

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND

1.0 Introduction

In most democratic set ups, Parliaments are considered to be the central institutions of democracy. In the Guide on Parliamentary Democracy, the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) describes Parliament as an elected body that represents society in all its diversity. Parliament not only represents citizens as individuals, through the presence of political parties, it also represents them collectively in the pursuit of development and democracy (Revised report on the review of the Parliamentary Reform Programme Capacity Building Component, 2012). In the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) 2012, Global Parliamentary Report, Parliament is considered as the link between the concerns of the people and those that govern. It is said that public pressure on parliaments is greater than ever before. The growth in size of government has increased the responsibilities of parliaments to scrutinize and call to account. The development of communication technology and saturation media coverage of politics has increased the visibility of parliaments and politicians (UNDP and Inter-Parliamentary Union Global Parliamentary Report-the changing nature of parliamentary representation, 2012).

The challenge facing parliaments in all parts of the world is one of continual evolution, ensuring that they respond strategically and effectively to changing public demands for representation. Parliamentary reforms are one way that parliaments have adopted to engage in the process of continual improvement (Revised report on the review of the Parliamentary Reform Programme Capacity Building Component, 2012).

In Zambia parliamentary reforms have been ongoing since the early 1990s. With the re-introduction of multi party democracy in 1991, and as a way of enhancing democratic governance, the National Assembly of Zambia saw it prudent to realign the functions of Parliament with the demands of plural politics (Report of the Parliamentary Reforms Committee on Reforms in the Zambian Parliament, 2000).

This therefore, called for the introduction of parliamentary reforms with a view of addressing the limitations which existed in the institution. The reforms were conceived in order to enhance parliamentary oversight of the Executive and also to allow for increased participation of the citizens in the affairs of the country.

Between 1992 and 2011, a series of projects and initiatives were implemented in order to reform parliament. In the period 1992 to 1994, the Legislative Performance Project was conceived in the immediate aftermath of the 1991 elections and it was funded by the USAID. However, the project did not go far due to challenges in the working relationships between the National Assembly and the cooperating partner. However, with the election of the new Speaker, Hon Amusa Mwanamwambwa in 1998, impetus for parliamentary reforms came back. In 1999, the new Speaker appointed an Ad Hoc Reforms Committee that was to undertake a study and make recommendations on key areas of reform.

According to the report of the Parliamentary Reforms Committee on Reforms in the Zambian Parliament, 2000, the key areas of reform were:

- I. Member- Constituency Relations
- II. The Legislative Process
- III. The Committee System
- IV. The Administration of the National Assembly
- V. Support Services to Parliament and its Members

According to the report of the Parliamentary Reforms Committee on Reforms in the Zambian Parliament, 2000, in the reform area of Member-Constituency Relations, the Ad Hoc Reforms Committee made the following recommendations:

- I. Establishment of Constituency Offices
- II. Parliamentary Communications/outreach and
- III. Capacity to deliver constituent services

Following the recommendations made in the report by the Ad Hoc Reform Committee, parliament appointed a Parliamentary Reform and Modernisation Committee (PRMC) in 2002 with the mandate to examine and propose reforms to the powers, procedures, practices, organisation and facilities of the National Assembly.

The Parliamentary Reform Project commenced in 2002 following the signing of the Statement of Intent between the National Assembly and cooperating partners. This project was in two stages, namely Parliamentary Reform Programme (PRP) 1 which was implemented from 2002 to 2003 and was primarily a period during which a bankable project document was drawn up and this defined the goals, vision and approach to parliamentary reform. Other activities were undertaken as part of PRP 1 and these included establishing constituency offices on a pilot basis. The establishment of the constituency offices was based on one of the recommendations of the Ad hoc Reforms Committee which proposed that one area in which parliament needed reform was the Member-Constituency Relations.

The report by the Reform Committee on the operations of the pilot constituency offices indicated that there was a need to establish the offices on a permanent basis. The Reforms Committee further recommended the construction of a constituency office by the parliament in each of the 150 constituencies. However, prior to sourcing of funds for construction of the offices, it was recommended that parliament provided resources for renting of office space in addition to office equipment and constituency staff members. Therefore, with the aim of improving Member-Constituency Relations and taking Parliament closer to the people and making it more accessible, Constituency Offices were established in all the 150 constituencies of Zambia. Currently parliament has constructed four offices while the rest are still being rented mostly from council buildings.

The study attempted to assess the role of constituency offices in enhancing democracy and communication between Members of Parliament and their constituents: a case study of Kabwata Constituency. However, before the report gives

further details on the study, a brief background on the country will be provided in order to give details on the context in which the study was undertaken for the benefit of those who may not be familiar with the profile of Zambia.

1.1 General Overview of Zambia

Zambia is a landlocked country in Southern Africa. Its neighbouring countries are the Democratic Republic of Congo, Tanzania, Malawi, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Namibia and Angola. Zambia covers a land area of 752, 612 square kilometres which is about 2.5 per cent of Africa. The capital city is Lusaka located in the south-central part of the country. About 58 per cent of Zambia's total land area of 39 million hectares is classified as having medium to high potential for agricultural production, but less than half of potential arable land is cultivated.

Zambia has a tropical climate and consists mostly of high plateau. It is drained by two major river basins which are the Zambezi/Kafue basin in the centre, west and south covering about three quarters of the country and the Congo basin in the north covering about one quarter of the country. The country is prone to drought due to erratic rainfall as its abundant water resources remain largely untapped. Zambia has some of the largest copper and cobalt deposits in the world.

Historians and archaeological evidence shows that by the year 1500 much of modern Zambia was occupied by Bantu-speaking horticulturalists, who are believed to be the ancestors of the present inhabitants.

1.2 Population

The population of Zambia according to the last Central Statistics Office (CSO) census conducted in 2010 is 13.1 million. There was an increase from 9.9 million in the 2000 CSO census. Therefore, the population grew at an average annual rate of 2.8 per cent between the 2000 and 2010. In 2010, 60.5 per cent of the total population were living in rural areas with 39.5 per cent in urban areas. Lusaka

Province had the largest population of 2, 191, 225 followed by the Copperbelt Province with 1, 972, 317 (2010 Census of Population Summary Report).

1.3 Languages

The official language of Zambia is English. Besides English there are seven major languages that are used. These are Bemba, Kaonde, Lozi, Luvale, Lunda, Nyanja and Tonga. However, Zambia has a total of 73 dialects spoken across the country.



Source: 2007 Zambia Demographic and Health Survey

1.4 Administration

Zambia is divided into ten provinces namely: Central, Copperbelt, Eastern, Luapula, Lusaka, Muchinga, Northern, North-Western, Southern and Western Provinces. Zambia has 150 Constituencies and 1, 430 wards. The government is comprised of Central and Local Governments.

1.5 Religion

According to the 1996 constitution, Zambia was officially declared a Christian Nation. However, despite this declaration, Zambia embraces other religions.

1.6 Political Background

Zambia became a British protectorate of Northern Rhodesia towards the end of the nineteenth century. This was after visits by European explorers in the eighteenth century. For most of the colonial period, the country was governed by an administrator appointed from London with the advice of the British South African Company (BSAC). On 24th October, 1964, Zambia gained independence and its first President was Dr. Kenneth David Kaunda.

Zambia's post-colonial era is divided into three periods referred to as the First Republic which was from the period of 1964 to 1972. During this period, the country was under a multi-party system with the United National Independence Party (UNIP) as the party in power under the presidency of Dr. Kenneth Kaunda. The second period was from 1973 to 1990 and during this period, the country was under a single-party state with UNIP as the sole legal party with the goal of uniting the nation under the banner of "One Zambia, One Nation". The third period is the Third Republic from 1991 to the present in which the country reverted back to multi-party democracy.

Zambia has held seven presidential elections since 1991. The Late President H. E Dr. Fredrick T J Chiluba under the Movement for Multi- Party Democracy (MMD) ruled the country from 1991 to 1996. In 2001 the Late H. E Dr. Patrick Levy Mwanawasa, SC also under the MMD won elections and ruled until 2008 when he became the first Republican President to die in office. H. E Mr. R B Banda under the MMD won the presidential by-elections that were held in 2008. In 2011 the Late H. E Mr. Michael Chilufya Sata under the Patriotic Front (PF) won the elections and removed the MMD which had been in power for 20 years. Mr. Michael C Sata ruled until 2014 when he became the second Republican President to die in office. The current Republican President H. E Mr. Edger Chagwa Lungu of the PF won presidential by-elections held on 20th January, 2015 and is Zambia's 6th President.

1.7 Economy

Zambia has a mixed economy which is mainly driven by the Mining, Agriculture, Construction, Transport and Communication sectors. In 2010 the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth was 7.6 per cent, the highest level recorded since 1972 (2010 CSO National Accounts Statistics). Between 2000 and 2010, the annual inflation rate declined from 30.1 percent to 7.9 per cent (2010 CSO Prices Statistics).

Zambia has spelt out its development agenda in the Sixth National Development Plan (SNDP) which runs from 2011 to 2015. Zambia visualises becoming a prosperous middle income country by 2030 (Vision 2030). This is to be achieved through private sector led broad-based economic growth. Thus Zambia has embarked on the Private Sector Development Programme (PSDP) which is meant to attract both domestic and foreign investment in various sectors of the economy. This is to be achieved through Zambia's broad macro-economic and social policies which include pro-poor economic growth, low inflation, stable exchange rates and financial stability.

1.8 Poverty

Majority of Zambians have continued to live in poverty. The 2006 and 2010 Living Conditions Monitor Surveys (LCMS) show that poverty levels have remained high

despite recording a decline between 2006 and 2010. Poverty in Zambia has continued to be more of a rural than urban phenomenon. The level of rural poverty is three times than in urban areas. In 2010, rural poverty was estimated at 77.9 per cent compared to urban levels at 27.9 per cent (2010 CSO Agriculture Census Analytical Report).

1.9 Overview of the Zambian Parliament

1.9.1 Location

This first Parliament Buildings in Northern Rhodesia were located in Livingstone after which they were relocated to Lusaka at the current Cabinet Office. The current Parliament Buildings stand on a hill which was once the dwelling place of village Headman Lusaakas, from which the capital city derives its name (Chibesakunda N M, 2001). Into the base of the building are built stones, sand and other materials from every district of Zambia.



Parliament Buildings, Lusaka

Source: www.zambianparliament.gov.zm

1.9.2 Historical Development of the Zambian Parliament

Like in the other British colonies, the Legislative Council in Northern Rhodesia was established as a central institution representing imperial authority and local interests. It was also partly established as a follow up to the European demands for a responsible Government which were first raised during the period of the British South African Company rule. These demands had, first of all culminated in the formation of an Advisory Council in 1918 which composed of five elected Members out of which one represented the Europeans of the former North-Western Rhodesia and one represented the Europeans of the Europeans of the former North-Eastern Rhodesia (J.W. Davidson, 1946). This council, however, provided the settlers with a limited voice in the territory's administration, as it had no legislative or executive authority which remained vested in the Administrator of the BSAC. When Northern Rhodesia was placed under the direct administration of the British Government in 1924, the European settlers continued to agitate for more political control in the governance of the territory. The Crown, therefore, replaced the Advisory Council with a Legislative Council of the usual colonial type.

The Council was merely an advisory body to the Administrator as it had no legislative or executive powers of its own. The creation of the Legislative Council was, therefore, mainly to accord the white settlers a large say in the running of their affairs than had been the case during the BSAC rule. It is important to note that the development of the Legislative Council in Northern Rhodesia was characterised by various factors which included the status of the colony as a protectorate, which meant that the paramount of the interests of the Africans who were British protected persons and not subjects had to be taken into consideration together with the political and social-economic developments of the country. As a result of these factors, the composition of the Legislative Council kept on changing.

