

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN ZAMBIA: A CRITICAL APPRAISAL OF
COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES USED BY THE MOVEMENT FOR MULTI PARTY
DEMOCRACY (MMD) TO DISSEMINATE POLITICAL INFORMATION

408425
THESIS

M.C.D.

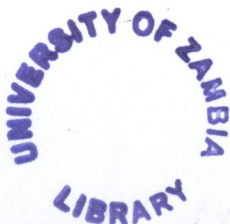
Nyq

2004

C.I

BY
BEATRICE NYAMBE

To be submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Communication for Development offered by the Department of
Mass Communication
The University of Zambia



DECLARATION

I declare that this report has not been previously submitted for a degree in this or any other university.

NAME: BEATRICE NYAMBE

SIGNATURE: Nyambe

DATE: 29-10-2004

SUPERVISOR: KENNY MAKUNGU

SIGNATURE: Makungu

DATE: 02-11-2004

DEDICATION

First and foremost to the one and only Almighty God
for making all this possible

To my parents, Mr. And Mrs. Nyambe
for training me to appreciate the value of education

To my brother, Francis, for his wonderful support

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures.....	iv
List of Tables.....	v
List of Abbreviations.....	vi
Acknowledgements.....	vii
Abstract.....	ix
Introduction.....	1
Chapter I: Background of Zambia.....	4
Geography.....	4
History.....	5
People and population.....	5
Economy.....	5
Foreign relations.....	6
Government.....	6
Statement of the problem.....	9
Rationale of the study.....	11
Research objectives.....	15
Chapter 2: Methodology.....	15
Introduction.....	15
Research questions.....	15
Sampling procedure and sample size.....	16
Data gathering methods.....	18
Structured questionnaire.....	18
Un structured questionnaire.....	18
Document analysis.....	18
Direct observation.....	18
Data analysis and interpretation.....	19
Chapter 3: Conceptual Framework.....	20
Definitions and operationalisation of main concepts.....	20
Conceptual definitions.....	20
Operational definitions.....	22
Theoretical framework.....	26
Agenda setting theory.....	26
Two step flow theory.....	27
Multi-step flow theory.....	29
Chapter 4: Literature Review.....	31
Political ignorance.....	31
Means of political communication.....	35

Chapter 5: Findings and Interpretation of Results.....	41
Introduction.....	41
Questionnaire.....	41
Composition of samples by gender.....	41
Composition of samples by age.....	42
Composition of samples by years of membership in MMD.....	43
Information about MMD policies and programmes.....	44
Channels of communication with the electorate.....	49
Channels of communication within the party.....	51
Following of political events in the media.....	53
Communication of media information to others.....	54
How MMD uses the media.....	57
Communication with the opposition parties.....	61
Strategies of communication with the opposition parties.....	62
Importance of party programmes and policies.....	64
Importance of MMD affairs.....	66
In-depth interviews.....	68
Political education.....	68
Campaign strategies.....	69
Information and publicity.....	70
Intra party communication.....	71
Direct observation.....	72
Interpersonal communication.....	72
Group communication.....	72
Organisational communication.....	73
Public address communication.....	74
Mass communication.....	74
Document analysis.....	74
Summary	76
Chapter 6: Discussion and Recommendations.....	77
Introduction.....	77
Discussion.....	77
Communication with the public.....	76
Use and abuse of the media by MMD.....	80
Inter party communication.....	83
Intra party communication.....	85
Conclusions	89
Communication with the public.....	89
Mass media use by MMD.....	90
Inter party and civic organisation communication.....	91
Intra party communication.....	91
Recommendations.....	92
Communication with the public.....	92
Mass media use by MMD.....	92

Inter party and civic organisation communication..... 93

Intra party communication..... 94

Summary..... 94

Bibliography..... 94

Appendix A: Questionnaire.....100

Appendix 2: In-depth interview guide for MMD officials107

Appendix C: In- depth interview guide for opposition
Party official..... 109

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1:	Location of Zambia in Africa.....	8
Figure 2:	Map of Zambia.....	9
Figure 3:	Source of information on MMD policies.....	46
Figure 4:	Who responsible for educating the electorate.....	47
Figure 5:	Frequency of communication by leaders.....	49
Figure 6:	MMD talks to the electorate during campaigns.....	51
Figure 7:	Communication of media information to others.....	56
Figure 8:	MMD's use of the media	58
Figure 9:	Opinion on taking advantage of the media.....	60
Figure 10:	MMD exploits the media and national resources.....	60

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1:	Political Discussion Scale.....	33
Table 2:	Sources of political information.....	34
Table 3:	Composition of samples by gender.....	42
Table 4:	Composition of samples by age.....	43
Table 5:	Years of membership in MMD.....	44
Table 6:	informed about MMD policies and programmes by party level.....	45
Table 7:	Responsibility of members to communicate political information.....	48
Table 8:	Channels of communication used to the electorate.....	50
Table 9:	Channels of communication used in the party.....	53
Table 10:	Following political events in the media.....	54
Table 11:	Communication of media information to others.....	55
Table 12:	Frequency of communication of media information.....	57
Table 13:	MMD's use of media to disseminate information.....	58
Table 14:	communication with opposition parties and civic organisations.....	62
Table 15:	Strategies of communication with opposition parties.....	63
Table 16:	Importance of various programmes.....	65
Table 17:	Dissemination of information.....	66
Table 18:	Importance of party affairs.....	67

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BEC	Branch Executive Committee
CEC	Constituency Executive Committee
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
DEC	District Executive Committee
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GRZ	Government of the Republic of Zambia
MMD	Movement for Multi-party Democracy
NEC	National Executive Committee
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
PEC	Provincial Executive Committee
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
UNIP	United National Independence Party
UNZA	University of Zambia
ZAMTEL	Zambia Telecommunication Company
NGOCC	Non Governmental Organisation Coordinating Committee

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to sincerely thank all those who helped me during the course of my study. Firstly, I wish to thank my supervisor, Mr. Kenny Makungu, of the Department of Mass Communication at the University of Zambia (UNZA), for his invaluable assistance through out the period of my research. Through his guidance I was able to complete this report write up, for me to get my master of communication for development degree.

My thanks also go to Mr. Fidelis Muzyamba of the Department of Mass Communication at the UNZA, whose help and guidance throughout my research course was greatly appreciated. I am thankful too to Mr. Billy Nkunika, also of Mass Communication Department, UNZA, as Co-ordinator of the course for facilitating for my field attachment to Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD).

I am grateful too, to the MMD for allowing me to carry out my field attachment with them. I wish to thank the following people who made my fieldwork possible in one way or the other. Mr. Samuel Miyanda, the MMD National Secretary, Major Richard Kachingwe, the Deputy National Secretary, and Mr. Muntanga, the Administrative Secretary. I thank each of these people for the role they played in making my attachment a great experience.

I would also like to thank my employer for giving me time to do this course, more especially my Director Mrs. Monica Masisani.

I would also like to thank my workmates, Mrs. Monica Jalasi and Mrs. Mavis Bota for taking on my office work during my absence in the course of my study.

I would also like to thank my bother Francis Nyambe for taking on the housework while I concentrated on my studies. My thanks also go to Mr. Michael Mabai and all my brothers and sisters for their love and support.

Lastly but not the least, my thanks go to my parents Mr. Willie Nyambe and Mrs. Rebecca Masiye Nyambe for their unconditional love and support. Without their encouragement I would not have been where I am.

ABSTRACT

This report is as a result of my attachment to and research of the communication strategies of the Movement for Multi-party democracy (MMD) from February to May 2004. This was in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Communication for Development at the University of Zambia. The report provides a critical analysis of the MMD communication within the party and outside the party.

A critical approach was undertaken in order to determine the effects the strategies and channels of communication employed by MMD. The rationale behind this was to find out whether MMD is adequately communicating political information to the public. The problem of political ignorance has been said to lead to voting behaviour and electoral outcomes that are meaningless representations of voter interests. Political parties are therefore the solution to the problem of public ignorance by communicating political information effectively to the public.

The study used questionnaires, in-depth interviews, direct observation, and document analysis. The data was analysed qualitatively as well as quantitatively. The SPSS frequency distribution and cross tabulations were used in the quantitative analysis.

The major results of the study were that the majority of the respondents did not communicate with the public regularly.

Public meetings and word of mouth were found to be frequently used by the respondents. The researcher also found that MMD regularly used the media, and this was very acceptable among the respondents as they did not see it as abuse of the media. On the other hand the opposition saw this as abuse of the public media. Further results showed that MMD scaled up communication in election periods to win votes and scaled it down in non election periods.

It was also found that MMD did not communicate regularly with other parties due to lack of good inter party relations. Intra party communication took many channels such as briefings, meetings, circulars, letters, faxes, and face-to-face, but this was between and among office bearers. Communication to general party membership was very rare and when it took place it was in the form of lectures. This did not promote political education and participation of non office bearing members in decision making.

The results suggest that MMD carried out its political communication with some degree of inefficiency and inconsistency. The party, for instance, only carried out vigorous communication with the public during election campaigns to persuade voters.

The findings of this study highlight a number of flaws in the communication strategies of MMD. The recommendations in the last chapter of this report can help the party improve in its communication.

INTRODUCTION

Some political scientists have argued that political ignorance is a threat to democracy. Political ignorance disadvantages people, as they are unable to hold their political leaders accountable on the policy decisions they make. Political ignorance in addition leads to undecided voters in every election year in terms of which candidate or party makes sense. Zambia is not an exception to this problem, as the majority of the people are ignorant of what is expected of their political leaders. This lack of political knowledge on the people is disadvantageous to the development of any political system and a nation as a whole.

Past research has shown many examples of voter ignorance, which leads to voting behavior and electoral outcomes that are meaningless representations of voter interests. Ball (1983) argued that the majority of the electorate possesses little political knowledge. Recent research findings have also shown voter ignorance. For example in the United States of America, 70 percent of Americans could not name their senators or their congressman. 49 percent believed that the President had the power to suspend the Constitution. Only about 30 percent named an issue when they explained why they voted the way they did, and only a fifth held consistent opinions on issues over time (Menand, 2004).

It is obvious that decades of research have found that most citizens know very little about politics and public policy. Even more alarming is that most citizens lack basic background knowledge about political leaders, parties and the structure of government. Democracy demands an informed electorate because voters who lack adequate knowledge about politics can find it difficult to control public policy. Inadequate voter knowledge can cause the government not to reflect the will of the people in any

meaningful way. This raises doubts about democracy as a means of serving the interests of the majority. Voters who lack sufficient knowledge may be manipulated by the politicians. They may also demand policies that contravene their own interests. They cannot assess the government's handling of issues if they are unaware of many of its most important policies. They cannot vote to protect their economic interests if they are largely ignorant about relevant policies. Without political knowledge, it is hard to see how voters could hold the politicians who represent them accountable for anything.

Democracy demands an informed electorate, and one of the first important tasks of political parties and their candidates is to provide the public with information on their policy objectives. Political parties have communication strategies, through which they convey information and opinion to the public. Communication between political parties, especially those in power, and the public is an essential part of good governance as it enhances the capacity of people to have accurate and timely information needed for them to make good decisions.

Despite political parties engaging in communication, the problem of political ignorance seems not to end. The communication strategies used by political parties need to be analysed in order to determine their effectiveness in terms of conveying the information to the public. This study therefore was a critical appraisal of the communication strategies used by the Movement for Multi Party Democracy (MMD) to disseminate political information. The appraisal aimed at finding out how effective the ruling party was in its communication with the public.

MMD is the ruling party in Zambia, which was founded on 20th July 1990, to provide among other things an alternative programme of national and international social and economic development. The party took over power in the 1991 multi party elections. The party immediately announced and embarked upon a revival of commitment to clean and democratic good governance.

In summary, this report looks at the background of Zambia the country of the research, the methodology used, conceptual and theoretical framework, literature Review, findings and interpretation of the results, and the discussion, conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER 1

BACKGROUND OF ZAMBIA

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter looks at a brief profile of Zambia, with particular focus to its geographical position, historical factors, the people and its population, the economy, the foreign relations, the politics and government to help us understand the country discussed in this report.

1.1.1 Geography

Zambia is strategically located on the continent of Africa between the equator and tropic of Capricorn and on the world map the country lies between latitudes 8 and 18 degrees South and longitudes 22 and 33 degrees East. The terrain Varies, mostly plateau savanna with some hills and mountains with the lowest point being Zambezi river at 329 metres and the highest point at Mafinga hills 2,301 metres. It has a surface area of approximately 752,614 square kilometres (290,585 square miles) of which 11,890 square kilometres is covered by water and 740,724 square kilometres is land. The total lengths of land boundaries are 5,664 kilometres. Its climate is tropical, generally dry and temperate. Temperatures are modified by altitude and rainy season from October to April.

Zambia is a landlocked country and shares its borders with 8 neighbours namely Angola, Botswana, Congo, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, and Zimbabwe. The Zambezi forms a natural riverine boundary with Zimbabwe. The Capital city of Zambia is Lusaka with a population of 1 million. Other cities are Kitwe, Ndola, Livingstone, and Kabwe.

1.1.2 History

The major waves of Bantu-speaking immigrants began in the 15th century, with the greatest influx between the late 17th and early 19th centuries. They came primarily from the Luba and Lunda tribes of southern Zaire and northern Angola but were joined in the 19th century by Ngoni peoples from the south. By the latter part of that century, the various peoples of Zambia were largely established in the areas they currently occupy.

In 1888, Cecil Rhodes, spearheading British commercial and political interests in Central Africa, obtained mineral rights concession from local chiefs. In the same year, Northern and Southern Rhodesia (now Zambia and Zimbabwe, respectively) were proclaimed British colonies.

In 1953, both Rhodesias were joined with Nyasaland (now Malawi) to form the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. On December 31, 1963, the federation was dissolved, and Northern Rhodesia became the Republic of Zambia on October 24, 1964.

1.1.3 People and population

Zambia's population mainly comprises 72 tribes. Languages spoken are: English which is the official language and, local languages and dialects, including Bemba, Lozi, Kaounde, Lundu, Luvale, Tonga, and Nyanja. Most Zambians are subsistence farmers. The predominant religion is a blend of traditional beliefs and Christianity. There are also Moslems and Hindus. The total Population is approximately 10 million with annual growth rate of 2.3 percent.

1.1.4 Economy

Zambia's per capita annual incomes is currently at about one-half their levels at independence. The main reasons for the decline are: low mineral

prices, and high unemployment rates. The GDP in 2001 estimates was \$3.6 billion at an annual growth rate of 3.0. Per capita GDP in 2001 was at \$302, placing the country among the world's poorest nations.

The Zambian economy has historically been based on the copper-mining industry. The main foreign exchange earners are: copper, which represents 55 percent, cobalt, electricity, tobacco, flowers, and cotton. The agriculture sector represented 20 percent of the GDP in 2000. Most Zambians are subsistence farmers and agriculture accounted for 85 percent of total employment (formal and informal) for 2000. The types of industry found in Zambia are mining, transport, construction, foodstuffs, beverages, chemicals, and textiles.

1.1.5 Foreign relations

With its central location, Zambia is member to the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) now known as African Union (and was its chairman until July 2002), the Southern African Development Community (SADC), and the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), which is headquartered in Lusaka.

