



UNIVERSITY OF LUSAKA

School of Postgraduate Studies

**AN INVESTIGATION INTO ZAMBIAN ELECTORAL PROCESS AND ITS EFFECT ON
VOTING IN 2016 AND 2021: A CASE OF MULENSHI AND MUCHINKA WARDS IN
MANSA CENTRAL CONSTITUENCY.**

A

THESIS SUBMITTED

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT FOR REQUIREMENT OF THE PROGRAM

MASTER OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

CHIPILI BOYD

MPIR 22217121

DECLARATION

I declare that this is my own original work and that it has not been submitted elsewhere for publication or examination purposes. Further, all work from other sources have been duly acknowledged.

STUDENT NAME: CHIPILI BOYD

SIGNATURE:

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'Chipili Boyd', written over a light grey rectangular background.

DATE: 17 January 2025

SUPERVISOR: MS TASILA MBEWE

SIGNATURE:

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Ms Tasila Mbeve', written over a light grey rectangular background.

DATE: 20/01/2025

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my late Mum Frideswide Mofya Kalobwe Chipili who passed on to the next world on 6 December, 2024. *“Eternal rest granted onto her O Lord, and let perpetual light shine upon her.”*

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Lord I don't know where you are taking me, but that is where I want to be. Thank you for your providence.

I would like to sincerely thank my Supervisor Ms. Tasila Mbewe who monitored my work from beginning up to the end of this research. I also extend my appreciation to the team of lecturers and fellow scholars in Political Science and International Relations at the University of Lusaka for the knowledge we exchanged.

May I also take this opportunity to appreciate the people who participated in this research for their willingness to share the most needed information in this research.

Lastly, in a special way, let me thank my wife, children and entire family members for their endless support

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ACRONYMS

CPC	Communist Party of China
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters
ECZ	Electoral Commission of Zambia
MP	Member of Parliament
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
PF	Patriotic Front
SADC	Southern African Development Community
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UPND	United Party for National Development
USA	United States of America
ZNBC	Zambia National Broadcasting Cooperation

ABSTRACT

This paper is just an investigation on the electoral process and its effect on the 2016 and 2021 general elections. The electoral process is generally a series of activities taken in the election of representatives at different levels ranging from presidential to local government. It should be noted that the electoral process is an interpretation of the electoral system which has been put in place in the constitution. The gaps in the electoral process lead to some irregularities in the elections results.

In 2016 Zambia amended the constitution in which some reforms were made in the electoral process. The electoral reforms of 2016 outline the entire electoral process from legal framework up to the resolving election related disputes. Notable among them reforms are the single member majoritarian system (50% plus 1 vote) in the election of the president, the introduction of the presidential running mate and the grade twelve certificate as the minimum qualification for any political office.

Therefore, the objectives of this research are to examine how the amendment of the electoral system in 2016 affected civic and voter education in Mulenshi and Muchinka. To investigate how the amendment of the electoral system in 2016 affected the voter registration in Mulenshi and Muchinka, to analyse how the amendment of the electoral system in 2016 affected voter accessibility to campaign messages before elections in Mulenshi and Muchinka and to find out how the amendment of the electoral system in 2016 affected the voters' access to election results in Mulenshi and Muchinka.

In this research, the researcher used a mixed method design of both quantitative and qualitative designs. This design is chosen because it enabled the researcher to collect detailed information, descriptions and explanations from the participants based on their knowledge and experiences. The findings of the study were that the 2016 electoral reforms improved the electoral process for both the 2016 and 2021 elections. The introduction of civic education at secondary school and the use of social media have greatly improved the access to the needed information. Therefore, it has been recommended that the ECZ should utilize the social media in all the stages of the electoral process.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.0 Chapter Overview

This chapter presents the introduction of the topic under study and the entire background to the study. The chapter also highlights main objective and specific objects of the study and research questions. In the same way, the chapter gives the statement of the problem, limitation and delimitation of the study

1.1 Introduction

Democratic states in different parts of the world have considered elections as indispensable methods of choosing leaders at different positions of governance systems. An election as defined by Biseck P. (2006), is simply, “a process of putting representatives in office through voting.” Elections are also important because they provide a smooth transition of power from one government to the next and from one leader to the other. Globally the President, The Prime Minister, Members of Parliament and local government officials are some of the representatives who are put in office through elections.

Matzke, (2009) pointed out that an electoral process is a series of activities which are taken in the electing of political leaders especially in democratic countries. On the other hand the electoral system is the method through which the people or the governed choose their leaders or representatives. The common electoral systems are the single member plurality, single member majoritarian, mixed member proportionality and the proportional representation.

In the Zambian case the country implemented new electoral reforms after enacting the 2016 amended constitution. The major changes in the electoral system were the introduction of the 50% +1 and the presidential running mate. These reforms were used in the 2016 and 2021 general elections.

Therefore the purpose of this study is to investigate electoral process and the effect on the 2016 and 2021 elections. The objectives of the study are; to investigate how the amendment of the electoral system in 2016 affected the voter registration in Mulenshi and Muchinka and to analyse how the amendment of the electoral system in 2016 affected voter accessibility to campaign messages before elections in Mulenshi and Muchinka. Other objectives include; to find out how the amendment of the electoral system in 2016 affected the voters' access to election results in Mulenshi and Muchinka, and to examine how the amendment of the electoral system in 2016 affected civic and voter education in Mulenshi and Muchinka. The study is important taking into consideration that Zambia has taken about four major constitutional reforms from 1964 to 2024.

This study is designed to inquire the Zambian electoral process and its effect on the 2016 and 2021 elections.

1.2 Background to the Study

From 1964 to 2024, the constitution of Zambia has undergone four major amendments (changes) which have subsequently affected the electoral reforms. These constitution reforms are; the Chona Commission of 1972, the Mvunga Commission of 1991, the Mwanakatwe Commission of 1996 and the Mung'omba Commission of 2005. The constitution act number 2 of 2016 is the provided for the new electoral reforms.

Multi-Party (1964-1972)

Bizeck P. (2006) highlighted that, the incorporation of the Bill of Rights from the Northern Rhodesia Self Government Constitution, in 1963, there was a minor amendment in the 1964 multi-party democracy. The move led to opposition political parties being allowed to participate in governance and elections, the president and members of parliament were to be elected by the people belonging to different political parties. During the same period the electoral process had an effect on the elections as the party in power indirectly controlled the electoral process. The intra party elections had a huge bearing on the electoral system of the country. Because it was just a period

after the independence, many people had no interest in national activities like elections hence less participation of the masses in the governance process.

One Party Participatory Democracy (1973-1991)

In 1973 a new constitution was adopted and the major recommendation was the introduction of a one-party state. In line with the recommendation, all political parties would be banned to pave way for a one-party state. The interpretation of this change was that only UNIP was to exist as the only party in the land. Only one presidential candidate was to appear on the ballot papers. Voters were to be subjected to only two options during elections; YES: Kenneth Kaunda must continue or NO: No change. At constituency and local government levels, candidates were contesting and compete under the umbrella of UNIP. (Mwangilwa G. 1986).

The electoral process from the formation of the legal framework to guide the elections of that period was solely controlled by the party in government; other stakeholders had no active participation in the entire electoral process. However civic education aimed at creating patriotism and loyalty to the party in power, was taught in schools from early grades to secondary education levels.

The new trend of fear files, police brutality, storms of intimidation and zero tolerance to freedom of speech would run from 1973 through to 1991.

Multi-Party Participatory Democracy (1991 onwards)

The 1991 constitution endorsed that Zambia reverts to multiparty democracy hence the electoral reforms in the constitution had an effect on the 1991 elections. Generally the following were some of the recommendations in relation to the electoral reforms: Political parties were allowed to exist and eligible candidates were allowed to participate in presidential elections, parliamentary and local government as noted by Ranker L. (2003). A good number of voters had access to voter registration as they had an

opportunity to support different political parties and candidates participating in the election. The electoral process from voter education to the announcement of the results was participatory by other stakeholders such as the Civil Society Organisations.

The term of office for the president remained five years and the president were allowed to rule for only two terms.

The president had powers to appoint the Vice President within parliament and the vice president could now be fired at any time and be replaced. If the president died, the presidential by-elections were to be held within 90 days.

Parentage Clause (1996)

The 1996 Mwanakatwe Constitution spread its net wider by addressing very novel issues on human rights, political, social, cultural and economic issues but the major recommendation in relation to the election of the president were centred on parentage. Only persons whose both parents were Zambians by birth would qualify to be candidates for presidency. (1996 Zambian Constitution).

The Single Member Plurality System (SMP) electoral system was used. This meant that any presidential candidate who got the highest number of votes won the elections. Equally members of parliament and councilors were elected through the single member plurality. Sakala R. (2000).

The winner of the presidential elections was to be sworn in office within 24 hours after the declaration.

These amendments as supported by Biseck (2006) had an effect on the electoral process as a good number of voters especially from the opposition United Nation Independent Party (UNIP) boycotted the elections. Access to campaign messages, and election results by the voters was low as the party in power had total control of the process. The 1996 general elections faced voter apathy hence affecting the entire electoral process.

2016 Amended constitution

The following were the main changes in relation to the election of the president, members of parliament and the councilors in Zambia. There was an introduction of Single Member Majoritarian System. The presidential winner of an election should win over 50% plus 1 vote cast in an election. Where no candidate gets an outright majority of votes, the election has to be conducted again for the two top winners, this is known as re-run. (Act no 2, 2016).

Presidential candidates were to have a running mate who would automatically become the republican vice president if that party won an election. Other electoral reforms were that a candidate aspiring for any political office must possess a grade twelve certificate.

The Zambian electoral process Act no 35 of 2016 defines different stages of the electoral process in response to part five of the 2016 amended constitution. Among the principles of the act is that the entire electoral process should be credible and transparent. No discrimination based on gender, race, religion or disability when providing electoral services and equal and universal suffrage.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

The changes in the Zambian electoral system changed the electoral process from voter registration to the declaration of the winners.

The 2016 and 2021 general elections in Mansa Central Constituency specifically in Muchinka and Mulenshi Wards were characterized by notable electoral irregularities from voter registration up to the declaration of the winners. Some of these irregularities as noted by Ant Voter Apathy, Transparent International Zambia ((TIZ) and Forum for Democratic Process FODEP were registering of under-age voters, political violence, vote buying, arresting of the opposition party members and leaders, and abuse of the public media and resources among others.

It should also be noted that the electoral reforms provide the fair and free electoral system and process where all stakeholders participate without unnecessary hindrances.

Though currently there is no similar study which has been conducted specifically from Mansa Central Constituency, there has been other related research conducted not only in Zambia but globally in line with the study being undertaken.

Therefore, this research is important as it will carry an in depth understanding of the impact of the electoral reforms particularly in Mulenshi and Muchinka wards.

1.4 Research Objectives

This part presents the general objective and specific objectives of the research.

1.4.1 General Objective

To investigate the Zambian electoral process and its effect on voting in 2016 and 2021.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

1. To examine how the amendment of the electoral system in 2016 affected civic and voter education in Mulenshi and Muchinka in 2016 and 2021 elections.
2. To investigate how the amendment of the electoral system in 2016 affected the voter registration in Mulenshi and Muchinka in 2016 and 2021 elections.
3. To analyse how the amendment of the electoral system in 2016 affected voter accessibility to campaign messages before elections in Mulenshi and Muchinka in 2016 and 2021 elections.
4. To find out how the amendment of the electoral system in 2016 affected the voters' access to election results in Mulenshi and Muchinka in 2016 and 2021 elections.

