

A STUDY ON THE FULFILMENT OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGN PROMISES ON
INFRASTRUCTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN KABWATA CONSTITUENCY OF
LUSAKA DISTRICT, ZAMBIA.

BY

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A dissertation submitted to the University of Zambia in partial fulfilment of the
requirement for the award of a degree of Master of Education.

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COPYWRITE DECLARATION

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I, **Rozalia Phiri** do hereby declare that this dissertation represents my own work. I further declare that the work has not previously been submitted for a degree to the University of Zambia or any other University.

Signed:.....Date:.....

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to: my husband, children and grandson Kondwani who were my inspiration I also dedicate this dissertation to my late brother Edward Harrison Phiri who tirelessly encouraged me in my academic work.

CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

This dissertation by Rozalia Phiri is approved as a partial fulfilment of the requirements for the ward of the degree of Master of Education in Civic Education of the University of Zambia.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ADP	Alliance for Democratic Process
APC	All Progressive Congress
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
CSPR	Civil Society for Poverty Reduction
DGTTF	Democratic Governance Thematic Fund Trust.
EFZ	Evangelical Council of Zambia
ECZ	Electoral Commission of Zambia
FODEP	Foundation for Democratic Process
GRZ	Government Republic of Zambia
ICT	Information Computer Technology
MEC	Malawi Electoral Commission
MMD	Movement for Multi-Party Democracy
MNDP	Ministry for National Development Plan
MOPD	Ministry of Political Development
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
PF	Patriotic Front
PDP	Progressive Democratic Party
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Plan

ABSTRACT

The study sought to explore political campaign promises on infrastructural development and extent to which they were fulfilled in Kabwata constituency. The objectives of the study were to: assess the extent to which politicians fulfilled the campaign promises on infrastructural development in Kabwata constituency of Lusaka district, identify the role of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) in ensuring that electorates are aware about making politicians accountable to their campaign promises and establish the role of electorates in making politicians accountable to their campaign promises. A descriptive survey research design was used. The study sample was 67, consisting of seven (07) politicians, six (06) representatives from NGOs, and 54 electorates. Semi-structure interview guide was used to collect data from the politicians, representatives from NGOs and electorates. In addition an observation checklist was used to verify the status of the campaign promises. Purposive sampling procedure was used to select politicians and representatives from NGOs while convenient sampling was used to select the electorates. Thematic analysis was used to analyse data. Findings show that politicians fulfilled most of the infrastructure campaign promises in Kabwata constituency. Thus, 60% of the road networks were done, three police posts were completed, two are under construction while construction on the other was suspended due to court injunction over the land in question. One clinic was upgraded to first level hospital and another was built, seven ablution blocks were renovated, two modern markets were constructed, twelve boreholes were sunk and two shelters were put up. Findings also revealed that NGOs have a role to play in creating awareness in electorates about making politicians accountable to their campaign promises by providing voter education to the electorates, creating a platform where the politicians interacted and explained their manifesto to the electorates. NGOs sensitize the electorates to demand for accountability from the politicians. Furthermore the study revealed that electorates had a role in making politicians accountable by making politicians sign a social contract against their promises and also by asking the politicians to explain why they failed to fulfil the campaign promises. Based on the findings, the study recommends that politicians sign a social contract so that accountability is fostered.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

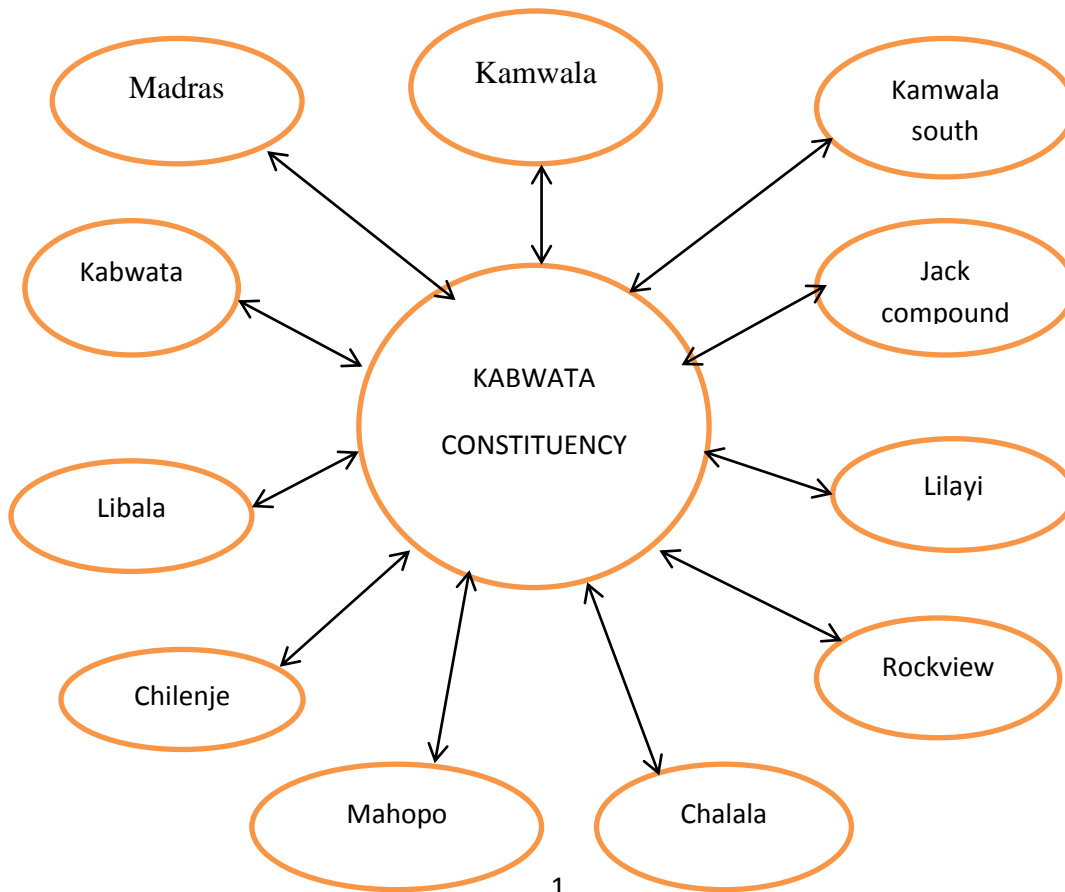
1.0 Overview

This chapter covers background on political campaign promises in Zambia with specific focus on the extent to which campaign promises on infrastructural development were fulfilled by politicians in Kabwata Constituency of Lusaka province in Zambia. Thereafter, the chapter presents the problem under investigation, the purpose of the study, research objectives and questions. It then presents significance of the study, theoretical framework, the conceptual framework, limitations, delimitations and definitions of terms used in the study.

1.1. Background of the study

The quest to understand the extent to which campaign promises on infrastructural development were fulfilled in Kabwata constituency motivated this study. Kabwata constituency consists of eleven townships. See details of townships in the figure below.

Figure 1: Townships in Kabwata Constituency



Political parties through their politicians including those in government made campaign promises. To help us understand the concept of political party, Mahajan (2009:572) defines political party as a group of citizens, more or less organised who act as a political unit and by using their voting power aim to control the government and carry out their general policy. A political party is an organised group of citizens who profess the same political views and act as a political unity and try to control the government. Political parties are organized for the deliberate purpose of controlling state power and that they have specific organisational structures, leadership, members, ideology and finance (Abdel, 2003). Although power is an elusive concept, in this text it refers to capacity in any human relationship to control behaviour and influence thought for the attainment of political goal. In relation to this study, it is noted that the Patriotic Front Party (PF) which formed government in 2011 made several campaign promises including on infrastructure in its manifesto of 2011.

The campaign promises were on education, health services, agriculture and local government and housing development. Campaign promises were also made in the social sectors which included social protection, persons with disabilities institutional reforms, social security reforms, women in socio- economic and gender, youths in socio-economic, arts and culture and sports and recreation developments. Further campaign promises were in the economic sectors. The sectors included infrastructure, tourism, lands, environment and natural resources development, labour and industrial relations reforms, finance and national development planning, energy, mines and minerals, commerce, trade and industry and science and technology development. The other area in which campaign promises were: are on governance and the administration of the state. Other promises were on legal and constitutional, electoral, good governance and public service and judicial institutional reforms. In addition, the other promise was on the church and civil society in national development, media reforms and international relations and corporation (Patriotic Front Manifesto, 2011).

Relevant to this study is the campaign promises on infrastructure drawn from the PF Party Manifesto of 2011. The PF Manifesto (2011) defines infrastructure as “roads, air, rail, water transport, telecommunications, energy, education, health services, water supply and sanitation facilities, public buildings and housing.” Infrastructure was considered key to realising sustainable economic development. The unmet demand for

social and physical infrastructure to support the delivery of housing, transport, energy, water services and to overcome the deficiency of food, limited economic opportunity and was therefore considered a major barrier to the achievement of meaningful national development.

In order to redress this situation, the PF government made promises to rehabilitate and upgrade the existing road network including feeder roads in all districts to prescribed standards, construct additional inter-provincial and inter-district roads to open up the country to facilitate accelerated development, replace existing pontoons with bridges in order to promote social and economic activities in districts, establish road maintenance camps on major roads throughout the country, construct ring roads around major cities to decongest the central business districts (Patriotic Front Manifesto 2011).

On transport they promised to ensure the viability of existing railway lines, particularly Zambia Railways (ZR) and Tanzania Zambia Railways (TAZARA), through monitoring and negotiation with suitable management concessions and partnerships, to construct or extend the rail network to areas of economic activities through public-private partnership, to provide incentives to railway operators in order to promote re-investment in the existing railway infrastructure thereby encouraging the use of railway transport. On the same, they promised to promote public-private partnership in the aviation industry, construct and upgrade airports and airstrips in districts, rehabilitate and upgrade existing harbours and canals, to establish district works departments to manage maintenance of public infrastructure and to review the telecommunications regulatory framework (Patriotic Front Manifesto 2011).

Furthermore, the Patriotic Front promised to establish micro credit financial facilities for small scale Zambian contractors, and to ensure that there are compensatory measures in place to level the playing field between foreign contractors, especially those who would receive finances and other subsidies from their countries of origin. Promote employment creation through the use of labour intensive technologies and the use of local resources. They also promised to review the curriculum in Trades Colleges to provide skills relevant to infrastructure development, and to review the Road Development Agency Act and the National Roads Fund Agency Act in order to achieve the above (Patriotic Front Manifesto 2011).

The campaign promises that directly relate to Kabwata Constituency and this study include rehabilitation and upgrading of existing road network in all districts to prescribed standards. In addition, the PF government promised to construct ring roads around major cities to decongest the central business districts. Observably a lot of infrastructural development has been going on since 2011. However, it remained unknown as to what extent these campaign promises on infrastructure were fulfilled in Kabwata constituency. As a result, an inquiry of this nature became imperative.

Campaigns are usually conducted when there is an election pending to be conducted. Mahajan (2009) explains that an election promise is a guarantee made to the public by a politician or other elected officials who are trying to win an election. Election promises are therefore, instrumental in getting a politician elected to office. Election promises, however, have been increasingly viewed with scepticism due to politicians who fail to fulfil them once in office. Campaign promises are aspects of politics and those who make them must be accountable. To this effect, Click and Potter (2000) defines politics as the activity by which differing interest within a given unit of rule are reconciled by giving them a share in power in proportion to their importance to the welfare and the survival of the whole community. Politics focus on who gets what, when and how. It determines the process through which power and influence are used in the promotion of certain values and interest. To be involved in politics, therefore is demanding because fulfilment of campaign promises must be put into consideration.

Politicians belong to different political parties as a result, may have different focus and priorities. Abdel (2003), states “political parties are instruments of collective human action and creatures of political elite. Political parties try to control the masses in competitive systems where they have to convince the electorate to win elections. Political parties are organized to affect the attitudes and behaviour of the population. In this case, an organisational structure must be forged, money must be raised, cadres must be recruited, officers elected and procedures for external governance must be established and agreed upon. On this basis Zambian politics heighten during campaigns for political office or offices. Campaign promises are made but the extent of their fulfilment remains an unanswered question until there is an informed inquiry. It was vividly clear about the heightened campaigns spirited by various political parties towards election dates. The PF won the election in 2011 and therefore it becomes

necessary to hold it accountable to its campaign promises by assessing the extent to which these promises were fulfilled. Despite making several promises including on infrastructure, the extent to which these promises were fulfilled remained unknown. This called for research to give us an insight of what was done and how the electorates view such developments.

In order to have control over a particular constituency, political parties chose a candidate and based on how the campaign promises appeal to the electorates the candidate is voted in the office of area member of parliament. Mahajan, (2009:373), states that “ It is true that there can be wrong choices in certain cases on account of the influence of the vested interest, but on the whole, no party can afford to put forward a worthless candidate. No party wants to be liquidated by putting unpopular candidate”. It becomes therefore, a challenge if a candidate lacks knowledge about what the reality of what is on the ground or if one does not know what his/her party manifesto says or what it takes to win an election.

In relation to Kabwata constituency, at the time of this study, Honourable Given Lubinda had been a member of parliament for fifteen years. Does this imply that the electorates are satisfied with the amount of fulfilled campaign promises? Arguably, campaigns allow political parties to bring in their party policies or manifesto in order to win the favour from the electorate. However, as Collier, (2009) cautions that it is not a guarantee that the politician elected will honour his or her promises made at a time of campaign, there is need to assess the extent to which campaign promises on infrastructure were fulfilled in Kabwata constituency. Observably, construction of roads, police posts, schools and health facilities were done. However, it still remained unknown as to what extent the campaign promises on infrastructure in Kabwata Constituency were fulfilled and views of the electorates on the issue.

1.2 Statement of the problem

In line with its Party Manifesto of 2011-2016, the Patriotic Front Party which formed government in 2011 made several campaign promises. Among them were promises on infrastructural development such as roads, education, health services, water supply and sanitation facilities and houses. Since then there was no empirical evidence on the extent to which the promises were fulfilled in Zambia in general and Kabwata

constituency in particular. As a result, it was not clear in terms of how many infrastructural related facilities were developed and views of the electorates on the campaign promises. This knowledge gap necessitated an inquiry for empirical evidence on the extent to which politicians fulfilled the campaign promises on infrastructure in Kabwata constituency of Lusaka district.

1.3 The purpose of the study

The purpose of this study is to assess the extent to which politicians have fulfilled the campaign promises on infrastructural development in Kabwata constituency of Lusaka district.

1.4.1 Objectives of the study

The study objectives were to:

- i. Assess the extent to which politicians fulfilled the campaign promises on infrastructural development in Kabwata constituency of Lusaka district (roads, schools, police posts)
- ii. Identify the role of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) in ensuring that electorates are aware about making politicians accountable to their campaign promises.
- iii. Establish the role of electorates in making politicians accountable for their campaign promises in Kabwata constituency.

1.4.2 Research questions

The following research questions guided the study.

- i. What extent have the campaign promises on infrastructural development been fulfilled in Kabwata constituency of Lusaka district?
- ii. What is the role of Non-Governmental Organisations in ensuring that electorate are aware about making politicians accountable to their campaign promises?
- iii. What is the role of electorates in making politicians accountable to their campaign promises?

1.5 Significance of the study

At the time when it was not known in terms of how many of the campaign promises on infrastructural development were achieved in Kabwata constituency, an inquiry of this nature was significant. In addition, it was hoped that the findings of the study may help politicians to understand the extent to which they had fulfilled the campaign promises in Kabwata constituency of Lusaka district. It is further hoped that the findings of the study may contribute new knowledge to the existing body of knowledge on fulfilment of campaign promises in Zambia and in particular Kabwata constituency. It was also hoped that the findings would help electorates and NGOs would understand their role in ensuring good governance in terms of holding politicians accountability to their campaign promises. It was further hoped that the findings may stimulate further research on the subject.

1.6 Theoretical framework

This study was guided by the theory of political advertising. According to Lyengar and Prior (1999:53), the theory of political advertising argues that “the exposure to political advertising campaigns encourages people to assimilate or equate their feelings to their related attitude targets”. The essence of this concept is that negative reactions to political advertising campaign would influence attitudes towards other forms of advertisements. As a result, Lyengar and Prior argue that the competing candidates usually thrive on the contrast hypothesis which suggests that the negative response to political campaigns actually make campaigns more appealing than it would have been if political advertising campaign were not there. A better understanding of the theory of political advertising will guide the study in understanding how politicians view their election campaign promises. This theory has been chosen as it is closely related to the study being undertaken. The study is focusing on fulfilment of political campaign promises.