1.1.6 Government

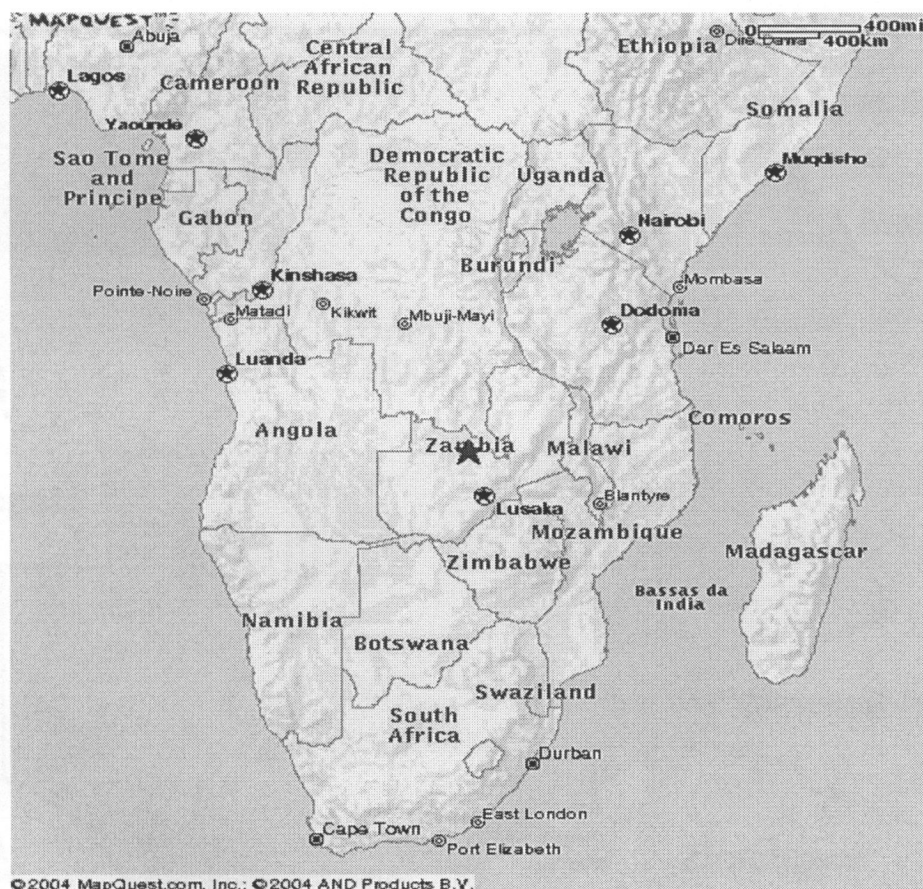
Zambia became a multi- party republic immediately upon attaining independence in October 1964. In 1973, Zambia became a one-party participatory democracy and the United National Independence Party (UNIP) became the sole legal party in Zambia under the leadership of Dr. Kenneth Kaunda who was also the sole candidate in elections for the office of president.

Politically, the country moved from one party rule back to multi-party politics in the 1991 elections which saw the opposition Movement for Multi party democracy taking over power. MMD has continued being in power up to the writing of this report.

Presidential, parliamentary, and local government elections of December 27, 2001 saw MMD presidential candidate Levy Mwanawasa declared victor, and he was sworn into office on January 2, 2002. Opposition parties, however, won a majority of parliamentary seats.

Zambia is divided into nine provinces, each administered by an appointed Deputy Minister. The nine provinces are subdivided into districts administered by District Administrators.

FIGURE 1 **Zambia and her neighbours**



Source: MapQuest.com, 2004.

Figure 2 Map of Zambia



Source: worldatlas.com

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Zambia is a new democracy, which entered multi-party politics after one-party governance, from 1973 to 1991. It was assumed, according to Ollawa (1979), that Zambia had the characteristics of an underdeveloped political system. He saw political underdevelopment as being a basic

problem of establishing an effective political interaction between the masses and the regime members (ibid, 1979).

Communication is one of the crucial constituents of Political life (Meyer, 2003). Political Scientists, like Karl W. Deutsche, have even said that politics is nothing but communication (ibid, 2003). Communication is, therefore, fundamental to democratic practice and the sustenance of the process. For this to be realised, political parties as vehicles of democracy have a duty to inform the electorate about various political issues. Citizens in a democratic society need to be well informed about public affairs, to know relevant facts, and to make rational choices.

According to the Freedom Forum Quarterly Review (1996) Zambian politics has to mature and it can only be moved in that direction if the electorate are enlightened by the politicians and their parties as to their policies, programmes and plans. In Zambia, for instance, democracy is being endangered by voter apathy. To deal with this apathy towards the political system Rolf Shenton of the Liberal Progressive Front was reported in the Freedom forum Quaterly (ibid, 1996). during the presidential and parliamentary debate campaigns as saying that all political parties must be involved in educating people on the importance of voting. He added that if this apathy continued people would forget about the government. He further went on to say that each party should show its ideals and what it stands for and that at the moment the situation is mixed up, people do not have a clear picture of the parties.

As a solution to this problem of public ignorance, political parties need to convey political information to the public through various means to expose citizens to a more diverse range of political information. The President of the Republic of Zambia, and of the Movement For Multi Party

Democracy Mr. Levy Mwanawasa, in line with the above view stated that, his government accepted the principle that, it was only through political parties, that citizens could effectively communicate their demands, articulate their interest, recruit persons qualified for leadership roles including that of president, and in general be mobilised into action or be socialised (Times of Zambia, 2003).

Parties therefore occupy an important role in the social flow of political information. The above scenario characterised by poor political communication and apathy does not augur well for a healthy democracy.

1.3 RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

For people to make wise electoral decisions, they need to be knowledgeable about their political leaders and what they stand for. According to Nelson (1994), citizens rely on political parties to define issues, to support or oppose candidates on the basis of those issues, and then carry out the agreed upon policies when the party is in power. In line with this view, Ball (1983) argued that, political parties provide a link between government and people. They seek to educate, instruct, and activate the electorate. They use the mass media, and local organisations to maintain contacts with the relatively politically inactive and lead them to the awareness and acceptance of various policies.

In recent years, the African people and Zambians in particular have been vigorous in their demand for full and genuine participation in political processes of their country and for having a meaningful say in the formulation of policies and programmes that affect their lives.

Democracy and good governance demands that there be popular participation in every sphere of development, including politics. The involvement and participation of the individual citizen is of paramount importance in democratic good governance. It is when the political process benefits the individual does it become of importance to his or her life. In order to realise popular participation in politics, there is need to strengthen communication capacities for political information development.

According to Berg- Schlosser (1982), the participation of active citizens in the process of political decision-making lies in the core of any democratic system. He further argued that, even in undemocratic states, participation by the public is elicited at least in some demonstrative forms, through rallies, or in campaigns. Participation in decision-making is only possible, if communication is established between Politicians and the electorate so that the parties receive information, ideas and opinions from the electorates and the electorates have access to information about the issues at stake. Communication is a key part of the politics and the governing process. It is essential in having a politically informed electorate. Without that dictatorships and bad governance easily get established, and there is no telling what damage may be done to the political culture and overall development of a country. The student felt that Political Party communication strategies needed to be studied in order to improve upon them so as to address the problem of public ignorance.

1.4 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

1.4.1 Main objective

The main objective of the study was to find out the communication strategies and channels employed by the MMD.

1.4.2 Specific objectives

The specific objectives of the study were;

- a) To identify the strategies and channels of communication within MMD.
- b) To find out the communication strategies and channels between MMD and the electorate.
- c) To find out when political information was communicated by MMD to the electorate.
- d) To identify the key political messages conveyed to the electorate by MMD.
- e) To find out the communication strategies and channels used by MMD members at the different levels of the party, from the National Executive to the Branch, to convey political information within the party in order to know the best way to communicate at each level.
- f) To find out the communication strategies and channels used by the MMD members at the different levels of the party, that is from the National Executive to the Branch, to convey political information to the electorate in order to know the best way to contact the electorate at each level.

- g) To determine the extent to which MMD had taken advantage of the government owned mass media it being the ruling party.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter looks at the methodology used in this study. A combination of quantitative and qualitative methods were used in order to triangulate and get information and in- depth understanding of the study questions. The methods used were: structured questionnaires, in-depth interviews, direct observation and document analysis. The study addressed the research questions below:

2.2 Research questions

- 2.2.1 What communication channels does MMD use to communicate political information within the party?
- 2.2.2 What communication strategies does MMD use to communicate political information within the party?
- 2.2.3 What communication channels does MMD use to communicate political information to the electorate?
- 2.2.4 What communication strategies does MMD use to communicate political information to the electorate?
- 2.2.5 What are the communication strategies and channels used by MMD at each level of the party, from the National Executive Committee to the Branch, to convey political information within the party?

- 2.2.6 What are the communication strategies and channels used by MMD at each level of the party, National Executive Committee to the Branch, to convey political information to the electorate?
- 2.2.7 What is the extent of MMDs' use and abuse of government owned mass media for political communication?

2.3 Sampling procedure and sample size

The study was carried out in Lusaka, and MMD was purposively selected for the study because it possessed a political environment that was relatively well organised. Secondly, the MMD had remained a strong organised party in the country, and had consecutively remained in power since 1991 even after the heavily contested 2001 presidential, parliamentary and local government elections in which eleven parties contested.

2.3.1 Questionnaire

A sample size of seventy was selected for the questionnaire. This sample was drawn from the party structures. These are the National Executive Committee (NEC), the Provincial Executive Committee (PEC), the Constituency Executive Committee (CEC), and the Branch Executive Committee (BEC). It was not possible to draw the sample outside these party structures because MMD had no computerised or manual membership registers.

Stratified random sample method was used to ensure that these significant levels of the party were represented in the sample. A sample size of ten was drawn from a total of twenty Lusaka based NEC members, and fifteen from the rest of each one of the sub-groups which comprised

of twenty-four members each. The samples within the sub-groups were randomly selected. The sampling in the strata or sub groups was based on the executive committee membership registers. The NEC, Lusaka PEC, and Lusaka DEC, were purposively selected because they were one each. Matero Constituency was selected from the seven Lusaka constituencies using the simple random sampling method. From the Matero constituency, one Branch, Emmasdale, was also selected using the same method of simple random sampling.

2.3.3 In-depth interviews

For the in-depth interviews the sample size of three informants was selected from the NEC, DEC, and CEC. The sample was drawn from these three levels of the party in order to have interviewees who were well - informed about MMD communication strategies with in and outside the party, even at grassroots level so that relevant and rich data was obtained.

Two UNIP informants from the party secretariat were also interviewed to come up with information on the extent of MMDs' use and abuse of government owned mass media for political communication from the perspective of the opposition.

All the informants for the in-depth interviews were selected in a purposive manner on the basis of their positions.

2.4 Data gathering Methods

The following methods were used to collect data:

2.4.1 Structured questionnaires

Structured questionnaires were administered to seventy respondents selected from all the five party structures. Initially the questionnaire was to be administered through personal interviews in order to have high respondent returns, but some respondents were too busy to be interviewed. Instead, some questionnaires were self-administered which resulted into a few questions not answered.

2.4.2 Unstructured questionnaire

Unstructured questionnaires were used to gather data in in-depth interviews in order to gain other information and rich data that was not captured by the structured questionnaires. These were to help get the personal opinions of the informants.

2.4.3 Document Analysis

The contents of documents were examined to identify the channels, strategies and key information in the communication process of MMD. A variety of documents containing communication and campaign information of MMD were analysed. These included the NEC minutes, reports, correspondences, posters and other relevant literature

2.4.4 Direct observation

The communication activities were watched on a daily basis at the MMD Secretariat through direct observation by the researcher to identify the

strategies, channels used and messages conveyed. The various situations sampled for observation were the organisational communication, interpersonal communication, group communication, public communication, and mass media communication.

2.5 Data analysis and interpretation

Data was analysed using qualitative means as well as quantitative techniques. Descriptive analysis using SPSS was adopted for this study. Frequency distribution and cross tabulations analysis were used to come up with frequencies of occurrence and percentages. The data was also put into graphs in the form of bar and pie charts for illustration.

Qualitative data from in depth interviews, direct observation and document analysis was analysed qualitatively according to the following thematic areas: political education, campaign strategies, information and publicity, intra party communication, and inter party communication.

CHAPTER 3

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter defines the relevant concepts used in this report and operationalises them. The concepts defined are political party, good governance, communication, political communication, and channels of communication. These concepts will give us an understanding of the idea of the study and help us understand what is discussed in this report.

3.2 Definitions and operationalisation of main concepts

3.2.1 Conceptual Definitions

Political party: is a body of people united, for promoting by their joint endeavours the national interest, upon some particular principle in which they are agreed (Irish, 1986). Nelson in the CQ's encyclopedia of America (1994) defines a political party as a coalition of people who join together to try to gain power by winning elections.

Good governance: Good governance educates its citizens on their rights and duties. It ensures that the citizens receive appropriate civic education, and are involved in meaningful dialogue (Ruwa, 2001). Good governance may transcend matters such as elections, capacity building, and involvement of people in the decision making process (Sakala, 2000).

Communication: is the exchange of ideas, information and opinions through speech, writing, pictures and other symbols. Essentially, it is a sharing process where a source shares his or her message with a receiver via a certain channel in order to influence the receiver's thoughts and

actions. It is not a one-way process but an exchange between the source and the receiver (Elkamel, 1986).

Political communication: is the transmission, exchange and flow of political information by politicians through the press, face-to-face, pamphlets, and books (Rose, 1970). In other words, it is communication at mass, interpersonal, group, public, and organisational levels.

Mass communication is a means of transmitting messages through the press, radio, television, and so on that enable one or a few individuals to reach an audience (ibid.1988).

Interpersonal communication is face-to-face interaction between two or a few people with opportunities for feedback (Reardon and Rogers, 1988).

Group communication is interaction of people in a small group (Littlejohn, 1991). It is where a small group of people comes together to communicate with everyone else in the group freely and openly (Allyn and Bacon, 1999).

Organisational communication involves exchange of messages to stimulate meaning within and between organisations and their environments (Infante et al, 1997).

Public address communication is a talk or formal public address by speaker on a podium to a large audience.

Channels of communication: are the means by which a message travels both vertically and horizontally from a source to a receiver (Rogers, 1973).

3.2.2 Operational Definitions

Political party: in this study a political party refers to an organised group of people who come together to support or oppose the ruling party, and its policies, and creates awareness in the citizens through political communications. The study sought to find out how MMD created awareness in the citizens.

Operationally a political party is identified in Zambia as one, which has a constitution, an executive committee and registered as a party by Registrar of Societies.

Good Governance: In this study good governance refers to the involvement of people in decision making by way of being educated to understand, and know the political issues of the country, for example, the constitution, the electoral process, corruption, human rights, national unity, management, and allocation of public resources, and involvement in decision-making process. The research was interested in finding out how MMD communicated these political issues to the electorate.

Communication: in this study communication as related to politics refers to the transfer of information and opinions from the party, through speech, writing, pictures and other symbols, to the electorate, in order to influence their thoughts, actions, and electoral decisions. It also refers to the transfer of public reactions on policies from the electorate to the party, and the party to those in leadership.

There were several types of communication that were looked at in the research. These were oral or verbal or face-to-face, written or textual, e-mail, non-verbal, symbols and audio visual aids.

Communication can be good or bad. Ingredients of a good communication are consideration of the importance of the message, the urgency of the message and its proper timing, the complexity of the message and how it should be sent, distance and cost, to mention a few. The research tried to find out how good the communication was within and outside the party.

Political communication: refers to a politician appearing on television, radio, newspaper, or contacting individuals, groups, and masses of people within and outside the party with verbal or written political information. The study looked at various forms of communication such as mass communication, interpersonal communication, group communication, organisational communication, and public address communication.

Mass communication- this is when communication is carried out through the use of mass media, for example print or electronic, to disseminate information to the public. In this study mass communication referred to the use of radio, television, and newspapers in communication. Mass communication is the quickest form of communication. It reaches as many people as possible in a very short time. However it is very impersonal and not very persuasive at times.

The essential ingredient of good political communication is having a free press. Kasoma (2002) defined press freedom in four parts namely:

1. Pressmen and women free to gather news and information as they see it fit.
2. Journalists being free to organise information so gathered as they see it fit.

3. Press being free to air or publish the news and information gathered.
4. The audience must have access to the products of the media.

From this definition, freedom of the press meant absence of censorship. The research sought to find out whether MMD took advantage of the media by it being the party in power.

Interpersonal communication- this is where one or more people engage in one-to-one personal contacts, or communication with immediate feedback. In this study it meant one person communicating with another person on a one to one basis.

Interpersonal communication is the most effective form of communication as it provides on the spot feedback to the sender and receiver of the message, constructive criticism, and exchange of views. Interpersonal communication is good for spreading information quickly through a group of people, but it can also be the most expensive in terms of time involved in talking to different people at different times. The research looked at what extent interpersonal communications was used by MMD.

Group communication- this is where small groups having at least three and no more than twelve or fifteen members, hold discussions, for instance, in the form of meetings to share and disseminate information.

