

**AN EVALUATION OF THE ELECTRONIC AND PRINT MEDIA INFLUENCE  
ON VOTER PARTICIPATION IN LUSAKA DISTRICT OF ZAMBIA:  
A CASE OF MUNALI CONSTITUENCY.**

**BY  
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## DECLARATION

I, **Rahabe Banda** do hereby declare that this dissertation represents a product of my work and it has not been submitted at this or any other university. All scholarly work used in this dissertation has been duly acknowledged.

**Signature.....**

**Date.....**

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## **APPROVAL**

This dissertation of **RAHABE BANDA** has been approved for the partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of Master of Education in Civic Education by the University of Zambia.

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## **ABSTRACT**

The study was aimed at evaluating the influence of electronic and print media on voter participation in Munali Constituency of Lusaka District of Zambia. It was guided by three objectives which were: to establish whether voter participation is influenced by the electronic and print media; to investigate how the electronic and print media influence voter participation; ascertain if voters have access to both electronic and print media.

The study employed qualitative approach. The study was a descriptive survey which employed qualitative approach. Data was collected through interviews, focus group discussions and document review. The sample size was hundred and four (104) from residential areas, markets, taxi-ranks, Media houses, Non-governmental Organisation(NGOs),Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) and Munali Member of Parliament(MP). Purposive and simple random samplings were used to sample residential areas, markets and tax-ranks of Munali Constituency. The media houses, NGOs, ECZ and an MP were sampled using purposive sampling. Data was analysed thematically.

The findings of the study were that voter participation is influenced by the electronic and print media. However, there are other factors such as political rallies, door to door campaigns and voter education done by civil society and the ECZ that also influence voter participation. Findings on how the electronic and print media influence voter participation were; through adverts, drama, interviews done with the aspiring candidates of various political parties, ECZ officials, and Civil Society involved in the elections, and by airing political party rallies. The findings on public access to both electronic and print media was that electronic media is more accessible than print media.

From the findings, the study recommends that both the electronic and print media should not be biased in their reporting during the election period. They must be factual and objective, they ought to give accurate information to the voters. Print media must also be affordable to voters and should reach even the remotest areas of Zambia. Newspapers written in English Language should be translated into local languages. Finally, further research should be conducted on the best ways of influencing voter participation and how other stakeholders in the electoral process influence voter participation.

## **DEDICATION**

This dissertation is dedicated to my beloved husband Bishop Isaac Aitana Nkhoma, our children, Chiyambi, Chifatso, Isaac and Chiyembekezo, for their spiritual and moral support during my studies.

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## **LIST OF ACRONYMS**

<b>ECZ</b>	Electoral Commission of Zambia
<b>FODEP</b>	Foundation for Democratic Process
<b>AVAP</b>	Anti Voter Apathy
<b>CIDA</b>	Canadian International Development Agency
<b>PF</b>	Patriotic Front
<b>FGD's</b>	Focus Group Discussion
<b>ZNBC</b>	Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation
<b>ZCEA</b>	Zambia Civic Education Association
<b>NVEC</b>	National Voter Education Committee
<b>DVEC</b>	District Voter Education Committee
<b>ZIMA</b>	Zambia Independent Media Association
<b>MISA</b>	Media Institute of Southern Africa

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# **CHAPTER ONE**

## **INTRODUCTION**

### **1.0 Overview**

This chapter gives the background to this study whose aim is to evaluate the influence of the electronic and print media to voter participation during elections in Lusaka District of Zambia, a case of Munali Constituency. It will also proceed by stating and explaining the statement of the problem, the objectives and research questions, purpose and significance of the study, theoretical foundation, conceptual framework, definition of terms and the conclusion.

### **1.1 Background information**

The media is important to democracy and good governance. Since time immemorial the media has been a source of communication throughout the world. People in various sectors have used the media to inform people about their agenda and perspective in life. Moreover, the media has been used by governments as instruments to inform people about their policies concerning hot issues which affect both the government and people (Kasoma 1998)

Mass media in Zambia dates back to the early 1900s. (Makungu, 2004) The media has been in existence from the colonial era to date. This entails that the media has been playing a pivotal role in all aspects of human life. For instance, if people want to communicate about political, social, economic and cultural issues, they would use the media as a conduit pipe. Patriotic Front manifesto (2011: 49), notes that “Zambia operates a three tier system of broadcasting, namely public service broadcasting, commercial broadcasting and community radio broadcasting”. This implies that media operations are conducted by the government which offers services for the public consumption, the private person who offers services for business and the community media which provides services for the benefit of society within reach.

Furthermore, the media is categorized as print and electronic media (Taylor, 2006). Print media is the one where information is written down in a newspaper form or a magazine. Electronic media is a where information is transferred through air waves. In the same vein, both print and electronic media can either be owned by private individuals or the state, (Napoli, 2008). In Zambia print media owned by the government include Times of Zambia, Sunday Times, Zambia Daily Mail and Sunday Mail. While the Post Newspaper, the Daily Nation, and the

Mirror are owned by private individuals. The electronic media owned by the State are Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) TV1, TV2, and TV3, while Muvi T.V, Mobi T.V, and Trinity Broadcasting Network (TBN) are privately owned.