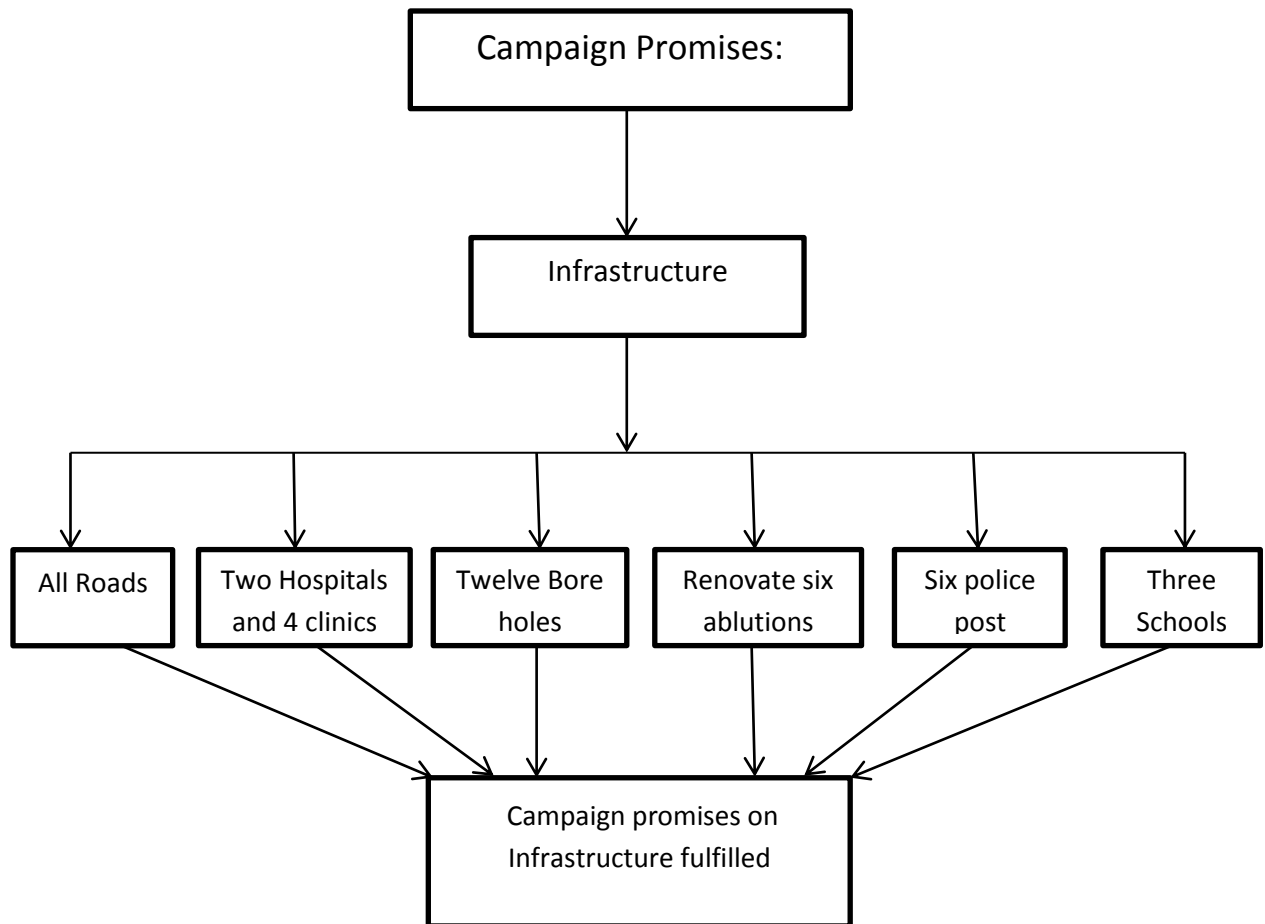
Since the introduction of Democracy in Africa and some of the third world countries, elections are an important part, campaign promise have been the most prominent variable in trying to win the electorate favour. It is clear to date that campaign promises remain a permanent and constant factor in describing and explaining electoral processes

of most emerging democracies and authoritarian states (Collier, 2009:79). Essentially, the Patriotic Front Party which is the party in government made several campaign promises in its manifesto and it became imperative to assess the extent to which it fulfilled them especially in Kabwata Constituency in Lusaka District. Relevant to this study are campaign promises on infrastructural development which included building more health facilities, learning institutions and roads among others. The question is, how did these campaign promises appeal to the electorates and to what extent was the attitude targets of electorates fulfilled? This study therefore, may help to understand the answers to all these questions.

1.7 Conceptual framework

A conceptual framework is a research tool intended to assist a researcher to develop awareness and understanding of the situation under scrutiny. It helps the researcher to make meaning of the subsequent findings (Guba and Lincoln 1989). It is a skeleton of how one intends to carry out a research. The conceptual framework for this study used campaign promises as an independent variable while the extent to which campaign promises on infrastructural development is being fulfilled as a dependent variable. The assumption for these variables is that politicians make promises during their campaigns and were expected to fulfil them and meet the aspirations of the electorates. For example, if these campaign promises were fulfilled, more health facilities built, more learning institutions and roads constructed or worked on. In turn, it could imply more jobs created during the construction of infrastructure, poverty levels and the cost of living reduced. On the basis of this assumption, it became necessary to assess extent to which the campaign promises on infrastructural development were fulfilled in Kabwata constituency in Lusaka district.

Figure 2: Conceptual Framework



Source: (Field data, 2016)

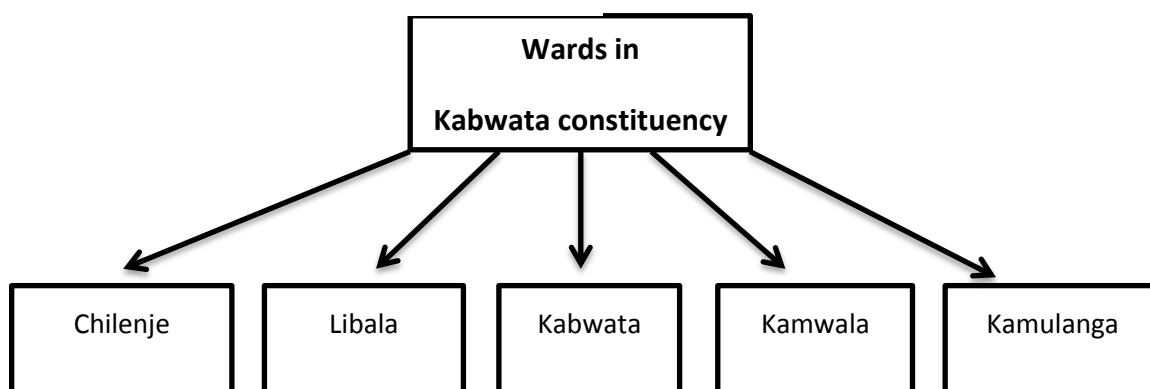
1.8 Limitations of the Study

Best and Kahn (2009) says that limitations are those conditions which are beyond the control of the researcher and may also place restrictions on the conclusion of a particular study. This study was only conducted in Kabwata constituency and not in all constituencies in Zambia. As such, the finding may not be generalised to other constituencies across the country.

1.9 Study Sites/Delimitations

Cresswell (2009) posits that delimitations are used to address how the study is narrowed in scope. This study focused on what extent politicians fulfilled the campaign promise on infrastructure in Kabwata Constituency. The study was undertaken in Kabwata constituency because it is a cosmopolitan constituency which comprises of the low density, medium density and the high density areas. Also the wards are geographically connected making it easy to access them. There are five wards in Kabwata constituency. See details of wards in Kabwata constituency in figure 3 below.

Figure 3: Wards in Kabwata Constituency



The sites were chosen on the basis of convenience and proximity. As explained by Dornyei (2007) convenience in this regard refers to a type of choice of sites where members of the target population met certain criteria, such as easy accessibility, geographical proximity, availability at a given time, and the willingness to participate in the study. Similarly, Lisa (2008) also referred to convenience as a way of making choice of site on the basis of the study sample being easily accessible to the researcher. These characteristics formed the inclusion criteria and the choice of the study site.

1.10 Definitions of terms used in the study

Campaign promises – shall synonymously be used as election promises to refer to a declaration or guarantee made to the public by those wishing to rule the state or country or other elected officials seeking to win favour from the voters.

Electorate: the body of all qualified voters. American Heritage Dictionary of the English (2000)

Infrastructure: This is the basic physical and organizational structures and facilities such as buildings, roads houses needed for the operation of a society or enterprise.

Manifesto: the policy proposal or programme of a political party upon which voters decide whether to vote for or against.

Politician: Someone involved in party politics and elected by the people of that area.

Political Advertising: Is the use of mechanism by political candidates to increase their exposure to the public (Robbs, 2009)

1.11 Summary

The introductory chapter covered the background to this study which emanated from the need to assess the extent to which politicians fulfilled their campaign promises on infrastructural development in Kabwata constituency. The chapter further presented the statement of the problem, purpose of the study, study objectives and research questions. It also covered the significance of the study, study limitations and delimitations. It ended with operational definitions of terms used in the study.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Overview

This chapter presents relevant literature review on fulfilment of political campaign promises. It covers the history of campaign promises, global, African and Zambian contexts of campaign promises, role of NGOs in ensuring that electorates are aware about making politicians accountable to their campaign promises and the role of electorates in making politicians accountable to their campaign promises and ends with a summary.

2.2 History of Campaign promises

During the period 1800, voting was originally not for everybody in the U.S. the only people allowed were white men. In 1870 voting was extended to members of the minority group who were literate and rich. However, in 1920 there was an amendment to the constitution where women were allowed to vote. Early in 1800 American presidential candidates did not actively campaign for presidency because it was considered undignified (Benoit, 2007). They used Newspapers, speeches, pamphlets to communicate to the voters. Presidential candidates did not give speeches and so the first candidate to deliver a partisan speech supporting his own candidacy was William Henry Harrison in 1840 (Jamieson 1996). At first Harrison had lost an election in 1836 because he had not campaigned and so in 1840 he changed his strategy by actively campaigning and he won the presidency. In 1924, the political conventions were broadcast on radio for the first time and in 1948, Harry Truman gave the first paid campaign speech broadcast on television. The first television spot was opened by senate William Benton in 1950: both major party presidential candidates were represented by TV spots in 1952 (Benoit, 2009).

History of campaign promises shows many great politicians who used undetailed campaign promises as a strategy won elections. Many of these campaigns did not provide details of what the politicians would do for the electorates. In 1932, Franklin Roosevelt never divulged the contents of his “New Deal”. In 1952, Dwight Eisenhower

did not provide details about how he would deal with Korean conflict except to pronounce that he would personally go there and look at it over. In 1960, John Kennedy never shared details about the campaign promise of the “New frontier”. In 1968, Richard Nixon only said he had a plan regarding the war in Vietnam but he never provided details of his plan. In 1976, Jimmy Carter never made campaign promises but he won the elections by telling the electorates that he admired and loved them. In 1980, Ronald Reagan never explained how his supply focus economics would work and benefit the electorates. (Benoit, 2009).

An analysis of all these undetailed campaign promises shows that this was a strategy considered best to win elections. However, it becomes difficult to assess the extent of fulfilment of these campaign promises.

Political campaigns end with electorates electing their preferred candidates. Elections are important because they allow the electorates freedom to actively participate in selecting their leaders. Elections provide us with the opportunity to determine how our interest can best be served. Elections also provide legitimacy with which to govern. Not only do decision elections provide leaders and grant them authority to govern but they also add to our memory of images of electoral processes (Judith and Robert, 2013)

The principle function of elections is to provide legitimacy for public authority and to give officials a mandate for specific action. Elections serve many functions such as clarifying issues and policies, holding candidates to account, communicate information among candidates and voters and offering the public choices of solutions to problems. Elections are also a critical means of promoting public accountability. Elections involves not just the ability of voters to vote out people who have not fulfilled their campaign promises, but gives an opportunity for elected officials to give account of their performances in office based on their campaign promises. This includes explaining how public funds will be spent. (Koryakov and Sisk, 2003)

In a democratic society, political parties play a significant role as intermediaries between the state and society which articulate and advocate public views and preference. Political parties strive to influence political agenda across a broad spectrum of issues at both national and local levels using campaigns (Koryakov and Sisk, 2003).

Brady (1987) reported that a campaign promises made just before Election Day heightened citizen attention to politics in direct relation to the proximity of the event. Campaigns activities are more likely to register on the voters' minds as Election Day draws near. There is an interaction between campaign efforts and the approaching deadline of the Election Day.

In democracy, people hold that the campaign promise that politicians make to the electorates are expected to be of great importance to both voting behaviour and accountability process (Manin *et al*, 1999). In order for voters to make informed choices regarding the representatives, they select information that is needed on policy plans of various available candidate representatives. Markwat, (2015) asserted that elections is the time when the electorates have an evaluation of how credible and committed the suggested candidates are and also it is another way of checking whether the elected representatives and their implementation of their campaign promises policies can be tracked.

Electorates can use the information provided in the election manifesto to find the candidates representative who best suit their interest, opinion and needs. Also the performance of government can be evaluated in terms of credibility based on the extent to which these parties upheld the promises made to the electorate. In turn the evaluation can be used to reward parties that have proven reliable partners and hold the parties that have broken their promises accountable with regard to subsequent elections (Thomson *et al* 2014).

2.2.1 Global context of political campaign promises.

George H.W. Bush when campaigning for presidency promised that he was not going to raise taxes but because his opponent Steve Forbes was campaigning on running a flat tax platform. George H.W. Bush insisted that he would not raise tax. However, when he got into office, he brock his campaign promise and increased taxes in an effort to reduce the budget deficit and provide needed funding. (Coleman 1997).

David (2014) reports that "Richard Nixon promised during the presidential campaign in 1968 that once voted into power, his new leadership would end the war" in Vietnam. But when pressed for details, Nixon declined to give details because it would interfere

with the negotiations that had begun in Paris to end the war. However when he became president he said he had no gimmick or magic plan to end the Vietnam War.

Another world leader who made a campaign promises was Bill Clinton. He promised a universal health care reform. But this Universal Healthcare System promise in his 1992 campaign presidential bid failed. However, during his administration, he attempted to implement the system, but instead, he was met with major resistance from Congress and this cost the Democrats in the 1994 Congress election (Webber, 1995).

President Barack Obama also promised during his campaign that he would end the Bush era tax cut which gave breaks to some of the richest Americans. After being voted into office, he temporarily extended the tax cuts in exchange for extending the unemployment benefits and reduction of Social Security taxes. Before the 2012 election, he pledged that Americans getting less than \$250,000 would not see any form of tax increase. But sixteen days into his presidency, Obama signed into law and increase excise tax on tobacco. Conclusion drawn from the above literature is that it is a rare feature for the president to keep their campaign promises (Lewis, 2011). The above leaders who made campaign promises were all president of the United States of America.

President Erdogan from Turkey used his social validation as a means of getting for presidency. He promised conciliatory rhetoric in contrast with the previous elections. His campaign strategy was actually based on standing up against the Hizmen movement who were a group that directly opposed the president. The elections had a number of consequences for the Turkish policies. If he put his election view point into action then the democracy and rule of law would be exercibated. But after he won the elections, his harsh and segregation attitudes did not change. He had a roadmap for his government and placed a strong emphasis on the economy, a dialogue oriented foreign policy and a more democratic environment in domestic policies (Ozturk 2014).

Another world leader who made a promise was Narendra Modi of India. He promised to clean up the river Ganges which is regarded as a holiest and fifthiest river. As he was campaigning he called Indians President Prenad Mukherjee who agreed to endorse Modi as the 14th prime minister of India and won the elections. He also promised to eradicate corruption. He could not manage to clean up the Ganges River because of the

problem the river had. The river covers five major towns whose effluence flow in the Ganges (Modi, 2014)

In Argentina, Mauricio Macri campaigned for the presidency with the promise to have Venezuela excluded from the Organization of American States in order to punish Mercosur for persecuting what he called the opposition leaders. He won the elections and fulfilled his promise but after sometime he realized that the isolation went against his economic growth and so he could not trade with either of those who were in that organization. He therefore, rescinded his decision, but received criticism by his people who felt were cheated. He was then accused of reversing his campaign promise of taking hard lines against Moduro Nicolas who was then the president of Venezuela (Lewis, 2016)

Another well-known leader was Boris Yeltsin of Russia who made a promise when he began his re-election campaign in highly unfavorable circumstances. To win an election, he needed to bring about a rapid change in public opinion which depended on two factors. The first one was on the government's ability to give an adequate response to the demands of the Russian society. The other concern was for the government's ability to take a strategic initiative away from the leftist opposition. He's campaign included creating something good for the presidents image by concentrating on healthy, fighting corruption, forcing a resolution on the Chechen conflict. These promises reached a consensus of the regional elites and became a measure for his election base. This strategy was effective and he won the elections (Hofman, 2002).