Political pressure and related trends in Africa led to the emergence of a new group of Africans who began to advocate for a say in the governance of their country. Two bodies which advocated for African representation were, therefore, formed in Northern Rhodesia. These were the African Representative Council (ARC),

established in 1964 which brought together 25 Africans elected by various provincial councils and four appointees by the Paramount Chief of Barotseland. It was through the ARC that eventually Africans became eligible for membership of the Legislative Council. By 1948, the Legislative Council comprised a bigger number of unofficial members who wielded considerable power compared to the previous years. As a result of the increased pressure, two African members elected by the ARC were for the first time in 1948, included on the ninth Legislative Council.

The last Legislative Council before independence was formed after the elections of 1964. This was under a self-governing Constitution, which created 25 seats in the House. The main parties in contest were the African National Congress (ANC), the whites only National Progressive Party (NPP) and the United National Independence Party (UNIP). UNIP won 55 of the main roll seats, ANC won ten of the main roll seats and NPP secured all the ten reserved roll seats (D. C. Mulford, 1967; page 327).

After the elections, the British Government called for a conference in May 1964 at Malborough House in London, which was called the Northern Rhodesia Independence Conference. Representatives from all the political parties with seats in the Legislative Council attended the Conference. After serious negotiations, the Conference produced an Independence Constitution which provided for a Legislative Council made up of 80 Members. On 24th October, 1964, Northern Rhodesia became an independent State of Zambia. The Legislative Assembly was renamed the National Assembly of Zambia and consisted of 75 elected Members and five nominated Members.

The attainment of independence was an important turning point in the development of the Parliament of Zambia. Parliament was no longer an imperial authority, but an independent institution making up one of the three wings of Government, namely, the Executive, the Judiciary and the Legislature. The legislative powers are vested in the Parliament of Zambia which consists of the President and the National Assembly.

In 1967, Parliament moved from the old secretariat at Cabinet Office to a more fitting building which had just been constructed on the crown of a low hill in Lusaka. The current National Assembly which was elected in 2006 is the eleventh National Assembly since Zambia attained its independence in 1964.

1.10 Overview of Kabwata Constituency

1.10.1 Location

Kbwata Constituency is located to the south within the Capital City of Lusaka. The boundaries of the constituency can be best described through the key roads and these are MosioaTunya Road, Burma Road, Independence Avenue and the Kamwala Railway Line. The constituency shares boundaries with Chawama, Chilanga and Lusaka Central Constituencies.

1.10.2 Population

Population of Kabwata Constituency during the 2010 Census

Wards	Number of Households	Total Population		
		Total	Male	Female
	34,202	174,338	83,109	91,229
Kamwala	9,777	51,299	25,011	26,288
Kbwata	4,629	22,537	10,390	12,147
Libala	4,396	22,347	10,411	11,936
Chilenje	10,330	52,220	24,367	27,853
Kamulanga	5,070	25,935	12,930	13,005

Source: 2010 Census of Population and Housing (CSO)

The Member of Parliament for Kabwata Constituency is Hon. Given Lubinda, MP, Minister of Agriculture and Livestock. For administrative purposes, the constituency is subdivided into five wards. These are smaller unites with each having its own

elected councillor who represents a political party. Currently all the five councillors in Kabwata Constituency belong to the ruling Patriotic Front (PF).

Kabwata Constituency Office was established during the Parliamentary Reform Programme phase II which started in 2006. The office was officially opened on 1st July, 2006. It is important to note here that although the Kabwata Constituency Office was opened in 2006, the Member of Parliament, Hon Given Lubinda, MP had already initiated the idea of having an office and opened one in 2001. However, this office was not a National Assembly run office but that which was run by the Member of Parliament in his own individual capacity. The research therefore, did not assess the operations of the office that was initially opened by the MP, but focused on the office that is being run by the National Assembly.

The Parliamentary Constituency Office in Kabwata is situated in a rented space in a building that belongs to the local authority in the area. The office is run by members of staff who are employees of the National Assembly of Zambia and these include the Professional Assistant, the Administrative Assistant and two security guards.

1.11 Functions of Parliamentary Constituency Offices

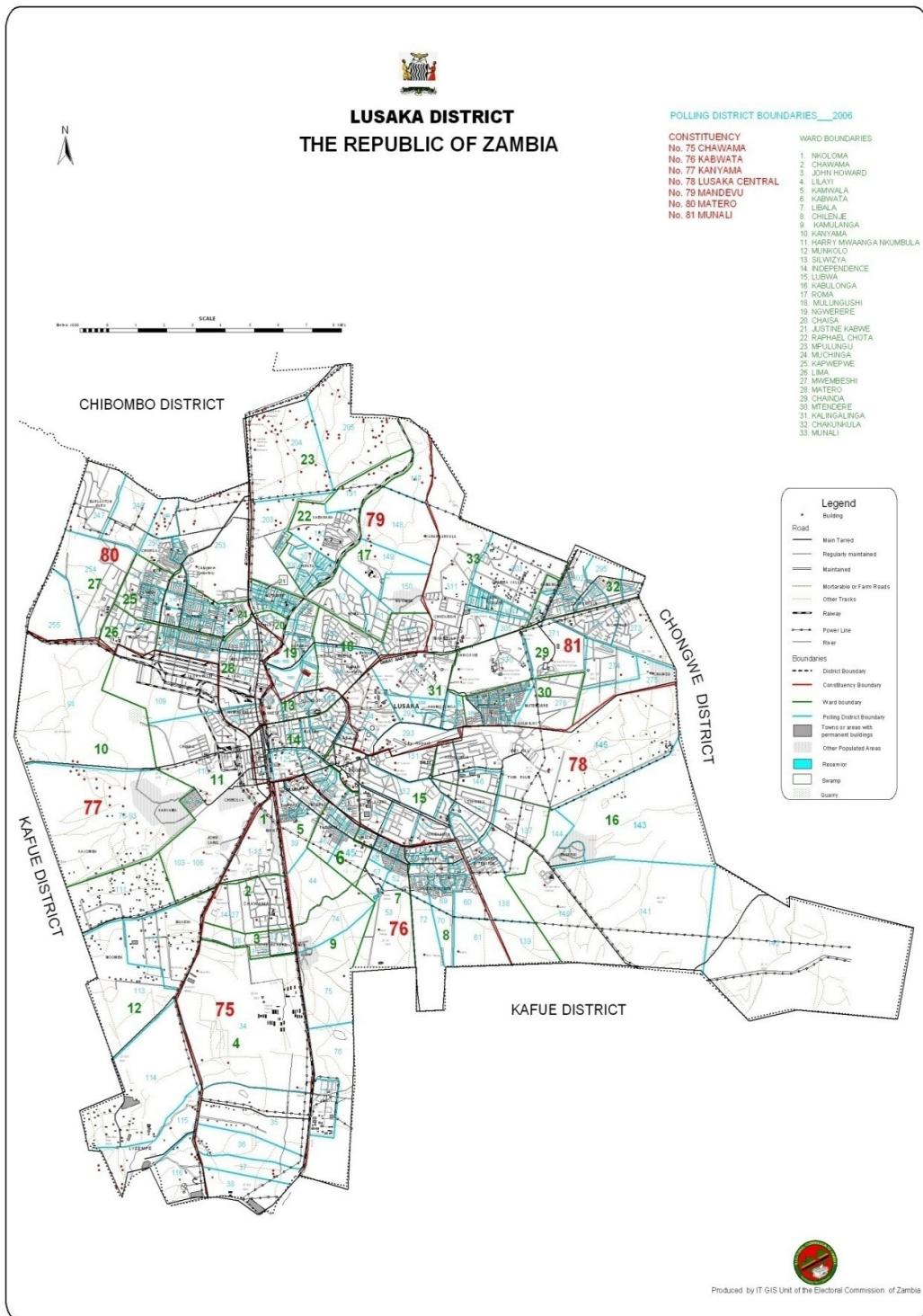
According to the brochure by Caritas Zambia entitled, A brief of the Parliamentary Constituency Offices, 2006, the constituency offices were established for the following purpose:

- I. Improve and develop Members of Parliament-Constituent relations through improved communication, developing an outreach programme, the development of publicity materials and training
- II. Meeting place for the Members of Parliament and their constituents
- III. Serve as an information centre in the constituency where citizens may find valuable and informative literature such as parliamentary debates,

- government department's annual reports and newsletters on contemporary issues
- IV. Provide a platform for effective information dissemination and sharing between MPs and their constituents and in turn between Parliament and the citizens
 - V. The constituency office brings Parliament/Legislature closer to the people as they are at constituency level

1.12 Benefits of Parliamentary Constituency Offices (*ibid*)

- I. A Constituency Office is a formal and politically neutral place where an MP and constituency members can meet and discuss developmental issues. Hence the increase of interactions between the MP and the constituents
- II. A Constituency Office provides the constituents with an opportunity to have parliament right in their area and as such legislative issues can be incorporated with other developmental organisations
- III. The establishment of Constituency Offices helps to create smooth transition and sustainability from one MP to another
- IV. The office provide an opportunity for constituents to get information on Parliamentary issues, for instance Parliament radio were people can listen to their MP debating, the office library were people can access government policies, reports, bills and Acts being debated, internet were people can access the Parliament website and the offices have competent Parliamentary members of staff who can attend to issues or give a referral



Source: Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ)

1.13 The Role of the Citizenry in the operations of Constituency Offices (*ibid*)

- I. The citizens need to know where these offices are so that they can visit and utilize them
- II. The citizens need to request the work plans or calendar for their MP so that they know when he/she would be in the constituency and what they would be doing
- III. The citizens need to take developmental issues and concerns to the offices for the action of the MP and follow-up
- IV. The citizens need to utilise the offices through the registers to assess the MP's performance in terms of visiting the constituency
- V. The citizens need to visit the offices in order to learn or get more informed on particular Bills or debates of interest to them
- VI. The citizens need to educate and inform others on the existence and use of the offices
- VII. The citizens need to report to Parliament if the office is being used for political activities since the office is a public office

1.14 Problem Statement

The reintroduction of multi-party democracy in the early 1990s saw the introduction of Parliamentary Reforms. The same period saw the introduction of constituency offices which were designed to enhance communication between parliamentarians and their constituents. However, there so far has not been a study on the nature and extent of communications necessitated between the residents of Kabwata Constituency and their MP through the Constituency Office. Without such a study there is no way to know how effective or not the Constituency Office system is. This study sought to establish the nature and extent of the problem.

1.15 Rationale for the Study

One of the functions of a Member of Parliament is to represent his/her constituency. Therefore, the findings of the study are important because it is felt in the reform programme that in order to enhance the representative role of Members of

Parliament, there was need to improve communication between the Member of Parliament and the people he/she represents.

Another reason for this study is that constituency offices offer an official place to exchange information and ideas vital in carrying out the representative function of MPs. A well informed electorate is an important component of a healthy and stable democracy. The findings of the study therefore, bring out issues that assess the democratic role that the constituency offices play. The constituency offices are also aimed at improving the spirit of representative democracy and the research therefore, becomes vital in attempting to assess how the offices have improved the spirit of representative democracy.

The findings of the study are also important for the field of communication because they have brought out key issues that need to be considered when seeking effective channels of communication in order to involve the community in developmental projects. For example, results from the study reveal that interpersonal communication were seen as key if people are to appreciate and consider to be stakeholders in developmental projects that aim at improving their lives. This in turn ensures sustainability of projects. The study also brought out critical issues in communication such as the use of appropriate mass media channels. This ensures that the intended target audience is effectively informed. For example the study showed that some respondents considered the use of community radio stations as an effective tool in disseminating information in communities.

The study should also provide new knowledge for the field of communication for development and also raise standards by providing researched information through this exploratory study.

1.16 Objectives of the Study

1.16.1 General Objective

The main objective of the study is to investigate the effectiveness of constituency offices in enhancing democracy and communication between a Member of Parliament and the constituents.