1.5 Research Questions

1. How did the amendment of the electoral system in 2016 affect the voter registration in Mulenshi and Muchinka?
2. What were the effects of the amendment of the electoral system in 2016 on voter accessibility to campaign messages before elections in Mulenshi and Muchinka?
3. How did the amendment of the electoral system in 2016 affect the voters' access to election results in Mulenshi and Muchinka?
4. How did the amendment of the electoral system in 2016 affect civic and voter education in Mulenshi and Muchinka?

1.6 Significance of the Study

This study will be very helpful to the institution that manages elections; the Electoral Commission of Zambia as it will highlight some the challenges associated with the electoral reforms. This study will subsequently make recommendations to whether there will be an urgent need to revise some electoral reforms.

In the same way, the results of this study are essential for shaping evidence-based policy interventions meant to improve the credibility of any election particularly in Mulenshi and Muchinka Wards. This study encourages the voters to become active change agents in their local political environments by elevating the voices of marginalized communities, thereby promoting a more inclusive and participatory democracy.

Moreover, the study is significant as it will highlight some causes of electoral malpractice experienced at different stages of the electoral process in the mentioned wards, particularly those associated with the electoral reforms of 2016.

The research will help to reduce malpractice in the Zambian electoral process so as to improve the credibility of elections at all levels. The credibility of elections will be improved by curbing electoral malpractices at all levels.

1.7 Limitations and Delimitations of the Study

The limitations of the study are simply the circumstances or situations that might affect the effectiveness of the research. These however can be addressed if necessary measures are put in place to ensure that the findings of the research are reliable. The delimitation refers to the geographical boundaries of the study and other related information.

1.7.1 Limitations of the Study

The research was only conducted in two wards of Mansa Central Constituency Luapula Province of Zambia. The target population was so limited due to the resources available and this research only focused on the current Zambian electoral process which was enacted in 2016. Additionally the research only referred to the 2016 and 2021 general election results. However the study briefly referred to the various electoral systems at

global, region, and local level for the sake of coming up with a logical and comprehensive conclusion.

1.7.2 Delimitations of the Study

For convenience sake, the research was conducted in Mulenshi and Muchinka Wards of Mansa Central Constituency in the Luapula Province of the Republic of Zambia.

Mansa is the provincial headquarters of Luapula Province in the Republic of Zambia. The town is located about 1000 kilometers from Lusaka in the northern direction. The two wards Muchinka and Mulenshi are part of the 15 wards of Mansa Central Constituency. The wards are located in the Central Business District of Mansa covering part of the town centre, the main market, Mansa Skills School and Chitamba residential area.

According to the 2021 voter register, there are about 10000 registered voters in both wards out of a total population of about 20000 residents.

1.1 Operational Definitions of terms

Electoral system: These are methods in which the governed choose their leaders or representatives.

Elections the process by which the governed use to choose their leaders

Electoral process a series of interlinked stages of the events involved in elections.

Voter a person who participate in an election through casting a vote

Civic and voter education awareness awareness of the public in Civic matters such as governance, Politics. Also enlightens the voter on his or her rights and duties during the electoral process

Campaign message what candidates tell the voters in order to vote for them

Voter registration the process of registering the eligible voters who should vote in an election

Election results the declaration of what votes each candidate got in an election.

1.9 The organization of the thesis

This thesis has six chapters, reference pages and the appendices. Chapter one is about the introduction of the topic under study and the objectives. The second chapter covers the literature review, conceptual and theoretical frameworks. The third chapter is giving the methodology approach used in this research. Chapter four is data presentation and data analysis while chapter five the discussion of the findings. The last chapter is the conclusion, recommendations as well the suggestions for the future research. References and appendices are at the last part of this thesis.

1.10 Summary of the chapter

This chapter has presented the background of the study, statement of the problem and the research objectives and questions. The chapter has also presented the delimitations and limitations of the study as well as the definitions of the operational terms.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter includes related literature which has been done and has a close relation to the current study. The overview of literature will be on the global, regional and national perspectives.

2.1 Overview of the Electoral Process

Crick (1993) explained that an electoral process is a series of activities which are taken in the electing of political leaders especially in democratic countries like Britain, the United States of America and some Sub-Saharan African countries like Zambia.

2.1.1 The British Electoral Process

The British electoral process is simple and not complicated as compared to that of China or the US. Generally the process follows democratic principles in which eligible candidates are free to contest and citizens who are above the age of 18 years are free to vote for the candidate of their choice.

Just like in Zambia, the citizens in Britain vote for their Members of Parliament in different constituencies. The party with more members of parliament forms government and the leader becomes the Prime Minister who is the head of government (Karen F. 2015).

According to Maurice Duverger (1964), the party system is at the centre of the British parliamentary government: “The party holds in its own hands the essential prerogatives of the Legislature and the Executive. Government posts are in the hands of its leaders who apply its doctrine and its program as expressed in its electoral “platform...”

2.1.2 The US

The United States of America has been known as the pioneer of democracy. Abraham Lincoln the 16th President of the US defined democracy in 1963 as the government of the people to the people and by the people.

Johan J. (2012) noted that in America there are only two political parties; the Democrats and the Republicans. Every candidate aspiring for a political position at any level should contest on these two parties only.

After internal or intra party elections within their parties, the candidates go round the country to campaign and they participate in well-organized public debates in which they explain their key policies to the voters and to the world. The presidential nominees are elected by the Electoral College which is comprised of 538 electors of which the winner should get above half which 270 votes.

2.1.3 Two- Party System

The government of the United States operates on two-party system: the two political parties are Democratic and Republican Parties. This does not mean that there are only two political parties in the US but not suggest that there are only two political parties in the country. Rather only two parties are strong enough to alternate in government. It is believed that party competition contributes to the health of the American democratic process, especially the bi - partisan consensus that often shapes the country’s electoral process.

2.1.4 Presidential System of Government

Though a former colony of Britain, U.S.A. turned her back on the monarchical system for which Britain is renowned and embraced a republican presidential democracy. For over two hundred years now, the United States has made a success of her presidential system of government, anchored on a two party, and strengthened by a bi-partisan consensus, an arrangement that has not only promoted political stability

2.1.4 China

Rodgers (2022) pointed out that the Chinese electoral process is inclusive and all eligible citizens have equal rights regardless of social status, religion, sex, occupation, family. China operates under multi-party participatory democracy but the Communist Party of China is the only ruling party. There are other eight political parties in China which operates under the umbrella of the (CPC). The Chinese electoral process is completely different from that of America and Britain. The elections in China start at local government, provincial and national levels.

2.1.5 South Africa

South Africa like many other countries in the Sub-Saharan region in SADC to be specific, practice representative democracy in which periodic elections are held after five years. The African National Congress (ANC) is one of the oldest party which has controlled the political trajectory of the state. Other major political parties are the Democratic Alliance (DA) and the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), Kouvi (2017)

South Africans use the mixed member proportional system in the election of the president, Members of Parliament and the First Past the Post in the election Councilors. Elections in South Africa are inclusive, competitive and decisive. The universal suffrage implies that all citizens above the age of 18 years are eligible to vote in the elections at all levels.

2.1.6 Zambia

The Zambian electoral process and process is provided for in Part V of the amended 2016 Republican Constitution. The electoral reforms are derived from the same electoral system and process managed by the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ), a statutory body established in 1996 to manage elections and referendum. It should be noted that the Zambia's electoral process is initially provided for under the Electoral Act

of 2006. The following are the basic stages in the electoral process in Zambia; legislation, delimitation of constituencies wards and polling districts, voters' education, voter registration, verification of voters roll and nominations of candidates. Other stages include; elections campaigns, polling day, counting, tabulating and verification of the votes, announcing of results and declaration of winners and resolving of election related disputes.

In Zambia Members of Parliament, Local Government leaders (Mayors and Councilors) are elected through the First Past the Post Electoral System. On the other hand the president is elected using the Single Member Majoritarian System or the 50% plus 1 vote.

Zambian citizens who are above the age of 18 years are all free to register as voters and participate in elections as voters.

The election of the President and his vice including the MPs are provided for in the 2016 amended constitution. Articles 99 to 106 of the Zambian constitution clearly stipulates on how the president is elected while articles 68 to 73 guides on the election of the members of parliament.

2.3 Voter Registration

In all democratic states, voter registration is a crucial component of the electoral process because it has direct impact on the entire electoral process. The total number of registered voters affects the campaign period as the candidates will determine the demographic information and its impact on the results. Voter registration is the process by which eligible citizens are captured by the relevant institution in a register for them to be eligible to cast a vote in an election.

2.3.1 Global perspective

Despite the democratization of the electoral system of Britain, the process is also characterized by malpractice in form of isolated irregularities which have impact on the electoral process. Harris H. (2008). Activities such as voter suppression, electoral fraud and gerrymandering are rampant in the British electoral process due to weak legal framework, lack of transparency and accountability, inadequate voter education and

political corruption. Other main causes of electoral fraud in Britain are; abuse of social media and propaganda and low voter turnout due to uneven playing field for all participants as noted by Bhushan V. (2004).

Marte C. (2009) pointed out that the voter registration in the US is well advanced as potential voters do not necessarily physically visit the registration centre as the entire process can be done digitally online. Citizens can vote online or by email at the time of convenience. The basic requirements to register as a voter in the US is the national identity card or the driver's license, in the absence of these documents, citizens are allowed to use the utility bills or bank statements.

The Chinese political system does not give full rights enjoyments to the citizens especially political players. The system and electoral process is too authoritarian and the elections are not that too competitive because the voter registration is heavily restricted and the institution mandated to manage the elections in China is not fully independent. Heavy state control of the media and intimidation of opposition political player by the state are also serious concerns in the Chinese electoral process.

2.3.2 Regional Perspective

In the Sub-Saharan region, South Africa is one country which has been consistency in conducting periodic elections after getting independency from the British in 1994. Just like in America, voter registration in South Africa is done both online and physical. Permanent citizens in possession of valid national identity cards and who are above the age of 16 years are qualified to register as voters and subsequently participate in an election by voting.

The institution mandated to manage elections in South Africa known as the Independent Electoral Commission (ICE) has on several occasions being cited for failing to fully discharge its mandate to the aspiration of the election players and the general citizenry especially in as far as voter registration is concerned. It has been noted that the registration process is at times marred with irregularities such as failed internet connections and registering of the under age as voters.

2.3.3 The Zambian Perspective

Voter registration in Zambia is conducted manually at designated voter registration centres which ultimately are the polling stations. The 2016 electoral reforms stipulates that the voter registration should embrace universal suffrage in which all citizens who are above the age of 18 and in possession of the National Registration Card NRC are free to register and eventually cast a vote in an election. Bizek P. (2006) outlines that: Zambia has been practicing multiparty participatory democracy since 1991 when the Movement for Multiparty Democracy party took over the government. The Zambian electoral process is managed by the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ), a statutory body established in 1996 to manage elections and referendum.

Sula C. (2015) pointed out that it should be noted that the Zambia's electoral process is provided for under the Electoral Act of 2006. The following are the basic stages in the electoral process in Zambia; legislation, delimitation of constituencies wards and polling districts, voters' education, verification of voters roll and nominations of candidates. Other stages include; elections campaigns, polling day, counting, tabulating and verification of the votes, announcing of results and declaration of winners and resolving of election related disputes.