Silvio Berlusconi is another leader who when entering into politics in Italy, vowed to transform and unify Italia right. He again promised to make his compatriots rich as he had made himself. Many people believed in him and voted for him, but 10 years down the line from 2001 to 2010, he gave Italy the lowest economic growth rate. He also promised to reform his country's system of justice but whenever he was asked to tackle on the issue, he always dodged the law. Though he was prevented from enacting the damaging plans, he nevertheless succeeded to weaken the rule of law of Italy in 1994 (Hooper, 2011).

Germany also has been characterized by leaders who make promises and fail to fulfil it. For instance, Schröder Gerhard pledged to reduce unemployment in Germany. However,

though the number of jobless fairly dropped in the first half of 2001, he failed to reach 3.5 million mark, which he had set as a goal in 2002 (Conradt & Langenbacher, 2002).

In Jamaica the issue of making campaign promises is not a strange thing. In 2011, during the electoral campaign period, Portia Simpson-Muller the Jamaican prime minister pledged against discrimination. He emphasized that no one should be discriminated because of their sexual orientation and that government should provide protection for guys and lesbian people. However, the government has not implemented any concrete steps in this direction (Reynold, 2014)

2.2.2 African context of political campaign promises.

In 2010, President Thabo Mbeki promised to create five million work opportunities instead; most people started losing their jobs. But there's a caveat: those promises and aspirations should somehow be connected with reality (Grootes 2014)

Grootes (2014) reports that in South Africa, Jacob Zuma had promised to speed up the shift of power from white to the majority black South Africans as the ruling African National Congress party made its final bid to remain in power for a fifth term . Addressing concerns that many black South Africans still lived in poverty 20 years after the end of apartheid, Mr Zuma said it would be a “key priority” to give them control of more businesses and accelerate land reform. However, he did not do what he promised. This made him to be unpopular and South Africans went into riots and work strikes.

Another African leader who needs mention is the president of Kenya Mr Daniel Arap Moi. During his campaigns, he promised that his administration would not condone drunkenness, tribalism, corruption and smuggling. In due course he forgot about what his promises and concentrated in neutralizing those he perceived to be against his leadership. He began to centralise and personalise power. He wanted ordinary Kenyans to perceive him as a true nationalist in his own rights. The Kenyan African National Union was formed to bar him from taking over the presidency but could not succeed. Arap Moi became president and introduced a life style that supported centralisation and personalisation of power. This gradually laid a foundation for dictatorship innumerable human rights violation. When a socialist leader tried to express his displeasure, he

struck back by making a country a one party state. He criminalised competitive politics and criticised his leaders (Korwa & Munyae 2001)

President of Senegal also promised to end the conflict in the southern province of Casamance. People accepted the mediation by the Italian saints in Rome and talks were supported by the Vatican and several European countries. However, only one of the rebel factions acknowledged. The other Senegalese organisation took efforts to reach out to the four rebels but all was in vain until the leader of the military army Salif Sadio announced a ceasefire. In this unclear situation between war and peace, the government had begun to build up infrastructural of Casamance the agricultural area which had been undeveloped (World Development Bank, 2015).

In Uganda, Yoweri Museveni of Uganda also pledged to raise funds for micro finance project by more than 1,000 percent from the shn44bn to shn500bn. He also promised to set up a shn7bn women fund and a shn33bn youth fund. He also promised to distribute exercise books, text books, Mathematical sets, pens and pencils to pupils in upper primary classes as well as free sanitary towels to the girls in schools, build 300 free public toilets in Kampala, setting ICT parks countrywide. He made these promises verbally and in his manifesto. He failed to fulfil them such as the building of the public toilets and setting up of ICT parks (Kakaire, 2015)

The current Nigerian president made promises during his campaign. President Buhari Muhammadu made a lot of promises to Nigerians and his party the *All Progressive Congress* (APC). He promised to change Nigeria which people believed also thought he would transform it as they were tired of PDP. He also promised to reduce fuel, free education, increase minimum wage, place every graduate on a salary for one year after their youth service, to crush Boko Haram in his first three months in office. Efforts have been made to fulfil the campaign promises (Bryta, 2015).

Another president added to the list is President Peter Wamtarika of Malawi. In their 2015 manifesto, they promised three things such as the Public Reform, community colleges for skills training and a housing subsidy for cement and iron roofing sheets to people in the rural areas to be done in ten years. He said that there should be no grass thatched houses or built with mud. All houses should be brick, cement and roofed with iron sheets. However, he has managed to fulfil the campaign promise by launching the

community college programme in each of the 28 district. So far he has built eleven colleges and hopping to finish the rest by 2016. In addition, he has started giving cement and iron roofing sheets which are subsidized so that people have a decent house and for the public service reform, the president has given up some of his powers by transferring some departments from his office to relevant ministries. He has also managed to stabilise the kwacha since January 2015 (Anomah, 2015)

2.2.3 Zambian Context of campaign promises.

In Zambia, elections are held every after five (5) years. These elections are tripartite elections, the electorate vote for the president, members of parliament and councillors. Candidates from different political parties are mandated to campaign and convince the electorate. It is from these campaigns that electorate are convinced to elect a candidate of their own choice. My study will concentrate on the third republic period because that's where campaign promises were more pronounced. Third republic is when the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) came into power under President Fredrick Chiluba. During this time, many promises were made to the electorate, for instance, improvement of conditions of service; reduce poverty and creation of employment, were some of the promises made during their campaigns (MMD manifesto 1991). However, instead of fulfilling what they promised, there was the introduction of harsh economic reforms that included the stringent Structural Adjustment Program. This had a big impact on the economy and on the lives of the citizen. People lost jobs because companies were now privatised, the inflation rates rose drastically and social services were unbelievably lowered down; there was increase in poverty levels (Simutanyi, 1996).

President Levy Patrick Mwanawasa of the Movement for multiparty Democracy (MMD 2001 Manifesto) promised to fight poverty, unemployment and corruption. In addition he promised that he would continue to provide a liberal economic environment and create renewed local and foreign investor confidence. Furthermore, he assured the citizens that they will continue managing public resources prudently through a transparent and accountable system of governance once voted into power. However, efforts were done to reduce poverty, unemployment and fight corruption but the situation remained unchanged.

In 2011 president Michael Chilufya Sata promised to create more jobs, new houses, and new opportunities and will improve on health and more money in people's pockets. Some of the things President Michael Sata once stood for were in danger after he was elected into power for example while campaigning for election in 2011, he promised to "rein-in" the Chinese, especially in the copper mining industry. However President Sata softened his stance on the Chinese as he was not aware of the full range of the Chinese activities in Zambia and of just important China was for the Zambian prosperity and immediately after elections Sata dispatched a high level of envoys to Beijing (Robert, 2012). Following the death of his excellency president Michael Chilufya Sata in 2014, his excellency president Edgar Chagwa Lungu succeeded him in 2015. President Edgar Lungu campaigned to continue and fulfil the campaign promises made by President Michael Sata.

As a result of the campaign promises made in PF manifesto of 2011-2016, more health posts have been built, more primary schools have been upgraded to secondary schools while many more schools and roads have been constructed in the country (Simutanyi, 2012). However what is not known is the extent to which these campaign promises have been fulfilled in Kabwata constituency.

Similarly, Simutanyi (2012) reports that many campaign promises have been fulfilled especially the PF government such as: the constitution, more health posts have been built and more primary schools have been upgraded to secondary schools while many more schools and roads have been constructed in the country.

Regarding fulfilment of campaign promises of Persson and Tabellini (2000), reported that models of pre-election politics believe that election promises are binding. On the other hand the post-model politics believe that election promises are non-binding. The implication of this literature, is that depending on the school of thought of politicians making promises they would either take their promises to be binding or not. As a result it becomes necessary to assess the extent to which campaign promises made in Kabwata constituency were fulfilled.

2.4 The role of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in politics

Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) create awareness in electorates by acting as channels through which individuals can participate in government and in decision making. They help amplifying the voices of the poor, coordinate coalitions to overcome their collective action problems, mediate on their behalf through redress mechanisms, and demand greater service accountability (Beer, 1998). Non-Governmental Organizations help in raising poor citizen's voice and making information widely available through the impartation of knowledge so that the electorate act for better public service and ensure campaign promises are fulfilled. Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) also empowering poor citizens by increasing their influence in policymaking and aligning their interests, to the extent possible, with those of the non-poor can hold politicians more accountable.

In addition Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) create awareness in electorates about politician being accountable to their campaign promises by giving the electorates information through public disclosure, citizen-based budget analysis, service benchmarking, and program impact assessments. The electorates needs to be kept in mind that participatory, transparent and accountable governance does not come easy as nobody wants to open up or relinquish power easily. And so through the acquisition of information, they are able to make politicians accountable. However, one complication is that if the voice is not sufficient for accountability; it may lead to answerability, but this does not necessarily lead to enforceability (Beer, 1998).

Mwiinga *et al* (2012) Said in Zambia "Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) had a role to create awareness in electorates about making politicians accountable to their campaign promises by carrying out civic education activities to promote public awareness on issues that affected society such as voting". She added that, this was done by monitoring elections and advocating for good electoral laws that were inclusive in nature. In principle, elections provided citizens with both answerability (the right to assess a candidate's record) and enforceability (vote the candidate in or out). In practice, democracies varied greatly on both dimensions, as most people attempted to exercise accountability.

Rondinelli and Cheema (2003) Said Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) help in sanctioning or rewarding those who hold positions of public trust through a system of checks and balances among the Executive, Legislative and Judicial branches.

The other role for Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) is to create awareness in electorates so that government and other people in authority are accountable to the public. NGOs help create awareness in electorates by educating them on accountability which is a pillar of democracy and good governance. Accountability compels the state, politicians, the private sector and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) to focus on results, seek clear objectives, develop effective strategies and monitor and report on performance measured as objectively as possible. Transparency promotes openness of the democratic process through reporting and feedback, clear processes and procedures and the conduct of actions by those holding decision-making (World Bank Development Report, 2004).

Zadek (2007) says NGOs are a growing number of accountability and others have termed civic education as a stakeholder mechanism that are emerging with the focus on encouraging enabling an calling for better NGOs and accountability. NGOs include participatory and consultative mechanism through which NGOs are required to include stakeholders in different aspects of their operations.

Sabatin & Bevis (1998). Conducted a study titled civic education, civil society and political mistrust in a political democracy: a case of Dominican Republic and found that Civic education had a direct negative effect in participant levels of institution trust with the greatest negative effect on trust in governmental bodies such as the army and the judiciary. Finkel and his colleague argued that mistrust steamed from the types of NGOs groups that conducted civic education, many of which were not politically and socially neutral.

Finkel (2000) using survey data collected on participants in numerous civic education programs as well as NGOs groups in both countries shows that civic education has significant and substantively meaningful effects on local level political participation in four of the seven programs studied in South Africa and the Dominican Republic. Moreover, the effects of civic education on participation are largely conditional in nature, dependent on nature of the civic education acquired. The results suggest that civic education and NGOs mobilization processes are highly complementary in both countries. Civic education training stimulates individual political behavior in much the same way as does participation in other kinds of secondary group activities.

Haggard & Kaufman (1992) added that NGOs in Dominican Republic provide civic programs which are designed specifically to bring participants into contact with Government officials and politicians can work together to solve community and national problems. They also commented that exposure to these programs increase cynicism as individuals are brought into contact with un responsive local politicians and may also become aware of the intransigent nature of many social and political problems.

In Uganda Dicklitch, (1998: 2) alluded that "NGOs and civil society are seen as "vehicles for empowerment and democratization". For instance, they are seen as playing a role in creating a civic culture of pluralizing the economic and political arena, and bridging the gap between the state and the un organized masses (Gariyo, 1995:1). Also says, since 1986, when the National Resistance Movement came to power the NGO sector has seen tremendous growth. The growth in the NGO sector may be attributed to several factors. These include: enabling political environment, people's response to harsh economic environment; easy access to donor funding, a spirit of voluntarism increase in interest groups such as the women, youth, disabled etc. and the willingness of government to incorporate some NGOs in some governments' strategic plans.

The role of NGOs in Pakistan is that they play an increasing important role in the development of corporations. They bridge the gap between government and the community. Gondal (2012) says NGOs are essential in organizing poor or the illiterate to take collective action, fighting for their rights and representing the interests of their members. They create an enabling framework of laws, economic and political conditions. The strength of NGOs particularly those operating at the field level, is their ability to form close linking to local communities.

In Nigeria, Samuel, (2005) explained that NGOs facilitate communication. They use interpersonal methods of communication and study the right entry points whereby they gain the trust of the community they seek to benefit. They facilitate communication upwards from people to government and downwards from the government to the people. Communication upwards involves informing government about what local people are thinking, doing and feeling while communication downwards involves informing the local people about what government is planning to do. Samuel (2005)

continues saying NGOs help in empowering the electorates with knowledge with the aim to help them develop a clear understanding of the social, political and economic factors affecting their lives and strengthen their awareness of their own potential power to control their lives.

In South Africa, NGOs acts as intermediary. The relationship between NGOs and community based organizations receives particular attention. They focus on democratization in strengthening or even becoming the loyal opposition in South Africa. In addition they promote legal reform, civil liberties and human rights.

Salamon (2007) also added that in Netherland NGOs act as an intermediary between different sectors and groups. They also act as mediators or facilitators where conflicts within political parties arise. They offer delivery service by the operational delivery of essential humanitarian, development and of social services. They do evaluation and monitoring by acting as a watchdog both invited and uninvited of government and corporate performance, accountability and transparency.

In Argentina, Fisher (2013) highlights the positive role of NGOs provide civic education and also educate the citizens about their rights to participate in politics. In addition NGOs deal in strengthening government capacities, a more common role for Argentina. NGOs emphasizes on public participation law-based civil liberty and democratic political culture. Fisher (2013) further explains that NGOs aim at adding sense exercised by activists who focus on strengthening civil societies who at times serve as opposition to government.

In Latin America, Diamond & Linz (1989) reports that civic education heightened performance based dissatisfaction with the political system in several ways for instance; it increases the individual general political awareness. People who are exposed are more likely to know about countries current economic and political problems.

In Britain, Keck & Sikkink (1998) also said NGOs are instruments of changing a mindset and attitudes of people for instance, NGOs helped to organized the opposition that led Britain to abolish slave trade in 1807. The two are cited to say NGOs provide

contemporary advocacy networks in human rights, the environment and violence against women. In addition, they advocated for women suffrage and ant-slavery movements in the 19th century

Nelson (2007) reported that NGOs were involved in advocacy. They act as a voice for people both on a representative self-appointed basis. They conduct research analysis and inform the public about the issues, mobilizing citizen action through the media campaigns and other forms of activism and lobbying business leaders and policy makers to perform.

2.3 The role of electorates in politics

The role of electorates in politics is to cast their vote and elect a leader in a country, constituency or community. It is their role to put politicians in positions. The electorates vote act upon different types of motivations to vote for a particular candidate. Voting for a candidate is a democratic act which gives legitimacy to those elected in power to act in decision making on their behalf. They serve as a mechanism for translating public preferences into legitimization of power, and also by the opportunity to actively engage citizens in the processes of electing authorities and systemic channelling of their activity in this consciousness, and translate them into the realm of current policy (Wojtasik, 2013). Persson and Tabellini (2000) report that citizens vote based on the government's behaviour and accomplishments.

Jane Nelson (2007) states, an electorate can be involved in Political process by engaging in overt political actions by participating in activities such as raising money for the candidate, campaign for a political party of their choice, attending political party campaign rally, distributing campaign literature and campaign for a political party of their choice. Electorates have a role to stand in an election as a candidate in any political party. This gives them a chance to participate as a citizen of a country.

Mwiinga *et al* (2012). Said the role of electorates is to contact their councillors and members of parliament to raise an issue concerning their area. If electorates do not visit their councillor or MPs then the problems or challenges people face in the community will not be known because it is not every time that these leaders visit their communities.

(Wojtasik, 2013), states that, the other role of an electorates is to be involved in social interaction. Politicians give people a variety of topics or issue for discussion at work, parties or at a place where people interact with one another. (Mwiinga *et al* 2012).

Meltzer & Richard (1981). Reported that in America political participation in a democracy can take many forms ranging from voting for representatives at regular intervals to voting on policies in referendum, forming political groups etc. A person participating expect at least hope that those action will have some impacts on the content of government policies. The act of voting has a clear expected link to policy outcomes. Expectations by electorates were that those voted into office would implement policies or fulfil the campaign promise. Similarly, Weitz-Shapilo & Winter (2008). Reported that in America people who participated in political activities were more satisfied with their lives because of the resulting feelings of participating in choosing a political leader.

In Latin America Melanie (2009) found that voters tend to punish governments that either fail to enact their campaign promise or move significantly away from their promise during their time in office by not electing them. In 2007, Tavits (2007), in her study in Latin America found that voters valued those politicians who fulfilled their campaign promises and punished those that broke campaign promises by not re-electing them. Powell (2004) did a study in Latin America and reported that people voted based on policy preferences and expectation that such policies will be implemented.

