples to would be offenders. Therefore, weak laws had exacerbated electoral violence.

This study also revealed that weak governance and corruption could also instigate electoral violence. Corruption could set the stage for structural violence. Weak governance and corruption make people feel desperate enough to seek any means of revenge against political authority through violent activities. It was often reported in various media that pockets of violence occurred in Zambia during elections where perpetrators had various offensive weapons aimed at the strong political party opponents (Silwamba, 2016). The above findings were similar to Meimo (2003) who established that leaders instigate electoral violence by paying a blind eye when violence is perpetrated by members of their party. It is also often assumed that political party leaders sometimes sponsor the violence to prevent opponents from campaigning effectively.

Furthermore, electoral violence was associated with a huge cost. Electoral violence usually leads to political instability. Electoral violence was both causative and symptomatic in Africa. It is the causative because it feeds the political crises that manifest regularly (Dotolokilo, 2009). Political violence was a threat to building a strong, efficient and visible democratic Zambia and Africa at large. It leads to anti-human acts as basic human rights, issues of gender equality; cultural rights and identities are often either ignored or trampled upon. These adversely affect the human security and social development of Zambia and Africa at large.

5.5 Effects of Voting Pattern on Political Participation

Voting pattern in Zambia in the few recent periodic elections was described to be unfavorable for unity in diversity and promotion of democratic participatory governance. To establish the likely negative effects of such a voting pattern which was evidently described as ethnic, regional and partisan, the responses were that, it resulted into escalated electoral violence in various forms of which the worst result was loss of life caused by political party cadres. The levels of lawlessness by cadre from the ruling party was uncontrolled even by the state police at some point in Zambia. The findings from this study were in tandem with the views of Best (2004) who argued that ethnic and religious mobilization had been elevated to the level of ideology by the different faction of the African ruling elites in the quest to hold on to state power and resources

In the same vein, Egwu (2001) postulated that the link between a thoroughly weakened state system and violent ethnic and lumpen violence plays out in many African countries to the advantage of the ruling elite. The voting pattern under discussion had brought out a number of negative effects in the current Zambian situation such as high levels of nepotism in the public service, selective implementation of development project at the discretion of government coupled with political intimidation and abuse of power.

5.6 Strategies Aimed at Promoting Political Participation

On the issue of political participation, scholars have made various propositions on how this can be promoted. Mugwara (2008) suggested that voter education should be conducted continuously for citizens to politically participate in the governance system of democratic States. Mugwara (2008) further observed that more voter education was needed especially in remote rural areas if citizens were to be activated to participants in politics and not remain passive participants. The view of continuous voter education was based on the fact that if voter education was continuous even in far flung areas could be covered and in the process citizens could become civic literate and know their role in the political arena.

Mukigwara (1999) found that those who received adequate voter education had a higher political participation rate in elections. The major argument by Mukigwara (1999) was that voter education should be continuous using effective methods because the electoral process covers all the preliminaries that affect what happens on the actual Election Day. On the contrary, voter

education had been objected and considered a waste of funds which could otherwise be used for political emancipation in poor countries because of some factors such as negative attitude by electorates towards voter education sessions (Dotolokilo, 2009).

The study found that the easiest way to increase political participation was by whacking out all forms of intimidation during elections and such could be done by severely punishing all offenders impartially. The study results suggested enacting strict laws which would correct offenders and also deter others from electoral related offences. Such a suggestion was in line with Moria (2001) who conducted a related research on electoral violence in Botswana and found that laws existed that when applied could mitigate the problem of violence but implementers were not willing to take up the challenge. So a lot of factors influence a good political environment and it is not merely laws but the law enforcers that must be willing to take responsibility.

The belief in the concept of free and fair elections is multifaceted and others believe that even the media alone if not used properly can amount to un-free and unfair elections (FODEP, 2012). The study suggested that media rules and regulations should be enhanced to ensure that elections were free and fair. In this vein, the study suggested that public media bias must be dealt with so that media could work for the good of all the general public. This suggestion corresponds with Mugwara (2008) who suggested that public media in future should equally cover advertisements for the opposition for affordable charges so that the political playing ground could be leveled and result in free and fair elections because majority of electorates would be well informed. So, political participation and voting patterns may be abridged through professional media fairness in a political environment.