In this research, there was interest in the number and nature of committee meetings and other channels that used this approach. The research also looked at the communication patterns between members of the groups whether it was circular type where a member of a group communicated with only two others in the group, or the chain type where the first and last

people in the system could not communicate with each other and were therefore at both ends of a communication chain, or a communication type where one person, a leader or central figure head, occupied a more central position in the network, and finally whether the communication was the all-channel system which was participatory, and more open communication system.

Organisational communication- refers to communication between superiors and subordinates within an organisation through face-to-face contacts, small group meetings, public addresses by chief executive officer, press releases, and newsletters.

The research looked at the various channels of communication in the MMD such as the use of conversation, letters, and notice boards or computers. Communication in an organisation can flow vertically, that is up and down the hierarchy mainly for reporting and feedback, horizontal or lateral, that is between people of the same rank, in the same sections or departments, and diagonal which is interdepartmental communication. The research also took into consideration all these factors.

Public address communication- it is where a speaker addresses a large audience of people on a platform or podium, for instance campaign rallies. The study determined to find out how MMD communicated in public rallies and electoral campaigns.

Channels of communication: refers to the means by which information is conveyed, namely; television, radio, newspapers, meetings, conversations, telephones, letters, leaflets, and so on. The study sought to find out the modes used by MMD.

3.4 Theoretical Framework

3.4.1 Agenda Setting Theory

One theory, which is extremely important in political communication, is the agenda setting theory. The mass media influences greatly the forming of the public opinion, and also the political agenda. Due to the media's powerful influence, Parties have heavily depended on media coverage to raise public awareness on various issues. According to Sanchez (2002), Mass Communication plays an important role in our society. Its purpose is to inform the public about current and past events through the newspapers, books, and television (ibid. 2002).

As it passes on the information to the public, the media sets the agenda by determining matters for public debate, and the order of importance of such matters. It reflects to people what it finds important, setting the agenda for public discussion. Eoff (2002) asserted that, agenda setting research has shown that there is a correlation between what the media deems important and salience in the public mind.

The media, therefore, is effective in creating public interest in political candidates and campaign strategies. McCombs et al (1972), argued that, in choosing and displaying news, editors, newsroom staff, and broadcasters play an important part in shaping political reality. In reflecting what candidates are saying during a campaign, the mass media may well determine the important issues—that is, the media may set the "agenda" of the campaign (ibid. 1972).

Political parties can affect the agenda setting of the media through external influences. The extent to which parties affect the agenda setting process, according to Littlejohn as cited by Eoff (ibid. 2002), depends on

the power they may have to influence the media agenda. For example, if the media has a close relationship with the party, that party will probably affect the media agenda and the public agenda in turn (ibid. 2002).

Parties can form their political agenda, and pass this agenda on to the media to communicate to the public. McQuail (1994), illustrated that this would be a situation in which politicians seek to convince voters as to what, from their party stand point, are the most important issues. Political parties, therefore, play an important role in setting the agenda through media campaigns and advertisements on important political issues, depending on how the media communicates the information to the electorate, and how they structure the information, in the order of importance of such information. In other words, political parties set the framework for debate on policy issues, through the media depending on how they emphasise them, to establish a particular conception in the minds of the electorate. As they set the agenda of the political information, they are able to influence the public agenda, and in turn influence the policy agenda. The media, in this case, has power to help shape and influence political information to the public.

The agenda setting theory had relevance in this study in the sense that the media play a vital role in the dissemination of political information. Information carried in the media has great impact on people in the sense that people discuss what they see on television or talk about the latest news they read in the newspapers.

3.4.2 Two Step-Flow Theory

Although the mass media is said to have an influence on political communication, and decision-making processes on the level of whole

society, however, there is another view, which sees people as varying greatly in their attention to mass media. Zaller (1991) argued that, mass communications do not affect all citizens equally or in a straightforward way. Effects rather, depend on a two-step process involving firstly exposure to and reception of communications carried in the mass media (ibid, 1991). The most effective means of influencing public opinion is not through the mass media but at the level of personal contacts, through local opinion leaders whose authority may stem from other political roots. The mass media is not the only means of political communication in a political system. Other political agencies, such as leaders, representatives, parties and pressure groups contribute to this communication networks at various levels.

This view leans on the two- step flow theory developed by Paul Lazarsfeld, which emphasises the importance of opinion leaders. Two-step flow theory emphasises the importance of opinion leaders. People who are exposed to the media receive the information, and these are mostly opinion leaders. After receiving the information, these opinion leaders pass it through informal interpersonal communication to others. In other words, the two step flow theory assumes that political information communication from the mass media first reaches opinion leaders who filter the information they gather to their associates, with whom they are influential. Ideas often flow from the media to the opinion leaders and from them to the less active sections of the population.

Political leaders and members may serve as opinion leaders and help disseminate political information contained in the media. In a political system, political agencies such as parties contribute to this communication network at various levels. Political parties are influential and their member's personal influences play a much larger role in

persuading people. In the end, people make up their minds in a way that closely conform to the party's preferences. On this basis political leaders and members serve as opinion leaders and help disseminate political information contained in the media. It is said that modern societies have relied on personal media such as face-to-face meetings to transmit information and support political communication. People tend to be much more affected in their decision making process by face-to-face encounters with influential peers. People can therefore successfully overcome their lack of information by acquiring information about the preferences or opinions of political parties, which they may use to deduce how a policy will affect them.

Evidently this theory has relevance for Zambia. Like everywhere else, opinion leaders such as teachers and agricultural assistants in rural areas, have a special role to play in the dissemination of information.

3.4.3 Multi-Step Flow Theory

It is not in all cases that information passes through two points. Over time, it became evident that the process of information dissemination from the media can have more than just two steps (Bataille, 1998), giving way to the multi-step flow theory of mass communication (ibid. 1998).

The multi- step flow theory states that there are many steps involved in the flow of information and communication. The process of influence is said to be more complex than a single group of opinion leaders listening to the mass media, and then feeding their opinions to a group of passive followers (Williamson, 2000). Research has shown that the ultimate number of relays between the media and final receivers is variable (Littlejohn,

1991). Certain individuals will hear the information directly from the media source, whereas others will be many steps removed (ibid. 1991).

While political parties may receive, and disseminate information from the media, same electorate may get the same information directly from the media, or from other sources. Political information therefore may pass on to the electorate through various steps, for example through opinion leaders, public address system, committee meetings just to mention a few. The theory therefore had direct application in the study.

CHAPTER 4

LITERATURE REVIEW

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter looks at passed studies done in the area of political information and communication in the world, including Africa and Zambia.

4.2 Political ignorance

Studies so far undertaken in the world show voter ignorance. Surveys conducted in the United States of America and worldwide have shown that citizens fall short of political information. Most people have low or no interest in politics and show a striking ignorance of basic facts about the worlds of politics and public life. Greenstein (1963) observed that, when political information is lacking, opinion on these matters is likely also to be lacking or at least be ill formed (Greenstein, 1963). According to Rose (1965), the limited interest of the majority of people in politics is emphasised by their lack of political information. He found that many had opinions on an issue, but were uninformed about the details of the problem, or even about the broad differences between alternatives (ibid. 1965). The names of leading politicians were also unfamiliar (ibid. 1965).

In 1957 a group of Social Scientists studied the level of political awareness of citizens of Detroit and found that only thirty percent of that country's residents knew the term of service for a Congressman; only sixteen percent knew the Senators were elected for six years. Less than fifth of the sample could name their Senators or Congressmen (ibid. 1963).

Three years later, in 1960, in the presidential campaign Elmo Roper and Associates reported that twenty percent of the public could not name the Democratic Vice Presidential nominee (Katz and Eldersveld, 1961). There were six percent who could not name any of the four candidates for President or Vice President (ibid. 1961).

Twelve focus groups were conducted in four districts and nine provinces of Zambia: Chipata and Petauke (in Eastern Province), Lusaka urban (in Lusaka Province), and Choma district in (Southern Province) by Bratton and Liatto- Katundu (1993). Particular attention was paid to citizen knowledge of, and attachment to, democratic values. The study among other topics covered the knowledge of citizens about the Zambian political system, including their own rights and responsibilities within it. The focus groups revealed notable shortcomings in political knowledge attributed partly to limited opportunities for formal education among low-income communities, and partly to misinformation disseminated by political authorities during the previous regime (ibid. 1993). Blurred images in the public mind of the structures and functions of different branches, and levels of government were discovered (ibid. 1993). Other findings were that the majority of the citizens thought that political participation began and ended with voting (ibid. 1993).

Ollawa (1979) conducted a survey in Lusaka, Feira, Mazabuka, Mongu, Kitwe and Kasama on political participation. The level of political information and political discussions scale was investigated. An indication of low-level political consciousness was revealed: not more than four percent talked politics every day, ten percent claimed that they talked politics once a week, fifty nine percent stated that they did so irregularly and twenty six percent admitted that they never did (ibid. 1979). Details are summarised in the table below:

Table 1 *Political Discussion Scale*

Regions	Every day		Once a week		At times		No comment	
	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
Lusaka	6	(27)	18	(79)	70	(308)	-	-
Feira	2	(2)	3	(3)	65	(60)	-	-
Mazabuka	2	(4)	5	(11)	49	(106)	4	(9)
Mongu	3	(6)	4	(9)	67	(145)	4	(9)
Kitwe	2	(6)	6	(19)	47	(147)	3	(9)
Kasama	4	(9)	12	(26)	51	(108)	-	-
Total	4	(54)	10	(147)	59	(874)	2	(27)

Source: Ollawa, P.E (1979); Participatory Democracy in Zambia: The Political Economy of National Development.

When asked to name the Minister in charge of their respective provinces, thirty three percent scored correctly while a shockingly high sixty six percent did not know the name of their provincial Minister (ibid. 1979).

After assessing the people's level of political information various sources from which the people got informed about the happenings around them were identified. Two percent claimed to view television; in contrast fifty one percent of the respondents listened to the radio; sixteen percent suggested attendance to party meetings as a source of information. Twenty nine percent cited the importance of oral communications and personal contacts as the primary sources of their information. The rural districts appeared to rely more heavily on informal face-to-face communications process for their political information than their urban counterparts.

Table 2 *Sources of Political Information*

Regions	Television % (N)	Radio % (N)	Newspapers % (N)	Party meetings % (N)	Mouth- to- mouth % (N)
Lusaka	6 (26)	53 (233)	31 (136)	2 (9)	8 (36)
Feira	- -	42 (39)	- -	1 (1)	57 (53)
Mazabuka	- -	46 (100)	2 (4)	1 (2)	51(110)
Mongu	- -	45 (98)	3 (6)	2 (4)	50(109)
Kitwe	2 (6)	51 (159)	29 (91)	- -	18 (56)
Kasama	- -	65 (139)	3 (6)	2 (4)	30 (64)
Total	2 (32)	51 (768)	16 (243)	1 (20)	29(428)

Source: Ibid. 1979

These findings revealed clear differences in political information in Zambia. The majority of the people in the study had low levels of political information and participation.

Katz (1961) said that the groups which are most likely to participate in politics are also the politically better informed groups. This assertion is supported by the findings of Norpoth and Barker (1980), which showed increasing voting stability with growing intake of information. A regression analysis with individual respondents led to a share of fifty four percent stable voters at the lowest level of information flow as opposed to a share of seventy two percent at the highest level. The higher the exposure to media information, the higher the stability of vote decisions between elections.

There is need therefore to have a politically active and politically informed electorate for them to get committed to democratic decision-making process.

4.3 Means of political communication

The media are frequently regarded as major sources of information. Government leaders and political parties take advantage of the media to broadcast simultaneously to almost all citizens. McQuail (op.cit) stated that the conduct of democratic (or undemocratic) politics, nationally and internationally, depended more and more on mass media.

One writer wrote that, politics in modern states and mass societies is no longer possible without the mass media (anonymous). This person went further to say that, political issues are communicated through the media, and that almost everything we know about the political situation in our country has been seen on television, heard on the radio or read in the newspapers. Interest groups, associations and political parties are all involved in public relations, that is, they attempt to use the media to their own advantage.

Given the complexity of contemporary political life, it is virtually impossible to obtain enough information from face-to-face communication and one's immediate environment (Bonchek, no date). He further said that communication media are required to transmit information across time and space and coordinate collective political behavior (ibid. no date).

Modern societies have relied on two types of communication media to transmit information and support political communication. Personal media such as face-to-face meetings, and broadcast media such as newspapers, radio, and television have been used by individuals and

organisations to distribute messages unidirectionally to large audiences (ibid. no date).

In their study of media use in Germany, Norpoth and Baker (op.cit), found increasing voting stability with growing intake of information. Fifty four percent of respondents relying on no mass media, on the average, voted for the same party over time, whereas sixty five percent of the respondents with some media use, and seventy percent with much, and very much media use never did so (ibid. 1980). These results showed that the higher the exposure to media information, the higher the stability of vote decisions between elections.

In support of this view, Poindexter (2001) wrote that, a good citizen had a duty to keep informed. In terms of actual behavior, these normative assertions about being an informed citizen mean reading newspapers, and watching television with some regularity (ibid. 2001).

Despite the role played by the media in disseminating information, other studies on where people get their political information show that, the media is not the main source of information for voters and do not have that influence they are said to possess (Carver, 2000). In Britain, where there is an advanced media structured democracy, between one quarter and one third of television viewers are estimated to switch channels when a party election broadcast starts (ibid. 2000).

Again in Britain it was found out that, for many years, the largest circulation newspaper the sun, supported the conservative party, yet the majority of its mainly working class readership supported the Labour party (ibid. 2000).

Deelen (2001) wrote that a series of focus group discussions were held in Ukraine in 1998. They suggested a similar skepticism towards the media, which were described as being not free and therefore not enjoying the confidence of the citizens. Participants considered that there was a quantitative lack of information of any sort available, particularly to the rural population, because of the expense of newspapers and the frequent power cuts, which made access to television information more restricted. Participants in the focus groups were also critical of the fact that during election campaigns they were bombarded with information but at other times accurate information was singularly lacking. They said that the media were short of analytical articles in the first place and that the mass media played an insufficient role in elucidating the issues in the campaign and preparing the public for the elections. The focus groups said that attempts of the mass media to shed light on political and economic developments in a timely and qualitative fashion could not be successful.

According to Carver (2000) before the rise of modern electronic media, political information was conveyed through direct personal communication such as public political meetings addressed by candidates or hustings, where the different candidates would debate and be questioned. It would also include door to door canvassing by the candidate or party activists, as well as leaflets and posters produced by the parties or candidates (ibid. 2000). In rural Africa, political meetings and personal contacts with the candidates remain important because most of the rural areas have no access to the media.

In Zimbabwe, it was found out that in a referendum and election of 2000, a majority of voters rejected the advice offered by the most important media (ibid. 2000). The state enjoyed a monopoly of all broadcast media

(ibid. 2000). In a referendum on constitutional reform, and then in parliamentary elections, the opposition was given minimal access to radio and television and the editorial line of both was in favour of the ruling party (ibid. 2000). Yet in each poll a majority of voters favoured the opposition (ibid. 2000).

According to Banda (1997), in Zambia, the main media are concentrated along the line of rail, leaving the majority of potential voters without information. Secondly, he said that incomes are so low that not many can afford a newspaper every day (ibid. 1997). Only about ninety two thousand people out of the national population are reached by the mass media (GRZ Information and Media Policy Document, 1996). As a solution to this knowledge deficiency, he suggested that political actors as people who introduce their interpretation of political issues into the media should as well serve as opinion leaders to under privileged voters in rural Zambia since they have access to them (ibid. 1997). Although the media in Zambia are not so pervasive, political leaders may act as mini media and thus help disseminate mainstream media content (ibid. 1997).

Ball (1983) argued that the most effective means of influencing public opinion is not through the mass media but at the level of personal contacts and through local opinion leaders. He says that the mass media should not be seen as the only means of political communication in a political system (ibid. 1983). Other political agencies such as parties contribute to this communication network at various levels.

Owens and Stauderraus (1965) talked of Katz and Eldersveld as seeing public policy as influenced by the party and its platform; and interest groups aggregated through the party. They maintained that the role of the party does not stop with elections (ibid. 1965). The party in power as

well as the party in opposition together constitutes a viable system through which citizens influence governmental action (ibid. 1965). They further argued that political activity at the local level should help to increase the knowledge of people about candidates, party platforms and governmental processes (ibid. 1965). The world of political activists and the newspapers which report political events is much more remote from the world of the average citizen than is generally realised.