1.16.2 Specific Objectives

The specific objectives are to:

- I. Determine the awareness levels of the constituents on the existence and the purpose of the constituency offices
- II. Assess the level of utilisation of the offices in responding to the needs of the constituents
- III. Examine the relationship between sex and knowledge of the existence of the constituency office
- IV. To assess the extent of the nature and quality of interaction between the MP and the constituents before and after the introduction of the constituency offices
- V. Determine the extent to which the constituency offices remain politically neutral when dealing with people of various political parties
- VI. Determine the nature of the channels utilised by the MP to communicate with the constituents

1.17 Research Questions

- I. How aware are the Kabwata residents about the existence and the purpose of the constituency office?
- II. Have the residents of Kabwata ever visited the constituency office?
- III. Is there a difference between people of different sex and their awareness of the existence of the constituency office?

- IV. How was the level of interaction between the MP and the constituents before and after the introduction of the constituency offices?
- V. To what extent has the constituency office remained politically neutral?
- VI. What are the channels utilised by the MP to communicate with the constituents?

1.18 Hypothesis

There is a difference between men and women regarding levels of awareness of the existence of the National Assembly constituency office. This hypothesis was important because of the slight preponderance of women who also tend to be generally disadvantaged and therefore, more in need of help than men.

1.19 Scope of the study

The study investigated the role of constituency offices in enhancing democracy and communication between the Member of Parliament and the constituents. The study was restricted to Kabwata Constituency which has five wards namely; Libala Ward 7, Chilenge Ward 8, Kamwala Ward 5, Kabwata Ward 6 and Kamulanga Ward 9.

1.20 Ethical Considerations

The researcher took into considerations ethical issues when undertaking the research. The researcher ensured that the respondents to the questionnaire were informed of the purpose of the study and afforded them opportunity to agree or decline. The respondents were also assured that their responses were confidential and would only be used for research purposes.

1.21 Limitations of the study

This research was limited to Kabwata Constituency which is a constituency located in the capital city of Lusaka. Therefore, the research results are only a reflection of the views of the people of Kabwata. The student was also limited by a lack of time

and resources to go to all parts of Kabwata so appropriate sampling methods were employed to get representative data.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Since the introduction of the Parliamentary Reforms, there have been a few studies done to assess how the introduced reforms have enhanced the work of parliament. With specific emphasis on constituency offices few opinion surveys have been conducted to access the awareness and perception of the public regarding how the constituency offices have enhanced communication between the MP and the constituents.

Caritas Zambia which was then called Catholic Centre for Justice, Development and Peace (CCJDP) undertook a study on the community's response to the Parliamentary Constituency Office Pilot Project in 2004. According to Caritas (2004) the study was carried in the following constituencies:

- I. Solwezi East Constituency
- II. Roan Constituency
- III. Kanyama Constituency and
- IV. Muchinga Constituency.

The study which focused mainly on focus group discussions, in-depth interview and statistical review of characteristics and categories of people who made use of the constituency offices reviewed that most stakeholders talked to agreed to the idea of a constituency office (Caritas, 2004). However, despite the stakeholders being in support of the opening of constituency offices, they were certain concerns raised such as the inadequate publicity prior to and the operational phase of the constituency offices. The other concern that was raised from the study was that the distance from the constituency offices played a major role in the operations of the constituency office as many people who stayed far away from the constituency office were unable to travel to the constituency office (Caritas, 2004).

The study by Caritas Zambia was very important because it was undertaken during the pilot project of the constituency offices. As it has already been observed from the above findings, the idea of opening up constituency offices was supported by almost everyone that was talked to during the study. This reviewed the significant role the constituents felt of the operations of the constituency offices. The idea of opening up constituency offices and the actual operations of the offices in meeting their intended purpose is still a debatable matter. This came out clearly in the Caritas Zambia Pilot report which found that the constituency offices had not led to a substantial increase in the level of interaction between the MPs and the constituents (Caritas, 2004). The report also reviewed that due to the inadequate publicity, many people were not aware of the existence and purpose of the constituency offices (Caritas, 2004).

After the pilot project, Zambian Parliament through its Parliamentary Reform Programme started establishing constituency offices in all the 150 constituencies in 2006. Caritas Zambia undertook another research to assess the extent to which the constituency offices were answering to the connectivity needed between the electorate and the Parliament and the MPs on the other hand.

According to Caritas (2006) a total of 33 constituency offices were visited. The research which involved focus group discussions with constituents, key informant interviews with provincial, district and traditional leaders, statistical data on numbers of visitors, categories of visitors and frequencies of MP visits reviewed that there is widespread support for the idea of constituency offices in Zambia (Caritas, 2006).

The results from the research, just like the pilot study revealed that the need to bring the MP closer to his/her constituency through the opening up of constituency offices could not be over emphasized. The research however, reviewed that even though all the 150 constituencies in Zambia have parliamentary constituency offices operating, there were many who are not aware of the existence and purpose of the parliamentary constituency offices (Caritas, 2006). Caritas Zambia therefore, recommended that sensitization campaigns to be undertaken to make people aware of

the existence, location and purpose of the constituency offices (Caritas, 2006). The research also acknowledged the fact that one of the major reasons constituency offices were established was to improve the interaction between MPs and constituents (Caritas, 2006). It with this realisation that the research recommended that the MPs should visit their constituents on regular bases and that they should also publicise their schedules when they are in the constituency offices (Caritas, 2006).

Both the pilot study survey of constituency offices and the research by Caritas Zambia provide a vital background to appreciating the establishment of constituency offices in all the 150 constituencies in Zambia. The research also provides useful information on how the constituency offices are serving the communication needs between the MPs and their constituents. The studies which mainly focused on focus group discussions, in-depth interviews of various stakeholders and statistical information from constituency offices provide the necessary data for the research on how the constituency offices have enhanced the communication between the MPs and their constituents. However, the lack of the use a questionnaire to assess the knowledge, attitude and skills of individual constituent members could have in way disadvantaged the researches in getting individual information on their perspective of the constituency offices.

In the strengthening parliamentary democracy in SADC countries, 2005 Zambia country report, Prof B Phiri views constituency offices as having the potential of contributing to the strengthening of parliamentary democracy in Zambia by facilitating engagement between civil society and parliament at the grassroots level (Phiri, B, 2005). Prof B Phiri (2005) sees the constituency offices as an extension of parliament at constituency level; it is not a party office and is therefore, meant to link parliament to the community. Prof B Phiri (2005) also acknowledges that “Though still operating as a pilot programme, it has received overwhelming support but its full impact is yet to be assessed after all constituencies in the country establish such offices”.

From the above sentiments by Prof B Phiri, it can be stated that constituency offices are being viewed as part of the strategy in strengthening parliamentary democracy. In magnifying the role of the constituency offices, Prof B Phiri (2005) recommended that rural constituencies should have sub-constituency offices because of long distances between the administrative centres and some villages. Prof B Phiri, like in the other literature already looked at, recommended that the parliamentary reforms should be widely disseminated so that the constituents are informed of their intended purpose (Phiri B, 2005). There is therefore, the need to evaluate how the parliamentary democracy has been strengthened through the constituency offices.

In the book the Low Road to Democratic Reform: Constituency Offices, Public Service Provision and Citizen Engagement, P Macleod indicates that constituency offices in Canada serve as a amending space where citizens and their representative can exchange views (Macleod P, 2005). P Macleod (2005) outlines the important need of communication between the MPs and their constituents. He stated that in creating a more representative portrayal of political opinion in the legislative assemblies was a worthwhile and laudable goal, but so too was the enrichment of whatever means there was to deepen and sustain an ongoing political conversation between politicians and the citizens they represent (Macleod P, 2005). He acknowledged that constituency offices were one of the few pieces of physical and local infrastructure the Canadian political system afforded to maintain the connection between MPs and the constituents (Macleod P, 2005).

The establishment of constituency offices in Canada, like in Zambia was without any debate. Unlike in Zambia, constituency offices in Canada where not established until an enterprising MP decided to open one. Credit is shared between Ed Broadbent who opened an office funded in part by the Canadian Autoworkers Union in 1968 and Flora Macdonald who opened her Kingston office with the aid of a part-time university student in 1973 (Macleod P, 2005). Prior to the creation of constituency offices MPs relied on family members or secretarial support from their former place of employment to attend to local details and relay urgent messages to Ottawa (Macleod P, 2005). According to Macleod (2005), Flora Macdonald in her 1972

campaign slogan “Keep in Touch!” was in part fulfilled by opening a small office where constituents could walk in off the street or make twenty minutes appointments to talk about anything and everything. The creation of a local office realised the desire of some MPs to do more than simply legislate (Macleod P, 2005). In addition, Macleod P (2005) stated that Ed Broadbent recalls that as part of the 1960s generation that had thought a lot about how democracies could become more participatory, the creation of a local office was an obvious step.

In Canada just like in Zambia, it has been observed from the literature that the visibility, much less the utility, of maintaining a constituency office was viewed as overwhelmingly positive. To illustrate the significant role the offices play, some MPs in Canada had elected to open small secondary offices or satellites in their constituencies (Macleod P, 2005). Like in Zambia, the constituency offices in Canada serve a non partisan policy. P Macleod (2005) review that many constituency assistants report that callers frequently declare their political affiliation before inquiring or making a request. This shows that clearly that like in Zambia, there is a general uneasiness among the electorate about whom or what constituency offices are intended to serve. One assistant said “Constituents will often apologise, saying I didn’t vote for your guy or they’ll let us know that they are a supporter. Either way, I tell them it doesn’t matter. We’re here for everybody.”(Macleod P, 2005).

In spite of the insight of constituency offices in Canada, P Macleod (2005) still poses the questions as what precisely is the function of a constituency office and what does its current form tell us? Is it a private and local workspace for the MP, a service point for inquiries, a meeting space, a protest site, an incubator for new projects and initiatives, a space intended to convey the seriousness and dignity of the office or a space intended to appear accessible and friendly? (Macleod P, 2005). He adds that the erosion of trust between citizens and their representatives cannot be addressed by remote or abstract means (Macleod P, 2005).

Macleod (2005) stated that “perhaps today’s imperfect constituency offices, undignified by either the solemnity or permanence of state architecture, foreshadow a future, more fractal politics where greater emphasis is placed on cultivating our ability to speak with one another.”(Macleod P, 2005). He further states that perhaps the core lesson that the constituency system can teach the rest of government is that rich or poor, citizens need to feel heard (Macleod P, 2005). In his recommendations on promoting constituency offices, P Macleod (2005) indicates that there is evidence that a majority of Canadians are unaware of the constituency offices or their purpose and that it would be interesting to investigate how a public awareness campaign might affect the range of concerns and constituents who regularly seek assistance from constituency offices and their MPs.

CHAPTER THREE

CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.0 Introduction

This section focuses on the conceptual and theoretical framework which was used in the study on the democratic role of constituency offices in enhancing communication between an MP and his/her constituents. A conceptual framework is the definition of a concept while a conceptual definition gives the distinctive characteristics of that which is being defined and it is testable.

3.1 Conceptual and theoretical definitions

In order to have a better understanding of the study, definitions to key words and concepts are given below.

3.1.1 Democracy

According to the Macmillan English dictionary, democracy is defined as a system of government in which people vote in elections to choose the people who will govern them. Wikipedia defines democracy as a system of government in which all the people of a state or polity are involved in making decisions about its affairs, typically by voting to elect representatives to a parliament or similar assembly. And according to Abraham Lincoln “democracy is a government of the people, by the people and for the people.”

According to the Wikipedia, the term democracy originates from the Greek *demokratia* “rule of the people” which was found from *demos* “people” and *kratos* “power” or “rule” in the 5th century BC to denote the political systems then existing in Greece city states notably Athens.

Larry Diamond an American political scientist said democracy consist of four elements and these are a political system for choosing and replacing the government through free and fair elections, the active participation of the people as citizens in politics and civic life, protection of the human rights of all citizens and a rule of law and procedures applied equally to all the citizens.