Both print and electronic media have a role to play in influencing the electorates during the electoral process. As Giles (2014) asserts that, the media helps the electorates to make informed decisions on who to and not to elect into positions of authority. It is through the media where people can be effectively informed and be able to contribute positively in a democratic process of each given nation. This can be done through its role of being a watchdog of political democracy, (Devrani, 2008).

Consequently, the electronic and print media in Zambia where voter education is concerned have varied according to the government in power. That is to say the influence of the media depended upon the attitude which the incumbent government had towards the media. For instance, during the era of President Kenneth David Kaunda, the public media was used to propagate the agenda of the United Independence Party UNIP at the expense of educating the citizen on political matters. (Matibini, 2006). While there was evidence of the role of the media in voter education in general, there was no literature on the influence of the media on voter participation in elections in Zambia in general and there was nothing on Munali Constituency hence the need for this study. The essence of this study was to evaluate the influence of electronic and print media on voter participation in Munali Constituency in Lusaka District of Zambia.

## **1.2 Problem statement**

Matibini (2006:42) argues that, “government has an obligation to ensure that the public receives adequate information during elections.” This entails that the media has to make sure that the electorates are well informed about what is transpiring in the political arena. If voter education is well covered by the media, then there would be full participation of citizens in the electoral process. However, it has been observed in the recent past during the electoral processes the voter turnout has been low compared to previous electoral processes, hence the need to evaluate the influence of electronic and print media on voter participation during elections in Lusaka District of Zambia.

### **1.3. Objectives**

#### **1.3.1. Main objective**

To evaluate the influence of electronic and print media on voter participation in Lusaka District.

#### **1.3.2 Specific objectives**

1. To establish the influence that the electronic and print media has on voter participation in Munali Constituency of Lusaka District.
2. To investigate how the electronic and print media influence voter participation.
3. To ascertain if voters have access to both electronic and print media.

#### **1.3.3 Research Questions**

The following were the research questions that guided the study in order to address the topic:

1. What influence do electronic and print media have on voter participation in Munali Constituency of Lusaka District?
2. How do the electronic and print media influence voter participation during the electoral process?
3. How accessible are electronic and print media to the voters?

### **1.4. Significance of the study.**

The study may be of value in that the findings may contribute to the body of knowledge and literature in Civic Education. It may also help the media houses to improve on the voter education during the electoral process. The Electoral Commission of Zambia may value the media in its quest to influence the electorates. Media policies pertaining to the electoral process may also improve. It is hoped that political parties might learn how to use the media houses effectively and efficiently. The study might also be relevant to civic education as it would provide knowledge on the influence of electronic and print media on voter participation to the students.

### **1.5 Delimitations of the Study**

The study was conducted in Lusaka District in Munali Constituency thus residential areas, market places and Taxi Ranks. Also the media houses (ZNBC, Muvi TV, and The Post Newspaper and Daily Mail), Munali Member of Parliament, Nongovernmental organisation (Forum for Democratic Process and Ant-Voter Apathy), and the Electoral Commission of Zambia were among the informants.

### **1.6 Limitations of the Study**

The study was important in that it would provide necessary information on an evaluation of the Electronic and Print Media influence on voter participation in Lusaka District of Zambia. The researcher wished to cover all the constituencies but, due to time and financial constraints, the study was restricted to only one constituency. The research was also prolonged more than what the researcher had expected. This consequently demanded for extra resources which the researcher was not anticipating which may have affected results of the study. Therefore, the results of this study should be used with caution and limited generalisation.

### **1.7 .0 Theoretical Foundations**

Theoretical framework is a collection of interconnected ideas based on the theories (Ng'andu, 2013). Imenda (2014:189) argues that, "... A theoretical framework is the application of a theory or a set of concept drawn from one and the same theory, to offer an explanation of an event, or to shed some light on a particular Phenomenon or research problem". This implies that, a theoretical framework is there to help the researcher to have a detailed understanding on the research problem understudy. However, the theory works as a mirror to check if the findings agree with the framework or whether there are discrepancies

.

#### **1.7.1 Agenda-setting theory**

Agenda-setting theory describes the ability of the news media to influence the salience of the topics on the public agenda (McCombs and Reynolds, 2002). This entails that if a news item is covered frequently and prominently, the listeners will regard the issue as being important hence influencing their attitudes toward such news items. These attitudes can either be positive or negative. McCombs and Shaw (1993) observe that, Agenda-setting theory is the creation of the public awareness and the concern of the salient issues by the news media. This simply