Huckfeldt (1992) argued that as agents of electoral mobilisation, political parties occupy an important role in the social flow of political information. Parties play an important role in democratic politics when they mobilise the electorate to turn out and vote, thereby involving citizens in democratic governance. This serves to educate and inform the electorate in a politically meaningful manner (ibid. 1992). Parties therefore occupy an important role in the social flow of political communication.

One of the good works of political parties according, to Huckfeldt and Sprague (1992), is to engage citizens in the political process. They argued that party politics and partisan efforts at electoral mobilisation include a heavy dose of influence (ibid. 1992). The most important form of encounter between parties and citizens is the party contacts with individual citizens (ibid. 1992). Their study in one of the cities in America found that about one third of respondents reported being contacted by at least one of the public parties with twenty two percent reporting contact by each of the parties and ten percent reporting contact by both parties.

From the above observations, it can be said that party members are likely to be opinion leaders. Rose (1965), cited Almond and Verba's Civic Culture study, in which they observed that party members were more

likely to be opinion leaders in their face-to-face contacts than non party members.

Ball (op.cit) therefore suggests that it is important to know as much as possible how political information is conveyed to the electorate. The aim of this research was to analyse the communicative strategies and channels employed by the MMD to inform the electorate. The researcher analysed the strategies and channels at each level of the party. The research findings therefore aim to make a significant contribution to our understanding of how political information at party level is communicated to the electorate to increase their knowledge about political issues. This research will also add to our understanding of the ways employed by MMD to disseminate political information within and outside the party and how effective they are.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the findings and interpretation of the results from the field data on MMD communication strategies. The data was collected through questionnaires, in-depth interviews, direct observations and document analysis.

5.2 QUESTIONNAIRE

A total of 70 questionnaires were administered to MMD party leaders who were randomly drawn from all the five organs or structures of the party, namely the National Executive Committee (NEC), Lusaka Province Executive Committee (PEC), Lusaka District Executive Committee (DEC), Constituency Executive Committee (CEC) and Emmasdale Branch Executive Committee (BEC). Initially, a sample of 100 was proposed, but it was discovered in the field that MMD had no structures at Ward and Section levels hence the modification in the sample size.

5.2.1 Composition of samples by gender

All the party structures had a small percentage of female respondents. The overall percentage of female respondents was 20% as compared to 80% of male respondents. The finding reflected generally the small number of women in party leadership positions. Women in MMD occupied one third of leadership positions, in the women's sub committees. Table 3 illustrates the sample figures.

Table 3 *Composition of samples by gender*

Gender	NEC		Province		District		Constituency		Branch		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Male	9	90	10	66.7	12	80	11	73.3	14	93.3	56	80
Female	1	10	5	33.3	3	20	4	26.7	1	6.7	14	20
Total	10	100	15	100	15	100	15	100	15	100	70	100

Source: Field data

5.2.2 Composition of samples by age

Among the NEC respondents, 90 % were aged 45 to 50 and above as compared to the District, Constituency and Provincial party structures whose majority members fell in the age category of 36 to 45 years representing 73.3% and 60% respectively. 80% of the respondents at the Branch were from 26 to 50 years. Only 20% were 50 and above. The explanation to this finding could be the possibility of age being a factor in attaining higher levels of leadership in the party. Details are in table 4.

Table 4 *Composition of samples by age*

Age	NEC		Province		District		Constituency		Branch		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
26-35	0	0	2	13.3	1	6.7	2	13.3	4	26.7	10	14.3
36-45	1	10	9	60	11	73.3	9	60	4	26.7	33	48.1
45-50	7	70	2	13.3	2	13.3	3	20	4	26.7	18	25.7
Over 50	2	20	2	13.3	1	6.7	1	6.7	3	20	9	12.9
Total	10	100	15	100	15	100	15	100	15	100	70	100

Source: Field data

5.2.3 Composition of samples by years of membership in MMD

It was found that the majority of the respondents had been members of MMD for over 10 years. The Constituency and the District had 93.3% respondents, who had been members for over 10 years; NEC 90%, 86.7% at the Branch, and 66.7% at the constituency level. It was also observed that only a small total percentage of 4.3% represented those who had been members of MMD for 5 years and less while 10% had been members between 6 and 10 years. This finding suggests that most of the people in party leadership positions had been with the party almost from inception. Table 5 shows us the years of membership in MMD by party level.

Table 5 *Years of membership in MMD*

Years in MMD	NEC		Province		District		Constituency		Branch		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1-5	0	0	1	6.7	0	0	2	13.3	0	0	3	4.3
6-10	1	10	0	0	1	6.7	3	20	2	13.3	7	10
Over 10	9	90	14	93.3	14	93.3	10	66.7	13	86.7	60	85.7
Total	10	100	15	100	15	100	15	100	15	100	70	100

Source: Field data

5.2.4 Information about MMD policies and programmes

Table 6 shows that total average of 72.9 % of the respondents from all the party structures were of the view that the electorate in this country were well informed about the policies and programmes of MMD. Findings within party structures showed that 80% respondents at the constituency, 73.3% at the Province, District and Branch levels, and 60% at NEC level said that the electorate in this country were well informed about the policies and programmes of MMD. Only a total average of 27.1% of the party structures said that the electorate in this country were not well informed. NEC had the highest percentage, 40%, of those who said that the electorate in this country were not well informed about the policies and programmes of the party.

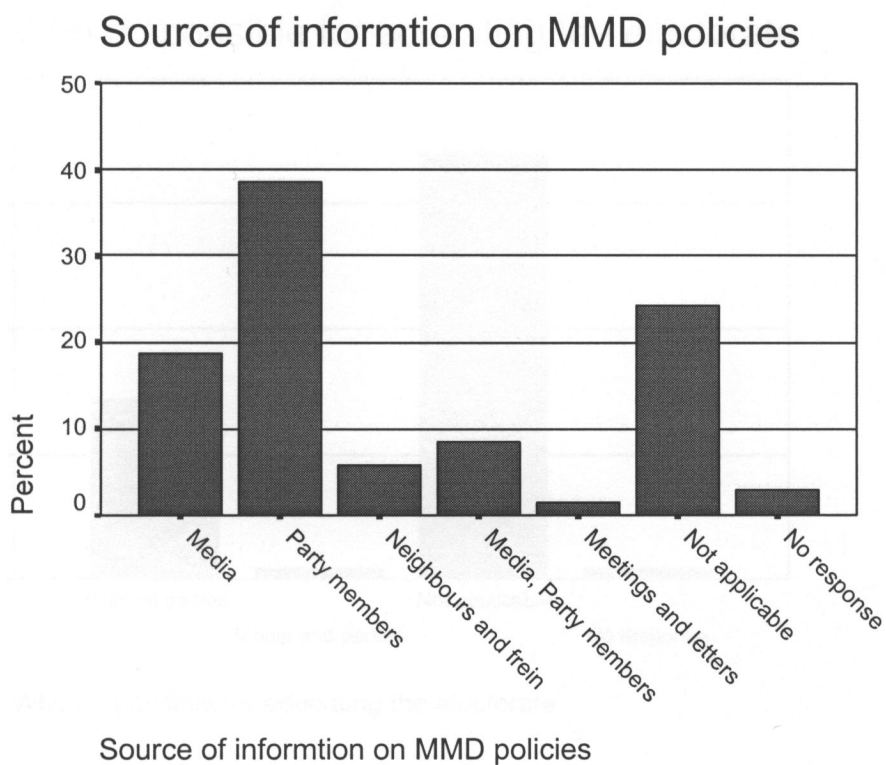
Table 6 *Informed about MMD policies and programmes by party level*

Electorate Informed about MMD policies and programmes	NEC		Province		District		Constituency		Branch		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	6	60	11	73.3	11	73.3	12	80	11	73.3	51	72.9
No	4	40	4	26.7	4	26.7	3	20	4	19	19	27.1
Total	10	100	15	100	15	100	15	100	15	100	70	100

Source: Field data

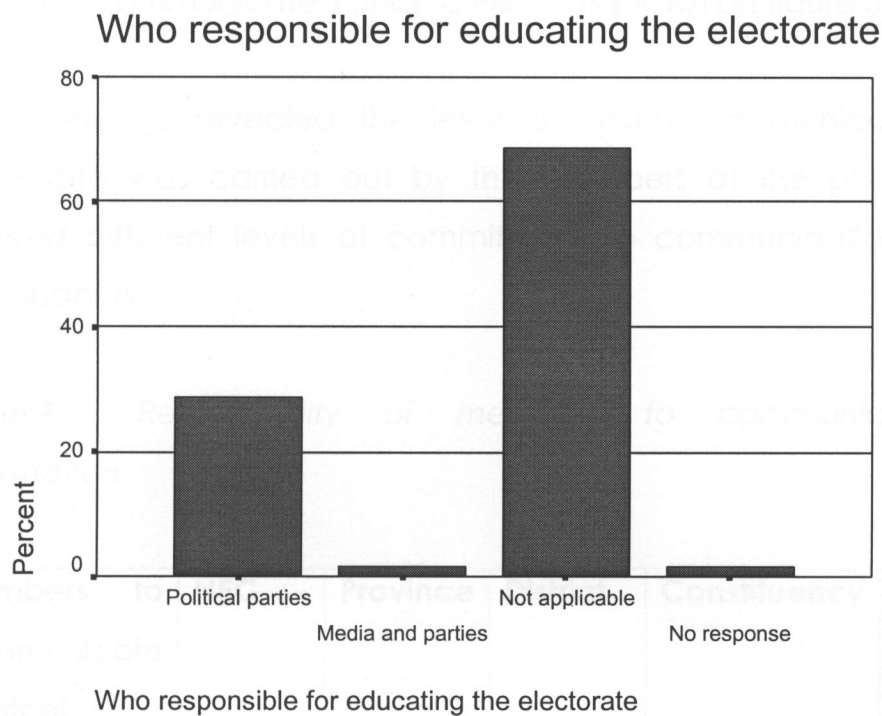
For those who said that the electorate were well informed about the policies and programmes of MMD, 38.6% said that the electorate got their information from party members, 18.6% said they got the information from media, 8.6 % said they got it from media and party members, while 5.7 % said it was from neighbours and friends. Another 1.4 % said that their source of information were meetings and letters. The not applicable 24.3 % were those who felt that the electorate were not well informed about the MMD policies and programmes. 28.6% of them said that it was the responsibility of political parties to educate the electorate. Only 1.4% said that it was the responsibility of both the media and political parties, and the other 1.4 % did not state who was responsible for educating the electorate. Figures 3 and 4 show the findings.

Figure 3



Source: Field data

Figure 4



Source: Field data

A total average of 92.9% respondents from all the party structures said that it was their responsibility to communicate political information. 100% at Province, 93.3% at both Constituency and Branch, 90% NEC, and 86.7% at District said that it was their responsibility to communicate political information. Only a total of 5.7% felt that it was not the responsibility of party members to communicate political information. These findings confirmed the critical role political parties play in the dissemination of information to the electorate. Although there are many sources of information for the electorate, party members have a responsibility to disseminate political information. Statistics are in table 7.

Despite acknowledging the fact that it was their responsibility to communicate political information, surprisingly 50% communicated at

times, only 37.1% said that they communicated every day, while 7.1% said that they communicated once a week as shown on figure 5.

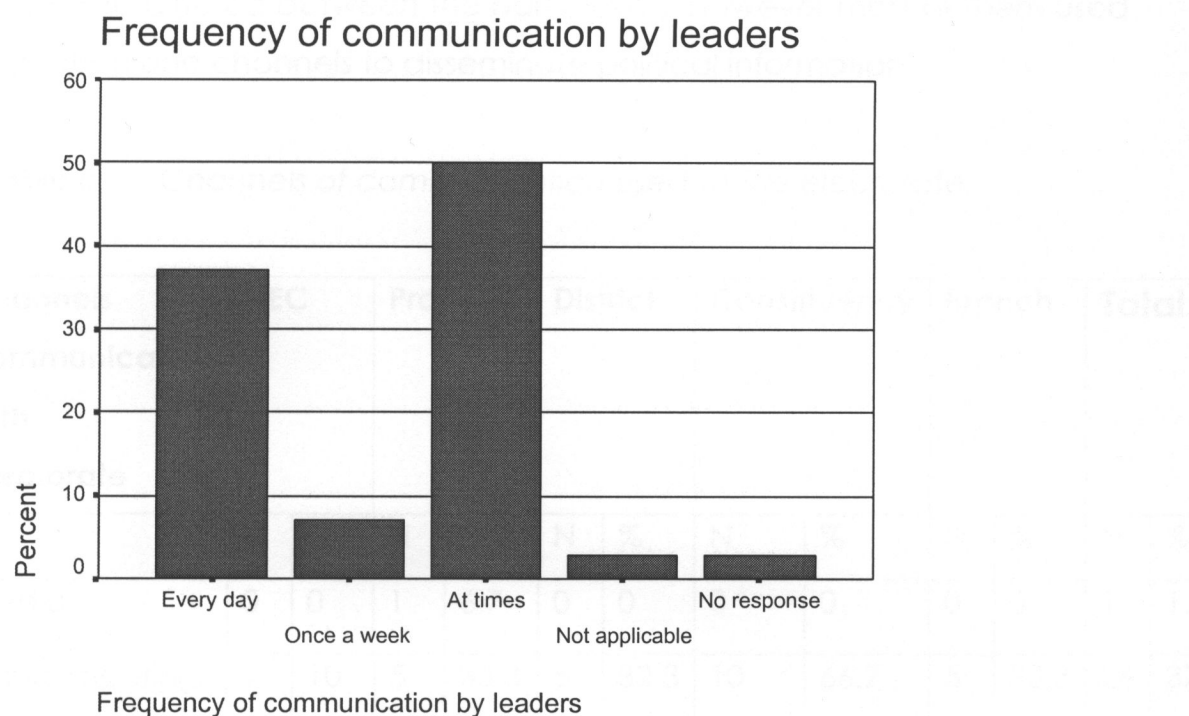
These findings revealed the level at which communication with the electorate was carried out by the members of the party. The results showed different levels of commitment to communication among the respondents.

Table 7 *Responsibility of members to communicate political information*

Members to communicate political information	NEC		Province		District		Constituency		Branch		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	9	90	15	100	13	86.7	14	93.3	14	93.3	65	92.9
No	0	0	0	0	2	13.3	1	6.7	1	6.7	4	5.7
No response	1	90	0	93.3	0	93.3	0	66.7	0	86.7	1	1
Total	10	100	15	100	15	100	15	100	15	100	70	100

Source: Field data

Figure 5



Source: Field data

5.2.5 Channels of communication with the electorate

On the channels of communication used with the electorate, a total of 37.1% said that they used public meetings, 25.7% used the word of mouth, 20% used a combination of the media, public meetings and word of mouth, 11.4% used public meetings and word of mouth, 2.9% used the media and public meetings, while 1.4% said that they used only the media. Results at party levels showed that 66.7% at Constituency level said that they used public meetings. At Branch level 53% of the respondents said that they used the word of mouth. 60% of the NEC members said that they used a combination of the media, public meetings, and word of mouth. Details are shown in table 8.

These results revealed that channels used to communicate with the electorate differed between the party levels. However most of them used more than one channels to disseminate political information.