The study further suggested that the Electoral Commission of Zambia working hand in glove with community based organizations in voter education so as to promote active political participation at various levels. This suggestion was in agreement with Meimo (2003) who was of the view that political participation could be promoted among citizens especially in suburban areas through engaging community based organizations (CBOs). In addition, Meimo (2003) argued that community based organizations were located right in these rural areas and it would be a huge stride to work with them and ask them to amalgamate some voter education topics so that information about politics and governance can be shared.

5.7 Chapter Summary

The chapter gave a detailed analysis of the data presented in the previous chapter (chapter four). The study established that political participation was vitiated by some factors which include; economic benefit, prestige, respect and a right, duty and responsibility of every citizen in a democratic state like Zambia. Voter behavior is vitiated by the following factors: identification with the candidates, outright bribery, and desire for change, extent of media coverage, incumbency factors, party manifesto, and desire to improve economic wellbeing are strong influencers of voter behavior among other. From the discussion in this chapter, it was established that voter education had a distinctive positive impact on voter turnout. Elections held during the dry season has higher chances voter turnout than those held during the rainy season when most rural dwellers/ electorates may be busy with farming activities. Lastly, the chapter provided a discussion of the major causes of electoral violence which included poverty, unemployment, weak penalties, corruption and high illiteracy levels. The next chapter deals with conclusions and recommendations in relation to the findings in this section of the study.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Overview

This section presents the summary, conclusions and recommendations of the study under taken on political participation and voting pattern using the study case of Nangoma Constituency in Mumbwa district of central Zambia. The general study purpose was to establish factors and effects that influence the rate of political participation resulting into unfavorable voting pattern and later division in Zambia with the intention of proposing practical strategies to improve political participation. It summarizes the findings of the study and there after outline some proposed recommended solutions to the identified challenges in relation to the declining electoral participation and the unfavorable growing tribal and regional voting pattern. The author thought such proposals would help improve or promote positive voting behavior and political participation in Nangoma constituency and Zambia at large to enhance national unity and balanced economic development.

However, the study was governed by four specific objectives which include: identification of factors that influence citizens' political participation; establish the effects of voter education and voting pattern on political participation; identify factors that negatively affect electoral participation and attempt to propose practical strategies that would promote active citizens' participation in politics with a bias on electoral activities in relation to objective questions. The study was significant as it intended to provide validated information based on empirical data on factors and effects concerning the identified growing voting pattern and declining political participation in Zambia which had the potential to divide the nation through tribalism, nepotism among others to national policy makers in authority as they attempt to improve the situation.

The accessible sample size drawn from within Nangoma Constituency used was forty assorted classes of respondents. The sampling designs employed were purposive sampling with quota sampling to take care of gender and social statuses aspect. Data was collected using semi-structured interviews in conjunction with questionnaires to a lesser extent.

6.2 Conclusion

This study established that citizen political participation was influenced by various factors that included economic benefit, the prestige of association with winning politicians and respect. The study found that some people took part in politics in exchange for small tokens or for their personal endearment. Those who are believed to have supported a certain candidate who emerged victorious tended to show it by regularly reminding other citizens that their candidate was in charge and for that reason they should be respected and praised for the job well done. It was disheartening to find that our study showed no signs of people participating in politics out of the heart for the poor majority or rather for merely public service to foster local development.

The study revealed that most voters made their political decisions, such as voting based on certain factors other than the real issues. The study established that some candidates were given votes due to bribery, voter's ethnic background and identification with the candidates, desire for change, extent of media coverage, incumbency factors, party manifesto, and desire to improve economic wellbeing are strong influencers of voter behavior. These findings had shown that in many instances if not all real democracy could not be easily achieved because voters were influenced by undemocratic factors such as bribery, mere identification with the candidate running for office and others. In a developed democracy voters were expected to be well informed as they make decisions that affect their lives. Unfortunately, this study showed that in the current state of democracy leaders were not chosen on merit but by how much they were willing to bribe or entice the electorate for personal interest after succeeding.

The study also established that when elections were held during the dry season and all other things being equal, voter turnout increased. The major reasons given for such behavior by voters was that majority of the electorates in the study area were farmers and elections held during the rainy season crashed with their seasonal agriculture business activities resulting in the voters choosing to go the family field rather than to vote. Unfortunately, the study could not effectively substantiate the effect of cold season on voter turnout.