In Malawi, the constitution states that every human being has a political right to form a political party, to join any political party, to participate in the activities of government and to recruit members for any political party. Citizens also have the right to campaign for any political party. In addition, citizens have the right to participate in peaceful political activities intended to influence the composition of policies of the government and freely to make political choices. (Malawi Electoral Commission, 2004)

In Zambia, the electoral commission of Zambia identifies the role of the electorates in politics such as to vote and participate in governance of the country. They also have the

role to take part in elections by registering and voting. They again have the right to vote for the candidate of their own choice (Electoral Commission of Zambia 2016)

In Argentina Stokes (2001) found that there was a relationship between what was promised and what was accountable. Citizens selected a president whose campaign promises reflect their policy preferences. The president pursued the promises once in office which led to positive economic outcomes.

Stokes (2001) states “there are two types of leaders, one that break campaign promises and recover the economy and the other that enact their campaign promises and destroy the economy”. In short, do voters care principally about policy faithfulness, or do they overcome policy preferences to reasonable economic concerns? The effect of policy undertakings on electoral accountability is conditioned by economic outcomes. Broken campaign promises probably discourages supporters but could have been good for the economy.

The United Nations (2005) recognizes the need to protect and promote the right of women to participate in the electoral process, particularly in post-conflict countries. It is important to keep in mind, that electoral rights mean much more than simply the right to vote. Freedom of expression, assembly and association, and the freedom to take part in the conduct of public affairs, hold public office at all levels of Government and participate in the formulation of government policy. United Nations international human rights instruments affirm that women are entitled to enjoy all these rights and freedoms on the same basis as men. Women’s equal participation is therefore essential to the conduct of democratic elections. At international level elections fail because they do not realise full and equal participation by women. For elections to be truly free and fair, women must have the same opportunities as men to participate in all aspects of the electoral process. Women should have an equal chance to serve at all levels within local and national election management bodies. (Perelli, 2005)

Flanagan & Levine (2010) explains that, “Participation in electoral processes involves much more than just voting”. Political participation derives from the freedom to speak out, assemble and associate; the ability to take part in the conduct of public affairs; and the opportunity to register as a candidate, to campaign, to be elected and to hold office

at all levels of government. Under international standards, men and women have an equal right to participate fully in all aspects of the political process. In practice, however, it is often harder for women to exercise this right. In post-conflict countries there are frequently extra barriers to women's participation, and special care is required to ensure their rights are respected in this regard.

Wattenberg, 2008) reports “decades of research have shown that young people are consistently less likely to vote or to engage in any of the other civic or political behaviours that often precede voting than are other age cohorts in American politics, yet, youth participation in presidential elections has steadily increased during the 21st century. Centre for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE, 2008). College-educated youth participate more actively than counterparts who lack college education. For example, in 2008, 62% of college educated youth voted in the presidential election, but only 36% of non-college-educated youth did so (Kirby, & Ginsberg, 2010).

UNDP (2012) explained that in order to respond to the needs of young people, and to guarantee that their basic human rights are recognized and enforced, young people's active and meaningful participation in their societies and in democratic practices and processes is of crucial importance. Meaningful youth participation and leadership require that young people and young people-led organizations have opportunities, capacities, and benefit from an enabling environment and relevant evidence based programmes and policies at all levels. Realizing young people's right to participate and be included in democratic processes and practices is also vital to ensure the achievement of internationally agreed development goals and to refresh the development agenda. The focus on youth, in terms of their engagement in the political arena, is a relatively new priority but extremely timely, particularly in light of recent events and democratic transitions, in the Arab States as well as other regions. The “World Programme of Action for Youth for 2000 and beyond” touched upon the importance of youth participation in decision-making

In a survey conducted by the UN IANYD in August 2012, in 186 countries found that the main challenges for youths were limited opportunities for effective participation in

decision-making process such as voting. With limited opportunities and exposure to meaningful participation in inclusive decision-making processes, young men and women felt that they were excluded and marginalized in their societies and communities. They needed participatory structures and greater trust between youths and institutions and for greater capacity development.

In countries emerging from conflicts, UNDP (2010) recognizes that young people can engage in peace-building, leading non-violent revolutions, using new technologies to mobilize societies to bring about change. Young people have demonstrated the potential to build bridges across communities, working together, helping to manage conflict and promote peace. Young people are vital stakeholders in conflict and in peace-building, and can be agents of change and provide a foundation for rebuilding lives and communities, contributing to a more just and peaceful society.

Participation is one of the guiding principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and young people's right to participation has been deemed important in numerous international agreements. For instance in 1994, 179 countries recognized the importance of ensuring young people's "integration and participation in all spheres of society, including participation in the political process and in preparation for leadership roles (UNDP 2012)."

In 2011, the UNDP Democratic Governance Thematic Trust Fund (DGTTF) (2011) issued a call for proposals from UNDP Country Offices in support of innovative and catalytic projects on youth to inform public policy-making, training youth as effective leaders, extending access to justice, opening space for youth empowerment and democratic governance. 37 proposals were accepted, out of which 9 were from Africa, 8 from the Arab States, 5 from Asia and the Pacific, 8 from Central and Eastern Europe/Commonwealth of Independent States, and 7 in Latin America and the Caribbean. The following were the findings from the various countries.

Nigeria: Participation in Constitution-review process

UNDP supported youth based CSO coalition to actively participate in the Constitution review process, including submission of memorandum to the constitution review

committees of the National Assembly. A Nigerian Youth Agenda on Political Participation was developed ahead of the 2015 election together with a Nigerian Youth Inter party Forum. The forum was primarily used by youth members across party lines and discussed issues of common interest and challenges concerning youth political participation. Usually youths were most of the time left out in matters concerning decision making, but after realising how important youths were, they incorporated and allowed them to actively participate in the constitutional making process.

Bangladesh: National Youth Parliament

UNDP supported the establishment of a National Youth Parliament to empower active citizens at both local and national level and provided an opportunity for youths to contribute to the framing of national policy through direct dialogue with parliamentarians. As youths they were able to interact with their leaders in the community. This helped them to work together with their parliamentarians in developing their communities. The incorporation of youths allowed them to positively contribute to national policy.

Jordan: Trainings to increase youth political participation

UNDP had trained a core group of 15 young trainers and piloted two debate training programmes as part of its youth programme with the Ministry of Political Development (MoPD) to increase youth political participation. UNDP had supported MoPD to amplifying its engagement with youth through Facebook and twitter, with a view to facilitating online discourse. UNDP also supported MOPD to develop a database of youth online groups in order to systematically solicit youth participation in the country's political life. The 'Youth Participation in Local Governance' project had sponsored an innovation camp for youths, with programmes such as mock elections, and interactive training on public speaking, the use of social media for development and other skills. A partnership with the Princess Samara University for Technology backed the development of a local governance game to engage youth online, like that exercised in Tunisia called 'DemocraTweet'.

Palestine: Supporting Dialogue

UNDP helped train University councils to develop a stronger culture of dialogue among their youth members to better influence Palestinian political and social leadership. The Project also worked with SHAREK, a Palestinian Youth NGO, to engage with students in Palestinian universities and their leadership in students' councils. UNDP targeted seven student University councils across Palestine with the aim to promote their role in enhancing a culture of dialogue which political parties had failed to do. This work included enhancing capacities of student council members to articulate on issues, communicate effectively and persuasively argued on issues that affected them as active individuals. Special attention was given to reinforcing the role of young Palestinian women in political leadership.

Lebanon: Strengthening public policy making skills

The Lebanese Parliamentary Internship Programme was expanded and a number of Lebanese graduates of all universities in Lebanon were offered an opportunity to participate in public policy making. This programme provided them with a training opportunity on public policy making tools. It introduced the legislative and functions of Parliament and its function in the framework of parliamentary diplomacy in regional and national issues. To demonstrate the skill on public policy, the youths held a conference to raise and enhance public awareness on democracy and emphasized on the importance of political participation and the promotion of Human Rights and fundamental freedoms. In addition, a youth action plan was developed and endorsed by the Lebanese Parliament.

Libya: Monitoring Transition and Reporting on Governance

At a time when Libya was redefining its social contract, and revising core social and economic policies, reliable data needed them to make informed decision, including youth priorities. Young people's voices needed to be reflected, as recognized by the Libyan Transitional Government, which had made youth empowerment a top priority. The project provided training to youth-led advocacy organizations on governance assessments. It also assisted the development of an indicator framework on degrees of youth participation and the mainstreaming of youth issues covering processes such as

debates in the National Transitional Council, national reconciliation efforts, the creation of a Constitution and political party development. Youth groups learned how to collect data and disseminate it to policy-makers and the general public. The project was positioned to catalyze a Libyan Youth observatory, a concept that had not previously existed in the country.

Moldova: Greater Justice for Disadvantaged Groups

In Moldova, the UNDP-supported projects which mobilized and linked many vulnerable groups of youths around to access justice and learned more on fundamental human rights. The project gave legal aid to non-criminal people. The project involved at least 10 advocacy groups of youth who were vulnerable including youth who were unemployed, members of the Roma community, living with HIV and AIDS have disabilities and those who were migrants or refugees. Youths learned strategic advocacy skills that they applied to their key concerns and received support which linked them to legal aid providers and support networks, as well as the National Legal Aid Council and related initiatives which aimed at developing capacities that support youth empowerment for the disadvantaged youths.

Cambodia: Gearing up for local and national elections

In strengthening Democratic Programmes: Youth Multimedia Civic Education Initiative' was introduced. It was aimed at reaching 3 million young voters. This was done by use of TV and radio broadcasts to develop partnership with BBC Media Action. It formed a baseline on youth knowledge, attitudes and practices in the context of public affairs. The broadcasts used entertaining stories based on experiences of young people who were informed about their civic rights and responsibilities. They were also taught how to break down the stereotype that refrained them from taking active roles in public life. Post-broadcast research found that younger voters felt more positive about democratic participation.

Mongolia: Youth Empowerment Through Civic Education

The project had developed recommendations for revising civic education curricula to better appeal to youth, trained young journalists. Greater national attention to youth issues was evident in the Ministry of Social Welfare's decision to develop a youth policy. The realisation for them to revise the education curriculum gave youths a chance to acquire civic knowledge from a tender age. This helped them to have a sense of belonging and developed an attitude to participate in national issues. The revised curricular empowered the youths to actively participate in national issues such as voting for their leadership in government.

Azerbaijan: Youth Participation in Decision Making and Policy Implementation

This project had assisted Azerbaijan to develop its first assessment tool to examine how adequately national policies responded to youth concerns, as well as a draft monitoring and evaluation plan for the State Programme on Azerbaijani Youth. With the country moving to finalize its next national development plan, Azerbaijan Vision 2020, the project organized a youth camp meeting where young people put forward their recommendations, with a summary submitted to the Government.

i. Arab Region: Strategy to citizen participation.

UNDP "Strategy of Response to Transformative Change Championed by Youths in the Arab Region acknowledged the importance of youth political participation. It proposed various measures aimed at job creation, social inclusion and youth volunteerism, however, there were no substantial activities targeting political participation. This omission reflected the need to pursue more knowledge and practice related to fostering youth political participation.

2.6 Summary of the chapter and knowledge gap

This chapter has reviewed literature on political campaign promises on infrastructure and extent to which they were fulfilled. It covered the history of campaign promises which revealed that originally there were no campaigns for people aspiring for presidency. Campaigning was taken as undignified. The first person to give a campaign

speech to support his candidacy was William Henry Harrison in 1940. This was due to the loss of an election he experienced in 1936. It also looked at campaign promises at Global, Africa and Zambian context. The roles of NGOs and electorates in politics were also reviewed. It must be noted that not all literature reviewed was on infrastructure. However, there is still knowledge gap in terms of the extent to which the campaign promises on infrastructural development were fulfilled in Kabwata Constituency.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

2.0 Overview

This chapter presents methodology and methods of the study. Analogically a methodology can be described as a domain or a map while a method can be seen as a set of steps to travel between two places on the map (Jonker *et al* 2010). In research a methodology is a model to conduct research within the context of a particular paradigm. It comprises underlying sets of beliefs found in the underlying paradigm. Research paradigms are fundamental beliefs or philosophies that guide choice of a particular methodology. Saunders *et al* (2009) report that there are two main paradigms and these are ontology and epistemology. Advocates of ontology believe that the existence of reality is external and independent of social actors and their interpretation of it. Ontology is usually referred to as objectivist or realistic. Ontology falls under quantitative type of research. On the other hand epistemology is referred to as subjective or nominalist theory and its advocates believe that reality is dependent on the social actors or participants and the participants contribute to a social phenomenon (Kaidonis, 2009).

Epistemology paradigm falls under qualitative research. Since this study relied more on qualitative data to describe extent to which politicians fulfilled their campaign promises on infrastructure in Kabwata constituency, the methodology used was the epistemology paradigm. As a result, the belief or philosophy of this study is that the politicians, electorates and NGOs should provide data on infrastructural development and the extent to which it was done. In this regard knowledge is believed to be with the participants. The specific paradigm under the epistemology used for this study was interpretivism which helps to understand how and why things happen. In other words, for purposes of this study meaning of how participants viewed the infrastructural development done in their area was paramount. In the eyes of the electorates, how did they interpret the infrastructural development done in relation to campaign promises made?

According to Skies (2004) methods are the ways or techniques such as interviews, direct observation by which data is collected that provides the evidence basis of knowledge being researched and obtained. In this study, interviews and non-participants observation methods were used to collect data from the Member of Parliament, ward counselors, electorates and representatives of Non-Governmental Organisations on infrastructural development in Kabwata constituency.

3.1 Research design

A research design is a plan of a proposed research work. Khotari (2004), explains that a research design is a pre-plan of the methods that are to be used for the data collection. It takes account of techniques to be adopted in the analysis, adhering to research objectives, time or monetary resources available. . In line with the view of Orodho (2003) a descriptive survey design is used when collecting information about people's attitudes, opinions, habits or any of the variety of education or social issues. For this study, a descriptive survey research design became appropriate because there was need to collect information by using interview guides and non-participatory observation guide to come up with an intuitive understanding of what was fulfilled in the constituency. This design also helped the researcher to describe the infrastructure done and its extent.

3.2 Population

Kombo and Tramp (2009:76) refer to population as “a group or individuals, objects or items from which samples are taken for measurements” The population for this study therefore, comprised of all politicians (that is, members of parliament and councillors), the Electorates and representative from selected Non-Governmental Organization. The inclusion criteria of this population being a politician, electorates, NGO involved in voter education and governance and domiciled in Kabwata Constituency of Lusaka district.

3.3 Sample and sample size

Kothari (2004) explains that, a sample size refers to the number of items to be selected from the population. The most important thing in sample size is to identify an appropriate and representative sample from which to collect data (quantitative type of research) or a small sample size that can provide adequate and relevant data (qualitative type of research). The study sample was sixty seven participants consisting of seven (07) politicians, six (06) NGOs and fifty four electorates. Kabwata constituency consist of five wards namely: chilenje, Libala, Kabwata, Kamwala and Kamulanga. The sample size had all the councillors form each ward, a retired councillor from Kamwala ward 5 who was willing to participate in the study and the area member of parliament. See table 1.

Table 1: Sample distribution of Councillors and MP

WARDS	SAMPLE SIZE
Chilenje	01
Libala	01
Kabwata	02
Kamulanga	01
Kamwala	02
Total	07

In addition there were six (06) representatives from NGOs. Considering that this is a qualitative study, a generally small size of the sample was chosen. The number seven and six were chosen on convenience and that these were the only participants who were willing to participate in the study and with characteristics desirable for the study. There were fifty four electorates. There were variations on the number of respondents due to the nature of the study. Most of the electorates did not want to participate as the study was sensitive. The table below shows the distribution of respondents.

Table 2: Sample distribution of electorates

WARD	SAMPLE SIZE
Chilenje	10
Libala	08
Kabwata	10
Kamulanga	14
Kamwala	12
TOTAL	54

3.4 Sampling procedures

The researcher used purposive and convenient sampling procedures. Mugenda and Mugenda (1999) defines purposive sampling techniques as one that allows a researcher to use cases that have the required information with respect to the objectives of his or her study. Purposive sampling procedure was used to select a Member of Parliament, councillors and Non-Government Organisation (NGOs). The researcher purposively

targeted a group of people who were the only ones and believed to have information on infrastructure done and its extent in Kabwata constituency. Convenience sampling was used on electorates who resided in the study site and were interested in participating in the research. Similarly, Patton (2001), reports that convenient sampling technique is used to select samples that are interested in the study and geographically easily accessible and have knowledge and experience relevant to a study being conducted.