However there are selected stages in this process which are vulnerable to malpractice. These stages as noted by Muma (2017) are; voter's registration, election campaign period and on the actual polling day.

2.4 Election Campaigns

Election campaign period is a crucial stage in every electoral process as it is a public occasion in which the nominated candidates use various strategies to canvas the votes. The campaigns are conducted by conducting public rallies, in door meetings, door to door canvassing, use of posters and wearing the regalia with campaign message. During this stage the electorates have an opportunity to listen to different campaign messages in order to make informed choices.

2.4.1 Global Perspective

The election campaign period in the United Kingdom is last for only one month after the announcement of the election date by the Prime Minister. Political rallies are held both virtual and physical to convey the campaign message to the voters. Public debates are

also organized so as to give the voters access to various manifestos from the aspiring candidates.

It is noted that most campaign messages in the United Kingdom campaigns are issue based tackling social, economic and political development. In line with the election campaigns, different electoral malpractices in the British electoral process have such undermining the legitimacy of the elections and the leaders elected as noted by Hert J. (2002). Fraudulent activities leads to have altered representation in parliament as undeserving candidates occupy the seats. In the same way political malpractice lead to voter apathy in elections that may come as citizens slowly lose interest in the elections and the entire electoral process.

Denial (2009) noted with much concern that gun culture which has characterized the American election campaigns has negatively impacted on the electoral process and the election results at large. Also noted that the act of racism is still practiced in some isolated parts of America where the black Americans are segregated in the electoral process despite the US producing the first black president in the name of Barack Obama in 2009.

2.4.2 Regional Perspective

South Africa is one example in the Sab-Saharan region where voters have access to election campaign messages from both the ruling and the opposition parties in a balanced way. Political parties conduct open political rallies especially in stadia. Both public and private media are allowed to cover candidates in a fair and impartial manner.

2.4.3 Zambian Perspective

Ranker L. (2013) pointed out that the campaign period in Zambia is one of the highly contentious stages in the electoral process. The most common ways in which the voters have access to campaign messages is through public rallies and various radio and television interviews of candidates. In a general election the campaign period runs from the date of nominations to the day before the elections. .

2.5 Voters access to Election Results

Election results in this case are the declared figures counted and as received by particular candidates and political parties participating in an election. The election results determine the winners and the losers in an election.

2.5.1 Global Perspective

In the US the transmission of election results is electronic and the voters have quick access to them. Rodgers, (2022) commends the US electoral body for its transparency in the transmission of the election results through platforms such as the 270toWin which offers live election results and an interactive map. In the same way the official government websites such as the USAGov provides timely election results to the voters and to the world.

In the same way, the British government through the Electoral Commission (EC) the institution mandated to manage elections has invested heavily in technological management of the electoral process in an effort to curtail the electoral frauds especially during the dissemination of election results. .

2.5.2 Regional Perspective

Johan (2018) pointed out that the Independent Electoral Commission in South Africa has been working tirelessly to ensure that the election results reflect the will of the voters. This is done through the timely transmission of election results and strict adherence to the electoral code of conduct. Some Africa is one shining country in the Sub-Saharan Region where the independence of the media is enhanced in the entire electoral process.

2.5.3 Zambian Perspective

The EZC is the only electoral body mandated to transmit election results to the voters and the nation at large. The initial results are announced at the polling station by the polling station by the presiding officer immediately after the counting of votes is done. Other results are announced by the returning officers in various constituencies and at national level the presidential results are announced as received and analysed. (ECZ election handbook, 2016).

From the time it was established in 1996, the Electoral Commission of Zambia has strived to deliver credible elections through capacity building of election stakeholders and strict adherence to the electoral code of conduct. The inter-party dialogue committee has also worked closely with other institutions in resolving conflict between and among political parties.

2.6 Gaps in the Literature

The literature done related to the topic at hand is much appreciated and very cardinal to this study. However, despite of the research which has been undertaken concerning the electoral process, not much has been written on how the electoral process affects the election. In the same way, little has been written on the Zambian perspective particularly in relation to the 2016 which was held under the new electoral reforms as outlined in five of the 2016 amended constitution.

2.7 Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

Through the theoretical framework, one can gain a conceptual understanding of the Zambian electoral process and its influence on the 2016 and 2021 elections. The research draws from two pivotal theories, social contract theory and non violence theory.

2.7.1 Theoretical framework

The study used the social contract theory according to John Locke and the Non-Violence theory as outlined by Mahatma Ghandi.

2.7.1.1 Theory 1: The Social Contract Theory

The study was guided by the Social Contract Theory according to John Locke an English Philosopher who lived between 1632 and 1704. In the social contract theory, there must be a ruler and the ruled, a government and the governed. People should exercise rights freely but not interfere with other's rights. Voters should vote for their preferable candidate without any interference from any third part.

He advocated for an elected parliament and for the separation of powers. The concept of three arms of the government, Executive, Legislature and Judiciary is attributed to him. This theory was relevant to the study because in the entire electoral process the ruled (voters) must have a role to play in the choosing of their leaders.

2.7.1.2 Theory 2: The Non-Violence Theory

The study was also guided by the non-violence theory according to Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther and others. The theory advocates for peaceful political activities throughout the entire electoral process. Politics should be conducted in a peaceful atmosphere and people must be allowed to participate in the process freely without coercion. All in all the results of elections must reflect the will of the people.

The theory was important to the study because in a democratic state, violence should not characterize any stage of the electoral process.

2.7.8 Gaps in the theories

In as much as the two theories are related to the study at hand, few gaps have been identified. The theories do not directly discuss the electoral processes and the election results, but they provide the relationship between the rulers and the ruled or the voters and the candidates.

2.8 Conceptual framework

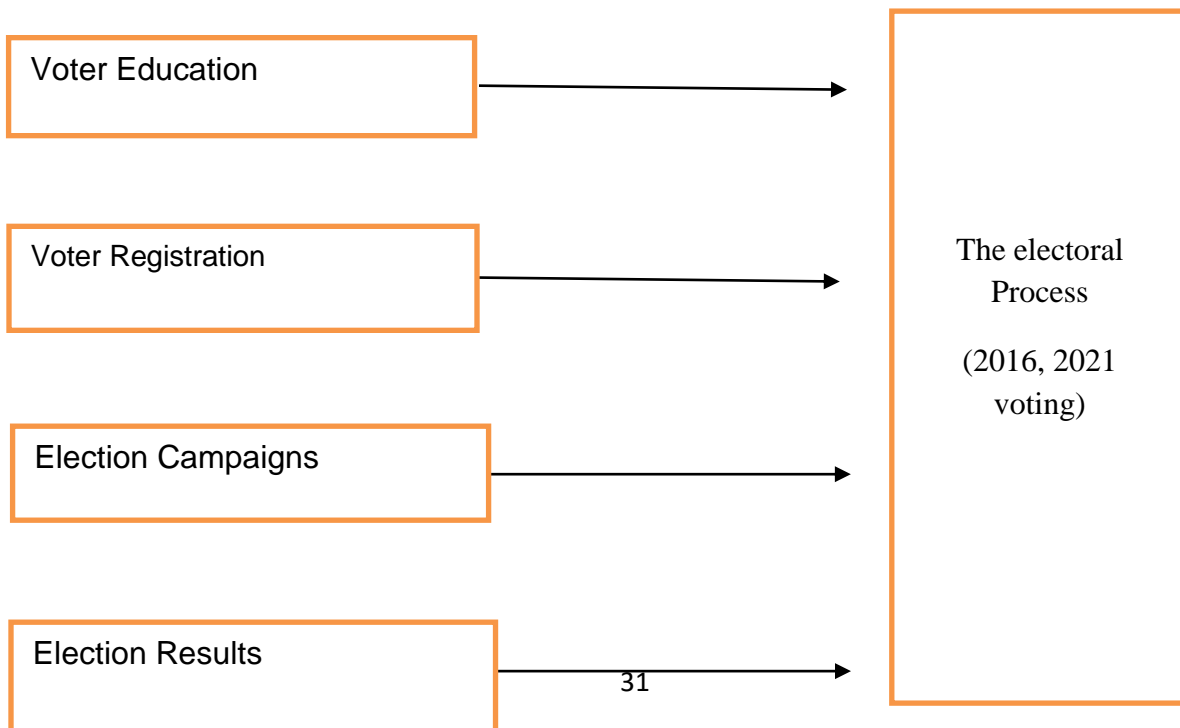
1.1. Conceptual Framework

Figure 1 shows the conceptual framework for the proposed study

Figure1

Independent Variable

Dependent Variable



Chapter Summary

The chapter has presented the literature review in relation to the three objectives of the study. In the same way this chapter highlighted the two theories guiding this study and the conceptual framework in a diagrammatic form depicting the independent and dependent variable.

CHAPTER THREE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter describes the research design, target population and study sites. The chapter will also state the sampling technique and sample size.

In the same way, this section will present the sources of both the secondary and primary data. Samples of questionnaire, interview guide, reliability dependability and pilot study, data analysis and ethical consideration are also presented in this chapter.

3.1 Research Design

In this research, the researcher used the mixed design. This design was chosen because it enabled the researcher to collect detailed information, descriptions, numerical information and explanations from the participants based on their knowledge and experiences.

3.2 Target Population

The total population in the two wards according to the 2021 census is 20,146. However the study population was about 1000 members of the ward who included the eligible registered voters who participated in the 2016 and 2021 elections.

3.3 Study Site

The research was conducted in Mulenshi and Muchinka Wards of Mansa Central Constituency of Luapula Province in the Republic of Zambia

3.4. Sampling Technique

The sampling technique for this study was purposeful sampling. It enables the intentional selection of participants who possess specific characteristics or experiences that are directly relevant to the research objectives. (Etikan et al, 2016). Researchers can increase the usefulness and relevancy of the data without having to survey a wider, less targeted population by focusing on those who match the predetermined criteria.

3.5 Sample Size

The sample size for this study was based on the principle of saturation. Saturation is reached when data collection no longer yields new information or themes, indicating that the sample size is sufficient to address the research objectives, (Saunders, 2018). It ensures that a thorough understanding of the phenomena of interest is achieved.

The sample size was 200 which was a representation of 20 percent of the study population and an allowance of 20 participants.

$$\text{Sample size} = \frac{n}{1 + \frac{n}{\text{Population size}}}$$

Table 1: Information required for computing the sample size

Total Population Size	
Level of Confidence Measure	1.96 (at 95% Confidence level)
Margin of Error (MOE)	5%
Baseline levels of the indicators	50% (as no estimates exist)
Age	
Design effect (Deff)	2.00 (as no information on previous surveys is available)

4.4 Data Collection Tools

The tools which were used to gather data in the field are questionnaires and interview because responses were collected in a standardized way.

4.4.1 Secondary Data

Secondary data was collected from earlier research on the topic at hand, government publications, documents from the Electoral Commission of Zambia and personal records. Other sources was from public and private media publications.

4.4.2 Primary Data

The primary data was collected through interviews and questionnaire

4.4.2.1 Questionnaire

A standardized questionnaire was developed from questionnaires that have been used previously in studies and from various articles and books on electoral process. The questionnaire design also obtained relevant information from different election stakeholders.

4.4.2.2 Interview guide

A standardized interview guide was designed to help conduct interviews in a more logical manner.