Democratise usually fall into two categories which are direct and representative democracy. In direct democracy all the citizens participate in making decisions. In the direct democracy, there are no elected or appointed people to represent the people. This type of democracy usually takes place in very small societies or communities which makes it possible for everyone to participate in decision making. The second category which is common in many countries including Zambia is representative democracy. In this kind of democracy, citizens elect selected number of people to make decisions, formulate laws and administer programmes on behalf of the public.

It can be seen from the above definitions of democracy that it is mostly concerned with one important thing. This is people involvement or participation in decision making whether it is through direct or indirect means. The people are placed at the centre of everything when it comes to decisions affecting their lives.

In this study the term democracy was used in relation to the extent to which the people of Kabwata constituency are involved in making decisions affecting their lives. Since Zambia is a representative democracy, the decisions of the ordinary people of Kabwata can therefore, only be made through the elected representative in parliament. Democracy in the study also referred to the extent to which the people of Kabwata are free to make their decisions heard despite factors such as belonging to a different political party with the current MP for Kabwata constituency.

3.1.2 Communication

Communication has been defined differently by different scholars. According to Claude Shannon and Warren Weaver (1949, the mathematical theory of communication), communication is the use of words to describe and convey a message or give information to another person.

Communication is also the exchange and flow of information and ideas from one person to another, it involves a sender transmitting an idea, information or feeling to a receiver. Communication also aims at achieving mutual understanding between the sender and receiver.

In this study, communication implied a two-way process of reaching mutual understanding, in which participants not only exchange (encode-decode) information, news, ideas and feelings but also create and share meaning. In general communication is a means of connecting people or places. Communication in this study will also refer to the process of exchanging ideas, information and opinions through speech and other symbols in order to achieve a mutual understanding between or among the parties involved.

3.1.3 Participatory Development

According to the Africa Development Bank (1996), participatory development is a process through which stakeholders can influence and share control over development initiatives and over the decisions and resources that affect themselves. And the Wikipedia defines participatory development as a model that seeks to engage local populations in development projects. It further states that participatory development also seeks to give the poor a part in initiatives designed for their benefit in the hope that development projects will be more sustainable and successful if local populations are engaged in the development process.

In the study the term implied to the establishment of the Constituency Offices as a developmental project in which the local people of Kabwata indeed to be engaged so that they could be able to suggest or make decisions on how the office can work well in meeting their needs.

3.2 Theoretical Framework

Participatory Communication Theory is the main theory that was be used in the study.

3.2.1 Participatory Communication Theory

The participatory communication approach was conceived more than two decades ago. The roots of participatory approach in development communication can be found in the early years of the 1970s when many people in the development community began to question the top-down approach of development dominant in the 1950s and 1960s which targeted the economic growth of countries as its main goal (Chin,S. Y. and Quebral, N, 1991).

According to Paolo Mefalopulos (2003), participatory communication is a term that denotes the theory and practices of communication used to involve people in the decision making process of the development process. Participatory communication Theory facilities people's involvement in decision making on issues impacting their lives and this is a process capable of addressing specific needs and priorities relevant to people and at the same time assisting in their environment. Mefalopulos (2003) says participatory communication is a necessary component, consistent with a democratic vision of international development, needed to increase project sustainability and ensure genuine ownership by the so-called “beneficiaries”.

Participatory communication stresses the importance of cultural identity of local communities and of democratisation and participation at all levels from international

to national to local to individual. It points to a strategy, not only merely inclusive of, but largely emanating from, the traditional receivers.

This theory was relevant to the study on the role of constituency office in enhancing democracy and communication between Members of Parliament and their constituents because it states that in order to share information, knowledge, trust, commitment, and a right attitude in development projects, participation is very important in any decision making process for development. The theory was therefore, used to assess how the people of Kabwata were engaged in order for them to be able to participate in the work of the constituency office which is a developmental project since it aims at dealing with challenges that affect the people of Kabwata.

The participatory communication model also stresses reciprocal collaboration throughout all levels of participation. This was also relevant to the study because it sought to assess how the office had enhanced communication between the MP and the constituents. The study assessed how the MP communicates with the constituents and also the feedback that constituents get from the MP on issues of concern that they take to the office.

3.3 Other theories supporting the main theory

3.3.1 Participatory Communication Appraisal

Anyaebunam et al (1998) describes Participatory Communication Appraisal as “a communication research method that utilises field-based visualisation techniques, interviews and group work to generate information for the design of effective communication programmes, materials, media and methods for development purposes to ensure relevance and ownership by the people.” Participatory Communication Appraisal facilitates dialogue among people themselves and between them and development workers in order for all parties to reach mutual understanding

and plan for action. It is therefore, used to promote the involvement of people in decision making over issues that affect their lives.

In addition, Anyaegbunam et al (1998) contend that Participatory Communication Appraisal is anchored on the definition of communication that explains it as an interactive process characterised by the exchange of ideas, information, points of view and explanations between persons and groups. In Participatory Communication Appraisal, the sharing of information is of paramount importance and people are considered important sources of information and ideas worth listening to. As such, passiveness is non-existent in this process because it requires active mental cooperation from everyone involved until a common awareness and understanding is reached.

It is therefore, clear that the role of constituency offices in enhancing development is vital as it capable of facilitating dialogue and discussion, thereby supporting the developmental process within the community.

3.3.2 Uses and Gratification Theory

The theory has its roots in the 1940s when researchers became interested in establishing why people engaged in various forms of media behaviour such as radio listening or newspaper reading. Hertzog (1944), Wimmer and Dominick (1997) identified three types of gratification that were at the time of study associated with listening to radio soap operas. These were emotional release, wishful thinking and obtaining advice. The theory claims that people are not helpless victims of media influence but that individuals use various media at their disposal to fulfil their various needs. Therefore, the gratification obtained should correspond with gratifications sought for in order for the media to be able to meet the needs of the users.

The fact that people communicate with each other influences their behaviour in many more ways as mass communication does. Thus in 1951, Blumler and Katz concluded that different people use the same communication messages for various purposes in order to deal with real life situations. The uses and gratification theory is relevant in this study since the study focus on the role of constituency offices in enhancing communication between Members of Parliament and their constituents. Therefore, the role various forms of media, if any, play is important. It may be asked for example, are the people of Kabwata constituency exposed to certain media that enable them having information on the role of constituency offices? Do they find these messages relevant and gratifying, leading them to engage with their Members of Parliament through the constituency office? Or is it that constituents are not exposed to media messages that can enable them gain an understanding of the world around them?

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

4.0 Introduction

In conducting the research triangulation research method combining both quantitative and qualitative research method was be used. Both quantitative and qualitative research methods were used because they were critical in collecting a wide range of information on the research. Below is the overview of the research methodologies that the research used:

4.1 Methods

4.1.1 Quantitative Survey

100 questionnaires (see appendix 1) were distributed in Kabwata Constituency. The questionnaires were used as an instrument for collecting data. The questionnaire which was administered to a selected sample within the constituency sought to capture the following:

- I. Respondent data: the information collected here coved the background data such as age, gender (sex), education, employment status and residence;
- II. Focal data: in this section questions, mostly closed questions was used to gather data on the attitudes and opinions on the operations of the constituency office which was the core of the inquiry; and
- III. Open questions: the purpose of these questions was to capture issues that otherwise might have escaped notice. These questions were important in bringing out the assumptions and perceptions of the people on the democratic role of constituency offices in enhancing communication between the MP and the constituents.

4.1.2 In Depth Interview

In depth interviews were be conducted with the constituency office staff who were the key informants. These included the Professional Assistant and the Administrative Assistant at Kabwata Constituency Office. Unfortunately due to time constraints it was not possible to have an in depth interview with the area Member of Parliament, Hon. Given Lubinda, Minister of Agriculture and Livestock.

The interviews captured the views of the Members of Staff at the office with regard to the democratic role of Constituency Offices in enhancing communication between the Member of Parliament and the constituents. An interview guide (see appendix 2) was be used for focusing the interview.

4.1.3 Document Review

This involved the review of the visitor's register at the Constituency Office. The visitors register contained statistics on numbers of visitors, categories of visitors, frequency of issues brought to the Constituency Office and who the visitors meet at the office. This information was critical in assessing the levels of utilisation of the office by the residents of Kabwata. The information also brought out the purpose residents of Kabwata visit the office since purposes of visits to the office are indicated in the visitors register.

4.2 Population

The research was carried out in all the five wards that constitute Kabwata Constituency namely; Libala Ward 7, Chilenje Ward 8, Kamwala Ward 5, Kabwata Ward 6 and Kamulanga Ward 9. The total population of the constituency according to the 2000 Census of population by the Central Statistical Office is 174, 338 persons. However, due to financial constraints only 100 questionnaires were used for the research.

4.3 Sample Size

The sample involved 100 respondents who were selected to complete the questionnaire in each of the five wards constituting Kabwata Constituency.

4.4 Sampling Procedure

Cluster sampling was used. This is because the constituency is already a cluster itself. From the constituency level it is further clustered in five wards. Thereafter, households in the roads found in each ward were used for distributing the questionnaires. The questionnaires were distributed according to the table below:

Distribution of questionnaires

Constituency	Wards
K	
A	Kamwala Ward 5 (20 questionnaires)
B	Kabwata Ward 6 (20 questionnaires)
W	Libala Ward 7 (20 questionnaires)
A	Chilenje Ward 8 (20 questionnaires)
T	Kamulanga Ward 9 (20 questionnaires)
A	

4.5 Methods of data gathering

The researcher was on site to collect the data. This ensured that the research instruments were administered accordingly. All the questionnaires were coded and pre-tested to ensure the questions were relevant and clear for the respondents.

4.6 Data analysis

The Statistical Package for the Social Science (SPSS) was used to generate statistical data that was collected through quantitative methods such as the questionnaires.

Frequency tables were drawn and from these the data was presented in tables and bar graphs to analyse data.

The data obtained through qualitative techniques was analysed using content analysis to search for trends, patterns and themes in the qualitative information.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESEARCH FINDINGS

5.0 Introduction

The findings from the research, revelled the perceptions of the people of Kabwata constituency on the role of constituency offices in enhancing democracy and communication between the Member of Parliament and the constituents. This chapter is divided into two parts. The first part gives details of the findings from the quantitative survey while the second part gives details of the qualitative survey. The qualitative survey composed of the in-depth interviews with key informants from the constituency office and document analysis of the constituency office visitors register.

5. 1 Quantitative Survey

5. 1. 1 Knowledge on the role of a Member of Parliament

Table 1(a)

Do you know your Member of Parliament?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	85	85.0	85.0	85.0
No	15	15.0	15.0	100.0
Total	100	100.0	100.0	

Table 1 (b)**Do you know the role of a Member of Parliament?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	71	71.0	71.0	71.0
No	28	28.0	28.0	99.0
No response	1	1.0	1.0	100.0
Total	100	100.0	100.0	

As shown above in tables 1 (a) and (b) which contain results from respondents on their knowledge of the role of a Member of Parliament, 85% of the respondents said they knew the Member of Parliament and 15% did not know the Member of Parliament. When asked if they knew the actual role of a Member of Parliament, 71% said they knew the role of a Member of Parliament, 28% said they did not know the role while 1% did not give a response.

5. 1. 2 Knowledge on the constituency office

When the respondents were asked if they knew the constituency office, 57% of them said they did while 43% said they did not know the constituency office as shown in the table 2 below.

Table 2**Do you know of the constituency office?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	57	57.0	57.0	57.0
No	43	43.0	43.0	100.0
Total	100	100.0	100.0	

5.1.3 Purpose of the constituency office

When the respondents were asked about the purpose of the constituency office, the answers given are as indicated in the table 3 below. 5% indicated that they did not know the purpose of the constituency office while for 32% of the respondents the question was not applicable as they had indicated that they did not know the constituency office in the previous question. The rest of the respondents gave one of the other options indicated in the table 3 below.