It was also revealed that electoral violence was widespread in majority of countries including Zambia and that situation was attributed to a number of factors. Among others, the study found that violence during elections came in different forms which included: physical assault, arson,

snatching ballot papers and murders. The major causes of electoral violence were poverty, unemployment, weak penalties, corruption fear to lose due to lack of popularity, negative emotion (revenge) and high illiteracy levels. Poverty was an obvious cause of violence because majority of Zambians live below the poverty datum line. Weak penalties were also seen as the promoters of violence because people could not fear of any punishment after violating the electoral code of conduct as long as they felt protected by their sponsors.

As a result of high rate of poverty, some electorates especially youths were sponsored by political contenders to disturb voters or rather instill fear in them so that they either shun voting or forced to vote for a political party and candidate regardless of their capability to deliver according to the expectations of the electorates.

Due to undeveloped democracy and selfish leaders, there was selective delivery of developmental projects based on popularity of the party in government to a large extent. Such a political behavior was supported by sentiments made by political leaders from the ruling leaders from the ruling party usually during by-elections that development would not be provided to such areas if they voted for the opposition candidates. The study justified the point based on the rate of development in various sectors in Nangoma constituency ever since the constituency decided to be voting for the opposition political candidates for whatever reasons electorates considered.

6.3 Recommendations

1. The government through the Electoral Commission of Zambia should conduct effective continuous voter education so that citizens can get acquainted with the voting process, its importance and the skill involved in the act of casting a vote to promote the exercise of franchise and reduce the number of spoiled votes. This would help citizens enter the campaign period with adequate electoral knowledge to be able to identify electoral malpractice.
2. The government of Zambia through parliament also needs to introduce laws aimed at giving stricter punishments for those who are found guilty of electoral malpractice with impartiality regardless of one's political affiliation or status in society. The government should ensure that laws are tailored in such a way that they would discourage any electoral

malpractices during the election process. This would help deter those who strive on electoral malpractice from going ahead with the malpractices. To a large extent in case of existing laws and new ones the most critical issue is to guarantee the law enforcing government institutions to do their work without any interference by politicians from the ruling party in government.

3. The Electoral Commission of Zambia should hold elections during the dry season so that voter turnout can continue to increase. Since majority of citizens are farmers in most rural constituency such as Nangoma, holding elections during the dry season may not crash with their farming activities or projects done during rainy season. In addition, holding elections during the dry season prevents delays in counting and transporting of election results because the roads are dry possible and rivers are not flooded.
4. The government through the Electoral Commission of Zambia should intensify on voter education in far flung areas with or without enough financial resources because these were the most vulnerable electorates who need more of voter education to reduce the high levels of voter apathy.
5. Government through the Electoral Commission of Zambia should ensure that public and private media do not only disseminate campaigns for the party in power but for all parties contesting an election under the same conditions to promote the leveled play ground. Access to media coverage by all political players should be affordable to provide wide choice of political players to form government.
6. The GRZ through the Electoral Commission of Zambia should motivate voter educators by providing them with reliable transport for easy mobility especially to cover the vast electoral wards assigned to them. In this case and era, a motor bike per ward was a better alternative recommended to be supplied. In the same vein, voter educators must be motivated to do their assigned task by increasing the allowance in accordance with economic turbulences of our country. It was further suggested that a separate amount of funds be allocated for refreshments of the participants during some voter education sessions at times as a form of extrinsic motivation to electorates which might improve attendance in future meetings but should not be interpreted in form of bribery.

7. The Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) should engage Non-Governmental organizations working within a particular constituency to include voter education programs and activities in their outreach programs. The integration of voter education activities would be a motivating factor to the target audience as long as there was a minimal but favorable token of appreciation given to NGOs concerned by the commission.
8. The Electoral Commission of Zambia must greatly improve on security for all electoral related resources at every stage of the electoral process to enhance transparency and reduce chances of mere speculations of electoral malpractice by some electoral players. The electorates, election officials and sensitive election materials require adequate security during elections. This would ensure the confidence of the electorate in terms of their safety being guaranteed.
9. The Electoral Commission of Zambia, civil society organization and other sectors of central and local government should educate politicians and electorates that democracy was a platform for competition of ideas through manifesto and proven track record of development performance by contenders as opposed to how participates in the underdeveloped democracies have wrongly perceived it as physical sizing among different political players. The ruling party must ensure and promote tolerance of divergent views, freedom of speech, expression; assembly, association within the provision of the law in any given country.
10. Above all, the Electoral Commission of Zambia must work independently and promote transparency by recording and announce every election result directly from the constituency level to the National Totalling Centre public television screen such as Mulungushi Conference without going through the suspicious process of verification which has been cited as a point of vote rigging in Zambia. This procedure was tested and proven as transparent in 1991 general elections.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Consent Form/Letter