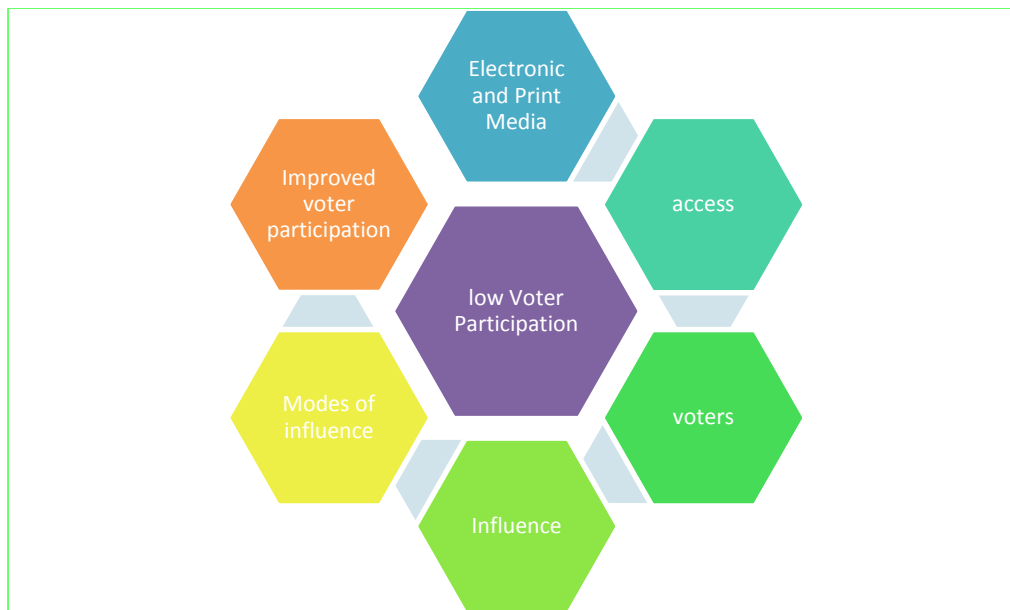
means that, the Agenda-setting theory focuses on public awareness and the disseminating of information. However, the Agenda- setting theory occurs through a cognitive process called “accessibility” (Iyengar and Kinder, 1987). Accessibility in this sense meaning that, the more frequently and prominently the mass media cover an issue, the more instances of that issue becoming accessible in listeners’ memories. Foulie (2007:304) asserts that, “the basic assumption of the agenda-setting theory is that, whether consciously the media create particular image of reality.” This means that the media can influence the listeners on how they would perceive things depending on how the information has been reported.

The study has been guided by the Agenda-setting theory because the theory centres on the influence of the mass media on audience or listeners. Moreover, it borders on public awareness and dissemination of information. Linking to the study, the theory sheds more light on the evaluation of the electronic and print media influence on voter participation in Munali Constituency of Lusaka district. On the contrary, the theory helped to evaluate what kind of awareness people were receiving in order to make an informed decision during the electoral process. In addition, the theory helped to relate the dynamics of news coverage with regards to various political parties.

### **1.8. Conceptual Framework**

A conceptual framework is a set of broad ideas and principles taken from relevant fields of enquiry and used to structure a subsequent presentation (Reichel and Ravel, 1987). A conceptual framework can also be said to be a model of presentation where a researcher represents the relationship between variables in the study and shows the relationship diagrammatically. (Orodho, 1990). The diagram below shows how the electronic and print media can help to influence voter participation in the electoral process.

**Figure 1. Print and electronic media influence on voter participation**



The illustration entails that if the electronic and print media are accessible to the voters and have better modes of influencing voters then there will be improved voter participation.

### **1.9. Definitions of Terms**

Before proceeding with the discussion, it is prudent to define and explain the key concepts. The variables comprise of the following: influence, electronic media, print media, voter participation and mass media

**Influence:** means power to have an effect on people's action or behaviour. This entails that, when a person makes a decision to do something, there must be something which has influenced her or him. In this vein, the media has a bearing on voters' actions during the electoral process.

**Electronic media:** a broadcast media that take advantage of electronic technology, these include, television, radio, internet, fax, CD-ROMs and DVDs.

**Print media:** is a medium that disseminates printed information vis-à-vis publishing news in form of newspapers, magazines, journals and newsletters.

**Voter participation:** is the voter turnout by percentage of eligible voters who cast a ballot in an election in a nation.

**Mass media:** is the primary means of communication used to reach the vast majority of the general public for example; newspapers, magazines, radio, television and the internet.

### **1.10. Summary**

The chapter highlighted the background to the study. It further presented the statement of the problem together with the research purpose, objectives, questions and the significance of the study. The theoretical, conceptual frameworks, limitation to study, delimitation of the study and definition of terms have also been addressed. The next chapter gives a review of literature with regards to the research topic in the context of knowledge and identifying gaps in knowledge.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.0 Overview**

This chapter reviewed literature related to the topic under study. It is an evaluation of electronic and print media influence on Voter participation in Lusaka District. The literature review will be done under the following headings; General information, Electronic and Print media, Voter participation, the role of the media in the African perspective Vis-a-vis, The role of media in the electoral process in Nigeria, the role of media in the electoral process in Sudan and the role of the media in the electoral process in Zambia. Thereafter the conclusion will be done of the literature review.

#### **2.1 General Information**

As you may be aware that traditionally, the media is a very important tool where communication is concerned. This is so because without the media development in many sectors of the society would be affected. It is through the media where dissemination of information is done about the economic, political, social and cultural life of a given society or state. On the contrary, voter participation is the key to the political and economic aspect of a state or a nation. The citizens would only be knowledgeable about their role and responsibilities in governance through the media.