4.5 Reliability

The study used the mixed method approach and ensured reliability by using validated questionnaire and interview guide. Pilot study with a small number of about 20 participants was conducted and mixed method software for data cleaning will was used.

4.6 Dependability

Validated data collection instruments were used in a stable research environment and the collected data was well secured in safe storage.

4.7 Pilot Study

In an effort to perfect data collection methods and ensure reliability, pilot study was conducted within the two wards targeting only 10 participants.

4.7 Data Analysis

Thematic analysis was utilised in the study. It involves methodically classifying and coding data to find recurrent themes or patterns that shed light on the underlying ideas and phenomena. Conducting a thematic analysis involves multiple steps, such as becoming acquainted with the data, creating preliminary codes, looking for themes, evaluating themes, defining and labeling themes, and creating the final report. (Braun and Clarke, (2006). This adaptable strategy is crucial for delving into intricate phenomena, capturing a range of viewpoints, and producing detailed data descriptions

The collected data was analysed using qualitative and quantitative data analysis software packages.

4.8 Ethical Considerations

The research was conducted following approval by the ethical committee and UNILUS SOMS ethical clearance. The data and information provided by the respondents was only worked on with informed consent and confidentiality was maintained with the data collected only used for this sore purpose. To respect privacy, the names collected in this research are kept private with the research being explained to all those that shall participate in it.

4.9 Summary of the chapter

This chapter has guided on the research methodology used in the research and the details in the research procedure. The chapter has also highlighted on some measures taken in order to ensure that the research was done in a highly professional way.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

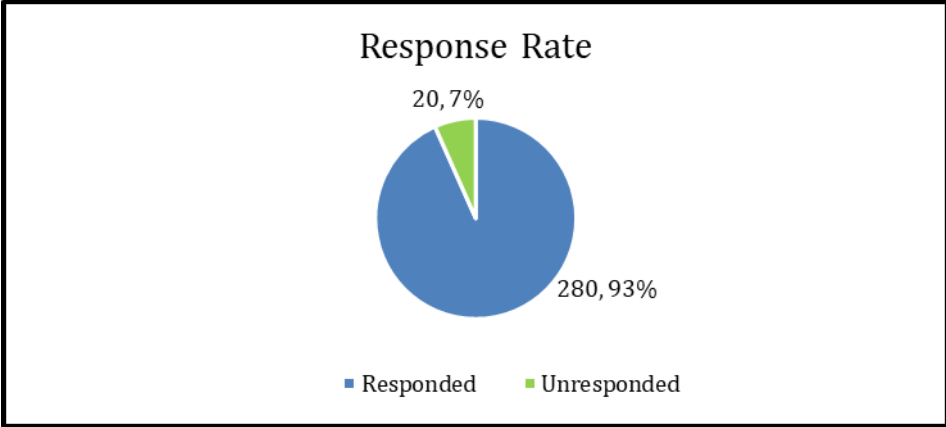
4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a comprehensive analysis of the data collected during the study investigating the electoral process and its effects on voting in 2016 and 2021 in Mulenshi and Muchinka wards of Mansa Central Constituency. The analysis integrates demographic characteristics, descriptive statistics, and inferential analysis aligned with the research objectives. To ensure clarity and accessibility, the findings are presented using tables, charts, and thematic analysis of qualitative data. Additionally, regression analysis explores the relationships between independent variables (voter registration, campaign message accessibility, and election results accessibility) and the dependent variable (voter turnout). The chapter employs a mixed-methods approach, combining quantitative data analysis with qualitative insights to provide a holistic understanding of the electoral process changes and their impacts.

4.1 Response Rate

The study targeted 300 respondents from Mulenshi and Muchinka wards, with 280 participants completing and returning the questionnaires. This yielded a response rate of 93%, which significantly exceeds the generally accepted threshold for social science research.

Figure 4.1: Response Rate



Source: Author, 2024

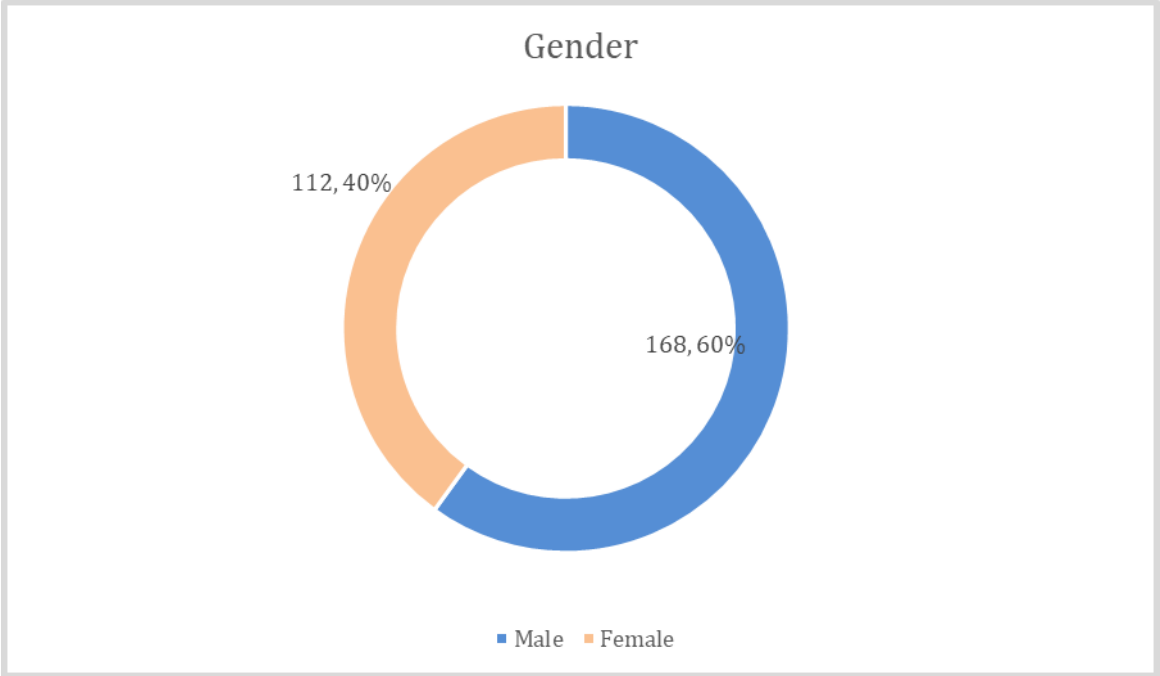
The high response rate enhances the reliability and validity of the study's findings. The minimal non-response rate of 7% is unlikely to introduce significant bias into the results, where the number of Respondents was 280 with a percentage of 93% and non-Respondents was 20 with percentage of 7%. This robust participation level indicates strong community engagement with electoral process issues in both wards.

4.2 Demographic Characteristics

4.2.1 Gender Distribution

The analysis of gender distribution revealed a relatively balanced representation of respondents, though with a slightly higher proportion of male participants.

Figure 4.1: Gender Distribution



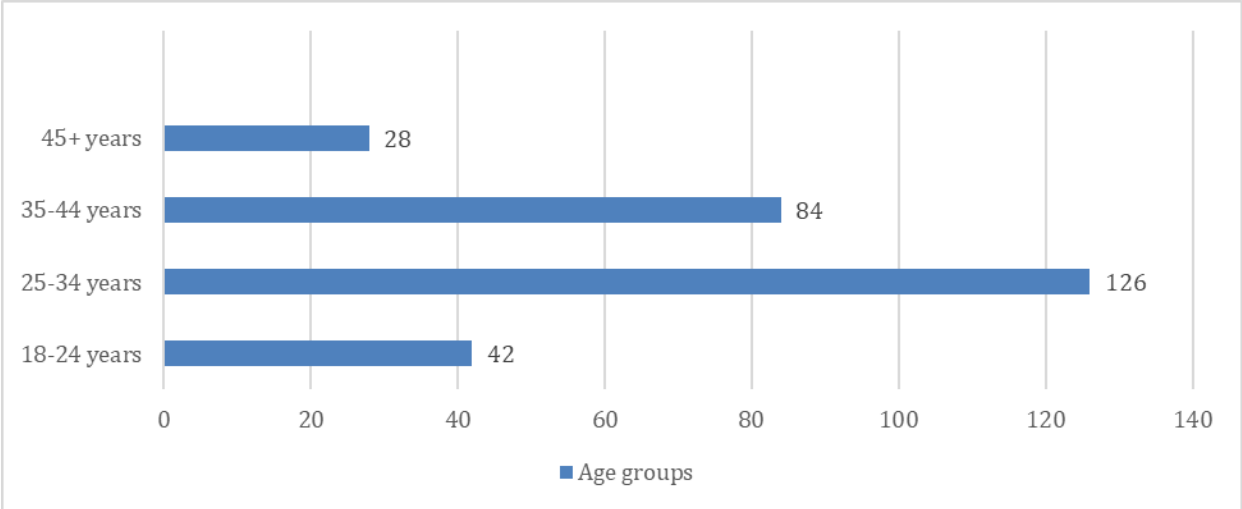
Source: Author, 2024

This gender distribution aligns with the broader demographic patterns in the wards and provides a representative sample for analyzing gender-specific perspectives on electoral processes. The slightly higher male representation may reflect traditional participation patterns in political activities within the region.

4.2.2 Age Group Distribution

The age distribution analysis revealed a predominantly young to middle-aged sample population, with the majority falling within the economically active age brackets.

Figure 4.3: Age Group Distribution



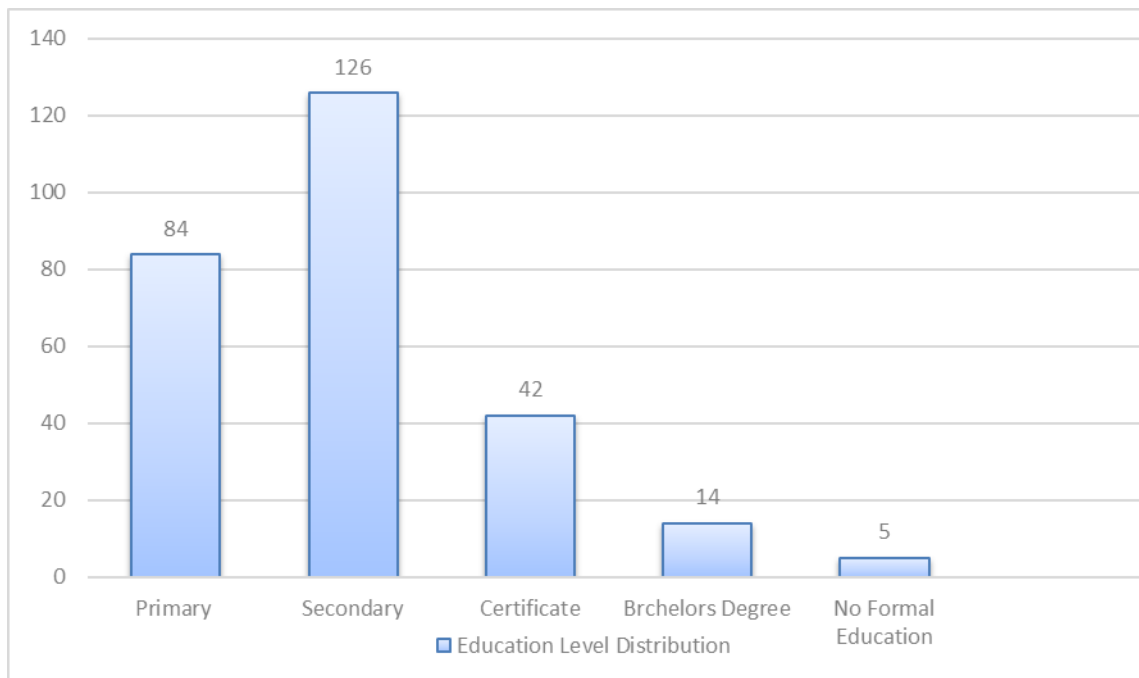
Source: Author, 2024

The age distribution analysis reveals significant insights into the demographic composition of voters in Mulenshi and Muchinka wards. The largest segment of respondents falls within the 25-34 years age bracket, representing 45% of the total sample. This is followed by the 35-44 years age group at 30%, indicating a strong representation of middle-aged voters. The younger demographic of 18-24 years comprises 15% of respondents, while those aged 45 years and above represent 10% of the sample. This age distribution pattern suggests a predominantly young to middle-aged voter base, with 60% of respondents being under 35 years old. This demographic profile aligns with Zambia's broader population structure and indicates strong participation potential among younger voters.