Identification NO. _____

THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA

DIRECTORATE OF RESEARCH AND GRADUATE STUDIES

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

Department of Languages and Social Science Education

Topic: **Political participation and voting pattern: A study of some elections between 2006-2016 in Nangoma Constituency of Mumbwa District.**

Dear Respondent,

You were randomly selected from a pool of members of Nangoma Constituency who are a target population. This is purely an academic study that will help to establish the factors that influence political participation and voting patterns in Zambia: A study of elections between 2006-2016 in Nangoma Constituency of Mumbwa District. However, be rest assured that all information you provide will be treated with highest, privacy, confidentiality and anonymity it deserves. Furthermore, it is expected that the interview or in any case the questionnaire should only take a maximum of 10 minutes.

Please feel free as you respond to the questions presented to you with almost truthfulness. Your participation is highly respected and appreciated.

Thank you.

Appendix 2: Interview Guide for Key Informants.

1. Indicate sex type: Male or Female.
2. How old are you?
3. What is your highest level of education attained?
4. Are you a registered voter in Nangoma Constituency?
5. How often did you attend voter education session in this area between 2006- 2016?
6. State the times have you participated in voting from 2006-2016 elections?
7. Mention some of the political activities in which you participated during 2016 election.
8. How does the season in which elections are held affect voter participation rate?
9. What could be the best season for holding general elections in Zambia?
10. What could be the best method of voter education in Nangoma?
11. What are some of the factors that motivate you to participate in political activities eg elections, campaign, protest, voter education, contesting?
12. Why have people been voting for this one party for some time (voting pattern).
13. What are some of the factors that influence electorates to vote in a certain pattern or for certain candidates?
14. What are some of the causes of electoral violence in Zambia
15. Mention the negative effects of the current voting pattern in Zambia
16. Suggest some of the ways in which government can promote citizen active political participation to deepen democracy,

Appendix 3: Questionnaire for Ordinary Constituents

INSTRUCTIONS

Do not write your NAME anywhere on this questionnaire.

1. Make one choice from the given options by ticking (✓).
2. Explain briefly where possible on the space provided.

SECTION A: PERSONAL INFORMATION

Answer the following questions by ticking against one option of your choice;

1. State your GENDER type;

(a) Male (b) Female

2. Indicate your AGE;

3. The highest academic/ professional education attained:

(a) Literate (c) primary

(b) Secondary (d) others, specify -----

4. Your occupation category:

(a) Civil servant, (c) politician,

(b) Farmer, (d) Any other.

SECTION B: FACTORS INFLUENCING POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

5. How many times have you voted in any general/presidential elections between 2006 and 2016?

(a) 1 time (b) 2 times. (c) More than 2 (d) Not interested

6. Suggest some reasons why people engage in active politics.

7. What electoral related activities were you involved in during 2016 general elections

SECTION B: FACTORS INFLUENCING VOTING AND VOTING PATTERN

8. State the factors that influence people to vote for certain candidate during elections.
9. What are some of the problems resulting from maintaining the pattern of voting by voters?
10. What are some of the factors that can improve voter participation rates?
11. Which time of the year is favorable for holding general elections in Zambia?
12. Mention some of the negative effects of the current voting pattern in Zambia.

SECTION C: COMMON FORMS OF ELECTORAL VIOLENCE

13. State some of the common forms of electoral violence in your area if any.
14. Identify some of the causes of electoral violence during election.

SECTION D: STRATEGIES TO PROMOTE ACTIVE POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

15. Suggest the possible effective measures to improve the pattern of political and voter participation in Zambia.

**Appendix 4: Member of Parliament for Nangoma Constituency
(2006-2016)**

S/No	NAME	SEX	PERIOD	PARTY
01	Hon. Hamusonde Boyd	Male	2006-2011	UPND
02	Hon. Hamusonde Boyd	Male	2011-2016	UPND
03	Hon. Hamusonde Boyd	Male	2016-2021	INDEPENDENCE