Broadcasting in Zambia started in 1941 (Matibini, 2006). Its main role was to inform people about the Second World War. The first media to be opened was a radio station. On the contrary, some literature argues that, the first newspaper was founded in 1900s (Ndawana, 2011). Kasoma (1986:52) comments that, “the coming of the radio during the years when World War II was still on, it marked revolution.” This means that, the media brought about change in the social life and political life of human life because people were able to get information about what was happening then. However, during colonial days the media provided Africans with educational information, entertaining people with music, advertising consumer goods such as groceries (Ndawana, 2011). The media in colonial days only served the interest of the colonial masters who wanted their propaganda to be achieved and at the expense of the African natives (Kasoma, 2001). These trends of manipulating the media, made it to be ineffective in its core

value of disseminating well balanced information. It is further noted that, media in the 1950s and 1960s was similar to the New York Times where political coverage was primarily national not localised (Lisa and Waldfogel, 2005). This would off course have affected voter turnout in local and national elections. In the same vein, the press in Zambia has not been operating freely due to different media policies which each government in power espoused. The country, so far has been led by the first Republican President Kenneth Kaunda, the Second Republic President F.T.J Chiluba, the third Republican President Levy Mwanawasa, the fourth Republican President Ruphia Banda and the fifth Republican President Michael Chilufya Sata. For example, during Kaunda's era, the media was no longer the watchdog but a lap dog. As Kasoma (1998:111) opines, "Media instrument for telling people positive news about mainly what government officers, particularly the president were saying or doing in form of speeches by Kaunda and his ministers". Thereby making people not to decide critically on what to do during the electoral process (Makungu, 2004). Unlike the Kaunda era where both electronic and print media were solely in the government's hands Vis-a-vis ZNBC, Times of Zambia and Daily mail. During the third republic, private electronic and print media were introduced. This made the transmission of information to be less biased.

To some extent, it has been observed that, the private media has not been spared from being manipulated by the politicians. This is evident during elections time where one political party is given more air time than other opposition political parties. This is supported by Dukor (1999) who asserts that, media is politically polarised in terms of ethnic loyalty, sectional party and selfish interest.

Nevertheless, it is important to note that both print and electronic media have to disseminate information (Institute of Southern radio or television signals due to bad air waves and land terrain. This entails that, both print and electronic media can be of disadvantage to the electorates. The latter can disadvantage those citizens who are not reached by radio and television. The former can disadvantage voters who are illiterate.

All in all, the media plays a major role in democratic governance since voters have the right to information which in turn will help them to make informed decisions with regard to political life. This can be done through Voter Education.

## **2.2 Electronic and Print Media**

Media is categorized as print and electronic (Taylor, 2006). Print media is the industry that is involved in printing and distributing media publication. The information is given through newspapers, magazines, newsletters, journals and catalogues. The print media is owned by both government and private sectors (PF Manifesto, 2011-2016). The print media owned by government are Times of Zambia, Sunday Times, Daily Mail and Sunday Mail. The private owned print media include The Post Newspaper, The Nation, the Mirror and ZBC Newspaper. On the contrary, print media has been in existence since the colonial era. For instance there was African life newspaper by Sikota Wina, The Central Africa Post by Roy Welensky, The Livingstone Mail by Alexander Scott and the Copperbelt Mail by Roy Welensky (Kasoma, 2002)

The electronic media has been useful in many areas. This is so because mass media is a pivot of social interaction. As Makungu (2004:1) explains, “the media encourages open dialogue and democratic process.” Thus the media is the medium of communication where all stakeholders in governance system play a part of passing on information concerning political, economic, social and cultural life. The electronic media is both private and public owned. This has been the trend since independence. The former is meant for business purposes and the latter is for the public service, hence owned by the government. The public electronic media is ZNBC which houses TV1, 2 and 3, Radio1, 2 and 4 while, MUVI TV, MOBI TV, TBN, Radio Chengelo, Radio Phoenix, Hot FM, Q FM and Yasani Radio are privately owned (Mbangweta, 2011). The electronic media has been abused by politicians especially the state owned media (Matibini, 2006). This is so because the media freedom is not yet fully established and practised (Phiri, 2009). In a nutshell both print and electronic media are there to do the work of informing and educating the masses on issues of development in all aspects of life thus socially, politically, economically and culturally.

## **2.3. The Role of the Mass Media in the African Perspective**

### **2.3.1 The Role of the Mass Media in the Nigerian Electoral Process**

The role of the media in Nigeria has been critically analysed by most researchers. According to the research done by Chuka Aghamelu, (2013) Nigerian media has been characterized with a negative image during election campaigns in its political history. This is so because the media in Nigeria has not been doing effective voter education. Dukor (1999:283) notes that, “the role

of the media in politics anchors on fundamental rights to receive and impart information.” But for the case in Nigeria media houses have been victims of manipulation by government and politicians. These tendencies have resulted in electorates not to have adequate education in civic matters. It has been observed that the media is more active during election times, the reason being that, most politicians are only interested in selling their manifesto to the electorates. Aghamelu in his findings laments, politicians in Nigeria use the media in an unwholesome manner. Eggbon (2004) from his study of the 1993 elections claims that, television houses didn’t allow opposition leaders to be covered on public media or if they appeared on television their voices and images will be distorted deliberately. This entails that, the media in this vain was used to disadvantage the opposition leaders at the expense of the electorates. Nevertheless, Dukor (1999) alleges that media must be non-intruding and nonpartisan. This would help the media to be an independent observer and alert at all costs in order to carry out its mandate of receiving and imparting information. That is why Agba (2007:26) opines that, “media should go back to the concept of journalism in public interest to be able to discharge its proper role in terms of elections.” Nwaozuzu (1997:87) continues to say, “Elections campaign reportage should seek out relevant truths for the people who cannot witness or comprehend the events that affect them.