3.5. Instruments for Data Collection

Research instruments included semi-structured interview guide, non-participant observation guide and document analysis check list. The semi-structured interview guide was used to collect data from the politicians who included the area Member of Parliament, ward councillors. In addition the instruments were also used to collect data from electorates and representatives from Non-Governmental Organisation. Observation guide helped the researcher to verify the campaign promises fulfilled and those whose work was in progress. Document analysis checklist helped to guide on the relevant document with findings to the study. The document analysed was titled Constituency Development Fund updates 2011 to December 2015.

3.6 Data Collection Procedure

An introductory letter was obtained from the Directorate of Research and Graduate Studies of the University of Zambia and then they were presented to secretaries of the targeted politicians and NGOs for permission to carry out the research. Before conducting the interview, the researcher explained to the respondents that the research was purely academic. The researcher wrote and also recorded the interviews.

Interviews were conducted with politicians, electorates and representatives from Non-Governmental Organisations. The instrument was chosen because it allows follow up questions. Observations were conducted on the sites to verify the status of the campaign promises. In addition document analysis was done and enabled the researcher to come up with evidence of what was promised and what was fulfilled in Kabwata constituency.

3.7 Data Analysis

Data analysis is a process of converting data collected into meaningful statements (Sarantos, 1995). In this study, thematic analysis was used to analyse qualitative data. Thus, emerging common themes were grouped and interpreted to help understand. 1. The extent politicians fulfilled the infrastructural development campaign promise in Kabwata constituency? 2. The role of NGOs in ensuring that electorates are aware about making politicians accountable to their campaign promise? 3. The role of electorates in making politicians accountable to the campaign promises in Kabwata constituency?

3.8 Ethical Consideration

Cohen (2007) defines ethical issues as, “a matter of principled sensitivity to the rights of others and that while truth is good, respect for human dignity is better.” Thus, the following ethical issues were put into consideration: permission was obtained from the University of Zambia and consent from politicians, the electorate and representatives from NGOs who participated in the study. The purpose of the study was communicated to the respondents, it was also explained to the participants that the study was purely academic, that it was voluntary of which they could withdraw if they were not comfortable and that their names were not disclosed as a measure to keep their identity anonymous. In addition, the measures undertaken to ensure compliance with ethical issues included using the data from the respondents strictly for academic purposes. Similarly, Wimmer & Dominick (1994) identify the principle of respect as the most important ethical issue of requiring compliance on the part of the researcher; the study respected the views of participants.

3.9 Summary

This chapter presented the methodology and methods used in the study. The study was guided by epistemology methodology. In terms of methods, a descriptive survey research design was used to describe the extent to which politicians fulfilled their campaign promises on infrastructure, role of NGOs in creating awareness in electorates about making politicians accountable to their campaign promises and the role of the electorates in making politicians accountable to their campaign promises. The sample

size was selected through purposive and convenient sampling procedures. Sixty seven respondents participated in the study comprising of seven (07) politicians, fifty four electorates and six (06) representatives from Non-Governmental Organisations. Instruments for data collection included semi-structured interview guide, non-participant observation guide and document analysis check list. Qualitative data was analysed thematically. The next chapter presents findings of the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

4.0 Overview

This chapter presents the findings of the study which sought to assess the extent which politicians fulfilled the campaign promise on infrastructure in Kabwata constituency. The findings are presented in line with the study questions which were:

- i. What extent have politicians fulfilled the infrastructural development campaign promises in Kabwata constituency of Lusaka district?
- ii. What is the role of Non-Governmental Organisations in ensuring that electorate are aware about making politicians accountable to their campaign promises in Kabwata constituency?
- iii. What is the role of electorates in making politicians accountable to their campaign promises in Kabwata constituency.

4.1 Findings on infrastructure campaign promises

In order to answer the question on the extent to which campaign promises on infrastructural development were fulfilled in Kabwata constituency, data was collected from the politicians who included the area member of parliament and counsellors who were in office between 2011 and 11 August 2016. In addition, data was collected from representatives from Non-Governmental Organisation (NGOs) as well as the electorates. The views of the politicians are presented first followed by those of Non-Governmental Organisation (NGOs) and the electorates.

Table 3: Campaign Promises on Infrastructure and extent of their fulfilment

OBSERVATION CHECK LIST

Campaign promises	Campaign promises fulfilled	Campaign promises not completed	Status of campaign promises not fulfilled
All roads	60%	40%	To be done in the next phase in 2016 – 2021
Four clinics Two hospitals	-One clinic -one Hospital built	-Three clinics -One hospital	-Two clinics under construction. -One clinic and hospital not done.
Six police posts	-Three police posts completed	-Three	-Two are still under construction while one facing court case over the land in question
Twelve boreholes	All the twelve boreholes were sunk	-	-eleven are in operation while one is not working
Renovation of six ablution blocks	All the six ablution blocks were done	None	All in operation

Construction of two modern markets and two shelters at Kabwata & Jack compound market.	Modern markets done and one shelter	one shelter	One shelter is under construction
Women training centre and a play park	Not constructed	Training centre and the play park	Still waiting for the availability of land
Three Schools	A primary school was constructed and another school was upgraded	One school	One school not built

As regards the extent to which the campaign promise on infrastructure were fulfilled in Kabwata constituency of Lusaka district. Findings show that Politicians promised to construct roads in all the townships. Upgrade two clinics to first level hospitals, construct four clinics, to build two schools a primary school and a secondary school, to sink twelve bore holes, to construct six police posts in honour of the different Members of Parliament in Kabwata constituency since 1991, to renovate four ablution blocks in schools and the community, construct modern markets and construction two shelters at Kabwata and Kamulanga markets (Status Report for Kabwata Constituency, 2015).

In order to assess the extent to which campaign promises were fulfilled the order used above will be followed. On roads: it was reported that sixty per cent of road networks was done. The major roads cited are Chilumbulu and Burma dual carriage, the ring road, Libala- Lilayi road while other roads were township roads and streets in Kamwala, Kabwata, Libala, chilenje, Chalala, Jack compound, Kamwala south which were too many to mention by name. The remaining forty per cent of the work was promised to be done in phase two. Phase two starts from 2017 to 2021.

The other infrastructure campaign promise was to construct four clinics and upgrading of two clinics into mini hospitals. Findings of the study reviewed that out of the four

clinics promised only one clinic at Kamulanga was built, while the Chilenje Rockview, and Kamwala south health posts were still under construction. It was reported that construction of the Libala South Hillview clinic would start soon. In addition out of two hospitals promised one was done in Chilenje. A councillor from Kamulanga expressed gratitude that they had a clinic.

He said:

For a long time our people have suffered to access health facilities as they have to go to chawama every time they are sick which is very far. Now imagine somebody falls sick in the night, what can you do when they come and ask for transport. Can you refuse? No you can't. I think you know what I went through before the clinic was built. It may be small but it's helping the community.

The Member of Parliament also promised to construct six police posts. Out of the six police posts, three were completed and commissioned. Of the remaining three, one has reached roof level. Delay in funding had slowed down the work. The other police post is at Kamulanga which is at foundation level. Construction was stopped due to land dispute which culminated into a court injunction. The third police post is at Kabwata site; a building was bought but awaits engineers to develop the design which would suit the police post.

A councillor from Kamwala ward had this to say:

Before the police posts were constructed we used to suffer a lot because of thieves. Kamwala south was not safe as rarely a day passed without recording crimes and theft. We had tried to form neighbourhood watch all was in vain. But when the police posts were built issues of theft and crime have reduced.

The politicians also promised to renovate ablution blocks in Schools, Clinics and markets. Findings established that seven toilets were renovated such as two at Kabwata (male and female) clinic, one at Kabwata community hall, another at Lusakasa primary school, then Lotus primary School, another renovation at Kabwata primary school and lastly at Kamwala south secondary school. However toilets at most markets were not renovated or constructed except one at Libala market and those constructed at the two modern markets at Chilenje and Munyaule.

The Member of Parliament had also promised to sink twelve (12) boreholes in the constituency especially in the areas where water reticulation was a challenge. As a

result, all the twelve boreholes were sunk. The allocation was as follows: Gondwe-Lilayi (02), Kamwala South (02), Chilenje (01), Mahopo (04), Kamulanga- Jack Compound (03). However, a women's training centre and a children's play park were not done.

A follow up question was asked to find out why other infrastructure campaign promises were not fulfilled. One of the politicians had this to say:

Yes, most promises made on infrastructure campaign promises were met. As regards to those not fulfilled, it was not possible for one constituency to fulfil all the campaign promises because government resources have to be shared among all the constituencies in the country. He added that it was the wish of any serious politician to fulfil all the campaign promises but resources cannot allow.

Another politician said:

Part of the infrastructure campaign promises were not fulfilled because of inadequate resources especially funds to do all the developmental projects. In some cases funds were diverted to other unplanned but urgent needs. For example, the Constituency Development Fund (CDF) was usually received late or diverted to other emergent community projects such as unblocking of drainage systems.

How politicians managed to fulfil their campaign promises

Findings showed that politicians managed to fulfil many of the campaign promises on infrastructure because the campaign promises were in line with the party manifesto and the national budget. In addition, it was reported that the politicians in the constituency worked well with corporate partners for instance; some of the boreholes sunk in the constituency were done by the corporate partners and NGOs.

Responses from politicians further showed that party leadership in the constituency was very keen to work with their community members. As a result they always consulted the community on developmental projects that were needed. As a result, one of the politicians said, *we have one common goal and that is to work for the people of Kabwata constituency and make it a leading and better constituency to live in*".

Challenges faced by politicians in implementing infrastructure campaign promise by politicians.

When asked about challenges politicians faced in implementing infrastructure campaign promises various responses were given. One of the responses given was that the politicians did not have control over the resources because resources were controlled and provided by government. To this effect, one of the politicians stated that,

The government makes a budget for the whole country based on the party manifesto and other policy frameworks. Madam, as politicians we merely lobby for funds to be released from the central government. As a result, whether funds come or not is dependent on the government

Other responses revealed were that some infrastructure campaign promises were not fulfilled due to the fact that some promises were not aligned with party manifesto and national budget. To this effect one of the counsellors said,

We failed to construct the women's training centres and children's play parks. This was because the project was not aligned with what was in the budget. What we did was to look at the priorities. We are doing things bit by bit when resources are available. However we still promise that we will look into the matter in the next budgetary allocation.

In addition, another counsellor said that,

Some campaign promises were not fulfilled because we did not coordinate ourselves well in terms of planning, budgeting, implementing, evaluation and monitoring of community projects with government. We need to coordinate ourselves better next time.

Measures politicians made to ensure all campaign promises were fulfilled

A further question was asked to the politicians on measures they would put in place to ensure all campaign promises were fulfilled. In response, Five (05) of the seven (07) politicians agreed that the government should make sure that resources are released in time to help politicians fulfil all their campaign promises while two (02) of the

politicians urged fellow politicians to be pro-active in sourcing funds from corporate partners and NGOs to supplement government resources.

NGOs were also asked about the extent to which politicians fulfilled campaign promises on infrastructure in Kabwata constituency. All the six (06) representatives from Non-Governmental Organisation said they had seen a lot of infrastructure development in Kabwata constituency but did not know the extent to which the campaign promises were fulfilled. In terms of infrastructure done, they cited construction of roads and streets, health posts, police posts, schools and markets. One of the six representatives had this to say:

I have seen most of the roads especially in Libala been tarred and also street lights are all over. I don't know about other things they have done apart from what I can see. Concerning the extent these campaign promises where done I wouldn't know because am not a politician.

Electorates were also asked to assess what extend the infrastructure campaign promises were fulfilled. All the fifty four (54) electorates who participated in the study agreed that there was a lot of infrastructure development in Kabwata constituency but expressed ignorance as to what extent these infrastructure have been done. They attributed their ignorance to the fact that they did not know the exact numbers promised on the infrastructure development and what had been done in the constituency apart from what they were able to see such as roads, streets, clinics, and hospital, schools and police posts.

What politicians promised on infrastructure in 2011

The promises made were to construct roads, to have a clinic in each ward and to upgrade two clinics, to construct the police posts representing the five members of parliament since 1991, to legalise and give title to houses behind Zinc pub, to put up sewer pipes in Kamwala south which would connect sewerage in Kabwata, to build a primary and secondary school in the constituency, to construct two modern markets at

Chilenje and Munyaule market, to provide land settlement for women and youth empowerment in kamwala south. To provide safe drinking water by sinking boreholes

Electorates in chilenje said they have seen a hospital at Chilenje clinic, many roads including Mulamba road being tarred to bituminous standand, chilenje market being constructed into a modern market and many other roads being worked on. However, traders at Munyaule market expressed disappointment over how things were done at their market after it was constructed into a modern market. They explained that for those who had shops were given a square meter place to operate their business while a bigger land was sold to an individual who constructed a shopping more. Traders did not see the benefit of having a modern market. Another trade lamented that they felt that they were cheated. However in terms of rating, they said more has been done on infrastructure than what is not done.

The electorates in Chalala township said more roads were constructed than those not done. One of the electorates said that, *“Chalala township was impassable during the rainy season but now the story is different because almost everywhere there is a tarred road or street.”*

The electorates in Kamwala township expressed happiness because of the many roads networks which has been done and those in Madras indicated that they have seen many roads and Bombei drainage been worked. In addition, they have seen street lights on the new roads. Also, Chilumbulu and Burma roads were made into four lanes while a ring road from town to the economic zone was done. However, two of the electorates complained that the road network developments were not equally done. The road developments were influenced by those who owned businesses leaving those roads were most busy roads. Fortunately, their concerns were received with positive views as the politicians assured the researcher that the roads which were not done would be done in the second phase starting 2017 -2021.

In Jack compound, some of the electorates who participated in the study indicated that main roads were tarred, a clinic, police post and a shed at the market were contracted. In addition the people of Jack compound or Kamulanga ward appreciated the three boreholes sunk. However, seven of the sampled electorates attested that they have seen massive infrastructure development in the constituency but not balanced in the wards.

They lamented that most of the work was concentrated in Kabwata, Libala, Kamwala and Chilenje. Other places like Jack compound were neglected for instance, only one road was constructed. In addition, they felt it was difficult to describe the extent to which campaign promises on infrastructure development was fulfilled because the development was not equally done in the constituency and the same MP has been in office for the past fifteen years. To this effect, one of the electorates in Jack compound had this to say,

It is difficult for me to say PF has done much for the past five years. Some of the infrastructure development seen was from the previous MMD government. If anything, in terms of extent of what they have done, I would say they have done less than what they promised for the past five years. She added to say the road infrastructure you can see were done everywhere even where the area members of parliament never promised. My rating is that what they have done was just a quarter of what was they promised.

Referring to the observation guide, the researcher discovered that most of the campaign promises were fulfilled. However, the researcher noticed that the shelters earlier mentioned to have been constructed in Jack compound were not completed. Poles were just put up without putting the roof. In addition, the researcher noticed that one of the boreholes sunk in Kamulanga was not in operation as water was not coming out.

In Lilayi, electorates explained that they appreciated the new road which comes from Kamwala South to Lilayi and another one coming from Libala South via Lilayi to Makeni. In addition, two boreholes were sunk. The electorates in Kamwala, Chilenje, Libala and Kabwata attested to the existence of the ring road, the dual carriage roads and several infrastructure developments in their areas.

The electorates who participated in the study in Kamwala South also explained that roads were constructed though not all. They affirmed the existence of the ring road which has made their movement easy from town to Kamwala South. They also cited infrastructure done at Kamwala South secondary school which included a three by one classroom block, teachers' house and a renovated ablution block. The other infrastructure was a clinic which was at slab level. However, the electorates were concerned about the campaign promise to legalise the plots behind Zinc pub which have no title. Surprisingly, the Member of Parliament did not spear head the process of legalising the plots as promised instead he had kept quiet on the matter.

Two of the electorates stated that, other campaign promises had not been fulfilled in Kamwala South such as, connect the sewer pipes to the Kabwata main sock away, construct a women training centre and a play park. The other promise not fulfilled was to look for land for youths and women. Land was found at Mpande forest reserve in Chilanga district, however it was disappointing because most of the people from Kabwata constituency did not benefit, as land was found in Chilanga constituency.

In Kabwata Township, electorates attested to say: most of the road infrastructure were worked on and most importantly the Chilumbulu and Burma dual carriage roads were constructed. These two roads helped to decongest traffic jams which used to be there especially to and from town. Another visible fulfilled campaign promise was the renovation of the ablution blocks at Kabwata primary school and Kabwata community hall. In addition, two toilets were constructed at Kabwata clinic. When the researcher visited the sites, it was discovered that toilets at the clinic were just renovated and not constructed and also Kabwata market was renovated and not constructed. However, three markeres at Kabwata lamented that the toilets at the market were pathetic and wondered why the Member of Parliament was quiet about it.

In Libala township, electorates who participated in the study explained that they had seen more roads and streets worked on and completed than those not done. In addition, an ablution block was renovated at Libala market and Lusakasa primary school. As for a police post, the electorates affirmed that it was under construction.