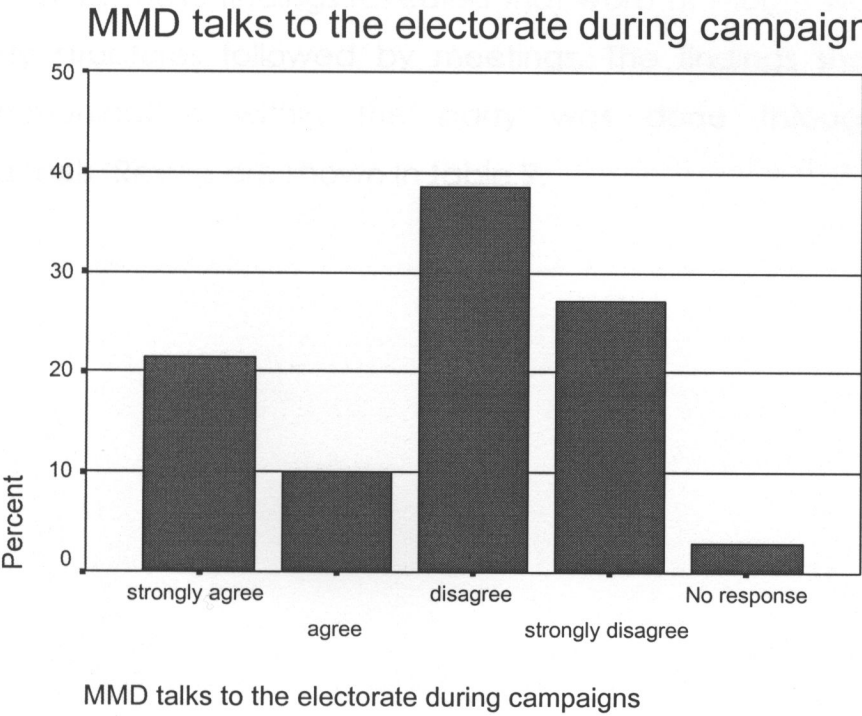
Table 8 *Channels of communication used to the electorate*

Channels of communication with the electorate	NEC		Province		District		Constituency		Branch		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Media	0	0	1	6.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1.4
Public meetings	1	10	5	33.3	5	33.3	10	66.7	5	33.3	26	37.1
Word of mouth	1	10	3	20	3	20	3	20	8	53	18	25.7
Public meetings and word of mouth	1	10	4	26.7	1	6.7	1	6.7	1	6.7	8	11.4
Media and public meetings	1	10	0	0	1	6.7	0	0	0	0	2	2.9
Media, public meetings and word of mouth	6	60	2	13.3	4	26.7	1	6.7	1	6.7	14	20
No response	0	0	0	0	1	6.7	0	0	0	0	1	1.4
Total	10	100	15	100	15	100	15	100	15	100	70	100

Source: Field data

Further investigation as to when MMD talked to the electorate, the findings were that the majority 38.6% disagreed that the party talked to the electorate during election campaigns, 27.1% strongly disagreed, 21.4% strongly agreed, 10% agreed, and 2.9% did not respond to the question. These findings showed that MMD communicated with the electorate even in non-election periods, which is a very important factor for continuous flow of information between the party and the public. Details are in the figure 10.

Figure 6



Source: Field data

5.2.6 Channels of communication within the party

in regard to communication within the party with other party members a total average of 32.9% said that they communicated by word of mouth, 30% said that they used the media, public meetings and word of mouth to

communicate to other members, 21.7% used public meetings only, 5.7% used the media and word of mouth, 2.9% relied on party meetings only, and 1.4% used party members, neighbours and friends to convey information.

Findings at each party level were as follows: the Province, District and Branch had 46.7% each who said that they used the word of mouth to communicate with other members of the party, 70% of NEC respondents, and 53.3% from the Constituency said that they used the media, public meetings and word of mouth to convey information to other party members. These findings revealed that word of mouth was used in all the party structures followed by meetings. The findings showed that most communication within the party was done through interpersonal channels. Results are shown in table 9.

Table 9 *Channels of communication used in the party*

Channels of communication used	Party Level										Total	
	NEC		Province		District		Constituency		Branch			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Public meetings	2	20	6	40	2	13.3	5	33.3	4	26.7	19	21.7
Word of mouth	0	0	7	46.7	7	46.7	2	13.3	7	46.7	23	32.9
Media, Public meeting and word of mouth	7	70	0	0	4	26.7	8	53.3	2	13.3	21	30
Media and word of mouth	1	10	2	13.3	1	6.7	0	0	0	0	4	5.7
Party meetings	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	13.3	2	2.9
Party members, neighbours and friends	0	0	0	0	1	6.7	0	0	0	0	1	1.4
Total	10	100	15	100	15	100	15	100	15	100	70	100

Source: Field data

5.2.7 Following Political Events in the Media

In order to determine the level political interest and information among the respondents they were asked how often they followed political events in the media. Respondents from all the party levels said that they followed political events in the media. However, 81.4% said that they followed

political events in the media regularly, and 18.6% said that they did at times.

From the party structure levels those who followed the media regularly were 93.3% at the Constituency, 86.7% at the District, 80% at NEC, the Province and the Branch had 73.3% each. These findings indicated that most party members followed political events in the media. This is very important for them to be well informed about political affairs for them to disseminate accurate information to public. Table 10 shows the statistics on how often the respondents followed political events in the media.

Table 10 *Following Political Events in the Media*

Following Political Events in the Media	NEC		Province		District		Constituency		Branch		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Regularly	8	80	11	73.3	13	86.7	14	93.3	11	73.3	19	81.4
At times	2	20	4	26.7	2	13.3	1	6.7	4	26.7	13	18.6
Never	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	10	100	15	100	15	100	15	100	15	100	70	100

Source: Field data

5.2.8 Communication of media information to others

Further findings revealed that all those who followed political events in the media passed on the information to others. However, statistics showed that 81.4% passed on the media information to others regularly while the

remaining 14.3% did so at times. Only 4.3% said that they did not communicate media information to others. Details are in table 11 and figure 6.

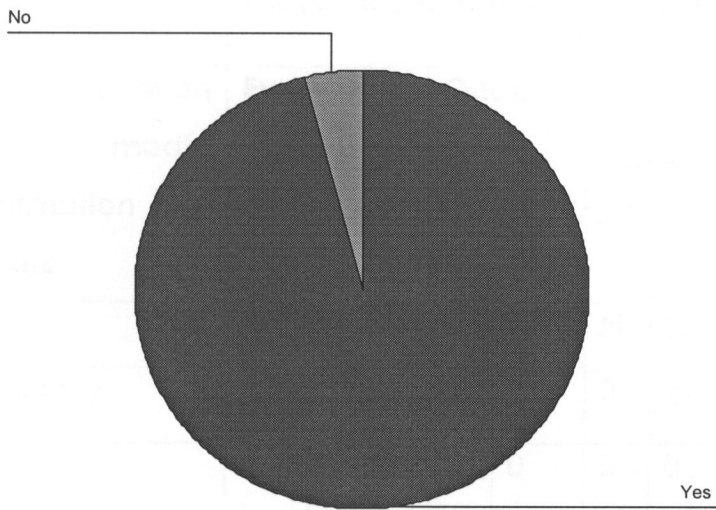
Table 11 *Communication of media information to others*

Communication of media information to others	Following of Political events in the media				Total	
	Regularly		At times			
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	57	81.4	10	14.3	67	95.7
No	0	0	3	4.3	3	4.3
Never	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	57	81.4	13	18.6	70	100

Source: Field data

Figure 7

Communication of media information to others



Source: Field data

Even though the majority said that they followed and communicated political events in the media regularly, further findings revealed that 47.1% communicated the information at times. Only 37.7% communicated every day, where as 7.1% communicated once a week. These findings revealed that the majority did not communicate media information to others regularly. Table 12 shows the findings.

Table 12 *frequency of communication of media information*

	Frequency of communication by party leaders											
Communication of media information to others	Every day		Once a week		At times		Not applicable		No response		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Regularly	25	37.7	5	7.1	33	47.1	2	2.9	2	2.9	19	95
Never	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	26	100	5	100	35	100	2	100	2	100	70	100

Source: Field data

5.2.9 How MMD uses the Media

On the use of mass media by MMD to disseminate political information, 51.7% said that MMD used the media regularly, 38.6% said that it was at times, and 4.3% said that MMD never used the media.

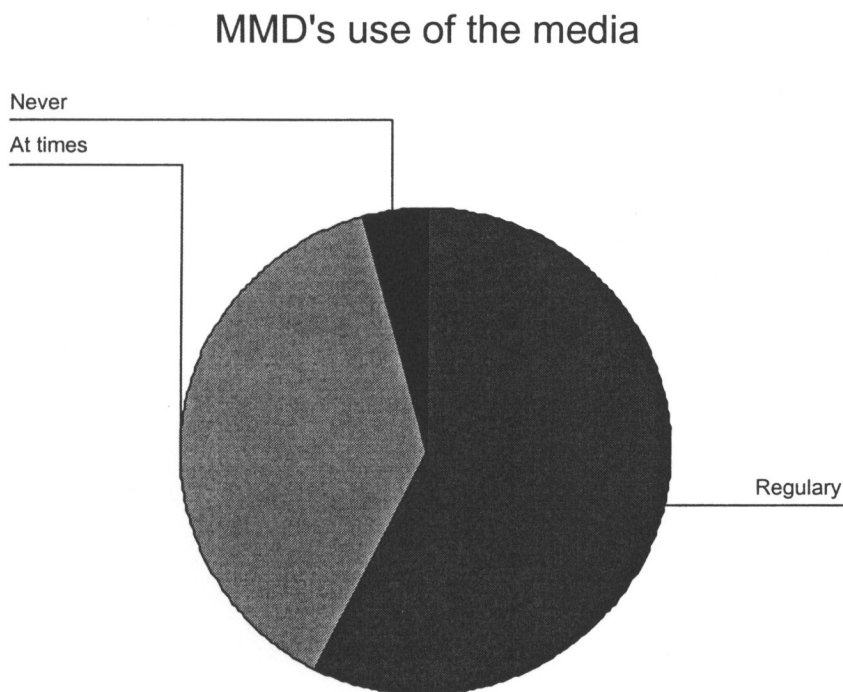
Results at each party level of those who said that MMD used the media regularly were 66.7% each at the Province and the Branch, 60% at NEC, 46.7% each at District and constituency. For those who said that MMD used the media at times were 46.7% each at the District and the Constituency, 40% at NEC, 33.3% at the Branch, and 26.6% at the Province. A total of 4.3% respondents from all the party levels said that MMD never used the media to disseminate political information. These findings showed that MMD highly used the media to disseminate information to the public. Table 13 and figure 7 shows the statistics.

Table 13 *MMD's use of Media to disseminate information*

Media use by MMD	NEC		Province		District		Constituency		Branch		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Regularly	6	60	10	66.7	7	46.7	7	46.7	10	66.7	40	57.1
At times	4	40	4	26.7	7	46.7	7	46.7	5	33.3	27	38.6
Never	0	0	1	6.7	1	6.7	1	6.7	0	0	3	4.3
Total	10	100	15	100	15	100	15	100	15	100	70	100

Source: Field data

Figure 8



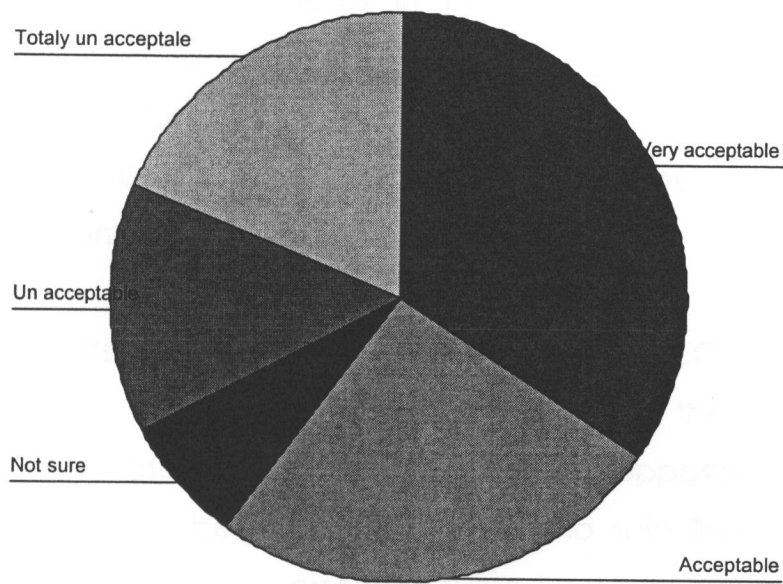
Source: Field data

Despite the majority of the respondents indicating that MMD used the media regularly, a total of 34.3% said that it was very acceptable and 25.7% said that it was acceptable for a political party in power to take advantage of the media and other national resources. 18.6% said that it was totally unacceptable and 14.3% said that it was unacceptable for a political party in power to take advantage of the media and other national resources. 7.1% said that they were not sure as to whether it was acceptable or not.

These findings revealed that the respondents saw nothing wrong in MMD taking advantage of the media and national resources. Further results indicated that 67.1% said that it was not true that MMD exploited the media and national resources. Only 7.1% admitted that MMD had exploited the media and other national resources. 24.3% were not sure, and 1.4% gave no response. This showed that the respondents saw nothing wrong in the manner MMD used the media. Details are shown in Figures 8 and 9.

Figure 9

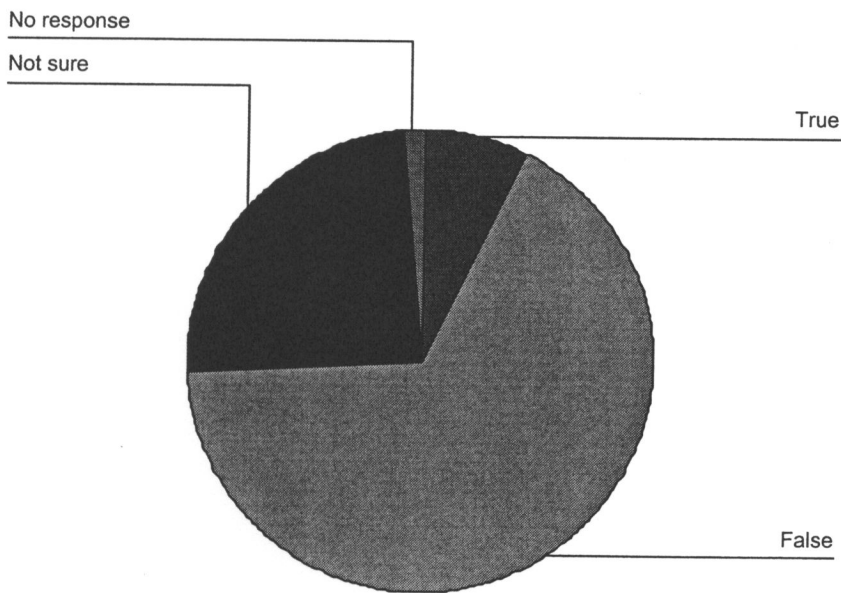
Opinion on taking advantage of the media



Source: Field data

Figure 10

MMD exploits the media and national resources



Source: Field data

5.2.10 Communication with the opposition parties and civic organisations

70% of the respondents in all the party structures said that MMD communicated with the opposition parties and civic organisations sometimes. Only 24.3% said that the party communicated frequently with other parties, and 5.7% said that MMD never communicated with other parties and civic organisations.

The results by party level were 80% each at NEC and Constituency, 73.3% at Branch, 66.7% at the District, and 53.3% at the Province said that MMD communicated sometimes with the opposition parties and civic organisations. The highest of those who said that MMD communicated frequently with the opposition were from the province, 40%, followed by the District at 33.3%.

These findings showed that MMD rarely communicated with other political parties and civic organisations. The statistics are in table 14.

Table 14 *Communication with the Opposition Parties and Civic organisations*

Communication with the Opposition Parties and civic organisations	NEC		Province		District		Constituency		Branch		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Frequently	2	20	6	40	5	33.3	2	13.3	2	13.3	17	24.3
Sometimes	8	80	8	53.3	10	66.7	12	80	11	73.3	23	70
Never	0	0	1	6.7	0	0	1	6.7	2	13.3	4	5.7
Total	10	100	15	100	15	100	15	100	15	100	70	100

Source: Field data

5.2.11 Strategies of communication with opposition parties

On the methods MMD used to communicate with other parties, 55.7% said that it was through consultative meetings, 20% said that their party used the media, consultative meetings and debates, 10% said that their party used debates, 5.7% said that it used the media, 2.9% said debates and consultative meetings, and 1.4% said the media and consultative meetings. Table 15 shows the statistics.

Out of the 55.7% who said that MMD used consultative meetings to communicate with the opposition and civic organisations, 42.9%

indicated that this was done sometimes. Only 12.9% said that the consultative meetings were held frequently. This finding implied that the consultations between MMD and the opposition political parties and civic organisations were not done on a regular basis.