The above literature shows that, in the media sector there is much to be desired for the sake of the electorates. The Nigerian media is discouraged by certain proprietors who have political agenda from adhering to fundamental principles of balance and objectivity when covering politics and elections (Aghamelu, 2013). Some newspapers in Nigeria spoke against or more of one particular party hence acting as a mouthpiece of the political division in Nigeria (ibid). Dukor (1999) alleges, media and the Nigerian state has had mutual distrust. This has led to negation of the benefits of the media in Nigeria of the fundamental right of knowing and imparting information to the electorates. The conclusion on this matter would be that, journalism in Nigeria with regard to its fundamental role is not effective at all, thereby culminating in irresponsible media houses. Nevertheless this literature or research is too general because it is just looking at the role of the mass media in the Nigerian electoral process. It has not highlighted on how the electorates are influenced during the electoral process or whether the media had influenced voter participation in Nigeria in any way.

### **2.3.2 The Role of Mass Media in the Electoral Process in Sudan**

Sudan like Nigeria has been a victim of military rule. This entails that the media has to some extent compromised its core value of carrying out civic and voter education. CIDA (2008:22) explains that, “Sudanese media have been deeply affected by 21 years of civil war that ended in 2005.” That literally tells how government harassed media institutions and journalists. The mass media in Sudan is limited because of various factors. These include language barrier, lack of access to mass media outlets, low circulation rate, high illiteracy levels and newspapers reach only a tiny segment of the population.(ibid,2008:22, 24). The above assertion implies that, the media in Sudan is not effective since a number of electorates are not availed with knowledge and skills of the electoral process.

CIDA (2008:24) further reports, “Radio, television and internet are inaccessible during rainy season in southern Sudan”. The scenario shows that, civic and voter education activities are hindered or impeded during this time. This report is not coming out clearly to state how effective the media is on voter education and its influence on voter participation. It is just mentioning the challenges of the media and why people are not able to access electoral process information. It is also not giving adequate information of both electronic and print media. The print media is just mentioned in passing.

### **2.3.3 The Role of the Mass Media in the Zambian Electoral Process**

The media in Zambia has been playing a vital role in the electoral process. In Zambia the media is more active during election time. Lifuka et al (2011: 35) states that, “voter education activities have often times been conducted just before elections as opposed to being continuously carried out as provided by law.” This makes the electorates not to have adequate information concerning the electoral process. For example, during the 2001, 2006, 2008, 2011 and 2014 elections media houses were seen only advertising campaign rallies and holding interviews of would be candidates. Nonetheless, the media acts as a watchdog to democratic elections in order to safeguard the transparency of the process.

According to Ndawana’s (2012) research thesis, media coverage during elections is the right of the electorates to access full and accurate information so that they take part in debates and dialogue on policy matters with the candidates of the elections. It was observed by AVAP that during the previous three elections the media has been insignificant especially in areas lying



far away from the line of rail (Lifuka et-al, 2011). Thus most communities had no access to radio or the reception was not good. For instance, ZNBC despite having a wide coverage the signals were bad and in some places the signals were not there like remote areas of Zambia (ibid). These findings entail that, the media in Zambia has a lot of grey areas where voter education is concerned. From the AVAP report, it has been noted that in some parts of the country people have no or have limited access to the print media (ibid). The assertion implies that, most people or the electorates in some parts cannot be availed with voter education information due to inadequate print media information.

The media in its agenda-setting role can give diverse viewpoints and unbiased information to the electorates (ECZ, 2015). Matibini (2006:42) argues, “Governments have an obligation to ensure that the public receives adequate information during an election, including platforms of political parties and focus group discussion (FGDs). MISA Zambia (2006; 11) adds that, “the study of public media during elections was to provide the nation with well-balanced coverage.” Unfortunately this mandate has not been fulfilled in that most media houses during elections do not provide the necessary information but they end up discrediting their opponents instead of encouraging voters to turnout in large numbers on the polling day (Lifuka et-al, 2011). Moreover, the public media in Zambia has shown biasness towards its reporting during the electoral process. This has made electorates to lose interest in participating in voting thereby causing voter apathy. On the other hand, the private media has inclined itself to particular parties by giving them a wide coverage of political campaign and advertisement. These trends in Zambia have ruined the media electoral conduct. The literature shows that not much is done to show how the electronic and print media influences voter participation. Although the ECZ (2015) has outlined the role of the media in the electoral process in its manual entitled “The role of the media in the electoral process”, nothing much has been done to achieve the stated roles. This is because; media manipulation by both private and public media is rampant during elections. However, some of the roles outlined are:

- Expose parties and candidates that instigate violence for the citizenry to be alert.
- Expose practices of vote buying or illegal party financing.
- Adequately encourage eligible persons to register as voters and cast their votes when elections are due.
- Provide platforms for all candidates and their parties to present their manifestos to the public” (ibid, 2015).

All in all, the media in Zambia plays a pivotal role of a watchdog, voter education and peace building during the electoral process.