In Mahopo compound, electorates affirmed that a school was constructed and four boreholes were sunk. The compound was also gazetted and title deeds were given to residents. One of the residents of Mahopo had this to say,

madam, bantu benze kufuna kutichosako nakupasa malo athu ku alendo bamene babwela pamene apa. Ba Lubinda banatithandiza maningi mpaka banatipasa malo ndi ma title deeds. Tili okondwela maningi.” Literary translated as “though people wanted to displace us by selling our land to some investor, the area Member of Parliament Honourable Lubinda worked tirelessly to see us stay here and now we are very happy that we were even given plots to build and title deeds.”

They attributed the developments in their area to the campaign promises made by the Patriot Front Party and the area Member of Parliament. However, electorates complained that roads were not done as they did in other areas of the constituency.

4.2 The role of the Non-Governmental Organisations is to educate and sensitize the electorates.

This section sought to identify the role of NGOs in ensuring that electorates are aware about making politicians accountable to their political campaigns promises. NGOs, politicians and electorates were interviewed.

When representatives from NGOs were asked how they ensured electorates are aware about making politicians accountable of their political campaigns promises: two of the six (06) representatives from NGOs indicated that they educated them on the rights of their vote. They added to say they provide voter education and how they can use their vote to remove any politician who has failed to fulfil the campaign promises. To this effect one of the representatives of NGOs said,

Our duty as NGOs is to educate the electorates on their rights to vote. If a politician fails to honour his or her campaign promise, we tell the voters that they have the right not to vote for such a politician.

Another representative of a Non-Governmental Organisation said that,

We ensured that electorates hold politicians accountable by sensitizing them to register as voters and vote for the candidate they believe would fulfil his or her campaign promises. In addition we also educate them not exchange their votes with gifts from politicians. However, as NGOs we cannot tell the electorate who to vote for but through sensitization programs, the electorates are enlightened and can decide for themselves who to vote for. They are told that, they are the only ones who can decide whom they want to put in office.

Yet one of the six NGOs who participated in the study indicated that they had a programme where the electorate were taught to demand for accountability. Electorates

were given knowledge through different media both electronic and print media. Through this programme electorates were empowered with knowledge which they could use to make politicians accountable. One of the representatives of an NGO said,

We have a programme in which we teach the electorates how to hold politicians accountable of their campaign promises. One of the strategies we teach them is to invite their member of parliament to explain developmental projects that can be funded by government. When they finish explaining, a question and answer segment is introduced to allow the electorate seek clarifications, question the MP on campaign promises made and not fulfilled.

In addition two (02) of the representatives of NGOs indicated that they organised a forum where electorates had an opportunity to interact with the politicians. At such a forum political parties were brought in, so that they explain their manifestos and what they intend to do in the constituency. The forum allowed electorates to question the politicians on issues concerning their community and campaign promises not fulfilled. *"we create a platform where politicians and electorates interact. In these forums citizens are able to question politicians on national issues. It is also at such forums that politicians explain what they intend to do for their people*

Role of NGOs in strengthening democracy in political campaigns.

In order to establish the role Non-Governmental Organisation play in strengthening democracy in political campaigns, six Non-Governmental Organisations were interviewed. Two (02) of the six (06) Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) reported that they strengthen democracy by monitoring the politician's campaign promises. Later politicians are asked to explain to the electorates why they failed to fulfil their campaign promises. They do that by engaging them into public discussions on radio or television and allow the electorates to also ask them questions.

Another representative of a Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) explained that they strengthen democracy by advocating for stronger laws such as the new constitution and revision of the public order act.

We engage both the government and those outside government in issues concerning the constitution because a good constitution is key to national development and is also cardinal in good governance. Through a good constitution people's rights are protected, they have the freedom to participate and have access to information so that they make informed decisions.

Three of the Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) that participated in the study indicated that they empowered electorates especially women with knowledge so that they could able to seek clarification from politicians who failed to fulfil their campaign promises. They also conducted civic education to the electorates in order to equip them with knowledge to en able them make informed decision. In doing so the electorates were able to examine the electoral activities and determine if they were in line with what they had been promised during campaigns.

Challenges faced by NGOs in strengthening democracy in campaign promises.

When asked what challenges they faced in strengthening democracy in relation to un fulfilled campaign promises, three (03) of the six (06) representatives of Non-Governmental Organisations indicated that most of the electorates were illiterate. Illiteracy posed a challenge because some electorates did not know how to read and write. In addition, poverty among most electorates compromised their morals. For instance, when a politician who failed to honour his or her campaign promises came with food and money, they forgot the unfulfilled promises and voted for the same candidate. Due to poverty the electorates cannot positively judge a politician who gives them food in exchange for a vote. Poverty makes them vulnerable as a result they just think on the present as long as they are given food or given hand-outs. They forget about the future and vote for any politician who appears to be the provider of their needs.

Another Non-Governmental Organisation lamented and said, most citizens did not know that they have the right to question the politician who failed to fulfil his or her campaign promises. Ignorance of the electorates on civic matters infringes them on their rights to fully participate in the electoral process. As a result, they did not know whether they could question leaders or not. There was also wrong socialization because

many times electorates believed that politicians being leaders should not be questioned. As a result, the unfulfilled campaign promises were not accounted. He further had this to say,

Electorates fear to ask a politician as they take it to say what he/ she says is right. Even politicians rejoice in a community which does not ask questions. It is very rare in Zambia to rise against a leader who does not perform. Electorates are to blame because they do not question politicians especially on issues concerning the failure to fulfil campaign promises. Sometimes when they question a politician they are taken to be from the opposing political party. This in my view defeats the purpose of democracy in a country.

However two of the representatives of NGOs indicated that the big man syndrome was another challenge as no one can ask the president to explain why they have failed to fulfil the campaign promises. Many people believe that the president is chosen by God and so people cannot ask or request for any explanation for instance, people refer to the president as the father of the nation and who would have the guts to question the father.

Measures NGOs would put in place to ensure politicians fulfil their campaign promises

Three (03) of the six (06) NGOs indicated that the constitution should include a mechanism which the electorates could use against a candidate who fails to fulfil the campaign promise. This may instil a sense of accountability in politicians and make them work hard to fulfil their campaign promises knowing that one day they would account for them. In addition, blacklisting politicians who make empty promises to the electorates would make them accountable to their utterances.

Another representative of the other NGOs said,

We should lobby for separation of power in the operation of ministers, for instance, members of parliament save as ministers and others not. This situation is unfortunate because it creates a “bra life” of accountability. This becomes a challenge because a legislature who should provide checks and balance is also a minister and so who would supervise who? Some ministers are in-charge of government ministries therefore as a legislature and minister at the same time no one will provide accountability.

Another representative of an NGO had a different view and said: *government should instil a culture of hard work. Most Zambians are lazy because they know government is there to provide for them.*

Another representative of an NGO explained that political parties should decrease from imposing a candidate from a different constituency to the electorate because such a candidate usually did not understand the needs of the community. They did not understand the needs because they did not live in that area. For instance, *“we have seen politicians abandon their constituencies after they were voted into power and only to go back when their term of office is over and they were looking for fresh mandate from the voters”*.

Another question was asked to the NGOs to make suggestions on what government should do to strengthening democracy in campaign promises. In response, three of the six representatives of NGOs indicated that the Electoral Commission of Zambia should be given more powers to sanction or punish politicians who fail to honour campaign promises. They added that politicians who failed to honour campaign promises should not be given another chance to stand for any position in government.

All the six representatives of NGOs suggested that government should establish a legal framework where politicians would sign against each promise. This legal framework or contract will make politicians stick to their promises. The legal framework will ensure that all politicians who fail to fulfil campaign promises are not allowed to stand or contest in any political election. They also said, citizens should be encouraged to demand for accountability from their leaders. Candidates vying for positions should be knowledgeable of what is in the budget and stick to what is tabulated.

On the same, electorates were asked what role NGOs play to ensure they are aware about making politicians accountable: Several responses were expressed by the electorates. For instance Twenty one (21) of the electorates stated that Non-Governmental Organisations play a major role in educating the electorates. They teach people on their rights and specifically the right to vote. They added to say, education has helped them because others who thought abstaining from voting would solve their problems have their mind set has changed because they have been empowered with knowledge. Two of the electorates lamented:

We have seen NGOs at markets and in compounds trying to educate us on the things we don't know. For example issues of voting were a problem. Had it not been for these people we would have stopped voting. They have helped us to understand the importance of voting. Right now we vote because we know that we have the power to put someone into office or to remove. We have also learnt that refusing to vote will just give a chance to the one we don't want to win the elections.

Eighteen (18) of the electorates explained that, Non-Governmental Organisations had given them knowledge which they can use against the politicians. The continued to say the knowledge they have acquired from NGOs has made them to identify which politician is telling the true against or not.

Other electorates said Non-Governmental Organisations had given them a voice to speak with politicians. They added to say when these Non-Governmental Organisations have programmes on Television and radio we have a chance to ask politicians and we are given answers just their and then. Politicians are very busy but when they are brought on radio or Television we are able to interact.

In addition, politicians were also asked what role NGOs play to ensure electorates are aware about making politicians accountable to their campaign promises: various responses were given, for instance, two politicians responded by saying: Non-Governmental Organisations help create awareness in electorates by sensitizing the electorates, monitoring the politician's campaign promises. one representative had this to say:

FODEP create awareness in electorates by inviting politicians to Forums where we are asked to explain our manifesto and what we Intend to do for the people in our constituency. At times us political politicians and electorates are called for the same meetings were we interact with the electorates. These forums provide quick answers because questions are answered just their and then.

In addition two of the seven politicians stated that Non-Governmental Organisations help create awareness in electorates by educating the electorates to demand for stronger laws such as the constitution and revising the public order act that will move with time.

They also teach the electorates to scrutinize the electoral process if they are in line with what they promised during campaigns or not.

Two other politicians alluded that Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) creates awareness in electorates by sensitizing the electorates on the importance of their votes. They encourage the electorate to register as voters and vote for the right candidate. But they do not tell the electorate who to vote for but through sensitization programs the electorates are enlightened and decide for themselves who to vote for. They also teach the electorates to scrutinize the electoral process if they are in line with what they promised during campaigns

One politician stated that Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) create awareness in electorates by teaching the electorates on civic matters. They have programmes where citizens are encouraged to engage in talks with their leaders in the community so that accountability is enhanced from the local level. They induce citizens to demand for accountability at all levels.

4.3 The role of the electorates in making politicians accountable to their campaign promises is by making them sign a social contract.

The study sought to establish the role of electorates in making politicians accountable to their campaign promises. To this effect, electorates from Kabwata, Kamwala, Kamwala south, Libala, Chilenje, Chalala, Mahopo, Lilayi and Jack compound were interviewed. Politicians and NGOs were also interviewed.

Findings showed that the role of electorates is to remind politicians of their campaign promises. They added to say at times politicians forget and if no one reminds them, they take it for granted and take it to be normal. Electorates should remind politicians about their campaign promises. When politicians are reminded of their campaign promises, it will send a message to them and will be conscious every time they make promises. They will stop making fake promises.

Some ladies lamented that:

Ife ndife menso yabo and so ngati ba MP baibala olo sibafakako nzelu. Tifunika kubakumbusa. Ma politician bamaiwala mukabavotela so nicofunikila kubafunsa chifukwa ndife tinabavotela. Thants why ma MP na ba kansela bafunika kuti bazibwela kuno kumakomboni kuti tizibaukumbusako ngati baibala. Sibafunika kunkhala chabe ku palament. These sentiments were said in vernacular mixed with some English translated (Us are MPs eyes, when politicians forget we need to remind them. It's us who voted for them, that's why MPs and counsellors need to come to our compounds so that we remind them).

Findings reviewed that forty (40) (74%) of the fifty four electorates indicated that they did not know how to make politicians account for their campaign promises. They said they could not do anything because they have no power to ask them. The added that politicians know what they are doing. To this effect, one of the electorates lamented that:

ife monga anthu chabe, kulibe vamene tingachite chifukwa ababanthu baziba vamene bachita. Ife sitingabafunse kuti nichani simunachite vamene munatilaya. Bushe bangatinvele ife? Aaa baziba vamene bachita.” Translated as, *(us as commoners, we cannot do anything because these people know what they are doing. We cannot ask them why they have failed to fulfil the campaign promises. Aaa, they know what they are doing.*

The other 24% of the electorates indicated that they requested for the Member of Parliament (MP) explain to the community why some projects did not take off. In some instances, the MP came while most times he was busy with other national duties as a cabinet minister. In addition one of the electorates lamented and said;

These politicians are all the same because when campaigning they come close to us so that we vote for them but once in office, even when they know that what they promised cannot be done, they don't come to explain, they take advantage of us because they know that we can't do anything.

How the electorates are affected when politicians fail to fulfil the campaign promises

When asked how the electorates were affected when politicians failed to fulfil their campaign promises, all the 54 respondents indicated that they lost trust in such politicians, stopped participating in voting, became discouraged, felt cheated, took them to be liars, became aggrieved, lost confidence in the politicians, their hopes got shattered and became disappointed. In addition, they indicated that they became uncertain and unconcerned about issues concerning politics. To this effect, one of the electorates lamented that he felt cheated. This is the reason why he and his friends ended up taking over the markets and bus stations to earn a living. These sentiments were said in vernacular mixed with some English (*Lusaka Nyanja*) that: “*Ife madam, monga banatinama chabe. nachichetekelo kuti vinthu vizankhalako bwino chinasila thats why tizipeza chabe pa bus stop na mumaketi so that naife tipezeko kang’ono kodyeselako bana kunyumba.*”

Measures to make politicians accountable of their promises

When asked what measures they would put in place to make politicians honour campaign promises, 23 of the 54 electorates indicated that they would make the politicians sign against each promise for future reference. In subsequent elections, politicians who did not fulfil their campaign promises would be asked why they had not fulfilled them. In addition, the electorate must take campaign promises and pronouncements seriously and make the politicians accountable when they do not fulfil their campaign promises. Nineteen (19) of the electorates indicated that such politicians should not be given another chance to contest in the elections. However, twelve of the electorates indicated that they did not know what measures they would put in place as they did not have authority to do so.

As regards to trust and age of the electorates, findings showed that the level of political trust varied with age, for instance, the older voters (40-65 years) were generally associated with more positive perceptions of campaign promises while those from 18-40 years held negative perceptions of campaign promises.

Findings also showed variations in the perceptions of respondents with different education levels. Findings from 36 of the 54 respondents who attested that the campaign promises were fulfilled show that they were from the elite or educated category of respondents. Meanwhile, 18 of 54 electorates who indicated that there was not much

development on infrastructure done either did not have education or had done grades one to nine..

When a question was asked to politicians on how electorates would make them accountable to their campaign promises; several responses were expressed. One politician said; electorate have the right to put politicians to task by asking them to explain why they had not fulfilled their campaign promises. Another politicians said, *“politicians should be responsible and explain to the electorates why they have failed.”* The other politicians interviewed indicated that electorates should ask politicians to document and sign what they intend to do after they are voted into power. Politicians should not be allowed to make verbal promises. To this effect, one of them said, *“whenever a politician makes a promise, the electorates should demand for document which will act as proof in case he/she defaults.”*

In addition, NGOs were also asked how the electorates would make politicians accountable to their campaign promises. During the interviews, two of the representatives from NGOs stated that electorates can make politicians accountable by asking them to give reasons why they failed to fulfil the campaign promises and one out of them said: *“electorates have the right to tell the politicians that if they don’t explain why they have failed they will not vote for them”*

Other four of the six NGOs stated that electorates should demand for a social contract which will be signed by both parties that is the politician making a promise and the electorates. A social contract will act as a checklist for the promises fulfilled. However, it came to light that this could only be done if the electorate were enlightened or given voter education. In terms of how the electorates could make politicians accountable, the study also revealed that, electorates can make them accountable by engaging them in developmental projects at planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation stages. This will avoid issues of suspicion from the electorates as they will be working together.

4.4 Summary and new knowledge contributed

This chapter has presented the findings of the study in line with the research questions.

The study questions were:

- i. What extent have the campaign promises on infrastructure been fulfilled in Kabwata constituency of Lusaka district?
- ii. What is the role of Non-Governmental Organisations in ensuring that electorates are aware about making politicians accountable to their political campaign promises in Kabwata constituency?
- iii. What is the role of electorates in making politicians accountable to their campaign promises in Kabwata constituency?

In line with these study questions, the study found out that most of the infrastructure campaign promises were fulfilled. Findings showed that politicians managed to fulfil most of the campaign promises because their campaign promises were in line with the national budget and party manifesto. In addition, politicians sourced for support from corporate partners for instance, some of the boreholes sunk in the constituency were done by corporate partners. However some of the campaign promises were not fulfilled due to various reasons such as inadequate funding or delayed funding, politicians were promising things not in the party manifesto, changing their minds when elected into office and sheer neglect of what was promised during campaigns.