Table 15 *Strategies of communication with opposition parties*

Strategies of communication with opposition parties and civic organisations	NEC		Province		District		Constituency		Branch		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Media	0	0	0	0	1	6.7	1	6.7	2	13.3	4	5.7
Consultative meetings	5	50	12	80	5	33.3	8	53.3	9	60	39	55.7
Debates	0	0	0	0	3	20	3	20	1	6.7	7	10
Media, Consultative meetings and debates	3	30	2	13.3	5	33.3	2	13.3	2	13.3	14	20
Media and Consultative meetings	1	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13.3	1	1.4
Debates and consultative meetings	1	10	0	0	1	6.7	0	0	0	0	2	2.9

Not applicable	0	0	1	6.7	0	0	0	0	1	6.7	2	2.9
No response	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6.7	0	0	1	1.4
Total	10	100	15	100	15	100	15	100	15	100	70	100

Source: Field data

5.2.12 Importance of Party programmes and policies

While communication with the public is important, there is need for political leaders to have interest and knowledge on political issues such as corruption, the constitution review, human rights and the allocation and management of public resources for them to explain clearly and answer many questions that may arise from the public.

The majority of the respondents said the issues of corruption, constitution review, human rights and the allocation and management of public resources were very important. 72.9% said that the constitution review was very important. On the fight against corruption by MMD, 78.6% said that it was very important. The majority 87.1% said that respect for human rights and freedoms were very important, while 65.7% said that the management and allocation of national resources was also very important. A few respondents 10% were not sure as to whether these issues were important or not. This could be an indication that in MMD there are people who do not understand these issues. This can hinder effective dissemination of information by members of the party to the public. Table 16 shows the details.

Table 16 *Importance of various programmes*

	Constitution review		Fight against corruption		Respect of Human rights and freedoms		Management and allocation of public resources	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Very important	51	72.9	55	78.6	61	87.1	46	65.7
Important	12	17.1	10	14.3	9	12.9	16	22.9
Not sure	3	4.3	4	5.7	0	0	7	10
Unimportant	1	1.4	1	1.4	0	0	1	1.4
Worthless	3	4.3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	70	100	70	100	70	100	70	100

Source: Field data

On whether MMD had disseminated the information on corruption, constitution review, human rights and the allocation and management of public resources, the majority of the respondents said that their party had adequately disseminated the information on these programmes to the public. 81.4% said that their party had adequately disseminated information on constitution review. As for the fight against corruption, 85.7% said that MMD had adequately disseminated information on

corruption. When it came to information on respect of human rights and freedoms, 74.3% said that this information had been adequately disseminated. On the management and allocation of public resources, 67.1% said that the information had been adequately disseminated. Details are in table 17.

Table 17 *Dissemination of information*

	Constitution review		Fight against corruption		Respect of Human rights and freedoms		Management and allocation of public resources	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	57	81.4	60	85.7	52	74.3	47	67.1
No	9	12.9	8	11.4	12	17.1	17	24.3
Not sure	4	5.7	2	2.9	6	8.6	6	8.6
Total	70	100	70	100	70	100	70	100

Source: Field data

5.2.13 Importance of MMD's affairs

In order to determine how important party issues were to the respondents, they were asked the importance of campaigning for candidates, party manifesto, party constitution and the electoral process. 82.9% said that campaign for candidates was very important, 91.4% said that the party manifesto was very important, 88.6% said that the party constitution was

very important, 81.4% said that the electoral process was also very important.

These findings on importance of party affairs were higher than the findings on the constitution, the fight against corruption, human rights and management and allocation of public resources showed. This could be an indication that the party members held party matters highly or the members understood better party affairs than other issues. Statistics on party affairs are shown in table 18.

Table 18 Importance of party affairs

Importance of party affairs	Campaign for candidates		Party manifesto		Party constitution		Electoral process	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Very important	58	82.9	64	91.4	62	88.6	57	81.4
Important	12	17.1	6	8.6	7	10	11	15.7
Not sure	0	0	0	0	1	1.4	2	2.9
Unimportant	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Worthless	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	70	100	70	100	70	100	70	100

Source: Field data

5.3 IN DEPTH INTERVIEWS

A total of three in depth interviews were conducted with top party leaders from NEC, District and Constituency to have an increased insight of the party's communication strategies. One in depth interview was also held with an opposition party, United National Independence Party (UNIP), to have their opinion on MMD's use and abuse of the media. The responses given by the informants were analysed qualitatively according to the following thematic areas: political education, campaign strategies, information and publicity, and intra party communication. Below are the observations:

5.3.1 Political Education

One of the powers and functions of NEC according to the MMD constitution is to determine the most appropriate ways and means of promoting political education. The in depth interviews revealed that MMD had no capacity to promote political education among its members due to financial constraints. As a result, political education to the general public is unattainable. The party, however, sourced funds to educate its Provincial leaders through out the whole country through one day induction workshop. Topics for the workshops were party organisation, electoral process, discipline, committee system, intra-party democracy, membership recruitment, rights and obligations of members, inter-party conflict resolution, duties of a treasurer, and human rights and good governance. The Provincial leaders were educated so that they educate the lower structures of the party. The other reason was to orient them into multi party politics as the party structures were designed around one party system. The workshops helped to enlighten the leaders on various issues. Despite this effort it was felt by the informant that those who attended the workshops still lacked depth of knowledge and information to effectively

educate others. This was because the workshops were not detailed, but orientation in nature and lacked depth of knowledge.

5.3.2 Campaign strategies

The in depth interviews revealed that MMD carried out vigorous communication during campaigns. It was heard that during election campaigns, multiple strategies of communication were used by the party in order to reach and influence as many voters as possible and win votes.

The strategies mentioned were:

- a) Door-to door campaign- these were carried out by foot soldiers who spoke to people on one to one basis and got immediate feedback on people's views about the party. This helped the party to assess their chances of winning. They were able to find out on the spot the views of the people and able to change strategies if they were not in their favour.
- b) Ward rallies- these were addressed by ward leaders in every ward through out the country.
- c) In door meetings were held with interest groups in the communities, such as the churches, schools, clubs, NGOs to mention a few.
- d) Public meetings were addressed by Members of Parliament and Ministers in wards answering questions from people on various social, political, economic issues such health services, education, and so on.
- e) Meetings with opinion leaders, such as Chiefs, Headmen, Health Workers, Teachers, were also conducted by the party.
- f) Rallies were addressed by the President and Ministers a day before the day of the elections.
- g) Posters of candidates were also printed and placed in public places.

- h) Fliers showing how and who to vote for were distributed to the members of the public.
- i) Banners were also printed bearing campaign messages.
- j) Paid media adverts were also aired.
- k) Debates in the media and other forums were conducted.

It was found that all these communication strategies were embarked on during election campaigns. It was stated that the party was not able to use all these strategies through out because they were costly. This meant that the most effective communication was carried out during campaigns by the party. Door-to-door campaign was said to be the most effective strategy in MMD campaigns as it gave immediate feedback to both the party and the voters of the messages. Door to door campaigning was found to be an essential part of MMD campaigns because it built recognition for the candidates, credibility of the party, and encouraged people to go to the polls.

5.3.3 Information and publicity

It was found that the party used the media, both print and electronic, to publicise its activities. The in depth interviews revealed that the party mostly used public media because private owned media, for example Radio Phoenix, sided with the opposition political parties.

The party used the media to make press statements on important NEC resolutions. Sometimes it made statements to counteract criticisms from the opposition, and also to air grievances and displeasure against political opponents or contrary views. The party also held press conferences to address important party issues.

The other way through which the party used the media to publicise its activities was through media coverage of events such as defections of members from other parties to MMD, Presidential speeches at provincial conferences, and other events.

As to whether the party was abusing the media, the informants argued that everywhere in the world the governments in power had free access to the media. It was felt that MMD had the right to use the media being the ruling party. They said that the party in power cannot be separated from the government.

On the other hand, it was heard from the in depth interview with UNIP officials that the government media, Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC), Times of Zambia and Zambia Daily Mail were biased towards MMD. They said that these media gave priority to MMD functions. The opposition parties were not given chance to publicise their activities even when they were of national interest. Their meetings, projects, and even defections from MMD to UNIP were not publicised by the media. Their party President was not featured on ZNBC, and this denied the nation information on the activities of their party. They felt that this marginalised their strength. Whenever they had chance to use the media they were asked to pay while MMD was given free covered. For this reason UNIP was not happy with the manner MMD used the public media and their opinion was that MMD was abusing the media and other national resources.

5.3.4 Intra party communication

Communication within the party they said was mainly through meetings, letters, and circulars.

5.4 DIRECT OBSERVATION

Certain sampled communication situations were observed at the MMD Secretariat. These were interpersonal communication, group communication, organisational communication, public communication and mass communication.

5.4.1 Interpersonal communication

It was observed that interpersonal communication was highly used to exchange views and information. There was a lot of face-to-face interaction between party members, consulting and informing each other on various issues. Face to face communication was between the secretariat staff and the party members, the members of staff and the clients, and also among the party members were observed. Most of the administrative issues at the secretariat were dealt with on one to one basis with feedback provided on the spot. Urgent and important information, such as seeing off or receiving the President at the airport was communicated verbally to party leaders who passed it on to cadres through word of mouth. Face to face communication was used to spread urgent messages and mobilise cadres quickly such women choirs to provide entertainment at party gatherings. The strategy worked effectively as cadres were mobilised within possible shortest time.

5.4.2 Group communication

It was also observed that group communication took place in the form of meetings. Frequent meetings by various party groups were held to discuss, and share information. The groups discussed issues in an open and participatory manner. Different committees also met to review and plan their activities, including the disciplinary and appeal committees to solve

disciplinary and appeal cases. The Secretariat also held staff briefings on administrative matters.

5.4.3 Organisational communication

Communication within MMD, and between MMD and members of the public was observed. It was found that there was communication between the Secretariat superiors and the subordinates through face-to-face communication, and correspondences. Communication through letters was very ineffective, as they took long to prepare due to inadequate modern office and communication equipment. This delayed the conveyance of information to the intended recipients. In addition, delays in dispatches of information were also experienced at the Secretariat due to financial and transport constraints. Secretariat staff most of the time sacrificed their own resources to deliver some of the urgent information.

It was also observed that communication flowed both vertically and horizontally. The channels of communication from top to the bottom were strictly followed especially on disciplinary matters, which had to follow the organisation's communication channels. For instance a member of a ward executive committee could not appeal to the highest executive like NEC without appealing to the constituency or the district executive. The vertical channels tended to be slow in as far as information flow was concerned. On the other hand, horizontal communication, which was mostly verbal consultations, was also observed at the Secretariat among the Secretariat staff who held same ranks. These were the Administrative Secretary, Financial Secretary and the Organising Secretary. Their communication was also diagonal as they belonged to different departments.

5.4.4 Public address communication

A public meeting was observed in Matero Constituency at which the newly elected committee members were introducing themselves to the cadres who put them in office. The Constituency Chairperson addressed the audience on a platform and immediate feedback was provided for through the question answer session. Cadres were able to clarify issues and air their grievances, which the leaders responded to immediately. This provided for a two-way communication.

5.4.5 Mass communication

It was also observed that the media was used frequently by Secretariat to inform the public new developments in the party. This was done through press releases, and press coverage. Some of the issues that were communicated in the media were on the party conferences, defections into MMD, and the announcement of election candidates for bye elections, party elections dates, airing grievances or support to some political issues, and also announcing other events. The press was always available for the party whenever they were required, even at short notice. Of course the requests for media coverage were put in written. Response was almost prompt.

5.5 DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

A number of documents were analysed at the Secretariat. Among them were NEC minutes, the party constitution, the party manifesto, the party convention reports, correspondences, and campaign posters.

The analysis revealed that MMD realised that it needed committed members to disseminate information on the party achievements and challenges. It was found that MMD constitution states as one of the obligations members to strive to constantly explain the policies and

programmes of the party to the people. It was also discovered in the party constitution that one of the powers and functions of NEC is to determine the most appropriate ways and means of promoting political education and the Branch Executive Committee to explain party policies to the public.

The documents further revealed that the party wants to encourage national debate within and outside the party by communicating through the mass media. The documents cite the debate on the amendment of the party constitution to make the party president eligible to stand for more than two terms which was encouraged through the media. The fourteen NEC members who were against the third term also used the media to oppose it through adverts. The party also encouraged the use of adverts in the print and electronic media to inform the public on various issues. This party acknowledged in their documents the fact that the media was an effective tool for the provision of information necessary for the public participation in democratic good governance.

It was also discovered in the documents that the information on government programmes and achievements and party policies were disseminated through tours of provinces by combined teams of NEC members and Ministers. During the tours they held meetings to counter the lies peddled by the opposition across the country. However, some of those involved in the tours professed ignorance of the messages they were to put across to the people during those tours. This rendered them ineffective as no right information was given to the public.

The other finding from the documents analysed was that MMD made efforts to establish a working relationship with other political parties. The

party held consultative meetings with UNIP to draw areas of cooperation. Dialogue to enhance unity and cooperation with UNIP was also carried out. Other parties were invited to participate in the national dialogue and responded positively except for the disagreements on chairmanship, agenda, venue, and many more. MMD relations with some NGOs and religious groups were found not to be cordial. Despite these unfavourable responses to dialogue, the party held the National Convention, popularly billed as a National Indaba. This was an open national dialogue forum, which addressed social, economic and political issues.

The information in the documents also revealed that the participation and contribution of non-office bearing members in party discussions and decision making was almost non existent as most party forums either involved just office holders or took the form of office holders lecturing to the general membership.

5.6 SUMMARY

This chapter looked at the findings of the questionnaires, in depth interviews, direct observation and document analysis. The chapter has also tried to interpret the results. The chapter that follows will discuss these results in detail in terms of their effects on the recipients. The results will also be discussed in relation to the communication theories discussed in Chapter 3.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents a discussion of the findings presented in Chapter 5 on the MMD communication strategies with the public, with other parties and within the party. The chapter also relates the findings to the theories discussed in chapter 3. At the end of this chapter conclusions and recommendations are made.

6.2 DISCUSSION

6.2.1 Communication with the public

The results showed that despite acknowledging the fact that it was their responsibility as party members to disseminate political information to the electorate, the majority of the respondents did not communicate with the electorate regularly. Political parties and their members, as opinion leaders, have an important role to play in the dissemination of political information to the public in order to influence public opinion. The two-step flow theory emphasises the importance of opinion leaders in the dissemination of information to the less active sections of the population.

The researcher found that the majority of the respondents followed political events in the media regularly. According to the two-step flow theory, the people who are exposed to the media are mostly opinion leaders because such individuals are knowledgeable about various political topics since they are regularly exposed to the media, and therefore they are able to influence the less knowledgeable public. On the contrary, the findings revealed that despite being keen followers of

political events in the media and being knowledgeable about political issues, the majority stated that they did not communicate the political information they got from the media to the electorate. According to the two step-flow theory, after receiving the information, the opinion leaders pass it through informal interpersonal communication to others. The level of opinion leadership in the MMD membership in terms of influencing public opinion on policies and programmes therefore is not done regularly by some members. The failure by most of the party members to disseminate information to the public does not augur well for the political development of the country. For the party to make an impact in terms of influencing public opinion there is need for the members to maintain personal contacts regularly with the public through interpersonal communication channels. Interpersonal communication is the most effective form of communication and can have great effects as far as dissemination of political information and influencing public opinion is concerned.

On the channels of communication used to disseminate information to the public, it was found that various channels were used by the party members interviewed. From NEC, the highest structure of the party to the lowest, findings revealed that public meetings were generally used in the dissemination of information followed by word of mouth. The use of mass media was more used at the NEC level of the party.

The multiple channels used to disseminate political information to the public is an important approach for effective dissemination of information because each method of communication has advantages and disadvantages, and these complement each other. Interpersonal communication for instance is the most effective kind of communication as it gives both sender and receiver of the message clarification on issues

being discussed. One can see the other person's facial expressions and other body language. Unfortunately, this kind of communication can also be the most expensive because of the time involved in talking to different people at different times.