Table 3

What do you think is this is the purpose of the constituency office?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid To give information to people	12	12.0	12.0	12.0
Easy communication with the MP	24	24.0	24.0	36.0
Meeting place for people to present their problems	17	17.0	17.0	53.0
Help in development Programmes	6	6.0	6.0	100.0
Not applicable	32	32.0	32.0	89.0
Don't know	5	5.0	5.0	94.0
Total	100	100.0	100.0	

5.1.4 Channels of communication on the operations of the constituency office

Table 4

How is notification on the activities and operations of the constituency office done?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Community meetings	37	37.0	37.0
	Posters	6	6.0	43.0
	Door to door notifications	1	1.0	44.0
	It is not done	8	8.0	52.0
	ZNBC Radio	4	4.0	56.0
	ZNBC TV 1	7	7.0	63.0
	Zambia Daily Mail	1	1.0	64.0
	I do not know	29	29.0	93.0
	No response	4	4.0	97.0
	Through the councillor	2	2.0	99.0
	In bars	1	1.0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0

The table above shows the answers of the respondents when asked how the notification on activities and operations of the constituency office is done. 29% of the respondents said they did not know how the notification was done, 4% did not give a response and the rest of the respondents gave one of the options shown in the table above.

5.1.5 Preferences on how the notifications of on the operations of the office should be done

When asked how the respondents would prefer the notifications on the operations of the constituency office should be done, the answered as indicated in the table 5 below.

Table 5

How would you prefer notifications on the operations of the constituency office to be done?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Community meetings	34	34.0	34.0	34.0
Posters	7	7.0	7.0	41.0
Door to door notifications	16	16.0	16.0	57.0
Newspaper (s)	4	4.0	4.0	61.0
I do not know	3	3.0	3.0	64.0
Television	13	13.0	13.0	77.0
Radio	19	19.0	19.0	96.0
No response	1	1.0	1.0	97.0
Phones	1	1.0	1.0	98.0
Mega phones/mobile van	1	1.0	1.0	99.0
Social media	1	1.0	1.0	100.0
Total	100	100.0	100.0	

5.1.6 Operations of the constituency office

As shown in the table 6 (a) below, 45% of the respondents agreed that the constituency office has been an access point for communication about problems of the community, 53% did not agree and 2% did not give a response. In table 6(b), 48% agreed that the office has been an access point for learning from the MP and the office about new ideas, programmes and new ways of doing things while 50% did not agree and 2% did not give a response. And when asked if the MP gives answers to questions through the office, 51% said yes, 45% said no and 4% did not give a response as shown in table 6 (c).

Table 6(a)

Has the office been an access point for communication about problems of the community?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	45	45.0	45.0	45.0
No	53	53.0	53.0	98.0
No response	2	2.0	2.0	100.0
Total	100	100.0	100.0	

Table 6 (b)

Has the office been an access point for learning from the MP and the office about new ideas, programmes and new ways of doing things?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	48	48.0	48.0	48.0
No	50	50.0	50.0	98.0
No response	2	2.0	2.0	100.0
Total	100	100.0	100.0	

Table 6 (c)
Does the MP give answers to question through the office?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	51	51.0	51.0	51.0
No	45	45.0	45.0	96.0
No response	4	4.0	4.0	100.0
Total	100	100.0	100.0	

5.1.7 Communication between the Member of Parliament and constituents

Table 7 (a) below shows that when asked if they had ever visited the constituency office, 24% of the respondents said yes and 76% said no. And when those who said “No” were asked why they had not visited the office, the responded as indicated in table 7 (b) below. And when those who had visited the office were asked on the nature of their visit to the office, 2% indicated that they visited the office for personal reasons, 1% for financial reasons, 3% political reasons, 19% developmental reasons and the rest of the 75% the question was not applicable as they had not visited the office. This is shown in table 7 (c) below.

In addition, when those who had visited the office were asked who they met at the office, 13% said they met the MP, 11% the constituency office staff, 1% others, 1% did not give a response and 75% was not applicable as they had not visited the office. These statistics are indicated in table 7 (d) below.

Table 7 (a)

Have you ever visited the constituency office?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	24	24.0	24.0	24.0
No	76	76.0	76.0	100.0
Total	100	100.0	100.0	

Table 7 (b)
If your answer to question 22 is No, why?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Do not know about the office	32	32.0	32.0
	Not interested in politics	18	18.0	50.0
	Issues at the constituency office do not involve me	12	12.0	62.0
	Belong to different political party	6	6.0	68.0
	No response	3	3.0	71.0
	Not applicable	23	23.0	94.0
	Our Councillor goes for us	1	1.0	95.0
	Have not had a problem which needed to be taken there	3	3.0	98.0
	Leaders do not involve the community	1	1.0	99.0
	The MP is never at the office	1	1.0	100.0
Total		100	100.0	100.0

Table 7 (c)
What was the nature of your visit?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Personal	2	2.0	2.0	2.0
Financial	1	1.0	1.0	3.0
Political	3	3.0	3.0	6.0
Developmental	19	19.0	19.0	25.0
Not Applicable	75	75.0	75.0	100.0
Total	100	100.0	100.0	

Table 7 (d)

Who did you meet at the constituency office?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid The Members of Parliament	13	13.0	13.0	13.0
Constituency Office Staff	11	11.0	11.0	24.0
Not Applicable	75	75.0	75.0	99.0
No response	1	1.0	1.0	100.0
Total	100	100.0	100.0	

5.1.8 Satisfaction with the operations of the office

Table 8

To what extent were you satisfied with constituency office in meeting your expectation when you visited?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Not at all	4	4.0	4.0	4.0
A little	6	6.0	6.0	10.0
Very much	10	10.0	10.0	20.0
Excellent	5	5.0	5.0	25.0
Not applicable	75	75.0	75.0	100.0
Total	100	100.0	100.0	

As shown in table 8 above, when asked to what extent the respondents were satisfied with the constituency office in meeting their expectations when they visited the office, 4% said they were not satisfied at all, 6% said they were a little satisfied, 10% said they were very much satisfied, 5% said their satisfaction was excellent while for 75% the question was not applicable as they had not visited the office.

5.1.9 Extent to which the office has enhanced communication between the MP and the constituents

To assess the perceptions on how the constituency office had enhanced communication between the MP and the constituency, 7% of the respondents said the enhancement of communication was very satisfactory, 30% said it was satisfactory, 34% were not sure, 22% said it was unsatisfactory, 3% said it was very unsatisfactory and 4% did not respond as shown in table 9(a).

And when asked to what extent was the level of communication between the MP and the constituents before the opening of the constituency office, 2% said it was very satisfactory, 9% said it was satisfactory, 58% said they were not sure, 19% said there were unsatisfactory and 12% said it was very unsatisfactory as shown in table 9 (b).

Table 9 (a)

To what extent has the constituency office enhanced communication between the constituents and the member of parliament?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Very satisfactory	7	7.0	7.0	7.0
Satisfactory	30	30.0	30.0	37.0
Not sure	34	34.0	34.0	71.0
Unsatisfactory	22	22.0	22.0	93.0
Very unsatisfactory	3	3.0	3.0	96.0
No response	4	4.0	4.0	100.0
Total	100	100.0	100.0	

Table 9 (b)

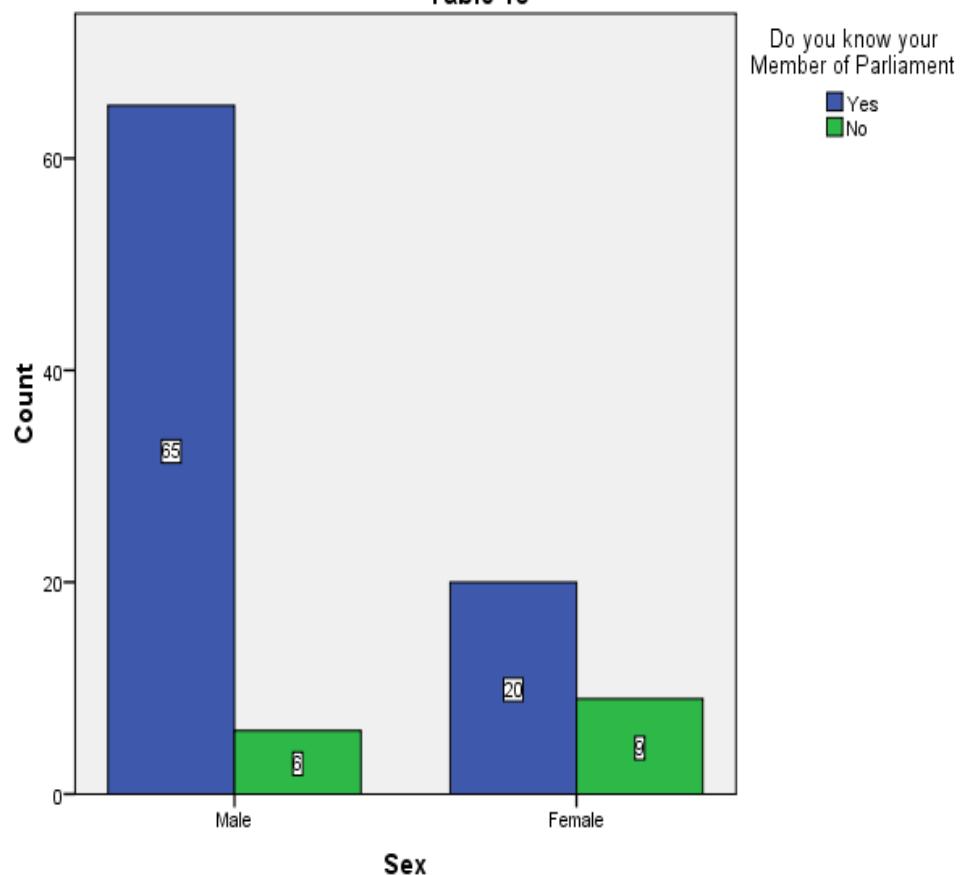
To what extent was the communication between the member of parliament and the constituency before the opening of the constituency office?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Very satisfactory	2	2.0	2.0	2.0
Satisfactory	9	9.0	9.0	11.0
Not sure	58	58.0	58.0	69.0
Unsatisfactory	19	19.0	19.0	88.0
Very unsatisfactory	12	12.0	12.0	100.0
Total	100	100.0	100.0	

5.1.10 Sex of respondents in relation to their knowledge on the role of the MP and their knowledge on the constituency office

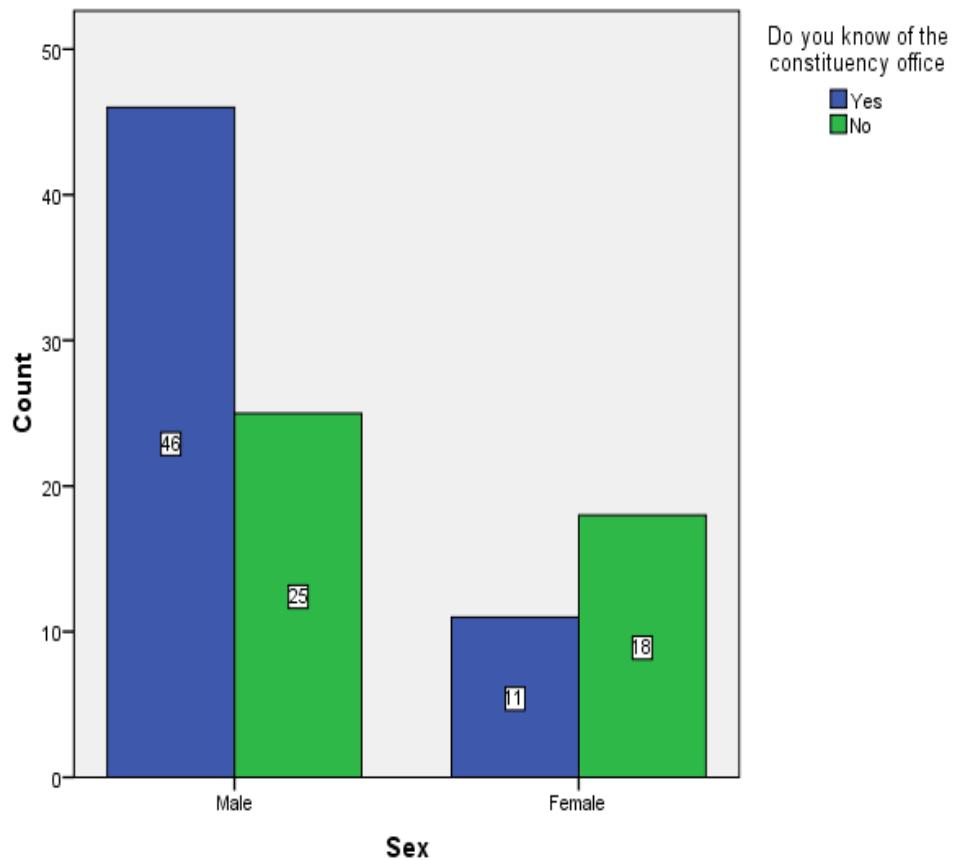
Cross tabulation was used for sex (male and female) in relation to their knowledge on the role of the MP and their knowledge on the constituency office. According to the cross tabulation out of all the respondents, 58% males knew the role of the MP and 13% females knew the role of the MP. 12% males did not know the role of the MP and 16% females did not know the role of the MP. 1% of males did not give a response while all the females responded as shown in table 10 below.