## **2.4 Voter Education**

Voter education is the educating of the electorates to enable them to participate in the political life of a nation. The main reasons for conducting voter education are; to sensitise, equip, and impart knowledge and to make the electorates aware of what they are supposed to do during the electoral process (Dukor, 1999). Also voter education helps to reduce political violence which occurs during electoral period. In Zambia voter education is done by international, national and non- governmental and governmental organisation. Others include Forum for Democratic Process (FODEP), Anti-Voter Apathy (AVAP), Zambia Civic Education Association of Zambia (ZCEA), Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) and the church (Mulyata, 2011). The ECZ is the major educator or provider of the voter education in Zambia (FODEP, 2007). It has committees which spearhead the voter education programmes at national and district levels thus, National Voter Education Committee (NVEC) and the District Voter Education Committee (DVEC) (Lifuka et al, 2011). These committees also help to address challenges which arise during elections. These activities are conducted through songs, drama, posters door to door sensitisation, focus group discussions and they go round churches. The channels used are print and electronic media and human personnel. The education is done using English and the seven major languages of Zambia. Pressure groups conduct voter education by doing press campaigns, seminars in communities enlightening people of their duties and responsibilities (Simfukwe, 2007). A pressure group is an organised group of youths who voluntarily come together for the common good of society.

Moreover, AVAP also conducts voter education to the masses especially to the young people (AVAP, 2009). The programme was established in September 2009 (Mulyata, 2012). According to this researcher, the programme targeted schools in Lusaka such as Kabulonga Girls and Boys and Munali Girls and Boys Secondary Schools.

The media gets involved in voter education. As PANOS (2004) notes, the 2001 tripartite elections depended most on the electronic media (radio) where most of voter education was given. Unfortunately, some remote areas did not get voter education due to bad signals (CIDA, 2008). Nevertheless, the literature reviewed did not specify the influence of the print and electronic media on the voters, it just concentrated on voter education and participation.

## **2.5 Summary**

The literature reviewed and discussed the electronic and print media, the role of the mass media in the electoral process in Zambia, Sudan and Nigeria. Some of the literature discussed was on voter education and voter participation. From this reviewed literature, it can be deduced that there is need to emphasise on the influence of the electronic and print media on voter participation. This is because the media has a great influence on the way people think and act towards situations.

Moreover, the media affects our perceptions of reality and our understanding of things (Foulie, 2007). However, the literature has not stated which media has more access to people. Is it the print media or electronic media? The other aspect is that of how the media does its voter education. Is it in conjunction with ECZ or they do it independently? In addition reviewed literature shows that the media faces a lot of interference from the political players especially the public media. Further, the voter education done by the media is periodical as seen in previous researched work. The gap identified in literature review is that the influence of the print and electronic media is not clearly stated, hence the need of this study to evaluate the influence of print and electronic media on voters. The next chapter will be looking at methodology.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.0 Overview**

The chapter will discuss the research design in detail and give justification of it. Thereafter, population, sample population, sampling procedure, data collection and processing will be defined. Additionally the chapter explains how data will be presented and analysed. Thereafter ethical consideration and data validation will be explained. Finally a summary of the chapter will be given.

#### **3.1 Research design**

According to Bless and Achola (1988), a research design is a programme which guides the researcher in collecting, analysing and interpreting observed facts. The study used a descriptive survey design, which is a scientific method for observing and describing the behaviour of a subject without influencing it in any way. Surveys allow an anonymous peek inside the thought processes of large numbers of people simultaneously, allowing for an opportunity to describe what is not outwardly observable.

A qualitative research design was ideal for this study. A qualitative research is a research strategy that usually emphasizes words rather than quantification in the collection and analysis of data. The purpose of using a qualitative approach is that it allows flexibility in the research. This means that it can adjust to the setting, concepts, data collection tools and methods as the research in progress. Moreover it helps to get better understanding through the first hand information, truthful reporting and quotations of actual conversation.

#### **3.2 Target population**

Population has been defined as all cases or individuals that fit in a certain specification. (Andrewartha and Birch, 1984), The study consisted of the Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) who are mostly involved in voter education and monitoring of elections and these are FODEP CEO and AVAP CEO, The media houses thus ZNBC Corporate Affairs Manager, Sunday Daily Mail Deputy Editor, Post Newspaper Editor General, Muvi TV Human Resource

officer, the commission which is involved in elections the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ Deputy Public Relations Officer), Munali Constituency MP and Voters in selected residential areas, markets and Taxi ranks of Munali Constituency in Lusaka District of Zambia.

### **3.3 Sample, sample size and sampling procedures**

The research used the non-probability sampling design. The technique that was used under non-probability was homogeneous purposive sampling. Non-probability sampling is a sampling technique where the samples are gathered in a process that does not give all the individuals in the population equal chances of being selected. Homogeneous purposive sample is one that is selected based on the knowledge of a population and the purpose of the study. In this case, a purposive sampling procedure was used to select voters from selected Munali constituency that is from residential areas, market places and Taxi ranks as they fitted the purpose of the research. The market places were sampled using snowball. The residential areas in Munali constituency were selected using the non-probability sampling design. The media houses, NGOs, ECZ and the MP for Munali Constituency were selected using purposive sampling. The sample size for this research was hundred and four (104). Thus one (1) official from FODEP, one (1) official from AVAP, four (4) officials from selected print and electronic media houses, one (1) official from ECZ, one (1) MP for Munali constituency and 96 Voters.

The residents of Munali constituency, the Marketers and the Taxi drivers were sampled because they are among the voters. The four (4) media officials, AVAP CEO, FODEP CEO, ECZ PRO and the MP for the constituency were selected because they are fully involved in the electoral process by conducting voter education and voter sensitisation. The sample gave the required knowledge since they fit the purpose of the study.