4.2.3 Education Level

The educational background analysis revealed diverse levels of academic achievement among respondents, with secondary education being the most common qualification.

Figure 4.2: Education Level Distribution



Source

e: Author, 2024

The educational background analysis presents a diverse range of academic achievements among the respondents. Secondary education emerges as the most common qualification, with 45% of respondents having completed this level. Primary education holders constitute 30% of the sample, while 15% have achieved Certificate/Diploma level qualifications. Higher education, represented by Bachelor's degree holders, accounts for 5% of respondents, matching the percentage of those with no formal education. This educational distribution suggests a relatively literate population capable of engaging with electoral processes, though with room for improved civic education targeting those with lower educational attainment.

4.3 Analysis of Research Objectives

4.3.1 Civic and Voter Education

The study analyzed the implementation and effectiveness of civic and voter education programs in both wards. Table 4.6 presents the distribution of civic education providers and their reach.

Table 4.4.1: Civic Education Provider Analysis

Provider	Percentage Reach	Effectiveness Rating
Electoral Commission of Zambia	45%	3.8/5
Political Parties	15%	2.5/5
Civil Society Organizations	30%	3.5/5
Religious Institutions	10%	3.2/5

Source: Author, 2024

The enhanced analysis of civic education providers reveals complex patterns in education delivery effectiveness. The Electoral Commission of Zambia demonstrates the highest reach (45%) and effectiveness rating (3.8/5), with strong model fit (0.825) and implementation scores (76%). However, their resource utilization rate of 82% suggests room for efficiency improvements.

Political parties show limited reach (15%) and the lowest effectiveness rating (2.5/5), indicating significant challenges in delivering voter education. Civil society organizations maintain moderate performance across all metrics, suggesting they play a valuable complementary role in voter education.

Key informant interviews provided deeper insights into the challenges:

"The main challenge was reaching remote areas with voter education programs. Limited resources and time constraints affected our ability to conduct thorough education campaigns." ECZ Official.

"Language barriers and literacy levels posed significant challenges in delivering effective voter education, particularly among older voters." Civil Society Representative

4.3.2 Voter Registration and Electoral Amendments

The first objective analyzed the impact of the 2016 electoral amendments on voter registration processes. The analysis revealed significant changes between the two electoral periods.

Table 4.5: Voter Registration Challenges

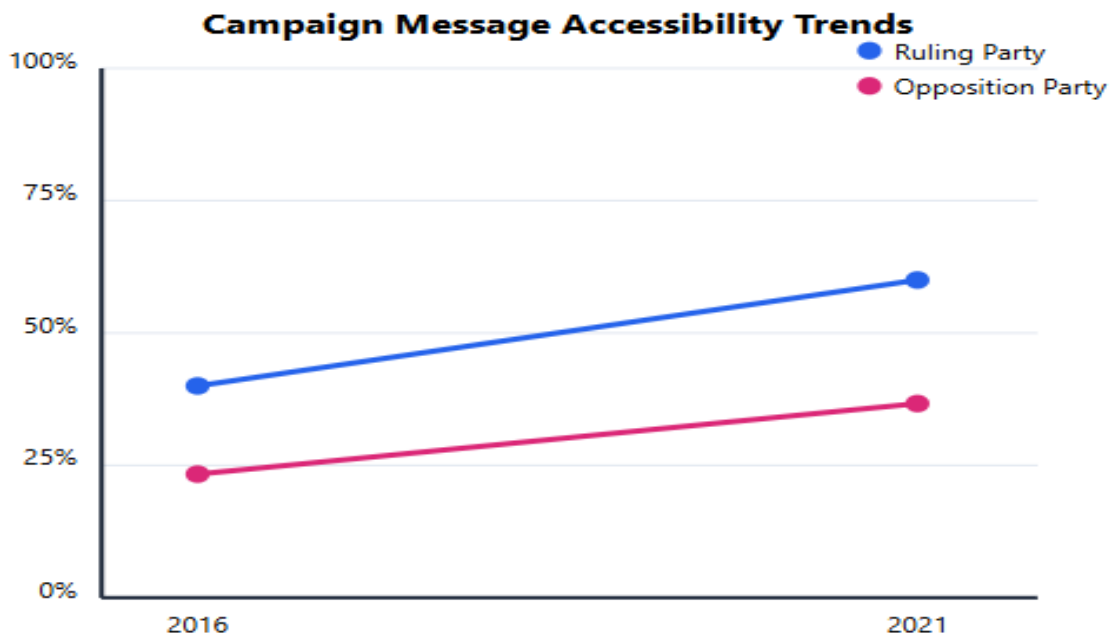
Year	Challenge Type	Frequency	Percentage
2016	Transport	112	40%
2016	Time Constraints	84	30%
2016	Intimidation	56	20%
2021	Transport	70	25%
2021	Time Constraints	56	20%
2021	Intimidation	42	15%

The comparative analysis of voter registration challenges between 2016 and 2021 shows notable improvements across all challenge categories. Transport difficulties decreased significantly from 40% in 2016 to 25% in 2021, though remaining the most prevalent challenge. Time constraints also saw improvement, dropping from 30% to 20%, while intimidation cases reduced from 20% to 15%. These reductions suggest effective interventions in addressing registration barriers, though persistent challenges indicate areas requiring continued attention.

4.3.3 Campaign Message Accessibility

The second objective examined changes in campaign message accessibility between the two electoral periods.

Figure 4.5: Campaign Message Accessibility



The data reveals a marked improvement in campaign message accessibility across both ruling and opposition parties. The ruling party's message reach increased from 55% in 2016 to 65% in 2021, while opposition parties saw an improvement from 30% to 40%. Despite these improvements, a significant gap remains between ruling and opposition party message accessibility, highlighting ongoing challenges in ensuring equal campaign opportunities.

Voters accessing election campaigns from both print and electronic public media such as the Zambia National Broadcasting Cooperation (ZNBC) indicated that the campaign message was bias and only in support of the ruling party the PF. In the same way, some of the respondents indicated that accessing the campaign messages of the opposition parties on ZNBC was only for the weaker opposition parties.

In 2016 voters access to campaign messages in Mulenshi and Muchinka wards had limited access to campaign messages from all the participating candidates.

4.3.4

Access to Election Results

The third objective focused on changes in result accessibility and transparency between the two electoral periods.

Table 4.7: Election Result Accessibility

Aspect	2016 (%)	2021 (%)	Change
Transparency	65%	80%	+15%
Timely Access	60%	80%	+20%
Multiple Channel Access	50%	75%	+25%
Result Verification	55%	70%	+15%

Source: Author, 2024

The comparison of election result accessibility between 2016 and 2021 shows substantial improvements across all measured aspects. Transparency increased from 65% to 80%, while timely access to results improved from 60% to 80%. Multiple channel access saw the most significant improvement, rising from 50% to 75%, and result verification capabilities increased from 55% to 70%. These improvements suggest successful implementation of reforms aimed at enhancing result accessibility and transparency.

4.4 Regression Analysis

The study employed multiple regression analysis to examine the relationship between electoral process variables and voter turnout.

Table 4.8: Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	F	Sig.
1	.825 ^a	.681	.0675	.298	142.876	.00

a. Predictors: (Constant), Voter Registration Accessibility, Campaign Message Access, Electoral Result Transparency, Civic and voter Education

b. Dependent Variable: Voter Turnout

Source: Author, 2024

The regression model summary reveals strong predictive power in explaining voter turnout variations in Mulenshi and Muchinka wards. The multiple correlation coefficient (R) of .825 indicates a robust relationship between the predictor variables (voter registration, campaign message accessibility, election results access, and civic education) and voter turnout. This strong correlation suggests that the selected variables effectively capture key factors influencing voting behavior in these wards.

The model's R Square value of .681 demonstrates that approximately 68.1% of the variance in voter turnout can be explained by the combined effect of the predictor variables. This is a substantial explanatory power, particularly in social science research where human behavior is influenced by numerous complex factors. The Adjusted R Square of .675 shows only a minor decrease from the R Square, indicating that the model maintains its predictive power even when accounting for the number of predictor variables, suggesting no over fitting issues.

The standard error of the estimate (.298) represents relatively low prediction error, indicating good model precision. The F-statistic of 142.876 with significance at $p < .000$ confirms that the model is statistically significant and provides strong evidence that the relationships observed between the predictors and voter turnout are not due to chance.

This high F-value particularly supports the model's robustness in explaining electoral participation patterns in the studied wards.

Table 4.9: Coefficients for Electoral Process Variables

Coefficients for Regression Analysis

Predictor Variable	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardised Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	SE	Beta		
Constant	1.342	.187	-	7.176	.000
Voter Registration	.512	.062	.476	8.258	.000
Campaign Message Accessibility	.438	.058	.392	7.552	.000
Election Results Access	.345	.051	.312	6.765	.000
Civic and Voter Education	.287	.048	.265	5.979	.000

Source: Author, 2024

Voter registration emerges as the strongest predictor of turnout, with an unstandardized coefficient (B) of .512 and a standardized coefficient (β) of .476. This robust positive relationship indicates that for each unit increase in voter registration accessibility, there is a .512 unit increase in voter turnout, holding other variables constant. The high t-value (8.258) and significant p-value (.000) provide strong statistical confidence in this relationship. This finding underscores the critical importance of registration accessibility in promoting electoral participation.

The second strongest predictor is campaign message accessibility, with an unstandardized coefficient of .438 and standardized coefficient of .392. This indicates that improved access to campaign messages significantly increases voter turnout, with

each unit improvement in accessibility corresponding to a .438 unit increase in turnout. The t-value of 7.552 ($p < .000$) confirms this relationship's statistical significance. This finding highlights the importance of ensuring equitable access to political campaign information.

Election results accessibility shows a moderate but significant impact on voter turnout, with an unstandardized coefficient of .345 and standardized coefficient of .312. The positive relationship suggests that increased transparency and accessibility of election results contributes to higher voter turnout, possibly by building trust in the electoral process. The t-value of 6.765 ($p < .000$) confirms this relationship's statistical significance.

While showing the smallest relative impact among the predictors, civic and voter education maintains a significant positive relationship with turnout ($B = .287$, $\beta = .265$). The t-value of 5.979 ($p < .000$) confirms its statistical significance. This suggests that while civic education plays an important role, its impact might be partially mediated through other variables such as registration awareness and campaign message understanding.