Non-Governmental Organisations also played a major role in ensuring that electorates hold politicians accountable. This was done by sensitizing the electorates on their rights to vote for their preferred candidates. They also empowered electorates with knowledge for them to demand for accountability from the politicians. Furthermore, the findings show that the electorates can make politicians accountable by making them sign against their campaign promises, remind them of their unfulfilled campaign promises and ask them to explain why they failed to fulfil them.

In terms of new knowledge contributed by this study, before this study extent to which the campaign promises on infrastructure was fulfilled in Kabwata constituency of Lusaka district. After the study findings show that most campaign promises were fulfilled. Before this study, the roles of Non-Governmental Organisations in creating awareness in electorates about making politicians accountable of their political campaign promises were not known but now it is known that NGOs create awareness in electorates, educate electorates about their rights in voting and punishing politicians who did not fulfil their promises. Among others, NGOs also played the role of advocacy. There was a knowledge gap on the role of electorates in making politicians

accountable to their campaign promises which this study has filled. Electorates play a role of participating in the electoral process by voting. Voting may be used to reward politicians who fulfil their campaign promises or punish those who did not.

From the findings, it is clear to state that all the objectives were achieved.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

5.0 Overview

The chapter discusses the findings of the study which sought to assess extent to which the political campaign promises on infrastructure were fulfilled in Kabwata constituency of Lusaka district. The discussion was guided by the specific study objectives which were:

- i. To explore the extent to which politicians fulfilled the campaign promises on infrastructure in Kabwata constituency of Lusaka district.
- ii. To identify the role of Non-Governmental Organisations in ensuring that electorates are aware about making politicians accountable to their political campaign promises in Kabwata constituency?

- iii. To establish the role of the electorates in making politicians accountable to their campaign promises in Kabwata constituency?

5.1 Most of the campaign promises on infrastructure were fulfilled

The first objective of the study sought to assess the extent to which politicians fulfilled their campaign promises on infrastructure in Kabwata constituency of Lusaka district. The discussion covers views of politicians, Non-Governmental Organisation (NGOs) and electorates.

From the study, it was established that politicians in Kabwata constituency fulfilled most of their campaign promises on infrastructure. In order to create a baseline for determining the extent to which campaign promises were fulfilled, what was promised was first established. Politicians promised to build three schools, four clinics, upgrade two clinics to mini hospitals, five Police posts, construct roads in all townships in the constituency and renovate ablution blocks in four schools and Kabwata community hall, build toilets and sink boreholes in places where water reticulation was a problem. In addition, they promised to construct a training centre for women and a play park for children.

As regards the extent to which the campaign promises on school infrastructure development were fulfilled in Kabwata constituency of Lusaka district, one out of the three promised schools was constructed in Mahopo settlement or compound. Instead of constructing a secondary school they upgraded Kamwala South primary School to a secondary school and expanded it by building a three by one classroom block. However, it was established that the community were not for the idea of upgrading a primary school to a secondary school since most of the pupils were displaced. Though the primary section was still in operation, findings show that the electorates (parents) were not happy because they have ended up taking their children especially the little ones to Chimwemwe primary or Kamulanga primary schools which were very far.

The other infrastructure campaign promise was to bring health care services closer to the people and so they promised to upgrade two (02) clinics to mini hospitals and construct four (04) clinics. Findings show that one (01) clinic (Chilenje clinic) was expanded and upgraded to a mini hospital and only one (01) clinic in Kamulanga was

constructed. Implying that, three (03) other clinics and one hospital were not completed. At the time of the study, politicians informed the researcher that the three clinics were at different levels. For instance, Kamwala South clinic was at foundation level, Rockview clinic was at window level. Works on Libala south clinic had not started because land was not yet available. This was proved by the researcher's observation checklist after going on site to check the developmental projects which were stated by the politicians.

Another promise was to construct six police posts in honour of the five members of Parliaments in the constituency who have been MPs since Multipartism was introduced in 1991. Findings show that, three police posts namely Mary Mwangi, Godfrey Miyanda and Sibongo police posts were completed and commissioned. While the other three were not yet completed, for instance, Micheal Chilufya Sata Police Post in Libala was at roof level. Construction of a police post in Kamulanga was stopped pending ruling on the court injunction case concerning the plot where the police post was to be built while for the third police post, an incomplete structure was bought in Kabwata site and service but needed engineers to modify the plan so that it comes to the required standard of a police post.

In order to improve sanitation, the area Member of Parliament promised to construct and renovate five ablution blocks for some schools, clinic and the Markets. Some ablution blocks were renovated at Kabwata clinic, Lusakasa primary school, Lotus primary school, Kabwata primary school, Kamwala south secondary school and Kabwata community Hall. However after going on site of the suggested renovations, the researcher observed that the toilets at the clinic which the politicians said were constructed were really not the usual construction but renovation of the old toilets. For the markets, very few renovations were done but for those cited were the toilets constructed at the new modern markets (Chilenje and Munyaule) and also the renovations at Libala market.

On water reticulation, the politicians promised to sink twelve boreholes in the constituency in areas where water reticulation was a challenge. In terms of fulfilment of this promise, all the twelve boreholes were sunk. These were as follows: two in Lilayi, three in Jack compound, four in Mahopo compound, one at Chilenje and two in Kamwala South. However, the researcher discovered that one of the boreholes in Kamulanga ward was not operational at the time of the study. The area Member of

Parliament with his councillors attributed fulfilment of promise on water reticulation to being in line with the Patriotic Front Manifesto, involvement and financial support from well-wishers and corporate partners. Involving electorates in community activities also proved fruitful in Dominican Republic where individuals participated in community projects (Haggard & Kaufman (1992). In line with the theoretical framework of political advertising, Lyengar and Prior (1999) argue that the exposure to political advertising campaigns encourages people to assimilate or equate their feelings to their related attitude targets. This was true with the politicians, NGOs and electorates in Kabwata constituency who worked together in one way or the other because they had a common goal to improve their constituency.

Fulfilment of the campaign promises in Kabwata constituency could also have been out of experience of the politicians especially the area member of parliament to align his campaign promises to the PF manifesto since he had been in office for fifteen years. The long serving area Member of parliament, Honourable Given Lubinda could have known that there is no way that he could bring in promises which were outside the budget. He could have also known that the Ministry of Finance, National Development and Planning has a roadmap or process it follows to formulate the National Development Plan (MFNDP 2011-15). In this regard, for any development to occur there must be a plan or a budget. Planning makes it easy to programme priorities. Fulfilling campaign promises in a country or constituency like Zambia and Kabwata is not a strange phenomenon. Similarly, Naurin (2014) cited the Swedish government which fulfilled 80 per cent of its campaign promises made between 1994 and 2010 in their election campaigns.

Concerning road infrastructure, politicians reported that sixty per cent of road networks were done in Kabwata constituency. This achievement on fulfilment of construction of roads and streets in the constituency could again been attributed to the fact that these were in the PF manifesto and the government had a will to support such infrastructure development. For example, in order for the PF government to achieve the promise of roads construction, they introduced the link Zambia 8000 which aimed at constructing roads countrywide and link Lusaka 4000 aimed at constructing roads and streets in Lusaka province. In addition to fulfilment of campaign promises on roads, the street lighting project work in Libala, Kabwata and Kamwala was in progress at the time of

the study. Simutanyi (1996) also alluded that campaigns promises can be fulfilled by direct government intervention and spending. It can be argued that 40% of the road infrastructure campaign promise should not be ignored as it is was a promise made to the electorates.

The Member of Parliament also promised to construct modern markets to people of Chilenje and Munyaule. In addition, they promised to build shelters at Kabwata and Kamulanga market. It was found that the two promised modern markets were constructed in Chilenje, one at Chilenje market and the other at Munyaule market. Concerning construction of shelters, work had started in Kamulanga while in Kabwata instead of constructing a new shelter; renovations were done to the old shelter. The shift from construction of a new shelter to renovation of the old shelter, could be likened to what happened with what was reported by (Coleman, 1997) about George H.W. Bush who had promised to reduce tax but when he became president he realised that reducing tax was going to create a deficit in the national budget, as a result he changed his mind on what was promised and never reduced tax. In this regard, renovating an old shelter could have been cost effective than building a new one. Furthermore, a training centre for women and a play park for children were promised. However this was not done due to non-availability of suitable land.

In assessing the extent to which campaign promises on infrastructure were fulfilled in Kabwata constituency, this study concludes that most of the promises were done. This could be attributed to the fact that the PF government in its manifesto considered infrastructure development as key to realizing sustainable economic development. In addition, the campaign promises were also in line with the Ministry of National Development and Planning's five year plan for 2030 vision where the National Development plan is drawn.

Factors that hindered fulfilment of some campaign promises

In the preceding section, it was concluded that most of the campaign promises were fulfilled implying that some were not fulfilled. Understanding why some of the campaign promises were not fulfilled was necessary to this study.

Findings indicate that three of the seven politicians said that "some campaigns promises were made just to win votes." This could be true of campaign promises not in the

manifesto. Similarly, Rose (1984) found that 54% of the electorates in the United Kingdom agreed with the view that politicians make promises to win votes while 46% disagreed with the view and indicated that politicians make promises to work for people and not just to win votes. Politicians should mean what they promise the electorates. A similar view was reported by Krause (1994) who argued that politicians should not make promises just to win votes. Krause (1994) surveyed 33 countries and 31 of these countries disagreed that politicians make promises just to win votes. Aduradola *et al*, (2013) agrees says the ability of the politician to do certain governmental acts is not his personal right but a power conferred on him by virtue of him being elected to office. This implies that the same power can prohibit fulfilment of some promises made if they are not in line with government policy. Aduradola *et al*, (2013) further argue that politicians who make promises in a speech and not in a written document, if they fail to fulfil their promises such promises were not taken as enforceable contract. Similarly, Standler (2001) points out that the verbal promises were not enforceable contracts. This implies that a politician who made a verbal promise and failed to fulfil it cannot be taken to court. The court may refuse to enforce the law because the promise was not a contract. This is likened to the popular campaign promise of “more money in your pocket.” This promise was verbal and outside the manifesto as a result, politicians could not be held accountable.

The results also show that the degree to which a given party controls policy making affects the campaign fulfilment. Agreeably, the PF government had more members in parliament compared to the opposition parties and it was expected that they had control of government policies. Advice here could be for politicians to remain true to the promises made. Consistent with this view is that of Naurin (2011) who argues that to a considerable extent, political parties should act according to the election pledge.

Poor coordination between the Ministry of Finance and the politicians was also cited as a factor that hindered fulfillment of some campaign promises. In addition, reality of the economic situation contributed to change of mind by politicians resulting in some promises not fulfilled. This could have been the cases of a hospital, schools and some roads not done. Similarly, Noonan (1988) reported that former President of America George H.W. Bush promised to reduce tax but after he was elected, he realised that it could not work well and instead he raised the tax to avoid creating a budget deficit.

The study also revealed that members of parliament had no control over resources as a result they fail to fulfil some of the campaign promises. Resources were controlled by the national treasury. The process involved in accessing funds from the national treasury was too long thereby deterring some of the developmental projects. The other problem was that at times money meant for developmental projects known as Constituency Development Funds (CDF) was released late. At times, the money was released after a year meaning that what was supposed to be done that year was not done. Truly the researcher argues that if funds are released late, fulfilment of campaign promises will be hindered. On the contrary, the truth in the view of Collier, (2009) who cautions that it is not a guarantee that the politician elected will honour his or her promises made at a time of campaign should be taken into consideration. This may help to understand politicians and fulfilment of their campaign promises. Similarly, Naurin (2014) found that the four Swedish governments between 1994 and 2010 on average fulfilled only 80 per cent of the promises made in their election manifestos.

5.2 Role of Non-Governmental Organisation is to educate and sensitize the electorates.

The study revealed that Non-Governmental Organisation educated the electorate on their rights to vote in an election. They also educated them on what to do if a politician fails to fulfil his or her campaign promise. The researcher agrees with NGOs because it is through education that citizens can positively participate in voting. NGOs cannot tell the electorate not to vote for any politician but through the education, electorates are able to make right decisions and vote for a credible candidate. This view is in line with that of Manin *et al* (1999) who suggested that for voters to make rational choices regarding their political representatives, information is needed on the various aspiring candidate.

NGOs create awareness in electorates to participate in government and in decision making. This view is similar to that of Beer (1998) who reported that NGOs help to amplify the voices of the poor, coordinate coalitions to overcome their collective action problems, mediate on their behalf through redress mechanisms, and demand greater service accountability.

In addition Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) create awareness in electorates about politician being accountable to their campaign promises by giving the electorates information through public disclosure, citizen-based budget analysis, service benchmarking, and program impact assessments. The electorates need to be mindful in that participatory, transparent and accountable governance does not come easy as nobody wants to open up or relinquish power easily. Similarly, Beer (1998) argues that if the voice is not sufficient for accountability, it may not lead to enforceability and accountability of campaign promises. It is therefore, the view of this study that through the acquisition of information from NGOs electorates are able to make politicians accountable. Similar views were expressed by Mwiinga *et al* (2012) who reported that in Zambia NGOs have a role to create awareness in electorates about making politicians accountable to their campaign promises by carrying out civic education activities to promote public awareness on issues affecting society such as voting. She added that this was done by monitoring elections and advocating for good electoral laws that are inclusive in nature. In principle, NGOs create awareness in electorates that elections provide citizens with both answerability (the right to assess a candidate's record) and enforceability (the right to vote the candidate in or out).

The other role for Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) is to create awareness in electorates so that government and other people in authority are accountable to the public. NGOs help create awareness in electorates by educating them on accountability which is a pillar of democracy and good governance. Accountability compels the state, politicians, the private sector and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) to focus on results, seek clear objectives, develop effective strategies and monitor and report on performance measured as objectively as possible. In line with this view, Rondinelli and Cheema (2003) argued that NGOs help in sanctioning or rewarding those who hold positions of public trust through a system of checks and balances among the Executive, Legislative and Judicial branches.

NGOs also educate electorates to demand transparency and accountability from their political leaders. Similarly, World Bank Development Report, (2004) affirmed that transparency promotes openness in the democratic process through reporting and feedback, clear processes, procedures and the conduct of those holding decision-making.

With regard to the role of NGOs in providing civic education to the electorates, Finkel (2000) found that in four of the seven programs studied in South Africa and the Dominican Republic show that civic education had significant and substantively meaningful effects on local level political participation. However, the effects of civic education on participation were largely conditional in nature and dependent on nature of the civic education acquired. The results suggest that civic education and NGOs mobilization processes were highly complementary in both countries. Civic education training stimulated individual political behavior in much the same way as did participation in other kinds of secondary group activities. Similar views were expressed by Haggard & Kaufman (1992) who reported that NGOs in Dominican Republic provided civic education on programs which were designed specifically to bring participants into contact with Government officials and politicians so they could work together to solve community and national problems. The researcher adds that participation of electorates brings development because any project being undertaken in the community will be taken as their own leading to less vandalism of property.

This view is also consistent with that of Dicklitch (1998) who reported that in Uganda NGOs and civil society are seen as "vehicles for empowerment and democratization". For instance, they are seen as playing a role in creating a civic culture of pluralizing the economic and political arena, and bridging the gap between the state and the unorganized masses.

Concerning the role of facilitating communication from electorates to government, Samuel (2005) reported that in Nigeria, NGOs facilitate communication. They use interpersonal methods of communication and study the right entry points whereby they gain the trust of the community they seek to benefit. They facilitate communication upwards from people to government and downwards from the government to the people. Communication upwards involves informing government about what local people are thinking, doing and feeling while communication downwards involves informing the electorates about what government is planning to do.

5.3 Role of electorates is to remind politicians of their campaign promises.

From the findings it shows that the role of electorates is to remind politicians of their campaign promises. In case of failure, politicians should be asked to explain why they have failed. By so doing the electorates will be able to establish the challenges politicians are facing. Electorates should remind politicians about their campaign promises. There is need for politicians to be reminded of their campaign promises. This will send a message to the politicians to stop taking the electorates for granted. Since some of the politicians tended to forget about their campaign promises once they were voted into power, it was necessary for the electorates to remind them. Similarly, Downs (1997) gave an example of a Polish government which was forced to remind itself of the promises they made in 1993. They had to make some considerations to the voters because they feared the penalty of losing credibility. This reputation checking mechanism encouraged the incumbents to adhere to electoral promises

Civic education is necessary if the electorates are to be fully involved in making politicians accountable to their campaign promises. This is in line with McLaughlin (1992) who explained that civic education was essential to sustain our constitutional democracy. It is also the view of this study that civic education is a way of learning effective participation in a democratic and development process, and it is an important way for capacity development in the society by empowering people for effective engagement and if the electorate are empowered with knowledge politicians will not take advantage of the electorate by telling lies during campaigns.