### **3.4 Methods and tools of data collection**

Data collection is the process of gathering and measuring information on themes, in an established systematic fashion that enables one to answer stated research questions and evaluate outcomes (Weimer 1995). The study used qualitative methods of collecting data. Parahoo (1997:52) states that, a research instrument is "... a tool used to collect data." It is a tool designed to measure knowledge, attitude and skills of research respondents. The instruments the study used were semi-structured individual interview guide, focus group guides, and documents check list. Semi-structured Individual interviews was done with the

personnel from FODEP, AVAP, ZNBC, Muvi TV, Sunday Mail, The Post Newspaper, ECZ PRO, Munali constituency MP and voters from Munali constituency in selected residential areas. Focus group discussion involved marketeers, taxi drivers and documents were reviewed.

### **3.5.1 Primary data collection instruments**

Primary data is a set of raw information that is collected by the researcher. This study used a semi-structured interview guide to collect primary data. A semi-structured interview is a qualitative method of inquiry that combines a pre-determined set of open questions. These are questions that allow discussions with the opportunity for the interviewer to explore particular themes or responses further. Semi-structured questions do not limit respondents to a set of pre-determined answers and it allows respondents to discuss and raise issues that the researcher may not have considered (Donald, 2006). The researcher employed a focus group guide and semi-structured individual interview guide.

Thus, the individual interview comprised forty seven (48) voters from selected residential areas of Munali Constituency, two (2) officials from NGOS which are FODEP CEO, AVAP CEO, four (4) officials from selected electronic and print media houses .These included ZNBC Corporate Affairs Manager, MUVI TV Human Resource officer (HRO), Sunday Daily Mail Editor (ED) and The Post News Paper Editor General (EDG). Then one (1) respondent from ECZ, the Public Relations Officer (PRO) and one (1) MP from Munali constituency the incumbent were interviewed.

The Focus group discussion guide was administered to seven (7) focus groups from the selected market places and selected taxi ranks within Munali constituency. The focus groups had seven (7) voters in each. The total number from the focus groups was forty nine (49) voters. However, during the primary data collection for both individual interview and focus groups discussion the voice recorder was used and the information was then transcribed.

### **3.5.2 Secondary Data**

Secondary data collection refers to a set of second hand information initially collected and compiled by someone else apart from the current user. In the case of this study, secondary data was gotten from 2006 and 2011 general election Newspapers from the Times of Zambia, the Daily Mail and the Post Newspaper. The period under review was from July to October because

it is the period of campaigns, voting and result announcement. The Researcher used document review checklist.

### **3.6 Data analysis Procedure**

According to LeCompte and Schensul (1999), data analysis has been defined as the process of reducing large amounts of collected data to make sense of them. In this study, data will be analysed qualitatively using thematic analysis which is an analytic method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns and themes within data. It minimally organises and describes data set in rich detail. Frequently, it will help interpret various aspects of the research topic (Braun and Clarke, 2006). The following steps will however be taken when analysing the data.

- Familiarisation with the data: This involved reading and re-reading the data, to become immersed and intimately familiar with its content

.

- Coding: This involved generating succinct labels (codes) that identify important features of the data that might be relevant to answering the research question. It involved coding the entire dataset, and after that, collating all the codes and all relevant data extracts, together for later stages of analysis

.

- Searching for themes: This involved examining the data to identify significant broader patterns of meaning (potential themes). It then involved collating data relevant to each candidate theme, so that you can work with the data and review the viability of each candidate theme

- Reviewing themes: This involved checking the candidate themes against the dataset, to determine that they tell a convincing story of the data, and one that answers the research question. In this phase, themes are typically refined, which sometimes involves them being split, combined, or discarded.

- Defining and naming themes: The stage involved developing a detailed analysis of each theme, working out the scope and focus of each theme, determining the ‘story’ of each.

### **3.7. Data Validity**

The validity of a research refers to whether the findings of a study are true and certain. (Leedy and Ormrod, 2001). ‘True’ in that research findings should accurately reflect the situation, and

‘certain’ in the sense that research findings should be supported by the evidence. Denzin (2000) explains four basic types of triangulation. These are: Data triangulation which involves time, space and persons; Investigator triangulation where multiple researchers take part in an investigation; Theory triangulation involves using more than one theoretical scheme in the interpretation of the phenomenon; and Methodological triangulation, where more than one method is used to gather data, like interviews, observations, questionnaires and documents review. Consequently in this study, the researcher used methodological triangulation. That is data was collected through interviews, focus group discussions, and document check list. Triangulation of data sources used by this study ensured the accuracy of findings.

### **3.8 Ethical consideration**

Ethical considerations are a set of principles about how researchers and research organizations should conduct themselves when dealing with research participants, other researchers and of their research and society in general. Ethical considerations are important for a number of reasons. For instance; they ensure respect and make sure no harm is caused to the participants and also show a sign of respect for other researchers and those who will use the research.

As a researcher, the following ethical considerations were considered;

The researcher had consent from participants before they took part in the research. Thus, they should know what they are being asked to do. They should also be aware of the risks and benefits before they agree to participate in the study. The participants were informed of who the researcher was, and where she was coming from. The participants were told that there will be no incentives which will be provided for them to take part in the research. The participants were assured that the information they will give will be made anonymous and will be treated with confidentiality. The participants were told that the research was for academic purposes.