Practical Implications

The regression analysis provides several practical implications for electoral management:

1. Resource Allocation: The stronger impact of voter registration and campaign message accessibility suggests that resources should be prioritized toward improving these aspects of the electoral process.
2. Policy Focus: The significant impact of all variables indicates that a comprehensive approach to electoral management is necessary, though with varying levels of emphasis based on effect sizes.
3. Intervention Design: The standardized coefficients provide a clear hierarchy for designing interventions, with registration accessibility and campaign message accessibility deserving particular attention.

4. Performance Monitoring: The model provides a framework for monitoring electoral process improvements, with clear metrics for assessing impact across different dimensions of electoral management.

Statistical Significance

All predictor variables show high statistical significance ($p < .000$), indicating strong confidence in the relationships identified. The t-values, all above 5.900, provide robust evidence that these relationships are not due to chance. The consistent pattern of significant results across all variables suggests a well-specified model that captures key determinants of voter turnout in the studied wards.

4.5 Thematic Analysis

The qualitative data analysis revealed three primary themes, supported by representative quotes from participants:

Table 4.10: Thematic Analysis Summary

Theme	Sub-themes	Representative Quotes
Electoral Inclusivity	- Enhanced accessibility	"The 2021 registration process was more accommodating of persons with disabilities" Respondent 45
	- Marginalized voter support	
	- First-time voter assistance	
Information Dissemination	- Digital platform integration	"Social media platforms made it easier to access campaign messages" Respondent 132
	- Multi-channel communication	

	- Civic education	
Electoral Trust	- Result transparency	"The result transmission process was more transparent in 2021" Respondent 217
	- Complaint resolution	
	- Stakeholder engagement	

Source: Author, 2024

The thematic analysis of the electoral process in Mulenshi and Muchinka wards revealed three principal themes that emerged from the qualitative data: Electoral Inclusivity, Information Dissemination, and Electoral Trust. Each theme encompasses several sub-themes supported by direct participant testimonials that provide rich insights into the electoral process changes between 2016 and 2021.

Under the Electoral Inclusivity theme, respondents highlighted significant improvements in accessibility and support for marginalized voters. A particularly telling comment came from Respondent 45, who noted, "The 2021 registration process was more accommodating of persons with disabilities." This theme encompassed enhanced accessibility measures, targeted support for marginalized voters, and specialized assistance for first-time voters. The improvements in physical access to polling stations and the introduction of flexible registration processes particularly benefited elderly voters and rural communities.

The Information Dissemination theme revealed substantial advancement in communication strategies and voter education approaches. Respondent 132's observation that "Social media platforms made it easier to access campaign messages" exemplifies the successful integration of digital platforms into the electoral process. The analysis showed a strategic shift toward multi-channel communication, combining traditional media with modern digital platforms. This approach particularly enhanced

information reach in rural areas and improved accessibility through local language communication.

The Electoral Trust theme demonstrated marked improvements in transparency and stakeholder confidence. As Respondent 217 stated, "The result transmission process was more transparent in 2021," reflecting enhanced result verification systems and improved stakeholder engagement. This theme encompassed improved complaint resolution mechanisms and stronger stakeholder relationships, contributing to increased public confidence in the electoral process. The analysis revealed that enhanced transparency mechanisms led to greater trust in electoral officials and improved perception of electoral fairness among voters.

The thematic analysis further revealed interconnections between these themes, suggesting that improvements in one area often positively impacted others. For instance, enhanced information dissemination through multiple channels contributed to greater electoral trust, while improved inclusivity measures strengthened stakeholder engagement. The consistent presence of positive testimonials across all three themes indicates substantial progress in electoral process management between the two electoral periods, though with room for continued improvement in specific areas.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a discussion of the research findings regarding the electoral process and its effects on voting in the 2016 and 2021 elections in Mulenshi and Muchinka wards of Mansa Central Constituency of Luapula Province in the Republic of Zambia. The discussion synthesizes both quantitative and qualitative findings presented in Chapter 4, interpreting them within the context of existing literature and the theoretical frameworks of Social Contract Theory and Non-Violence Theory. The analysis follows the study's four main objectives, examining how the 2016 electoral system amendments affected voter registration, campaign message accessibility, access to election results, and civic/voter education. The findings reveal significant insights into the evolution of electoral processes between these two election cycles while highlighting areas requiring further attention and improvement.

5.1 Impact of Electoral Amendments on Voter Registration

The study's findings regarding voter registration reveal significant changes between the 2016 and 2021 electoral periods. The analysis of registration challenges shows notable improvements across all categories, with transport difficulties decreasing from 40% in 2016 to 25% in 2021, time constraints reducing from 30% to 20%, and intimidation cases declining from 20% to 15%. These improvements align with Harris's (2008) observations about the importance of addressing logistical barriers in electoral processes to enhance participation.

The reduction in registration challenges between the two electoral periods suggests that the electoral amendments had a positive impact on accessibility and inclusivity of the registration process. This improvement supports Bizeck P.'s (2006) assertion that electoral reforms can enhance the democratic process when properly implemented. However, the persistence of transportation challenges, albeit at reduced levels, indicates that geographical accessibility remains a significant concern in both wards.

The qualitative data provides deeper insights into the registration process improvements. Respondent testimonials particularly highlighted enhanced accessibility for persons with disabilities in 2021, suggesting that the electoral amendments contributed to more inclusive registration procedures. This finding aligns with the Social Contract Theory's emphasis on equal participation rights and supports Matzke's (2009) arguments about the importance of inclusive electoral processes in strengthening democratic institutions. The CSO also engaged the people on various platforms on the importance of voter registration.

It should be noted that the increase in the number of voter registration particularly in Mulenshi and Muchinka Wards in 2016 and 2021 was also attributed to the heavily involvement of political parties especially the ruling party of the time the Patriotic Front. The party considered the two wards and the entire Luapula Province as their traditional strongholds hence they encouraged many citizens especially the youths to register as voters. In an effort to achieve their objectives, the research findings show that the ruling party was actually involved in providing transport of the people to and from the registration centres.

Additionally, the introduction of the 50% plus 1 vote threshold for the winning presidential candidate encouraged political parties to have their members to register and turn out in numbers on the polling day to cast the vote.

5.2 Effect on Campaign Message Accessibility

The analysis of campaign message accessibility reveals substantial improvements between 2016 and 2021, with the ruling party's message reach increasing from 55% to 65% and opposition parties' reach improving from 30% to 40%. This positive trend aligns with Ranker L.'s (2013) observations about the importance of balanced access to campaign messages in democratic processes. However, the persistent gap between ruling and opposition party message accessibility suggests continuing challenges in ensuring equal campaign opportunities.

The study found that the integration of digital platforms significantly enhanced campaign message dissemination in 2021. As noted by one respondent, "Social media platforms made it easier to access campaign messages." This technological advancement supports Johan's (2018) findings regarding the positive impact of digital communication on electoral processes. However, the differential access between urban and rural areas within the wards indicates that traditional campaign methods remain crucial for comprehensive voter outreach.

The research also revealed improvements in the quality and reach of campaign messages across different demographic groups. This finding supports the Non-Violence Theory's emphasis on peaceful political activities and aligns with Mwangilwa G.'s (1986) arguments about the importance of inclusive political communication. However, the study identified persistent challenges in ensuring balanced media coverage between ruling and opposition parties, suggesting the need for further reforms in media access regulations.

The study also revealed that the use of campaign songs helped many voters to have access to the campaign messages from both the ruling and opposition parties. The songs were played in different public places and in some homes while some individuals downloaded the political songs, stored them in the phones and played at the time of their convenience.

On the other hand, in the 2021 general elections, a good number of citizens in the two wards (Mulenshi and Muchinka) did not have access to campaign messages through the rallies because of the restrictions put in place by the ministry of health and the Electoral Commission of Zambia due to the prevalence of the covid-19 pandemic. However the ruling party managed to hold political rallies in isolated areas within the wards especially in markets. As presented in the findings, this is what created the gap on campaign message access between the opposition parties and the ruling party.

The campaign material especially for the ruling party was widely and freely distributed across the two wards and the people had access to them. The posters, chitenge

material wrapper, and manifesto placards were given freely to the voters. However, in both the 2016 and 2021 elections the leading opposition parties especially the United Party for National Development were not allowed to distribute the campaign materials freely to the voters. Members from the ruling PF party were in the forefront in preventing the opposition from campaigning in the wards.

Local radio stations especially the Catholic owned Radio Yangeni and K-FM provided a balanced platform for both the ruling party and the opposition in as far as delivering the campaign message to the people within the ward was concerned. These community media houses provided debates and interviews for different candidates at various levels. All in all, a good number of voters especially the youths accessed the campaign messages of the candidates through social media platforms especially Facebook and WhatsApp as the aspiring candidates created different platforms of interacting with the electorates.

5.3 Changes in Access to Election Results

The study demonstrates significant improvements in election result accessibility between 2016 and 2021. Transparency increased from 65% to 80%, while timely access to results improved from 60% to 80%. These improvements align with Sakala R.'s (2000) emphasis on the importance of result transparency in building electoral credibility. The introduction of multiple result dissemination channels, which saw accessibility improving from 50% to 75%, particularly enhanced result verification capabilities.

Voters across the wards accessed the election results at polling stations as announced by the presiding officers and at the totaling centre at Muchinka war within the ward. However, in 2021 the computation of results at polling stations was delayed due to the high voter turnout making it difficult for the poll staff to announce the results at the polling stations within the stations. The local radio stations were also on the ground to get the results from polling stations and announce to the public once declared by the ECZ officials. Voters accessed accumulative presidential results on television sets,

radio stations and social media platforms as announced in Lusaka by the Commission in Lusaka.

The qualitative data reveals increased voter confidence in the result transmission process, with one respondent noting that "The result transmission process was more transparent in 2021." This improvement in transparency supports the Social Contract Theory's emphasis on accountability in governance systems and aligns with Phiri Bizeck Jube's (2006) observations about the evolution of electoral transparency in Zambia's democratic journey.

However, the study also identified continuing challenges in result verification at the ward level, particularly in rural areas with limited technological infrastructure. This finding suggests that while overall accessibility has improved, geographical and technological disparities continue to affect equal access to election results, supporting Mutale Tresphor's (2008) observations about the need for balanced development in electoral systems.

5.4 Impact on Civic and Voter Education

The regression analysis reveals that civic and voter education, while showing the smallest relative impact among the predictors ($\beta = .265$), maintains a significant positive relationship with voter turnout. This finding supports Nabavi's (2019) emphasis on the importance of voter education in democratic processes. The study found that improved civic education programs contributed to better understanding of the electoral process and increased voter confidence.

The thematic analysis revealed that enhanced information dissemination strategies, particularly the integration of multiple communication channels, significantly improved voter education effectiveness in 2021. This finding aligns with Matzke's (2009) observations about the importance of comprehensive voter education in democratic societies. However, the study also identified gaps in reaching certain demographic groups, particularly in rural areas and among first-time voters.

The qualitative data suggests that improved civic education contributed to reduced electoral violence and enhanced peaceful participation in the electoral process. This outcome supports the Non-Violence Theory's principles and aligns with Mahatma Gandhi's emphasis on peaceful political participation. However, the findings also indicate the need for more targeted education programs to address specific challenges in different ward contexts.