Table 10



When asked on their knowledge of the constituency office, 46% of the male respondents knew of the constituency office and 11% of the female respondents knew of the office. 25% of the males did not know of the office and 18% of the females did not know of the office as indicated in table 11below.

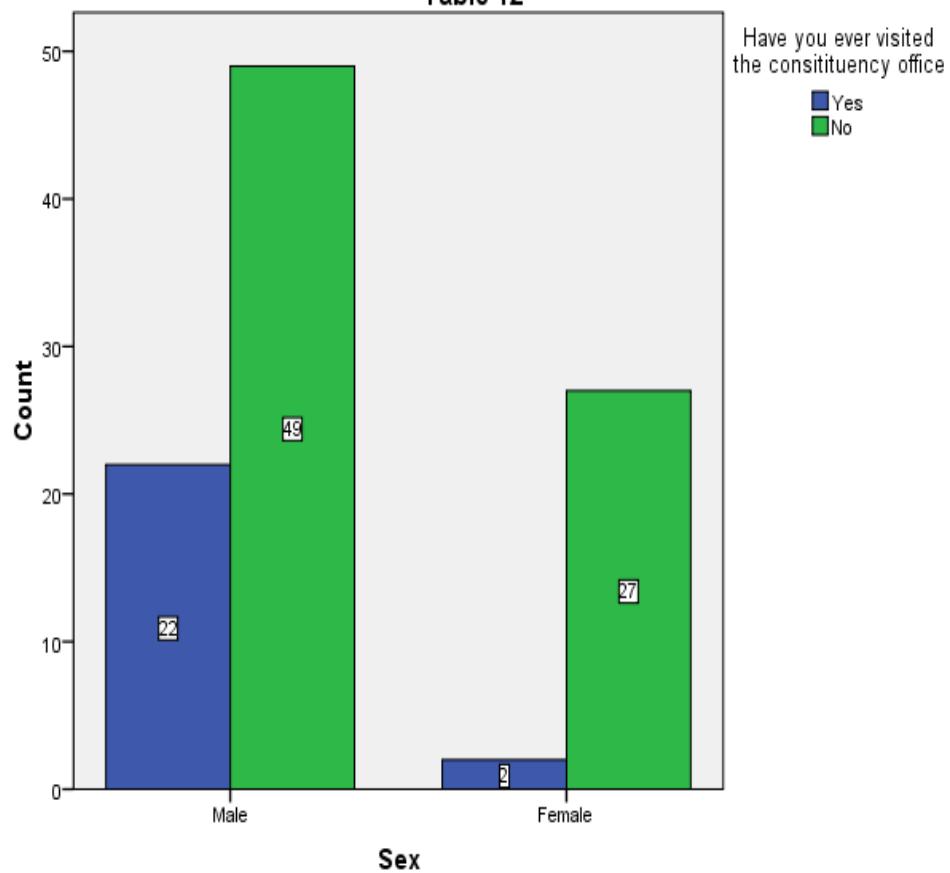
Table 11



5.1.11 Sex of respondents in relation to their utilisation of the constituency office

Cross tabulation was again used for sex (males and females) in relation to their utilisation of the constituency office. When asked if they had ever visited the constituency office, bar table 12 reviews that out of all the respondents 22% of the males said they had visited the constituency office while only 2% of the females said they had visited the constituency office. 49% of the males said they had not ever visited the office and 27% of the females said they had not ever visited the house.

Table 12



5.1.12 Extent to which people of different sex are aware of the existence of constituency office

Crosstab

Count				
		Do you know of the constituency office		Total
		Yes	No	
Sex	Male	46	25	71
	Female	11	18	29
Total		57	43	100

Of those who said they knew of the constituency office 46% of the males said they did while only 11% of the females said they knew the office.

Using Chi square there was a significant difference between the views of males and females.

Chi square =sum of observed results - expected results $\times 2 \div$ expected results

$$=0.75564369 +1.0016672+1.8500242+2.45235766$$

$$=6.05969275 \text{ (Chi-square Statistic)}$$

With one degree of freedom, and the predetermined alpha level of significance of 0.05, the chi square statistic of 6.05969275 is greater than 3.841 and therefore, we rejected the null hypothesis. There was a significant difference between men and women regarding their levels of awareness of the existence of the constituency office.

5.2 Quantitative Survey

5.2.1 In-Depth Interviews

In- depth interviews were held with constituent office staff. Unfortunately it was not possible to have the in-depth interview with the area Member of Parliament, Mr. Given Lubinda due to time constraints.

The members of staff indicated that on an average the office received more than ten people per day. The interviews reviewed that apart from going direct to the constituency office, the other channels used for communication were community meetings, telephones, asking ward councillors to go to the constituency office on behalf of the people to take any matters of concern and letters which however, sometimes take very long to reach the office or for the response by the office to reach the constituent.

The constituency office staff stated that more males than females contacted the office while more youths than older people contact the office. Mrs Rachael Mwanagombe, the Professional Assistant said “more youths come to the office because they are looking for employment or details on how to access the youth empowerment funds, to make themselves busy and sometimes they come to give advice to the Member of Parliament when they see something wrong in the community”. The staff also reviewed that more people who are unemployed visit the office than those who are employed because the people who were employed probably had less time to visit the office.

The officers said that in terms of political parties it was difficult to state which political party visited the office more than the other. This was because the officers indicated that political party attires were not allowed at the constituency office and that when people visited the office they did not introduce themselves as coming from a particular political party. Rachael Mwanagombe, the Professional Assistant said “As an office we have taken it seriously to educate the people that despite the current Member of Parliament being from the Patriotic Front (PF), the office was not for PF it is a government office run by the National Assembly and is open to everyone”.

The staff mentioned that some of the issues brought to the office included land related issues such as land encroachment, illegal allocation of land, security issues in the constituency, transport issues such as poor road networks and lack of sponsorship for students. In responding to the issues brought to the office, the constituency staff said that they make follow-ups with relevant institutions such as the Ministry of Lands, the Lusaka City Council, the Ministry of Works and Supply, the Road Development Agency, the Ministry of Education and the Bursary Committee. The channels used to make the follow ups were the telephone or by going there in person.

During the interview the officers said they were grateful that the National Assembly established the constituency offices because they had brought parliament closer to the people and opened a link between the Member of Parliament and the

constituents. The officers however, said more needed to be done. Mr. Shanzala, the Administrative Assistant said “people in the constituency say they see development issues happening but not informed of what was happening”. He said that this was because “we do not go in the wards to see what is happening due to limitation of transport because the transport allocation per month is not enough. Therefore, we would appreciate if the National Assembly increased transport allocation to allow us to visit the constituents and get views as some may not come to the constituency office to bring issues themselves.”

Mrs. R Mwanagombe said more needed to be done to educate the people on the functions of the office and on the role of the Member of Parliament. She said that this was because some issues that were taken to the office were not supposed to be handled by the Member of Parliament. She also said there was need for the National Assembly to increase funds for sensitisation programmes for constituency offices in order to educate the people more.

She also added that the National Assembly should construct offices instead of renting from council buildings. She said that for example the council building being rented for Kabwata constituency office was dilapidated and that in an event of very heavy rains and it collapsed, it would mean the link between the MP and the constituents would break.

Lastly Mrs. R Mwanagombe said the officers should be pensionable. She said the offices should have a long lasting solution and not on contractual basis as is the current situation. She added that making the offices pensionable would ensure that whichever government came into office would be able to follow what is there, making it difficult for any government to do away with the offices.

5.2.2 Document analysis of the visitors register

The visitors register for the period of 1st October to 12th December, 2014 was used for the document analysis. The register show the date that a visitor visited the office, their gender, their address, purpose of visit and the person who attended to them.

Between 1st October and 12th December, 2014 a total of 172 people visited Kabwata Constituency Office. Of the total number of visitors, 127 were male while 45 were female.

5.2.2.1 Summary of the issues recorded in the visitors register

1. Greet the MP/courtesy call
2. Bringing a Citizen Economic Empowerment Commission (CEEC) application
3. Looking for employment
4. Looking for mentorship
5. Looking for land (both for personal and developmental projects like schools, churches)
6. To interview the MP on the road projects in the constituency and interviews on other issues
7. Financial Assistance to pay school fees/ rentals
8. Wants to do a solar project in Kabwata constituency
9. To engage the MP on the formation of a neighbourhood watch
10. Donation of borehole
11. Inviting the MP to be guest of honour at a wedding and other functions
12. Wants to come up with projects that will involve the stakeholders in the provision of services in the constituency
13. Wants to know how to have access to the Republican President
14. Bringing project proposal for establishment of clearance company
15. Personal, such as such looking for help to get a National Registration Card (NRC)

16. To find out the funeral programme for the late head of state H. E Mr. M. C. Sata
17. Political
18. Invited to go to the office by the MP to discuss various issues such as the play parks in the constituency, community tourism
19. Asking for recommendation letter to bursary committee
20. Want help to locate members of the Freedom and Democracy Fighters Association
21. Wants to find out information on various issues such as the relation between the civil society and parliament, wards in the constituency, the role of the constituency office, how to apply for Youth Empowerment Fund (YEF)
22. Selling tickets for fundraising events and selling of other items
23. Looking for investors for a business proposal
24. Wants speed humps to be put on roads
25. Want to pray with the MP.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

6.0 Introduction

The findings of this research which involved both the quantitative and qualitative surveys will be discussed in this chapter. The Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) was used for analysing of the quantitative data. Analysis of the data was done using tools such as frequency tables, percentages, bar graphs, charts and others.

The qualitative data was analysed by the examination of the content of information from the in-depth interviews and the visitors register of Kabwata Constituency Office.

6.1 Awareness of the constituents on the existence and the purpose of the constituency office

The majority of the respondents who answered the questionnaire showed knowledge of the existence of the constituency office. 57% of them said they knew of the existence of the constituency office while 43% did not know of the existence of the constituency office. The majority of the respondent's knowledge of the existence of the constituency offices can be attributed to the fact that the establishment of the constituency offices was widely supported by majority of the Zambians. With the introduction of multi party democracy in Zambia, majority of the Zambians agreed that there was need for reform in many sectors including the legislature. Prof B Phiri (2205) in the strengthening parliamentary democracy in SADC countries, 2005 Zambia Country Report views constituency offices as having the potential of contributing to the strengthening of parliamentary democracy. Prof B Phiri (2005) in reference to constituency offices acknowledged that "Though still operating as a pilot programme, it has received overwhelming support."