On the other hand, the use of the mass media enables one to get maximum desired results as it is the quickest form of communication when one wants to reach as many people as possible in a very short time. However, the mass media can also be very impersonal and not very persuasive at times as feedback from the target audiences is delayed. The use of many channels in the dissemination of information ensures effective communication as each method used complements the other. Some groups of people may hear the information directly from the media while others through personal contacts. The multiple approaches used by the MMD members can enable the public get information from many sources. According to the Multi-step flow theory, there are many steps in the flow of information and communication.

Even though the findings from the questionnaires revealed multiple channels of communication used in the MMD, the in-depth interviews showed that some of the communication strategies were used during election campaigns only. It was discovered that the most effective communication strategies in terms of influencing public opinion and getting on the spot feedback from the people were the ones the party used in election campaigns. These were door-to-door campaigns which involved personal contacts with the voters, meetings and rallies with communities, interest groups, and opinion leaders. MMD employed these methods as a campaign strategy because of their effectiveness in terms of influencing the public opinion. While election campaigns are an

essential part of political communication in the democratic process, communicating during elections alone is not adequate in terms of making people well informed about various policy issues. To ensure continued participation of citizens in the political life of the nation much longer-term effective communication is needed. Communication between political parties and the electorate is supposed to be an effective two way continuous process. For communication to be effective there is need for both political opinion leaders and the electorate to influence each other on various political issues. Information should flow both ways so that political parties are also influenced by the public.

6.2.2 Use and abuse of the media by MMD

On the use and abuse of the media, the researcher found that MMD regularly used the media in its communication with the public, and this is mainly to publicise its activities. The findings evidently showed that MMD highly used the media, both print and electronic, to publicise various party affairs which mostly bordered on persuading the public to be supportive of the party's opinion. The members disseminated information and advanced arguments in the media from a partisan perspective, to sell the party to the public. The information in most cases was highly partisan and adversarial to the opposition. Such communication does not contribute to debate or, worse, discourages healthy debate itself. Healthy democracy encourages a spirit of debate which strives for better understanding. Political communication must make the public involved in policy discussion by providing accurate information in the media about party policy and also creating opportunities for public participation in debates. Setting the agenda for the mass media is the main purpose of a party's communications strategy. According to the agenda setting theory the media has powerful influence on public debate because it determines

issues that are important by emphasising some and omitting others. Political parties therefore can take advantage of the powerful influence of the media to set the agenda by determining important information to pass on to the media for public debate. MMD is therefore according to the findings may not be fully exploiting the powerful influence of the media to set the agenda for public debate. This could be due to the kind of information it airs and publishes in the media, for instance defections from other parties, counteracting allegations and criticisms from the opposition, which some of them could be constructive aimed at correcting the ruling party. Such issues in the media may not influence important public debates on important policy issues as most of the information is partisan and sheer propaganda. On this basis one can argue that MMD is not doing much to influence the media set the agenda on important policy issues meaningful for development of the country. There is need for MMD even as they use the media regularly to promote debates to advance the political development of this country, by communicating important and relevant information.

Mass media communication assures quickest communication of information reaching as many people as possible in a very short time. According to the Agenda setting theory, the media is said to exert powerful effects on people. Political parties can take advantage of this powerful influence of the media to set the agenda by determining important information to pass on to the media for public debate. In as much as the national television and the newspapers have the duty to set the framework for debate on current issues in terms of their coverage, to some extent politicians can have an influence on the media in terms of the importance of the information they gave to the media to disseminate.

On the abuse of the media and national resources, the respondents consider it very acceptable for a political party in power to take advantage of the media and other national resources. They felt that MMD was in a privileged position being the party in power to use the media as they wished. The main cause of this problem of abuse of the media was due to the ownership of public media. The reality at the time of writing this report was that Government still retained ownership and control of ZNBC, Times of Zambia and Zambia Daily Mail newspapers. MMD being the government in power at the time meant that it had the freedom to use the media the way it felt like. The findings proved the fact that MMD government exercised considerable influence over these government-owned media, which continued to follow the government line as a government propaganda tool. The party had failed to draw a line between the government and itself. The system was more or less the same as the UNIP party and its government system. There is an urgent need for the MMD administration to undertake legal media reforms that will guarantee press freedom and foster democracy for the Zambian people.

Findings from interviews with UNIP, one of the opposition political parties, revealed that they were denied access to public media. Coverage of political parties by the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC), Times of Zambia, and Zambia Daily Mail in most cases favoured the ruling MMD. Access to the public media for opposition political parties they said was limited and not free, and to some extent absent.

Lack of equal access to the media by all political parties in the country can have a negative impact on communication of political information as the people do not get exposed to diverse opinions for meaningful decision making. The Media is saturated with state publications or those serving the interest of the ruling MMD. When diverse opinions do not get

the chance to be heard public debate and exchange of information between main players in society is not promoted. This does not augur well for public political discussion as it disadvantages the contrary views, especially from the opposition political parties from being heard. The media should give equal and fair coverage to opposing sectors of society on issues affecting the nation.

Freedom of expression is fundamental to the dissemination and exchange of information, ideas and views. This freedom becomes indispensable in an election campaign in which the electorate ought to know about the contesting political parties and candidates, their policies and positions on various national issues. The mass media plays a critical role in informing and educating the public especially during election campaigns when the electorate must be availed timely and accurate information about policies and programmes of contesting parties and candidates. This is important in order for the electorate to make informed choices. The public media in particular have a social responsibility to provide fair coverage and equal access to a cross section of society without any form of discrimination.

6.2. 3 Inter party communication

On inter party communication, the researcher found that MMD did not communicate with other parties and civic organisations regularly. Communication between MMD and the opposition parties was through consultative meetings. Findings revealed that MMD made efforts to establish a working relationship with other political parties. In its efforts for good inter party relations it was found that MMD went further to appoint leaders and members of the opposition parties outside parliament to political positions in MMD government. Some of the opposition parties, for example Agenda for Zambia (AZ) and National Citizens Coalition (NCC), even dissolved to merge with MMD. It was also found that inter-party

consultations and co-operation between MMD and UNIP had reached an advanced stage. Exploratory talks were held between the two parties towards signing a memorandum of understanding spelling out the nature and areas of principled and free inter-party cooperation, while retaining separate party identities and leadership.

MMD has a responsibility to ensure that it creates co-operation across party lines to enable it lead the nation effectively. Inter party and civic organisation relations are very vital to participation in governance by all players in society. Open and active deliberations of all issues of public concern are very important and MMD as the ruling party has a pivotal role to play in the promotion of deliberations because its policies and programmes affect the lives of all the people of Zambia. There is need therefore for MMD to engage all political parties and civil society in positive dialogue based upon good relations in order to achieve the desired effects. Without this there cannot be democracy and good governance worth its name.

Further findings however revealed that MMD still faced problems of bringing together all political parties, Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs), and the Civil Society. Problems mainly were to do with disagreements on chairmanship, agenda, venue, and personality considerations, among others. This was evident at the National Convention, popularly billed as the National Indaba, which was set as an open national dialogue forum boycotted by some political parties, church groups, the influential Oasis Forum and the Non Governmental Coordinating Committee (NGOCC). They claimed the objective of the indaba was unclear, topics to be discussed were unprioritised, and agenda was too wide for any meaningful debate. They argued that

currently the country was facing serious challenges around the constitution review process, the fight against corruption and the need for inter-party dialogue.

The main aim of the public debate is to have a rational critical discussion among citizens about the common good, leading to the formulation of a course of action that will serve the interest of the public. In order to ground such debate, it is important to 'publicise' the policies and actions of the state, as well as any alternatives emanating from the involved public. One of the pillars of an effective public debate has been the mass media, notably in its focus on the dissemination of news and critical analysis of the workings of government.

Dialogue is a very critical component in the success of any democracy as it promotes co-existence, tolerance and, it helps to ease tension in the country. There is need for MMD to establish proper channels of communication with other parties, the church and civic organisations. The emphasis on public discussion of issues in order to arrive at a consensus, or at least a majority opinion, is a cornerstone of a democracy. No single person or party can know all the facts or anticipate all the consequences of a policy or action, having an open process of public input and debate will result in a better decision.

6.2.4 Intra party communication

In any organisation, the communication of information is necessary for management decision- making, interdepartmental co-ordination and individual motivation and effectiveness. Communication is the lifeblood of the organisation as it helps its component parts to be coordinated and integrated harmoniously toward a common goal. Without communication the organisation comes to a stand still. Communication at the MMD

Secretariat was found to be mainly through face-to-face, written and electronic. This was by way of briefings and meetings, letters, telephone, fax and circulars.

Staff briefings and meetings are very important in any organisation as they help to communicate and explain management decisions on policies, plans, progress, personnel issues among others, to reduce any disruption, dispel any rumours, and enhance employees' commitment. The briefings and meetings in MMD provided for face -to-communication, which played an important part in the life of the party as it helped in the generation of new ideas, on the spot feedback, co-operation and sensitivity to personal factors, and spreading information quickly through groups of people. The meetings encouraged participatory discussion where people expressed their opinion freely without prejudice and contributed to discussions. They provided for group communication in terms of sharing and dissemination of information to all members of the committees. However these meetings were only held by committees, and also at the Secretariat.

In addition to meetings, it was also found that MMD used circulars and letters for internal and external communication. Letters were also used in certain situations where confidential personnel matters were involved. Communication by circulars and letters was useful for exchanging many sorts of messages, particularly for informing members of the party new developments putting them in the picture to know the way forward. The use of letters, and faxes provided written record and confirmation of matters discussed, where as telephone communication provided all the interactive and feedback advantages of face to face communication,

but it could not send a lot of information and did not provide the concreteness of written communication.

Communication through letters at the Secretariat was carried out with some degree of inefficiency. Most of the correspondences took long to prepare due to lack of communication equipment such as computers. The whole MMD Secretariat had only two computers which were used by two Secretaries. Everybody else depended on these two to have letters and other documents typed causing an accumulation of work to be done. Urgent and important issues ended up delaying. This delayed communication of important issues. There is need therefore for MMD to improve in the area of communication facilities. When these are available efficiency in the organisation is improved. It is hoped that more computers will be purchased so that communication by letters is improved.

The other hindrance to the efficiency of communication by letters in the party was due to financial and transport constraints. This made the delivery of letters at times difficult because the secretariat lacked fuel and transport. Financial and transport constraints tended to affect adversely the delivery of letters and circulars. One of the ingredients of good communication is to consider distance and cost and there is need for MMD to look into these seriously.

It was found that the other way MMD communicated within the party was through party conferences. A series of provincial conferences were held in all the nine provinces to elect provincial leaders. At these conferences the party President delivered speeches on important political issues which delegates discussed and passed resolutions. The issues included economic development, party unity and national inclusiveness, electoral

and constitutional reform, intra-party and inter-party relations, and way forward in internal party affairs. Induction workshops were also held for newly elected leaders.

The conferences and workshops made it possible for the party members to critique issues for improvement, learn new information, and share knowledge. This was important as it improved the understanding of political issues and performance of party members. However, the delegates to these conferences were office holders only drawn from the NEC, constituency, district and branch committees. The participation and contribution of non-office bearing members in party discussions and decision making was almost non-existent as most party forums involved just office holders. The general memberships were only informed about decisions passed at conferences and other gatherings in public meetings. The committees shared the information by way of lecture to the general membership. This was found to be a barrier to communication, as it did not provide for broad membership participation. There is need for broad membership participation to meet the party requirements for information dissemination.

Generally the internal channels of communication in the MMD were found to be vertical (superiors to subordinates and back) horizontal (between people of same rank), and lateral or diagonal (between departments). The vertical communication provided reporting and feedback channels between the superiors to the subordinates and back. The strict observance of the vertical channel of communication however worked to the disadvantage of subordinates especially in appeal cases where a person could not appeal to the highest office without passing through the lower levels of authority. Such long chains of commands or

hierarchies delayed the handling of disciplinary cases. Horizontal communication on the other hand was usually easier and more direct than vertical communication, because there were no ranks to inhibit it as it took place between people of same ranks. Information also flowed laterally between departments for coordination.

The internal channels of communication used in the MMD party helped the party office holders to get things done because it motivated them to get involved in party affairs. As a result it was observed that there was maximum cooperation, coordination and participation within the party ranks. The internal channels of communication were however restricted to office bearers exclusive of the general membership.

6.3 CONCLUSION

From the discussion of the findings it can be concluded that MMD carried out its political communication with varying degree of efficiency.

a) Communication with the public

From the findings it can be said that majority of the MMD members are not communicating political information to the public on a regular basis. It is not that they are ignorant of their responsibility, but this is because of the general party approach to communication. MMD, as observed, attaches more importance to campaigning for candidates. From the findings MMD and its members embarked on serious communication when there were elections. This was done to influence voters to vote for the party's candidates. General and Parliamentary elections in Zambia come once in five years, except where there are bye elections. Emphasis to effective communication in election campaigns therefore deprives people of continuous flow of important political information from the party and its

members. This results in an ignorant electorate which ends up making wrong electoral choices.

b) Mass media use by MMD

The findings do indicate that there is unequal access to the public media and this is due to government ownership, control, and influence over the public media. MMD as the party in government had more access to the public media as compared to other political parties. As a result MMD frequently used the media even on issues that were in the interest of the party in terms of building popularity, and not educating the public. The public media were used for propaganda to support and advance the ideals of the MMD being the party in power and not for educational purposes. Findings showed that MMD members did not see anything wrong in the way the party used the media. Other parties have been put at a disadvantage in terms of having their views heard by the public since the media is an effective tool for the provision of information necessary for the public participation in democratic governance.

c) Inter party and civic organisation communication

On communication with other political parties, MMD faced problems in consulting and dialoguing with other parties and civic organisations. This was due to various political disagreements which ranged from chairmanship, agenda, and venue to mention a few. From the findings it can be seen that the relationship between MMD and other political parties and civic organisations is not pleasant to promote effective inter party consultation and dialogue. Through inter party dialogue issues of national importance are discussed to arrive at a consensus. Inter-party dialogue is therefore one way in which democracy can be promoted in the country.

d) Intra party communication

Communication within MMD was carried out with varying degree of efficiency. There was strict observance of hierarchy in the channels of communication, which tended to delay communication. This was not favourable for easy communication with lower ranks of the party.

The findings showed that organisational communication within MMD was mostly among office bearing members leaving out the general membership, as most party forums such as meetings, conferences, workshops, and conventions only involved office holders. The participation and contribution of non-office bearing members in party discussions and decision making is almost non-existent. This results into ordinary party members at the grassroots being less knowledgeable on certain political issues for them to be effective in the dissemination of political information. Participation in decision-making by the general membership is important to create a sense of ownership and belonging to the party. This can motivate them to actively participate in information dissemination.

The party lacked modern office equipment. The party also lacked finances to finance its communication activities. Equipment such as computers and finances facilitate quick processing and conveyance of information by mail, fax or internet to the intended audience. Non availability of these resources delayed communication.

6.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the findings of the study the following recommendations are made:

a) Communication with the public

In light of the inconsistent communication of information to the public by the MMD members, it is recommended that the party draws up a communication strategy and programme, like the one it draws during election campaigns, to guide members in their day to day communication with the public. The strategy should include a variety of communication channels, such as interpersonal contacts, meetings with interest groups, public addresses, and mass media campaigns. The members should be committed to the implementation of the strategy. This will enable the party to maintain continuous communication with the public. This in the long run will help the party adequately inform the people its policies and programmes to enable them make good electoral decisions long before elections are held.

b) Mass media use by MMD

On the abuse and unequal access to public media it is recommended that MMD upholds freedom of expression and promote accessibility by the opposition parties and other interest groups. This will ensure free flow of political ideas for the public to be exposed to diverse views. This is very

important in a democratic system as it enables people to make good judgments of the different views and provide meaningful feedback to the government policies and vice versa.

MMD as the party in government should make an effort to give up public ownership of the media to make them independent. There is need for the government to change its policy on the privatisation of the public media, which remains under state ownership and control. Privatisation of media ownership will protect the independence of the media in both the public and the private sectors. Independence of the media is an important part of free communication. It allows different voices to be heard and helps to protect the media from political interference and attacks.