Basu (2014) also argues that for citizens to participate in public affairs, a precondition that must be fulfilled is the creation of an enabling environment for citizen participation. An enabling environment requires responsive institutions and regulations, usually created by government, that enable local participation. This is usually achieved through a mix of enlightened political leaders, civil servants and an informed and cooperate general public. In addition it requires a mutual understanding of problems and difficulties on part of both officials and citizens.

Basu (2014) however, argues that current strategies for developing the democratic competencies of African citizens vary along a spectrum of approaches and of internationality that typically spans all three modalities of education: formal (school-based), non-formal (organized training not leading to formal certification and: informal (knowledge acquired through daily experience and learning). The formal civic

education curricula transmitted through schools constitute an increasing number of African citizens, the first explicitly exposure to the subject and may remain one of the most formative. Despite popularity of formal or school-based civic education programmes in Africa, there was very limited success and hence, making it difficult to make politicians accountable to their campaign promises. This could be attributed to what Tourney-Purta *et al.* (2001) & Marcus *et al.*, (2001) pointed out that weak popular understanding of means of active citizen participation deter citizens to make politicians accountable to their promises. Understanding the means of active participation is key to as Harber (1997) argues that effective civic education cannot simply be transmitted from teacher to student, the medium is at least as important as the message.

In order to sustain democracy, Sanyore (2013) explains that civic education is essential to sustain our constitutional democracy. As a result, the habits of the mind, as well as ‘habits of the heart’, the dispositions that inform the democratic ethos, are not inherited. As Tocqueville pointed out, each new generation is a new people that must acquire the knowledge, learn the skill, and develop the disposition or traits of private and public character that undergird a constitutional democracy (Tocqueville, 2010). Furthermore, the study establishes that civic education dispositions must be fostered and nurtured by word and study by the power of example. Democracy is not a machine that would go of itself, but must be consciously reproduced, one generation after another; (Branson, 1998). Sanyore (2013) contends that generally, in spite of the challenges of the global interdependence and evolving democracies, and perhaps in response, there is a growing movement of educators, political leaders, and civic groups around the world in recognizing the need for increased high quality civic education for the purpose of building and strengthening viable system of governance in the long-term. To this end, civic educators are coming together in a variety of venues and formats to address the common needs, and strategies for effective democratic governance, meaningful participation and preparation for each generation for future leadership and intellectual contribution to society and in turn, ensure that politician’s fulfil campaign promises.

One significant study on civic education is that of McLaughlin (1992) who stated that young people need to have civic knowledge and skills and the ability to engage in our society, legal, political and economic systems in order to sustain a vibrant democracy. Citizens need to understand how to live and work in a democratic society and ensure

that the politicians fulfil their campaign promises. Civic education should have connection with the multiple needs of the young people, and must address that matter to people and ensure development takes place. Koliba (2000) contends that schools should be viewed not only as institutions that impart certain knowledge and skills to students, but also as environments that socialize them. The researcher further states that education is a democratising force that helps to prepare people to participate actively in all aspects of life. The skills and dispositions needed to actively participate in all aspects of democratic life include, the ability to think critically, a sense of efficacy, a commitment to compassionate action, and a desire to actively participate in decision-making processes and participate in political life by making the politicians accountable.

Other studies also confirm that citizens hold negative views on pledge fulfillment Naurin (2011) and Thomson (2011). Such skeptical views are by no means confined to uninformed mass opinion. Similarly, Manin (1997) writes that even assuming that voters choose to pay some attention to the candidate's promises, they know or should know that the credibility of those promises is an open question. It is not reasonable on their part to suppose that candidates will necessarily honor their commitments. Many other political scientists share Manin's view for instance, Collier (2009) cautions that it is not a guarantee that the politician elected will honour his or her promises made at a time of campaign.

Models of post-election politics, on the other hand, assume that election promises are non-binding, implying that citizens vote based on the government's behaviour and accomplishments. While a large empirical literature on economic voting tests post-election models, for instance how macroeconomic outcomes and targeted transfers affect support for the incumbent (Persson and Tabellini, 2000).

5.4 Summary

This chapter discussed the findings of the study in line with the objectives which were to: (i) assess the extent to which politicians fulfilled the campaign promises on infrastructure in Kabwata constituency of Lusaka district, (ii) identify the role of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) in ensuring that electorates are aware about making politicians accountable to their campaign promises and (iii) establish the role of electorates in making politicians accountable to their campaign promises.

It first discussed the extent to which politicians fulfilled their campaign promises on infrastructural development in Kabwata constituency. The study established that politicians managed to fulfil most of the campaign promises. Sixty per cent of road infrastructure was done, Three out of Six police posts were built while two awaits completion and one was stopped following the court injunction on the land where it was to be built. One first level hospital out of two was built in Chilenje and one clinic was built in Kamulanga out of the four promised. In addition, seven ablution blocks were renovated. Two modern markets were built at Munyaule and Chilenje. However toilets at most of the markets in the constituency were not renovated except those at Munyaule, Chilenje and Libala Markets.

On the role of Non-Governmental Organisations in ensuring that electorates are aware about making politicians accountable to their campaign promises; electorates were educated, sensitised on their rights concerning voting and how to make politicians accountable. In addition NGOs create a platform where politicians and electorates interact. It is at these forums where politicians explain what they intend to do for their people and also electorates seek clarity on certain issues which need an explanation. As regards the third objective which sought to identify the role of the electorates in making politicians accountable to their campaign promises, electorates were empowered with knowledge which they could use to make politicians accountable. For instance, they could make politicians accountable by making them signing a social contract, asking them to explain in cases where they failed to fulfil the campaign promise and also to remind the politician about their campaign promises.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0 Overview

This chapter concludes the study and also makes some recommendations based on its findings. The study was aimed at exploring the extent to which politicians fulfilled the campaign promises on infrastructure in Kabwata Constituency.

6.1 Conclusion

The PF Manifesto (2011-2016) defined infrastructure as roads, air, rail, water transport, telecommunications, energy, education, health services, water supply and sanitation facilities, public buildings and housing. Based on this definition, the study has shown that most campaign promises were fulfilled by politicians in Kabwata constituency due to the fact that they followed what was tabulated in the Patriotic Front Manifesto and national budget. In addition, support from corporate partners enabled them to fulfil most of the campaign promises. The campaign promises not fulfilled were due to poor coordination between government and the politicians, campaign promise not in the party manifesto and also not budgeted in the national budget are one of the reasons. This led to the insufficiency of funds to finish all the stated infrastructure campaign promises. In relation to the theoretical framework of political advertising, the exposure to political advertising campaigns encouraged electorate, politicians and NGOs to equate their feelings to their related attitude targets or campaign promises. In this regard, politicians, NGOs and electorates worked together in one way or the other to ensure campaign promises were fulfilled. For instance, politicians followed up on their campaign promises with government having in mind that if they do not fulfil most of the promises the electorates would not re-elect them in office while NGOs took a role of sensitising the electorates on their rights in the electoral process. This conclusion links with the set conceptual framework in figure two.

Another conclusion drawn from this study is that Non-Governmental Organisations create awareness in the electorates about making politicians accountable to their campaign promises such as providing civic knowledge to the electorates. They educate the electorates on their rights to demand for accountability. They sensitize electorates on the importance of voting and the electoral process and also lobby for transparency among the political parties by organising platforms where they are able to inform the electorates what they intend to do for them.

Another conclusion drawn from this study is that electorate have a role in ensuring politicians fulfil their campaign promise by making them sign a social contract, asking them to explain why they failed to fulfil the campaign promise, to remind them on their campaign promises and not re-electing them in office for failing to honour what they

had promised. In line with the theory of political advertising, it can be concluded that citizens get inclined to the promises made by politicians and this makes them act positively towards a political party whose promises show progress in their living standards socially, economically and politically. Through the knowledge acquired from sensitization, citizens are able to participate in national issues and these makes public institutions more responsive to their needs and also make them accountable to their actions. In addition, citizen participation creates greater success to state services and resources and brings about a greater realisation of rights.

In order for electorates to participate in public affairs, a precondition that must be fulfilled is the creation of an enabling environment for citizen participation. An enabling environment requires responsive institutions and regulations, usually created by government, that enable local participation. This is usually achieved through a mix of enlightened political leaders, conscience civil servants and an informed and cooperate general public.

6.2 Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study, the following recommendations were made:

1. In order to promote accountability of campaign promises, all politicians should sign a social contract against every promise they make with the electorates.
2. Funds should be released in good time so that it is used for its intended purpose.

6.3 Area of future research

Having done this research, another study should be undertaken in future to find out whether campaign promises influence the voting pattern of the electorate in Zambia. Such a research if undertaken would give us a more comprehensive picture of the influence of campaign promises on the voting pattern in Zambia.

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APPENDIX A: CONSENT FORM

A STUDY ON POLITICAL CAMPAIGN PROMISES ON INFRASTRUCTURAL DEVELOPMENT KABWATA CONSTITUENCY OF LUSAKA DISTRICT, ZAMBIA.

This consent form serves to give you an understanding of the purpose of this research and subsequently the procedure to be followed when undertaking it. Make sure you read the information sheet carefully, or that it has been explained to you to your satisfaction.

1. Description

This study is purely an academic education research. The researcher is a University of Zambia student pursuing a Master of Education in Civic Education. This research is a major requirement to complete this programme.

2. Purpose

The researcher wishes to assess extent to which politicians fulfilled their campaign promises on infrastructure in Kabwata Constituency in Lusaka District.

3. Consent

Participation in this exercise is voluntary, i.e. you do not need to participate if you do not want.

4. Confidentiality

All the data collected from this research will be treated with high confidentiality.

Participants are assured of anonymity in this research.

5. Rights of Respondents

The rights of the respondents will be protected and respected. Participants are assured that they shall suffer no harm as a result of participating in this exercise. Participants are free to ask for clarification at any point of the exercise and to inform the researcher if they feel uncomfortable about any procedure in the research.

DECLARATION OF CONSENT

I have read through the participant information sheet. I now consent voluntarily to be a participant in this project.

Signature:

Date:

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR POLITICIANS ON THE FULFILMENT OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGN PROMISES ON INFRASTRUCTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN KABWATA CONSTITUENCY OF LUSAKA DISTRICT, ZAMBIA.

Section A: Demographic Data

1. Gender of respondent: Male or Female

Section B: Questions Related to Extent to which Campaign Promises on Infrastructural development were fulfilled by Politicians in Kabwata Constituency

2. What extent have the political campaign promises on infrastructure been fulfilled in Kabwata constituency?
3. What campaign promises were promised in Kabwata constituency?
4. How did the politicians manage to fulfil the campaign promises in Kabwata constituency?
5. What challenges did the politicians face in implementing the infrastructural development campaign promises in Kabwata constituency?
6. Suggest measures that government would take to ensure politicians fulfil the campaign promises?
7. How are the electorate affected when politicians fail to fulfil the infrastructural Development Campaign promise?

Thank You for participating in the study

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR NON- GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS ON THE FULFILMENT OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGN PROMISES ON INFRASTRUCTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN KABWATA CONSTITUENCY OF LUSAKA DISTRICT, ZAMBIA.

You have been chosen to help with the assessment on how NGOs create awareness in electorates about making politicians accountable to their campaign promise in Kabwata constituency.

Section A: Demographic Data

1. Gender of respondent: Male or Female

Section B: Questions Related to the Role of Non-Governmental Organisation in Creating Awareness in Electorates about making politicians accountable to their campaign promise

2. What is the role of Non- governmental Organisation (NGOs) in creating awareness in electorates about making politicians accountable to their campaign promises?
3. What extent has the political campaign promise on infrastructure development been fulfilled in Kabwata constituency?
4. What do you think led to the fulfilment of the infrastructural development campaign promise by politicians in Kabwata constituency?
5. How can Non-governmental Organisation spearhead accountability in political campaigns?
6. What can Non-Governmental Organisations do to make politicians accountable to their political campaign promises?
7. What measures can be put in place to ensure that politicians fulfil their campaign promises?
8. What challenges do NGOS face in strengthening accountability in political campaign?

Thank you for participating in the study

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR ELECTORATES ON THE FULFILMENT OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGN PROMISES ON INFRASTRUCTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN KABWATA CONSTITUENCY OF LUSAKA DISTRICT, ZAMBIA.

You have been chosen to provide responses on how electorates made politicians accountable to their campaign promises in Kabwata Constituency

Section A: Demographic Data

1. Gender of respondent: Male [] or Female []

Section B: Questions Related to the Role of the Electorates in making politicians accountable to their campaign promises

2. Where the campaign promises fulfilled by politicians in Kabwata constituency.
3. What did the Patriotic Front (PF) promise on infrastructure in 2011 during campaign in Kabwata constituency. List them down
4. To what extent were the political campaign promises on infrastructure fulfilled in Kabwata constituency.
5. How were the electorates affected when politicians failed to fulfil the infrastructure campaign promise?
6. Suggest measures you would take to make politicians accountable to their campaign promises.

Thank you for participating in the study

APPENDIX E

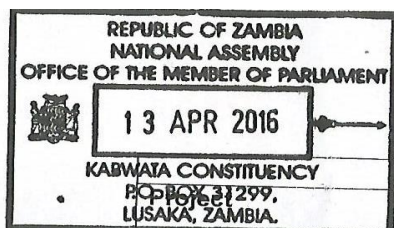
OBSERVATION CHECK LIST GUIDE: ON INFRASTRUCTURE CAMPAIGN PROMISE FOR KABWATA CONSTITUENCY OF LUSAKA DISTRICT

OBSERVATION CHECK LIST

CAMPAIGN PROMISES	CAMPAIGN PROMISES FULFILED
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• All roads	<ul style="list-style-type: none">•
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Three schools	<ul style="list-style-type: none">•
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Six police post	<ul style="list-style-type: none">•
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Four Clinics	<ul style="list-style-type: none">•
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Two mini hospitals	<ul style="list-style-type: none">•
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Twelve boreholes	<ul style="list-style-type: none">•
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Renovation of ablution blocks	<ul style="list-style-type: none">•
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Two shelters	<ul style="list-style-type: none">•

THANK YOU FOR PARTICIPATING IN THE STUDY

APPENDIX E



STATUS REPORT FOR KABWATA CONSTITUENCY AS AT 9TH DECEMBER 2015

	Estimated Cost	Amount Paid	Balance	Status	Contractor
Construction of Rockview Police Post Chilenje (Mary Mwango)	359,000.00	335,913.00	23,087.00	Complete.	Henina Construction Compony
Construction of Kamwala South police post (Sibongo)	453,000.00	422,908.88	30,991.12	Commissioned	Mauanders
Rehabilitation of an ablution block at Kabwata Basic School	125,000.00	117,000.00	8,000.00	Complete	Ilondola
Rehabilitation of Kabwata Market Shed	183,000.00	131,122.31	1,877.69	Complete	Embancox
Construction of 1 female and 1 male toilet at Kabwata clinic.	73,000.00	58,192.36	14,807.64	Complete	Tractel
Rehabilitation of an ablution block at Lusakasa Basic school	140,000.00	99,722.88	40,277.12	Complete	Tush Investment
Kamulanga Clinic Construction	309,264.95	309,264.95	0.00	Complete	TMK & Ilinen Centrum
Construction of Kamulanga police post, Bore Hole, Tank & Stand Water Reticulation including clinic	743,300.00	219,837.74	523,462.26	There has a court injunction on the plot	Venture Construction Company
Construction of Libala police Post	661,500.00	620,862.47	40,637.53	Facility roofed, however project requires additional funds	Tripple V Property Invt. Ltd
Construction of Chilenje Clinic (Rockview)	990,000.00	408,574.52	581,425.48	Works in progress	JBD Green Tech (Z) Ltd
Borehole and Water Reticulation at Mary Mwango Police Post	50,000.00	31,419.05	18,580.95	Complete	Shebric Enterprises
Street Lighting Project in Libala, Kabwata & Kamwala Wards	350,000.00	169,750.62	180,249.38	Works in progress	China Cable Corporation (HK) Ltd
Police Post Construction - Kabwata Site and Service Phase 1	300,000.00	178,000.00	122,000.00	Incomplete structured acquired & Engineering to develop a design	

Ablution Block Construction at Kabwata Community Hall	150,000.00			Assessment - BOQ preparation
Construction of Kamulanga Market Shed	100,000.00	0.00	150,000.00	Assessment - BOQ preparation
Construction of Libala Clinic (Hillview)	890,000.00		100,000.00	Pending acceptance by CDF Committee of the bid & Availability of land
Borehole drilling in Gondwe, Kamulanga	50,000.00	0.00	890,000.00	Assessment - BOQ preparation
Women's training centre and Children's play park - wire fencing (Kamwala South)	115,000.00	0.00	50,000.00	Pending availability of ideal land
Administration Fund	70,600.00	20,000.00	115,000.00	
Total	6,112,664.95	3,171,668.78	2,940,996.17	
Available in account as at 9/12/2015	2,320,509.88			