However, despite the majority knowing of the constituency office, not many of the respondents have knowledge of its actual purpose. 24% of the respondents said the office was for easy communication with the MP, 17% said the office was a meeting place for people to present their problems, 12% said the office was for taking information to the people, 6% said the office was for helping in development programmes, 5% did not know the purpose, 4% did not give a response and for 32% the question was not applicable as they had indicated in the previous question that they did not know of the constituency office.

The findings above can also be married to some of the findings in related studies indicated in the literature review. The studies by Caritas Zambia on constituency offices which ran as pilot projects in 2004 and that undertook in 2006 to assess the extent to which the constituency offices were answering to the connectivity needed between the electorate and the Parliament and the MPs on the other hand reviewed that many people were not aware of the existence and purpose of the constituency offices.

P Macleod (2005) in his book the Low Road to Democratic Reform: Constituency Offices, Public Service Provision and Citizen Engagement also reviewed that the establishment of constituency offices in Canada, like in Zambia was without any debate. However, P Macleod (2005) reviewed that there was evidence that majority of Canadians were unaware of the purpose of the constituency offices.

There are many reasons that can be attributed to the lack of awareness to the purpose of the constituency office. One of the major attribute as reviewed in the study is lack of awareness. This was reviewed during the in depth interviews with the constituency office staff. The members of staff indicated that the constituency office had inadequate funding to carry out awareness campaigns to sensitise the people on the role of the constituency office and also to involve them in the activities of the office.

Caritas Zambia (2204) in their report on the pilot constituency offices also reviewed that due to the inadequate publicity, many people were not aware of the existence and purpose of the constituency offices. In their report on the study that was undertaken to assess the extent to which the constituency offices were answering to the connectivity needed between the electorate and the Parliament and the MPs on the other hand, Caritas Zambia recommended that sensitisation campaigns be undertaken to make people aware of the existence, location and purpose of the constituency offices.

6.2 Levels of utilisation and effectiveness of the offices in responding to the needs of the constituents

The study has reviewed that very few people in Kabwata Constituency utilise the constituency office. Out of the respondents that answered the questionnaire only 24% had visited the Constituency Office while the remaining 76% had never visited the constituency office. The responses by the residents of Kabwata can be attributed to the perceptions that the people of Kabwata have towards the constituency office. For example, when asked why they do not visit the constituency office, the respondents gave the following answers as indicated in the table below:

If your answer to question 22 is No, why?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Do not know about the office	32	32.0	32.0	32.0
Not interested in politics	18	18.0	18.0	50.0
Issues at the constituency office do not involve me	12	12.0	12.0	62.0
Belong to different political party	6	6.0	6.0	68.0
No response	3	3.0	3.0	71.0
Not applicable	23	23.0	23.0	94.0
Our Councillor goes for us	1	1.0	1.0	95.0
Have not had a problem which needed to be taken there	3	3.0	3.0	98.0
Leaders do not involve the community	1	1.0	1.0	99.0
The MP is never at the office	1	1.0	1.0	100.0
Total	100	100.0	100.0	

From the responses given it is clear that majority of the people do not clearly understand the purpose of the constituency office. Though it is clear in the constituency office Guidebook that the constituency office is a public office that represents the National Assembly and not an office of the political party to which the MP belongs, some residents of Kabwata views the office as a political one. For example, some said they did not visit the office because they were not interested in politics while others said they did not visit the constituency office because they belonged to a different political party.

This finding was similar to those indicated by P Macleod (2005) in his book the Low Road to Democratic Reform: Constituency Offices, Public Service Provision and Citizen Engagement which reviewed that some of the Canadian people viewed the office as a political one.

Majority of the respondents also view the office as not being very effective in meeting the people's needs. For example when asked if the office had been an access point for communication about problems of the community, 53% said no and 45% said yes while 2% did not give a response. When further asked if the office had been an access point for learning from the MP and the office about new ideas, programmes and new ways of doing things, 50% said no, 48% said yes while 2% did not give a response.

The lack of utilisation of the constituency office can therefore, be attributed to the perceptions that the people of Kabwata have towards the functions of the Constituency Office.

6.3 Extent to which people of different sex are aware of the existence of the constituency office

The value of 6.05969275 that was found using the chi-square is greater than 3.841, the value at 0.05 which is the predetermined alpha level of significance. Thus the null hypothesis which says that there is no difference between men and women regarding their levels of awareness on the existence of the National Assembly constituency office is rejected. The data tells us that there was a difference between men and women regarding their levels of awareness of the existence of the National Assembly constituency office.

It is interesting to note that according to the 2010 CSO Census on population shows that Kabwata constituency has more women than men. If sustainable development is therefore, to take place in Kabwata there is need for more women involvement. The

women not being actively involved in the activities of the constituency office means that the people who make up more than half of the population in Kabwata do take part in the affairs of their constituency.

The lack of women involvement also means that the democratic tenets of people's involvement in the affairs that affect them is not fully realised in Kabwata. Democracy has been defined by Abraham Lincoln as the governance of the people, by the people and for the people. Therefore, if the majority of the people of Kabwata do not take part in the operations of the constituency office which deals with matters that affect them then it is difficult for democracy to flourish. This is also contrary to the Participatory Communication Theory which believes in the right of all people to individually and collectively speak their word, Paulo Freire (1983).

6.4 Interaction of the MP and the constituents before and after the introduction of the constituency office

From the study, the respondents were uncertain on how the constituency office has enhanced communication between the MP and the constituents. In addition, majority (58%) of the respondents were uncertain of the extent of the communication between the MP and the constituents before the opening of the constituency office. The response of the majority of the respondents was that they were not sure to what extent the constituency office had enhanced communication between the MP and the constituents as indicated in the tables on page 61.

The majority of the respondents were not sure of the extent to which communication had been enhanced probably because there was no study that was undertaken to assess the extent of communication between the MP and the constituency before the opening of the constituency office. The residents of Kabwata used to meet their MP at informal settings, probably at the residence of the MP and probably there was no record keeping of who visited the MP and for what purpose. Therefore, since there was no formal meeting place prior to the opening of the constituency office, it can

only be assumed that the opening of the office provides the residents of Kabwata with a formal meeting place with their MP.

To what extent has the constituency office enhanced communication between the constituents and the member of parliament?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very satisfactory	7	7.0	7.0	7.0
	Satisfactory	30	30.0	30.0	37.0
	Not sure	34	34.0	34.0	71.0
	Unsatisfactory	22	22.0	22.0	93.0
	Very unsatisfactory	3	3.0	3.0	96.0
	No response	4	4.0	4.0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0	

To what extent was the communication between the member of parliament and the constituency before the opening of the constituency office?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very satisfactory	2	2.0	2.0	2.0
	Satisfactory	9	9.0	9.0	11.0
	Not sure	58	58.0	58.0	69.0
	Unsatisfactory	19	19.0	19.0	88.0
	Very unsatisfactory	12	12.0	12.0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0	

6.5 Extent to which the constituency offices remain politically neutral

Even though the constituency office is not meant for political issues, the results from the study show that some people view the office as a political one. This was clearly observed when some of the respondents as already stated above indicated that they did not visit the office because they were not interested in politics.

The document analysis of the Kabwata constituency office visitors' register also show that some of the visitors to the office made the visit for political reasons. This was despite the constituency office staff clearly stating in the in-depth interview that the office did not belong to the party in government (PF) but to all the people of Kabwata constituency.

It can therefore, not be wrong to conclude that despite the office not being a political office, some residents of Kabwata view it as such. The views of Mrs. Rachael Mwanagombe, the Professional Assistant that more needed to be done to sensitise the people on the functions of the MP and the Constituency Office become very relevant.

6.6 Nature of the channels and messages used by the MP to communicate with the constituents

From the study it was reviewed that Kabwata Constituency Office had certain channels that it used to communicate with the people on the activities and operations of the office. During the in-depth interview both the Professional Assistant and the Administrative Assistant said the major means of communication that the office used was the telephone/ cell phone, letters and direct contact with the relevant people in meetings.

The similar channels were also mentioned by the respondents as being the channels that the office used to notify the people on the activities and operations of the office. 37% of the respondents said the notification was done through community meetings, 29% said they did not know how it was done, 8% said it was not done at all, 7% said

it was done through ZNBC TV, 6% through posters while 4% said it was done through ZNBC radio.

From the responses that were given as already stated 29% did not know how the notifications were done. This can be attributed to the fact that maybe the channels of communication used by the office may not be the most appropriate for the people of Kabwata. This was evident when the respondents were asked how they preferred notifications on the operations of the office should be done. 34% said they preferred the notifications to be done through community meetings, 19% preferred through the radio, 16% said through door to door notifications, 13% said through the television and 7% said through posters. From the views of the people it can be seen that while the residents of Kabwata appreciate the use of community meetings to notify the people on the operations and activities of the office, a lot still needed to be done.

From the research it was reviewed that out of all the respondents 95% had a radio and only 5% did not have one. Therefore, channels such as the use of community radio stations to notify the residents of Kabwata can be useful. This can be the reason why 19% of the respondents preferred the use of radios to notify the people on the activities and operations of the office.

Since 95% of the respondents have access to the radio and 93% have access to the television, it can be assumed that if the media made issues relating to the operations of the constituency office top on their news items, the people of Kabwata would regard issues relating to the constituency office as being important. It can therefore, not be wrong to conclude that the news items that the residents of Kabwata are exposed to do not set the agenda of constituency office issues.

The results from the study are in line with the Participatory Communication Theory which strongly advocates for people involvement in the decision making of the development process. Therefore, if there was adequate involvement of the people of Kabwata in the work of the constituency office, probably they would have made

suggestion on the best means of communications that would effectively reach out to the people.

CHAPTER SEVEN

RECOMMENDATIONS, FUTURE RESEARCH AND CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

This concluding chapter will look at the recommendations arising from the research findings. The chapter will also make suggestions for future research on the democratic role of Constituency Offices in enhancing communication between the MP and the constituents. Lastly a conclusion of the study will be given.

7.2 Recommendations

The study has clearly raised the issue of the lack of awareness as one of the factors that has probably made some of the people of Kabwata Constituency not to be aware of the existence and operations of the constituency office. The first recommendation is that there is need to increase awareness campaigns in order to make the people more aware of the functions of the office.

In order for the constituency office to embark on the awareness campaigns, there is need for the National Assembly to consider increasing funding for sensitisation campaigns to the constituency offices. As has already been stated in the previous chapters that one of the constituency staff during the in-depth interview attributed the lack of adequate funds as the reason why the constituency office staff do not go out in the constituency to engage the people and carry out sensitisation campaigns.

In order for the sensitisation campaigns to be effective there is need to use the most appropriate channels. The use of community meetings which according to the study is one of the channels used by the office is vital in sensitisations campaigns. In addition channels such as the radio which according to the study is accessible to many people in Kabwata can also be used for sensitisation campaigns. Community radio stations which transmit in Kabwata whose purpose is mostly to serve

community needs can be used to air programmes that aim at raising awareness on the purpose and operations of the office.

The other recommendation is that the messages in the sensitisation campaigns must be appropriate to the people of Kabwata. For example campaign messages which can also be aired in vernacular language can raise issues such as the office not being a political office but for all the people of Kabwata despite their political affiliation. Messages such as those aimed at raising developmental projects for the community of Kabwata should be given to the people so that people would not say that they have no reason to visit the constituency office because developmental issues affect everyone. The campaigns should also give messages aimed at encouraging the people to participate in the activities of the office by giving suggestions on developmental programmes that they want their MP to carry out on the constituency. The people must be made to feel part of the operations of the office so that sustainable projects which are people centred can be implemented in Kabwata.