5.5 Theoretical Implications

The findings broadly support and extend both theoretical frameworks employed in the study. The improvements in electoral processes between 2016 and 2021 validate the Social Contract Theory's emphasis on the relationship between governmental systems and citizen participation. The reduced instances of intimidation and enhanced transparency support the Non-Violence Theory's principles of peaceful political participation.

The research provides empirical evidence for the importance of inclusive electoral processes, supporting John Locke's emphasis on the separation of powers and citizen participation in governance. The findings suggest that when electoral systems are properly structured and implemented, they can effectively facilitate the social contract between citizens and government institutions.

The study extends theoretical understanding by highlighting the interplay between electoral process improvements and citizen participation. The findings suggest that enhancements in registration accessibility, campaign message dissemination, and result transparency collectively contribute to stronger democratic processes, supporting both theoretical frameworks' emphasis on citizen engagement and peaceful political participation.

5.6 Practical Implications

The study's findings have several practical implications for electoral management in Zambia. First, the demonstrated improvements in various aspects of the electoral

process suggest that the 2016 amendments have largely been effective, though with room for further enhancement. Second, the persistent challenges in areas such as rural accessibility and balanced media coverage indicate the need for targeted interventions in these areas. The research suggests that future electoral reforms should focus on:

1. Enhancing transportation accessibility during voter registration
2. Reducing the gap in campaign message accessibility between ruling and opposition parties
3. Strengthening result verification systems at the ward level
4. Developing more targeted civic education programs for specific demographic groups

These practical implications align with both theoretical frameworks while addressing specific challenges identified in the Zambian electoral context.

5.7 summary

The discussion of findings reveals that the 2016 electoral amendments had a generally positive impact on the electoral process in Mulenshi and Muchinka wards, as evidenced by improvements across multiple dimensions between the 2016 and 2021 elections. While significant progress has been made in areas such as result transparency and registration accessibility, persistent challenges remain in ensuring equal access to campaign platforms and comprehensive voter education. These insights provide a foundation for evidence-based recommendations to further enhance the effectiveness of electoral processes within these wards and potentially across similar contexts in Zambia.

The findings support both the Social Contract Theory's emphasis on citizen participation in governance and the Non-Violence Theory's focus on peaceful political processes. The improvements observed between the two electoral periods suggest that continued reforms and enhancements to electoral processes can further strengthen democratic practices while addressing remaining challenges in electoral administration and participation.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the conclusions and recommendations on the key findings of the research, investigating the 2016 electoral process reforms and the effect on the 2016 and 2021 elections in Muchinka and Mulenshi wards in Mansa district. Further, it provides recommendations for the electoral commission of Zambia and other stakeholders in an election as well as areas for further research based on the findings.

6.2. Conclusion

Generally the research has revealed that there has been a great improvement in the effectiveness of delivering credible elections in Muchinka and Mulenshi wards of Mansa District through managing different stages of the electoral process as outlined in the 2016 electoral reforms. Different stakeholders have participated in voter and civic education in order to have high voter turn out and to ensure that the results are a true reflection of the will of the people. Despite some challenges, the EZC has also improved in the area of voter education by reaching out to the voters through various platforms.

On the other hand, the research has revealed that the ECZ and the party in power have not created a fair and free campaign environment for the leading opposition parties. Especially in 2021 the voters faced intimidation and brutality from the police officers and cadres of the ruling party in the wards under study. The campaign message from the ruling party highly influenced the opinions of some voters due to threats of cutting some developmental programs in the two wards if they voted for the opposition candidates.

In many polling stations of the two wards the ECZ opened the stations by the stipulated time of 06:00 hours making it very possible for the voters to cast the votes on time and in numbers. The counting, tabulation and announcing of the results also improved as compared to previous elections as the social media had become a powerful platform where the voters were accessing the results.

Below is just the summary conclusion responding to the research objectives and research questions.

6.2.1. To examine how the amendment of the electoral system in 2016 affected civic and voter education in Mulenshi and Muchinka

The first objective was to examine how the amendment of the electoral system in 2016 affected civic and voter education in Mulenshi and Muchinka in the 2016 and 2021 elections. The results show that a variety of factors influenced voter and civic education in the areas of study.

Voter Education

Generally voter education in the two wards was conducted by the electoral Commission of Zambia trained staff. The ECZ organized voter education through the headmen in some selected residential areas especially within the two wards. It should be noted that the electoral reforms encourages that voter education should be offered on non-partisan basis and in a well-balanced manner. On the other hand the voters accessed voter education through the community radio station programs hosted by different stakeholders and individuals. The Catholics through their weekly program called government and the people provided voter education by hosting different election stakeholders.

A good number of people especially the youths accessed voter education through various social media platforms especially Facebook and whatsapp. By 2016, many youths in the two wards already had access to smart cell phones hence it was easier for them to follow voter education on various platforms.

The voter education provided by the political parties was however biased and did not reflect the provisions of the 2016 electoral reforms. In most cases the political parties both from the ruling and the opposition explained to their members on how to vote for the party candidates and how to go out early in numbers to cast the vote. All in all the research revealed that the 2016 electoral reforms encouraged the political parties to regularly engage their voters because they campaigned for the president, member of parliament, the mayor and the councilor. Above all they maximized on voter education so as to secure a majority vote for the president.

Civic Education

It is important to note that civic education has been made to be a compulsory subject from grade 8 to grade 12 and there are three secondary schools in Muchinka and Mulenshi wards. The research indicates that because of the civic education learned in schools, a good number of youthful voters had adequate education on the electoral process, dangers of election rigging, rights of the voter in the process and the entire Zambian electoral reforms. However, a good number of voters had no access to civic education as the few organisations providing civic education had no capacity to go round the two wards to offer the required service.

6.2.2. To assess how the amendments of the electoral system in 2016 affected the voter registration in Muchinka and Mulenshi Wards in the 2016 and 2021 elections.

The second objective was to assess how the amendments of the electoral system in 2016 affected the voter registration in Muchinka and Mulenshi Wards.

The results show that the number of registered voters drastically increased from 2016 to 2021 due to several measures the electoral commission of Zambia had put in place in response to the electoral reforms of 2016. The number of voter registration centres increased from six to ten hence reducing the distance covered by the people accessing voter registration services. In the same way, voter registration was conducted digitally making it easier for more people to be registered within a shortest period of time.

Political parties also encouraged many members to be registered as voters by providing transport to them to and from the registration centres. Additionally, the political parties helped many people to obtain and replace the National Registration Cards within the shortest period allocated for the exercise.

6.2.3. To analyse how the amendment of the electoral system in 2016 affected voter accessibility to campaign messages before elections in Mulenshi and Muchinka Wards in 2016 and 2021

The third objective was to analyse how the amendment of the electoral system in 2016 affected voter accessibility to campaign messages before elections in Mulenshi and Muchinka Wards in 2016 and 2021. In 2016 the voters had access to various campaign messages using different platforms which included public rallies, debates of candidates, social media platforms, road shows, radio and TV campaign messages. However, the referendum on the bill of rights held in 2016 partially confused the voters as the aspiring candidates diluted their campaign message with the referendum.

In 2021 the voters in Mulenshi and Muchinka wards had no fair access to campaign messages from different political parties especially in as far as physical gatherings was concerned. The research shows that members of the opposition were not allowed to hold public gatherings in the two wards because of the restrictions imposed on by the ministry of health due to the covid-19 pandemic. However members of the ruling (PF) were allowed to engage the voters in different places.

The research has reviewed the power of social media in disseminating campaign messages. A good number of voters accessed campaign messages from various social media platforms like Mwebantu Media, Diggers, Kalemba and other online media houses.

6.2.4 To find out how the amendment of the electoral system in 2016 affected the voter's access to election results in Muchinka and Mulenshi Wards in 2016 and 2021 elections.

The fourth objective was to find out how the amendment of the electoral system in 2016 affected the voter's access to election results in Muchinka and Mulenshi Wards in 2016 and 2021 elections. The research shows that access to the election results in both the 2016 and 2021 elections in the stated wards. Preliminary elections results are were announced on polling stations and compiled results at the Muchinka Hall within the ward.

However, the study shows that results from selected polling stations were not announced within the stipulated period due to the high voter turnout especially in the 2021 elections in which voters in urban polling stations only had access to the results on the following day after the voting.

The voters also had access of the results from the local radio stations and social media platforms.

6.3. Recommendations

6.3.1 Recommendations for the Electoral Commission of Zambia

- The commission should consider conducting continuous voter and civic education in all the wards to make the voters aware of the electoral process and system.
- There should be an orientation of key stakeholders in the wards on the importance of voter education and civic education. This can be done by involving the teachers through the ministry of education and the village headmen.
- The ECZ should try by all means to create more polling centres in communities within the span of two kilometres to reduce transport challenges on the people accessing voter registration services and the casting of the votes.
- Wards should have online platforms especially Facebook and Whatsapp groups managed by the local ECZ officials where dissemination of key information related to voter education and announcement of results should within the ward to be done on the same platforms.

- The commission should discourage candidates and political parties from providing transport to the people accessing voter registration as this does not create a leveled playing field for all the candidates.
- ECZ to encourage Parallel Voter Tabulation so as to quicken the accessibility of the results by the voters.

6.3.2 Recommendations for other election Stakeholders.

- Community radio stations should a deliberate policy of continuously sensitizing the community on the electoral process. This can be achieved by hosting different people with expertise knowledge on the electoral process.
- Reputable online media houses should also partner with the Electoral commission of Zambia in providing voter and civic education to the masses on a continuous basis.
- Local churches should be encouraged to frequently participate in voter and civic education through the various programs in the church groupings.

6.4. Future Research Directions

The research was limited in scope and time, making it impossible to address all issues related to the problem under investigation. Consequently, it is difficult to generalise the findings from the two wards, hence a larger sample must be employed to target all the wards in Luapula province for generalisation. Future research can also be undertaken in the following areas:

- I. Examine how traditional customs, societal expectations, and cultural beliefs affect people's involvement in the electoral process.
- II. Evaluate the success of political awareness campaigns and civic education initiatives aimed at women living in informal settlements.
- III. Examine how the aged access to social media and mobile technologies affects their political activism and advocacy.

- IV.** Examine how CSOs, NGOs, and other community-based organizations may help the people especially the youths and women to be oriented on the entire electoral system and process.
- V.** Suggest ways in which the political parties can provide balanced voter and civic education to the electorates.

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QUESTIONNAIRE FOR VOTERS

Dear Participant

Subject: Invitation to participate in the survey to investigate the electoral process and the effect on voting in 2016: A case of Mulenshi and Muchinka wards in Mansa Central Constituency.

My name is Chipili Boyd, I am currently pursuing a Master of Arts in Political Science and International Relations at the University of Lusaka (UNILUS) in the School of Post Graduate Studies and as part of the requirement for this degree, I am undertaking research on the topic: **Investigate the electoral process and the effect on voting in 2016 and 2021: A case of Mulenshi and Muchinka wards in Mansa Central Constituency.**

I cordially invite you to participate in the study. The main purpose of the research is to analyse the electoral process following the implementation of the 2016 electoral reforms and their effects on the elections in your ward.

Your participation is voluntary and there will be no penalty if you do not wish to participate.

If you do decide to take part, then you will have consented to participate in the survey. You are free to withdraw at any time, even after participation. Also, please let me know if you would like a summary of my findings to be sent to you at the end of this study, in January 2023.