The right to freedom of expression enshrined in the Zambian constitution should also be upheld. This should be followed by passing the law on freedom of information, which is critical to media freedom as it could facilitate access to important information and events regardless of whether they are for the ruling party or the opposition. This will allow citizen participation in the democratic governance of Zambia.

c) Inter party and civic organisation communication

On inter party and civic organisation communication, it is recommended that MMD engages all political parties and civil society in positive dialogue based upon good relations. The party should advocate for the importance of consensus on various political issues by all stakeholders, and should be seen committed to the process on consensus building to get maximum cooperation.

d) Intra party communication

On intra party communication, it is recommended that MMD purchases more computers to improve efficiency in the organisation. The party should have stable sources of income to ease its communication problems. The financial sources must be transparent and legitimate because political financing in MMD mainly comes from member's personal wealth, well wishers and other sources. Some of the sources have been disputed by the opposition and the public as being abuse of national resources. The party has been accused of using government and company funds, such as ZESCO, to finance its activities. Dubious political party financing is widely perceived to be the source of corruption. There is need for MMD to be open on its sources of funds to dispel such accusations.

The party should also seriously look at ways of enhancing and regularising participation and contribution of non-office bearing members in party discussions and decision-making to promote party ownership and political education within the party. There should be a change in the communication process, to favour more participatory decision-making at the lower levels of the party as part of the democratic process. The party should shift from the hierarchical, top-down communication to a two-way process that is interactive and participatory to accommodate every member in the communication process.

6.5 SUMMARY

The study has attempted to examine the communication strategies used by MMD in political information dissemination. However, other future studies may wish to do a comparative analysis of the communication strategies of various parties. This could not be done in this research

because of financial limitations. A further study is recommended to investigate the communication patterns of different parties. I hope this report will be useful to other people who might be interested in political communication matters.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ally and Bacon (1999); *Small Group Communication*,
<http://www.abacon.com/commstudies/groups/definition.html>, Moorhead State University.
- Ball, A. (1983); *Modern Politics and Government*, Macmillan, London.
- Banda, F. (1997); *Elections and the press: The case of the 1996 polls*, ZIMA, Lusaka.
- Bartallie, J. L. (1998); *Opinion Leadership*,
http://www.ciadvertising.org/studies/student/98_spring/theory/opinion.html
- Berg-Schlosser, D. (1982); *Modes and Meaning of Political Participation in Kenya*, *Comparative Politics*, vol. 14, No. 4.
- Bonchek, M. S. (nd); *From Broadcast to Netcast: The Internet and the Flow Of political information*, <http://Institute.Strategosnet.com/msb/home.html>
- Bratton, M. et al, (1993); *MSU Working Papers on Political Reform in Africa*, working paper No. 4, *A Preliminary Assessment of the Political Attitudes of the Zambian Citizens*, Department of Political Science, Michigan State University, Michigan.
- Carver, R. (2000); *where do People Get Their Information*,
<http://www.aceproject.org/main>
- Deelen, B. (2001); *Where Do People Get Their Election Information?-Ukrain*, <http://www.aceproject.org/main>

Elkamel, F. (1986); *Developing Communication Strategies and Programmes; A Systematic Approach*, UNICEF.

Eoff, E. (2002), *What is Agenda Setting?* <http://www.ciadvertising.org>, USA

Freedom Quarterly Forum (1996), MISA, Lusaka,

Greenstein, F. I. (1963); *The American Party System and The American People*, Prentice Hall, USA.

GRZ Information and Media Policy Document, (1996), MISA, Lusaka.

Huckfeldt, R et al; *Political parties and Electoral Mobilisation: Political Structure, Social Structure, and the Party Canvass*, *American Political Science Review*, 1992, 86, No.1, USA.

Infante, D. etal; *Building Communication Theory*, Waveland Press, inc, Illinois, USA.

Irish, M. D. (1968); *The Politics of American Democracy*, 4th ed, Prentice Hall, USA.

Joinet, B. (1997); *Step by Step Towards Democracy*, Paulines Publications Africa, Kenya.

Katz, D et al; *The Impact of Local Party Activity upon the Electorate*, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 1961, vol. 25

Kasoma, P. F. (2002), *Government Media in Africa a Threat to Democracy*, Essay written for the column on communication Issues and Problems Around the Globe, Lusaka.

- Lexico Publishing Group (2003); *Dictionary*,
<http://dictionary.reference.com/search?q=speech>
- Littlejohn, S. W. (1991); *Theories of Human Communication*, 4th ed.
Wadsworth publishing Company, California.
- McQuail, D. (1994); *Mass Communication Theory; an Introduction*, 3rd ed.
Sage Publications, New Delhi.
- Menand, L (2004); *The Unpolitical Animal; How political science understands voters*,
The New Yorker,
http://www.newyorker.com/critics/atlarge/?040830crat_atlarge
- Meyer, T. (2003); *Mass Communication: Political Culture and Democracy
Observations and Experiences in a Comparative Perspective*,
http://www.fesnepal.org/topics/2002/topic_may02.htm
- Mc Combs, M.E and Shaw. D, (1972), *The Agenda Setting Function of the
Mass Media, Public Opinion Quarterly*, XXXVI, 2,
http://www.soc.unitn.it/sus/membri_del_dipartimento/pagine_personali/delgrosso/personali/articoli%5Cagendasettingtotal.htm
- Nelson, M; *The Presidency A to Z*, Congressional Quarterly Inc, CQ's
Encyclopedia of American Government, vol. II, 1994.
- Norpoth, H et al; *Mass Media use and Electoral Choice in West Germany*,
Comparative Political, 1980, vol. 13, No.1
- Ollawa, P. E. (1979); *Participatory Democracy in Zambia: The political
economy of national development*, Stockwell Ltd, Great Britain.

- Owens, J. R. et al (1965), *The American Party System*, Macmillan, New York.
- Reardon, K. R. et al; *Interpersonal Versus Mass Media Communication; A False Dichotomy*, *Human Communication Research*, 1988, vol. 15, No.2
- Rogers, E. V. (1973); *Strategies for Family Planning*, Free Press, New York.
- Rose, R. (1965); *Politics in England*, Faber and Faber, London.
- Ruwa, M. C. (2001); *Principles of Good Governance, The Church's Perspective*, Paulines Publications Africa, Kenya.
- Sakala, R. L. (2000); *Pillars of Zambian Democracy*, Zambia Printing Company, Lusaka, Zambia.
- Sanchez, M. (2002); *Agenda Setting*, <http://zimmer.csufresno.edu/~johnca/spch100/7-4-agenda.htm>
- Times of Zambia, *Mwanawasa Outlines Indaba Agenda* Saturday, October 18, 2003.
- Williamson, K. L. (2000); *Opinion Leadership, Origin of Opinion Leadership, the People's Choice Study*, http://www.ciadvertising.org/studies/student/00_spring/theory/kwilliam/public_html/theory/Origin.html
- Zaller, J. (1991); *Information, Values and Opinion*, *American Political Science Review*, Vol 85, 2.

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE

Hello dear Respondent,

This is a research about communication in the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD). You have been selected as a respondent and I would like to ask you a few questions. This research is purely for academic purposes and all your answers will be treated as confidential.

Answer all the questions as truthful as possible.

Please indicate your answer by ticking in the appropriate box.

SECTION A

1. You are 1 Male ☐
 2 Female ☐

2. How old are you?
1 16 – 25 ☐ 2 26 – 35 ☐
3 36 – 45 ☐ 4 46 – 55 ☐
5 Over 55 ☐

3. How many years have you been a member of MMD?
1 Between 1 and 5 years ☐
2 Between 6 and 10 years ☐
3 Over 10 years ☐

4. At what party level are you?

1 NEC ☐

2 Province ☐

3 District ☐

4 Constituency ☐

5 Branch ☐

SECTION B

5. Are the electorate in this country well informed about the MMD policies and programmes?

1 Yes ☐

2 No ☐

6. If yes to question 5, what do you think is the source of their information on MMD policies and programmes?

1 The media ☐

2 Party members ☐

3 Neighbours and friends ☐

4 Other Specify.....

7. If no to question 5, whose responsibility is it to educate the electorate on various policies and programmes?

1 The media ☐

2 Political parties ☐

3 Neighbours and friends ☐

4 Others

Specify.....

8. As a leader in the party is it your responsibility to communicate political issues with the electorate?

1 Yes ☐

2 No ☐

9. If yes to question 8, how often do you talk about the policies and programmes of your party with the electorate?

- | | | | | | |
|---|-----------|--------------------------|---|-------------|--------------------------|
| 1 | Every day | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 | Once a week | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3 | At times | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 | Never | <input type="checkbox"/> |

10. If you do talk about the MMD policies and programmes, what channels do you use?

- | | | | | | |
|---|---------------|--------------------------|---|-----------------|--------------------------|
| 1 | The media | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 | public Meetings | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3 | Word of mouth | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 | All of these | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5 | Other | Specify..... | | | |

11. How do you communicate with ordinary party members?

- | | | | | | |
|---|-------------------|--------------------------|---|-----------------|--------------------------|
| 1 | Through the media | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 | Public meetings | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3 | Word of mouth | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 | All of these | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5 | Other | Specify..... | | | |

12. How often do you attend your political party meetings?

- | | | | | | |
|---|------------|--------------------------|---|-----------|--------------------------|
| 1 | frequently | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 | Sometimes | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3 | Never | <input type="checkbox"/> | | | |

13. How often do you attend party rallies, civic and electoral campaigns?

- | | | | | | |
|---|------------|--------------------------|---|-----------|--------------------------|
| 1 | frequently | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 | Sometimes | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3 | Never | <input type="checkbox"/> | | | |

14. How often does your party communicate with the opposition political parties and civic organisations?

- | | | | | | |
|---|------------|--------------------------|---|-----------|--------------------------|
| 1 | frequently | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 | Sometimes | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3 | Never | <input type="checkbox"/> | | | |

15. If your party does communicate with the opposition what are the communication strategies employed?

- | | | | | | |
|---|--------------------|--------------------------|---|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 | The media | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 | Consultative meetings | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3 | Debates | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 | All of these | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5 | Other Specify..... | | | | |

16. How often do you follow political events in the media?

- | | | | | | |
|---|-----------|--------------------------|---|----------|--------------------------|
| 1 | Regularly | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 | At times | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3 | Never | <input type="checkbox"/> | | | |

17. If regularly or at times do you pass on the information you get from the media to other people?

- | | | | | | |
|---|-----|--------------------------|---|----|--------------------------|
| 1 | Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 | No | <input type="checkbox"/> |
|---|-----|--------------------------|---|----|--------------------------|

18. How often does your party use the media to inform people about various policies and programmes?

- | | | | | | |
|---|-----------|--------------------------|---|----------|--------------------------|
| 1 | Regularly | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 | At times | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3 | Never | <input type="checkbox"/> | | | |

19. What is your opinion about political parties in power taking advantage of the mass media and other resources?

- | | | | | | |
|---|----------------------|--------------------------|---|--------------|--------------------------|
| 1 | Very acceptable | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 | Acceptable | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3 | not sure | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 | Unacceptable | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5 | Totally unacceptable | <input type="checkbox"/> | | | |

20. There have been allegations that MMD has used its advantage to exploit the media and other national resources to stay in power. What is your response to this?

- | | | | | | | | | |
|---|------|--------------------------|---|-------|--------------------------|---|----------|--------------------------|
| 1 | True | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 | False | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 | not sure | <input type="checkbox"/> |
|---|------|--------------------------|---|-------|--------------------------|---|----------|--------------------------|

21. How important do you think the current constitutional review method used of getting as many views of the citizens as possible is?
- | | | | | | |
|---|----------------|--------------------------|---|-------------|--------------------------|
| 1 | Very important | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 | Important | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3 | Not sure | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 | Unimportant | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4 | worthless | <input type="checkbox"/> | | | |
22. Has MMD adequately informed the people about the constitution review?
- | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-----|--------------------------|---|----|--------------------------|---|----------|--------------------------|
| 1 | Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 | No | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 | Not sure | <input type="checkbox"/> |
|---|-----|--------------------------|---|----|--------------------------|---|----------|--------------------------|
23. How important do you think the fight against corruption embarked on by your party is?
- | | | | | | |
|---|----------------|--------------------------|---|-------------|--------------------------|
| 1 | Very important | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 | Important | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3 | Not sure | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 | Unimportant | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4 | worthless | <input type="checkbox"/> | | | |
24. Has MMD adequately disseminated information on corruption?
- | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-----|--------------------------|---|----|--------------------------|---|----------|--------------------------|
| 1 | Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 | No | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 | Not sure | <input type="checkbox"/> |
|---|-----|--------------------------|---|----|--------------------------|---|----------|--------------------------|
25. How important do you think respect of human rights and fundamental freedoms is?
- | | | | | | |
|---|----------------|--------------------------|---|-------------|--------------------------|
| 1 | Very important | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 | Important | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3 | Not sure | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 | Unimportant | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4 | Worthless | <input type="checkbox"/> | | | |
26. Has MMD adequately disseminated information on human rights?
- | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-----|--------------------------|---|----|--------------------------|---|----------|--------------------------|
| 1 | Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 | No | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 | Not sure | <input type="checkbox"/> |
|---|-----|--------------------------|---|----|--------------------------|---|----------|--------------------------|

27. How important do you think the participatory budgeting, involving more people in the allocation of public resources used in this year's budget is?

- 1

Very important

☐
- 2

Important

☐
- 3

Not sure

☐
- 4

Unimportant

☐
- 4

worthless

☐

28. Has MMD adequately disseminated information on management and allocation of public resources?

- 1

Yes

☐
- 2

No

☐
- 3

Not sure

☐

29. How important are the following to your party?

	Very important	Important	Not sure	Unimportant	Worthless
Campaign for candidates					
Party manifesto					
	Very important	Important	Not sure	Unimportant	Worthless
Party Constitution					
Electoral process					

30. Your party talks about the need to be in government with the electorate during election campaigns only?

- | | | | | | |
|---|----------------|--------------------------|---|-------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 | Strongly agree | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 | Agree | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2 | Disagree | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 | Strongly disagree | <input type="checkbox"/> |

31. It is the duty of political parties to inform the electorates about various political issues?

- | | | | | | |
|---|----------------|--------------------------|---|-------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 | Strongly agree | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 | Agree | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3 | Disagree | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 | Strongly disagree | <input type="checkbox"/> |

32. MMD is not doing much to disseminate political information to the electorate?

- | | | | | | |
|---|----------------|--------------------------|---|-------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 | Strongly agree | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 | Agree | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3 | Disagree | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 | Strongly disagree | <input type="checkbox"/> |

APPENDIX B

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE WITH MMD OFFICIALS

1. What are the ways through which MMD promotes political education within and outside the party?
1. How effective has been the party in educating the public?
2. What are the communication strategies employed by the MMD to communicate political information?
3. How effective have been individual members of the party in informing the electorate various political issues?
4. How do individual members of the party inform the public?
5. Are individual members of the party themselves conversant with the various programmes and policies of the party?
6. How committed are party members willing to informing the public various political issues?
7. There is a general complaint among cadres that the party has neglected them. How has this affected their commitment to party activities at the grassroots level?
8. What role do live performances and political songs play in the dissemination of information or are they only done to entertain leaders when receiving and seeing them off?
9. What are the various ways in which you conduct campaigns, i.e. campaign tactics?
10. What are the effects of your campaign methods on the electorate?
11. What kind of materials do you use in your campaigns?
12. What kind of information is usually contained in the campaign materials?
13. Has the media been of help in the dissemination of information?

14. How do you draw a line between the party communication and government communication in the media?
15. How does information flow within the party?
16. How do you publicise the activities of the party?
17. How effective has been the use of the media in the publicity of MMD activities?

APPENDIX C

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR OPPOSITION PARTY OFFICIAL

1. The media is one of the communication strategies used to inform the electorate about various political issues. How has been access to the public media by your political party and other opposition parties in this country?
2. How has been the coverage of political parties by the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC), Times of Zambia, and Zambia Daily Mail?
3. How has MMD used its advantage of being the party in power to exploit the media?
4. In what way has your party been affected by MMD's domination of public media?
5. Why is it wrong for public media to be government propaganda, supporting and advancing the policies of the government in power, and serving the state?
6. How possible is it to draw a line between the MMD as a party and the government in terms of use of the media?
7. Apart from the media what other areas have you been denied access?
8. With this kind of bias what alternative communication strategies do you use to inform the electorate your policies and programmes?
9. What has been the effect of these strategies on the recipients?