The other recommendation is that the constituency office must educate the people of Kabwata on the role of the MP. It is hoped that this would make the people know and appreciate the representative function of the MP. The people need to be made aware that the MP goes to Parliament to represent them and therefore, there is need for constituents to communicate what they want their MP to take to Parliament.

7.3 Future Research on the role of constituency offices in enhancing communication between the MP and their constituents

Since the study on the democratic role of constituency offices in enhancing communication between the MP and their constituents was done in Kabwata which is an urban constituency, a comparative research can be done in a rural constituency. This would be helpful in accessing how the people in urban and rural areas view the role of the constituency offices.

The study has also brought out critical issues which can be the base for future research. For example the study has clearly shown that very few women visit the constituency office. Therefore, a research can be undertaken to access why women who make the majority of the people in Zambia and Kabwata in particular are not interested in participating in the activities and operations of the constituency office.

7.4 Conclusion

The study has been very informative on the democratic role the constituency office play in enhancing communication between the MP and the constituents. It is clear from the study that communication is a vital tool for development and it is the fuel without which there would not be development, advancement or a solid base for any successful economic construction (El-Bidewy, 1990). Therefore, this study was important to undertake because it looked at how constituency offices have enhanced communication between the Members of Parliament and their constituents. In conclusion I wish to quote P Macleod who states in his book the Low Road to Democratic Reform: Constituency Offices, Public Service Provision and Citizen Engagement that “perhaps the core lesson that the constituency system can teach the rest of government is that rich or poor, citizens need to feel heard”.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Questionnaire

1.0 General information

1. Sex: 1. Male []
 2. Female []
2. Age at last birthday.....
3. Marital Status: 1. Single []
 2. Married []
 3. Divorced []
 4. Separation []
4. Highest education level attained: 1. Primary []
 2. Secondary []
 3. College []
 4. University []
 5. Post graduate []
5. Religion: 1. Catholic []
 2. Seventh Day Adventist []
 3. Anglican []
 4. Jehovah's witness []
 5. Pentecostal []
 6. United Church of Zambia []
 7. Other (specify).....
6. What do you do for a living?

7. Political inclination/membership:
1. MMD []
 2. UNIP []
 3. FDD []
 4. PF []
 5. ULP []
7. Other (specify).....

2.0 Knowledge on the role of a Member of Parliament

8. Do you know your Member of Parliament?
 1. Yes []
 2. No []
9. Do you know the role of a Member of Parliament?
 1. Yes []
 2. No []
10. If your answer to question 9 is “Yes” mention at least one role of a Member of Parliament
.....
.....
.....

3.0 Knowledge on the Constituency Office

11. Do you have a television set?
 1. Yes []
 2. No []
12. Do you have a radio?
 1. Yes []
 2. No []

13. Do you know of the Constituency Office? 1. Yes []

2. No []

14. If your answer to question 13 is “Yes” how did you first know about the
Constituency Office? 1. ZNBC Radio 4 []

2. ZNBC TV 1 []

3. Zambia Daily Mail []

4. Member of Parliament []

5. Councillor []

6. Friends []

7. Family members []

8. Public Address Van [....]

9. Pamphlets [....]

10. Bill boards at strategic locations [.]

11. Other (specify).....

15. How long have you known about the Constituency Office?

1. Less than 1 year []

2. Between 2-3 years []

3. Between 4-5 years []

4. Ever since the office was opened []

16. What do you think is the purpose of the Constituency Office?

.....

.....

4.1 Communication on the operations of the Constituency Office

17. How is notification on the activities and operations of the Constituency Office done?

1. Community meetings []
2. Posters []
3. Door-to-door notifications []
4. It is not done []
5. ZNBC Radio 4 []
6. ZNBC TV 1 []
7. Zambia Daily Mail []
8. I do not know []
9. Other (specify).....

18. How would you prefer notification on the operations of the Constituency Office to be done?

1. Community meetings []
2. Posters []
3. Door-to-door notifications []
4. Newspaper (s) []
5. I do not know []
6. Television []
7. Radio []
8. Other (specify).....

5.0 Operations of the Constituency Office

19. Has the office been an access point for communication about problems of the community?

1. Yes []
2. No []

20. Has the office been an access point for learning from the MP and the office about new ideas, programmes and new ways of doing things?

1. Yes []

2. No []

21. Does the MP give answers to questions through the office?

1. Yes []

2. No []

6. 0 Communication between the Member of Parliament and constituents

22. Have you ever visited the Constituency Office?

1. Yes []

2. No []

23. If your answer to question 22 is “No” why?

1. Do not know about the office []

2. Not interested in politics []

3. Issues at the Constituency Office do not involve you []

4. Belong to different political party []

5. Other (specify).....

24. If your answer to question 22 is “Yes”, how many times have you visited the Constituency Office?

1. Between 1-5 times []

2. Between 6-10 times []

3. Between 11-15 times []

4. Between 16-20 times []

5. Over 20 times []

25. What was the nature of your visit?

1. Personal []

2. Financial []

3. Political []

4. Developmental []

5. Other (specify).....

26. Who did you meet at the Constituency Office?

1. The Member of Parliament []

2. Constituency Office Staff []

3. Other (specify).....

27. To what extent were you satisfied with the Constituency Office in meeting your expectation when you visited?

1. Not at all []

2. A little []

3. Very much []

4. Excellent []

28. If you were not satisfied, explain why?

.....
.....
.....

29. To what extent has the Constituency Office enhanced communication between the constituents and the Member of Parliament?

1. Very satisfactory []

2. Satisfactory []

3. Not sure []

4. Unsatisfactory []

5. Very unsatisfactory []

30. To what extent was the level of communication between the Member of Parliament and the constituents before the opening of the Constituency Office?

1. Very satisfactory []

2. Satisfactory []

3. Not sure []

4. Unsatisfactory []

5. Very unsatisfactory []

Thank You

Appendix 2: Interview guide for the In-Depth Interviews

Interview with constituency staff to include the following questions:

- I. How have the constituents made use of the constituency office?
- II. How often has the contact been made?
- III. What channels do the constituents use to access the constituency office?
- IV. Name problems and issues discussed at the constituency office and solutions given?
- V. Who have been contacting the constituency office?
 - Gender
 - Age
 - Employment
- VI. Are you satisfied with the interaction?
- VII. What do you think could be done better by yourselves?

Appendix 3: Work Plan

Activity	J 201 4	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D	J 201 5	F	M	A
Topic formulation	X	X														
Literature Review			X	X												
Consultation with supervisor					X											
Proposal writing						X	X									
Presentation of proposal								X								
Amendments to the proposal									X							
Questionnaire pre-testing										X						
Data collection											X	X				
Report writing													X			
Consultations with the supervisor													X	X	X	
Final report writing														X		
Binding																X
Report submission																X

Appendix 4: Budget

Item	Quantity	Unit Price	Total
Paper	3	K30	K90
Printing		K1.50	K500
Binding	4	K30	K120
Transport			K500
Refreshments			K150
Total			K1,360.00

Appendix 5: Members of Parliament for Kabwata Constituency since 1968

Ms Mary Mwango	1968-1973
Ms Mary Mwango	1973-1978
Mr. Sibongo	1978-1983
Mr. Micheal Sata	1983-1988
Mr. Micheal Sata	1988-1991
Mr. Micheal Sata	1991-1996
Big. General Godfrey Miyanda	1996-2001 (June)
Major Richard Kachingwe	2001-2001 (Aug-Oct)
Hon Given Lubinda	2001-2006
Hon Given Lubinda	2006-2011
Hon Given Lubinda	2011 To Date

Appendix 6: Kabwata Constituency Ward Councillors, 2011-2016

Ward	Councillor	Party
Kamwala ward 5	Ms. Joyce Banda	PF
Kabwata Ward 6	Mr. Balazi	PF
Libala ward 7	Mr. Emmanuel Chanda	PF
Chilenje ward 8	Ms. Maggie Zulu	PF
Kamulanga Ward 9	Mr. Derrick Chansa	PF

Appendix 7: Social Services in Kabwata Constituency

Government Clinics:

Chilenje clinic
Kabwata clinic
Kamwala clinic
Lilayi clinic
Kamwala prisons dispensary

Private Owned Health Centres/Institutions:

Dr Yan surgery
Tolani clinic
Dr Hou surgery
Dr Wou surgery
Balm medical clinic
Dr Yi clinic Chinese medical
Kamwala medical clinic
Jon Hospice

Government Schools

Name of School	code	Students Registered	APU Students	No. of teachers	Address
1. Arthur Wina	909	1,239	136	37	Box 380033 LUSAKA.
2. Chilenje B	7983	322	0	0	Box 30534 LUSAKA.
3. Chilenje South	9370	132	511	36	Box 32388 LUSAKA.
4. Kabwata Middle	952	1506	0	49	Box 30798 LUSAKA.
5. Kamulanga Basic	955	1031	550	32	Box 35896 LUSAKA.
6. Kamwala High	5081	1215	723	67	Box 30505 LUSAKA.
7. Kamwala Basic	956	2069	101	42	Box 32298 LUSAKA.
8. Kamwala South	957	1929	0	52	Box 122 LUSAKA.
9. Libala Basic	4439	1505	0	37	Box 320340 LUSAKA.
10. Lilayi Basic	965	1805	247	50	Box 30004 LUSAKA.
11. Lotus Basic	966	1858	0	52	Box 30959 LUSAKA.
12. Lusakasa basic	972	618	0	30	Box 50488 LUSAKA.
13. Mkandawire	983	524	0	20	Box 320053

					LUSAKA.
14. Muyooma Basic	990	920	76	29	Box 320094 LUSAKA.
15. Timothy Mwanakatwe	1017	775	0	37	Box 320065 LUSAKA.

Community Schools /Private Schools

Name of School	code	Pupils Registere d	APU Pupils	No. of teachers	Address
Cuddle Care	936	57	0	7	Box 51132 Lusaka
Day Light	937	92	0	6	Box 35030 Lusaka
Eagles Nest	4443	179	0	12	Box 50946 Lusaka
Jesse Mbanga	949	125	0	10	Box 31226 Lusaka
Kachele Trust School	7842	59	0	6	Box 51324 Lusaka
Kamwala Agape Primary					
Kwacha Sec School	5307	99	0	12	Box 51074 Lusaka
LICEF	963	498	0	42	Box 35291Lusaka
Machinga Basic	973	141	0	12	Box 50279 Lusaka
Midlands Education	982	97	0	9	Box 51124 Lusaka
Tick Primary School	4356	598	0	31	Box 51375 Lusaka

Tum Secondary School	5305	261	0	12	Box 380082 Lusaka
Twinkle Star	4346	417	0	15	Box 50314 Lusaka
Sarafina Tuition Center					
Zipas High					

Grant – Aided Schools

Name of School	code	Pupils Registered	APU Pupils	No. of teachers	Address
Mary Aikenhead	6501	551	0	17	Box 50348 RW Lusaka
St. Lawrence(Misisi)	6537	845	0	30	Box 35601 Box
St. Patricks	1010	1454	0	44	Box 30398 Lusaka

Government Colleges

Staff College

ZAMISE College

Chilenje Trades

Lilayi Police College

Private Colleges

AMEC

Prudence College

Universities

Apex University

St. Engine University

Faith Based Organisations

Twafwana Women's Club
Tabithah Women's Club
Caleb Women's Club
Libani Support Group
Zambia Institute of Special Education
Youth Organisation for Orphans
Salvation Army Group
Bupilo Support Group
Women Enlightened Literacy Project
Matthew 25 Ministries International
Chikondi Support Group
Kabwata Youth Friendly Services
Musaniseke Support Group
Kabwata Peer Educators Team
Muyoma Basic School HIV/AIDS Mitigation Organisation
Lusaka City Disabled People Self Help Development Project
Kaza Children House
Thalumi Girls Shelter