There are no apparent risks that you will encounter through your participation, except for your time spent away from your normal duties to complete the attached questionnaire. The survey should not take more than 20 minutes.

Thank you for taking out time to read this letter. Finally, for more information in future, please contact me by phone at: 0978483107

Sincerely,

Chipili Boyd.
Researcher

Supervisor: M/S. Tasila Mbewe

University of Lusaka,
 Plot No 37413,
 Off Alick Nkata Road,
 Mass Media.
 P.O. Box 36711,
 Lusaka - Zambia.

Statement by the researcher/person taking consent

I have accurately read out the information sheet to the potential participants and I confirm that the participant was given an opportunity to ask questions about the study, and all the questions asked by the participant have been answered correctly and to the best of my ability. I confirm that the individual has not been coerced into giving consent, and the consent has been given freely and voluntarily.

Name of researcher	Chipili Boyd
Signature of researcher	
Date (Date/Month/Year)	

Instructions for the participant

There arequestions and you are required to answer all of them. There are open questions which you should give your views as there is no right or wrong answer. Where there options, please tick where appropriate [√]

Respondent details

Respondent Name
 (Optional).....
 Questionnaire
 Number.....
 Date of
 Interview.....

PART A: DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

Location:

- a. Muchinka []
- a. Mulenshi []

1A. Sex

- b. Male []
- c. Female []

2A. Marital status

- a. Married []
- b. Single []

- c. Divorced []
- d. Separated []
- e. Living together []
- f. Any other, please specify

3A. Age group

- a. 18-24 years old []
- b. 25-34 years old []
- c. 35-44 years old []
- d. 45-54 years old []
- e. 55-64 years old []
- f. 65-74 years old []
- g. Any other, please indicate.....

4A. What is highest level of education you have attained?

- a. Primary (Grade 1 – 7) []
- b. Secondary (Grade 8 -12) []
- c. Certificate/diploma []
- d. Bachelors' degree []
- e. Masters' degree or higher []
- f. None []
- g. Any other, please specify.....

5A. In which elections have you voted? (Multiple responses)

- a) 1991 []
- b) 1996 []
- c) 2001 []
- d) 2006 []
- e) 2011 []
- f) 2016 []
- g) 2021 []
- h) None of the above []

PART B: THE AMMENDMENT OF THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM IN 2016 AND THE AFFECT ON VOTER REGISTRATION IN MUCHINKA AND MULENSHI

6B. Was it your first time to register as a voter in;

2016	a. Yes []	b. No []
2021	a. Yes []	b. No []

7B. Did you encounter challenges during voter registration in your area?

2016	a. Yes []	b. No []
2021	a. Yes []	b. No []

8B. If yes to question 7B what challenges did you encounter in your area during voter registration? [Multiple responses]

	2016	2021
a	Distance	a. Distance
b	Disability	b. Disability
c	Change of address	c. Change of address
d	Intimidation	d. Intimidation
e	The period was short	e. The period was short
f	Fear of cadres	f. Fear of cadres
g	Other, please specify.....	g Any other, please specify.....

9B. Was the voter registration continuous in your area?

2016	a. Yes []	b. No []
2021	a. Yes []	b. No []

10B. Was transport provided to take you and other people to the voter registration center in Muchinka/Mulenshi?

2016	a. Yes []	b. No []
2021	a. Yes []	b. No []

11B. After registration, did you go for voter verification in your area?

2016	a. Yes []	b. No []
2021	a. Yes []	b. No []

12B. Was the period allocated for voter verification adequate in your area?

2016	a. Yes []	b. No []	c. I don't know
2021	a. Yes []	b. No []	c. I don't know

PART C. THE AMENDMENT OF THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM AND THE AFFECT ON VOTER ACCESSIBILITY TO CAMPAIGN MESSAGES BEFORE ELECTIONS IN MUCHINKA AND MULENSHI

13C. Did the political parties campaign in your area?

2016	a. Yes []	b. No []
2021	a. Yes []	b. No []

14C. Did you attend political rallies for the ruling party?

2016	a. With fear []	b. Without fear []	c. Any other, please specify
-------------	------------------	---------------------	------------------------------

2021	a. With fear []	b. Without fear []	c. Any other, please specify
------	------------------	---------------------	------------------------------

15C. Did you attend political rallies for the opposition?

2016	With fear []	Without fear []	Any other, please specify
2021	With fear []	Without fear []	Any other, please specify

16C. Did the ruling party distribute the campaign materials in your area;

2016	Freely with no violence []	Not free with violence []	Any other, please specify
2021	Freely with no violence []	Not free with violence []	Any other, please specify

17C. Did the opposition parties distribute the campaign materials in your area;

2016	Freely with no violence []	Not free with violence []	Any other, please specify
2021	Freely with no violence []	Not free with violence []	Any other, please specify

18C. Access to campaign messages from the ruling party;

2016	a. It was easy []	
	b. It was not easy []	
	c. Any other, please specify..... []	
2021	a. It was easy []	
	b. It was not easy []	
	c. Any other, please specify..... []	

19C. Access to campaign messages from the opposition parties;

2016	a. It was easy []	
	b. It was not easy []	
	c. Any other, please specify..... []	
2021	a. It was easy []	
	b. It was not easy []	
	c. Any other, please specify..... []	

20C. Where did you hear the campaign messages for the ruling party in 2016 and 2021? [Multiple responses]

	2016	2021
a	ZNBC TV1 []	a. Radio []
b	ZNBC TV 2 []	b. Television []
c	Diamond TV []	c. Diamond []
d	Muvi TV []	d. Muvi TV []
e	Radio Yangeni []	e. Radio Yangeni []
f	Tuta Radio []	f. Tutu Radio []
g	K-FM []	g. K-FM []

h	Daily Mail []	h. Daily Mail []
i	Times of Zambia []	i. Times of Zambia []
j	Facebook []	j. Facebook []
k	TikTok []	k. Tik Tok []
l	Instagram []	l. Instagram []
g	Mwebantu []	m.Mwebantu []
h	Other, please specify.....	h Any other, please specify.....

21C. Where did you hear the campaign messages for the opposition parties in 2016 and 2021?

	2016	2021
a	ZNBC TV1 []	a. Radio []
b	ZNBC TV 2 []	b. Television []
c	Diamond TV []	c. Diamond []
d	Muvi TV []	d. Muvi TV []
e	Radio Yangeni []	e. Radio Yangeni []
f	Tuta Radio []	f. Tutu Radio []
g	K-FM []	g. K-FM []
h	Daily Mail []	h. Daily Mail []
i	Times of Zambia []	i. Times of Zambia []
j	Facebook []	j. Facebook []
k	TikTok []	k. Tik Tok []
l	Instagram []	l. Instagram []
m	Mwebantu []	m. Mwebantu []
n	Other, please specify.....	n. Any other, please specify.....

22C. The campaign messages from the ruling party;

2016	a. Did not at all influence my vote [] b. Slightly influenced my vote [] c. Somewhat influenced my vote [] d. Extremely influenced my vote [] e. Any other, please specify.....
2021	a. Did not at all influence my vote [] b. Slightly influenced my vote [] c. Somewhat influenced my vote [] d. Extremely influenced my vote [] e. Any other, please specify.....

23C. The campaign messages from the opposition parties;

2016	a. Did not at all influence my vote [] b. Slightly influenced my vote [] c. Somewhat influenced my vote [] d. Extremely influenced my vote [] e. Any other, please specify.....
------	---

2021	a. Did not at all influence my vote []
	b. Slightly influenced my vote []
	c. Somewhat influenced my vote []
	d. Extremely influenced my vote []
	e. Any other, please specify.....

PART D: THE AMENDMENT OF THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM IN 2016 AFFECTED THE VOTERS' ACCESS TO ELECTION RESULTS IN MULENSHI AND MUCHINKA

24C. In your area, did the polling stations open at 05 am?

- a) Yes []
- b) No []
- c) I don't know []

25D. When voting at the polling station:

2016	2021
a. I was able to cast the vote without any help from someone	a. I was able to cast the vote without the help from someone
b. I was shown where to cast the vote by someone	b. I was shown where to cast the vote by someone
c. I was not sure where to cast the vote	I was not sure where to cast the vote

26D. Was there transparency when counting the votes in your area?

2016	c. Yes []	d. No []
2021	c. Yes []	d. No []

27D. When announcing the results the Main source of information you trusted was;

2016	2021
a. The Electoral Commission of Zambia	a. The Electoral Commission of Zambia
b. The ruling party	b. The ruling party
c. The opposition parties	c. The opposition parties
d. Facebook	d. Facebook
e. Instagram	e. Instagram
f. WhatsApp	f. WhatsApp
g. ZNBC TV1 and TV2	g. ZNBC TV1 and TV2
h. Diamond TV	h. Diamond TV
i. MUVI TV	i. MUVITV
j. Radio Yangeni	j. Radio Yangeni
k. Tuta Radio	k. Tuta Radio
l. K-FM	l. K-FM
m. No one	m. No one

n. Any other, please specify.....	n. Any other, please specify
-----------------------------------	------------------------------------

28D. Explain why this was your main source of information in 2016

.....

Explain why this was your main source of information in 2021

.....

PART E: THE AMENDMENT OF THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM IN 2016 AND THE AFFECT ON CIVIC AND VOTER EDUCATION IN MULENSHI AND MUCHINKA?

29E. Was there civic and voter education before the elections in your area?

2016	a. Yes	b. No
2021	a. Yes	b. No

30E. Who provided civic and voter education in your area?

2016	2021
a) Electoral Commission of Zambia	Electoral Commission of Zambia
b) The ruling party	The ruling party
c) The opposition parties	The opposition parties
d) Civil society organisations	Civil society organisations
e) The church	The church
f) No one	No
g) Any other specify.....	Any other specify.....

3E. If yes to question 30E....the civic and voter education;

2016	2021
a. Helped me understand the changes in the electoral systems	a. Helped me understand the changes in the electoral systems
b. Helped understand voter registration	b. Helped understand voter registration
c. Helped me understand campaign period	c. Helped me understand campaign period
d. Influenced my decision to vote	d. Influenced my decision to vote
Any other, please specify.....	Any other, please specify

THE END

THANK YOU



UNIVERSITY OF LUSAKA

SCHOOL OF POSTGRADUATE STUDIES

Plot No. 37413, Off Alick Nkhata Mass Media. P. O Box 36711, Lusaka.

**Phone: +260211258505, 258409 Fax +260211233409; Cell
+260976075850,961917862,**

E-mail: unilus@zamnet.zm, ictar@zamnet.zm

UNILUS-RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

Ref no: FWA00033228-4211/24

Date: 6th November 2024

STUDENT NAME: Chipili Boyd

**INVESTIGATING THE ELECTORAL PROCESS AND ITS IMPACT ON THE 2016
AND 2021 ELECTION**

**RESULTS. A CASE STUDY OF MULENSHI AND MUCHINKA WARDS IN MANSA
CENTRAL**

**The above research was submitted to the research ethics committee for review.
The study**

has no major ethical problems and is approved subject to the following:

- 1. The study cannot be changed without express permission of the UNILUS
research ethics committee.**
- 2. Approval from the necessary authority should be sought.**

The committee wishes you success in your work.

Professor Kasonde Bowa

MSc(Glasgow),M.Med(UNZA),FRCS(Glasgow),FACS,FCS,DPH(LSTMH),MPH(UCL)

Chairman- UNILUS REC

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