### **3.9 Summary**

This chapter focused on methodology. That is, it discussed the research design, population size, sampling procedure, data collection, data analysis and data presentation. Ethical consideration and data validation were highlighted too. The next chapter presents the research findings on evaluation of the electronic and print media influence on voters’ participation a case of Munali constituency.



## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS**

#### **4.0. Overview**

Chapter three gave the methodology of data collection and data analysis used by the study. Therefore this chapter presents the findings on the evaluation of the electronic and print media influence on voter participation in Lusaka District a case of Munali Constituency whose results were collected through individual interviews and focus group discussions. The findings are presented using emerging themes which are evoked from the research questions. These were;

- 1 What influence do electronic and print media have on voter participation in Munali Constituency of Lusaka District?
2. How do the electronic and print media influence voter participation during the electoral process?
3. How accessible are electronic and print media to the voters?

However, the results will be presented according to categories of informants in line with the themes of the study. These categories are; media houses, ECZ, MP, NGOs and voters.

#### **4.1. Electronic and Print media influence on voter participation**

The objective of this theme was to establish the influence that the electronic and print media have on voter participation in Munali Constituency of Lusaka District. The research question under this objective was; what influence do the electronic and print media have on voter participation in Munali Constituency of Lusaka District? The responses to the research question were.

##### **4.1.1. Responses from the media houses**

In response to the first research question which states, what influence does the electronic and print media have on voter participation in Munali Constituency of Lusaka District?, all the respondents from the media houses indicated that the electronic and print media to some extent has influence on voter participation and to some extent voter participation is not influenced by the electronic and print media. The argument for the assertion of the electronic and print media influencing voter participation was that, the media gives information and the voters have to

make a decision. In addition, another informant argued that *“it is when people have information and what is expected of them some will make use of the information others shun, but I would say media has played a major role in influencing voter participation by what percentage I cannot tell”*. (Interview with the Sunday Daily Mail respondent, 2016/03/17) It was noted that to a large extent the electronic media has a lot of influence due to its wide coverage and it was acknowledged that other stakeholders in the electoral process play a role in influencing voter participation more especially the radio since people are able to hear a person’s voice. The researcher further, found out that the television had influence due the pictures which the voters were able to see about elections advertisement. To support the above assertions here are some remarks quoted from the ZNBC respondent;

*“Yes I should think so, but you know what the media can do especially the electronic be it the television or radio, especially the radio the fact that people are able to hear a person’s voice because they get instant information there and then and the TV they are able to get actual pictures of what is going on. To a large extent there is a lot of influence that comes from the electronic media”* (interview with the ZNBC respondent, 2016/03/17)

In the other aspect the researcher discovered that not everyone was influenced by the print and electronic media because there were other factors which could influence voter participation. These included personal decision on voting, political campaigns and information received through voter education. This was reaffirmed by the statements from the following quotes of media informants;

*“Some of them do get information and others do not because it is what they hear on the TV and what is on the ground. Others are manipulated and intimidated by cadres to change their mind”*. (Muvi TV PR Interview, 2016/03/21)

*“No in the sense that there are things they believe in and I can tell them about candidate A but they can have a different view about candidate A. And also not everyone can agree with what we write. Others will agree with what you write and others will not agree with what you write. Not necessary what we do so earnestly influence the people and also to say make a decision on candidate A or B but we give them as much information as possible for them to make their own decision about what they feel about each and every candidate”*. (The Post Newspaper respondent Interview ,2016/03/17).

The conclusion from the media houses findings about the influence of the electronic and print media on voter participation were that, 100 per cent of the respondents stated that voter participation were influenced by both media due to the accessibility of both. But it was observed that 100 per cent of the respondents argued that voter participation is not only influenced by the print and electronic media, other factors also played a role in influencing voter participation, for instance, door to door political campaign, self-decision and interest. It was suggested that unless a survey was to be conducted to ascertain how many voters were influenced by the electronic and print media then it can be said voter participation is really influenced by both media.

#### **4.1.2. Responses from non-governmental organisations**

The respondents from the NGOs gave different views on the research question one. The informant from FODEP claimed that voter participation was sometimes influenced by electronic and print media and sometimes it was not influenced. This was so because people could still vote with or without the media. He further argued that; *“ideally they were supposed to influence positively but due to biasness in nature of coverage electorates felt that they had been cheated”*. He acknowledged that both media had influence but the electronic had more influence. He also added that peer pressure had influence on voters. The informant from AVAP affirmed that voter participation was influenced by the media. He stated as follows;

*“Yes the media play critical role in influencing the voters because they give information to the voter”*. On the contrary, he gave a distinction between the print and electronic by explaining, *“but the electronic has a wide coverage, for example, there are community radio stations almost countrywide and voters can access Facebook, twitter and whatsapp. The print has more influence in urban because in remote areas people are not able to access it. For example in Kaputa and shangombo if you want to read paper, you read for the previous day”*.

He further alluded that they are other stakeholders who influence voters, like political parties through campaigns where they give voters their party manifestos and Civil Societies by conducting voter education. From these findings it can be deduced that electronic and print media does not have a solely influence on voter participation owing to fact that other stakeholders have a certain percentage of influencing voter participation.

#### **4.1.3 Response from the electoral commission of Zambia**

The ECZ PR Officer's response to the question, "does voter participation get influenced by the electronic and print media" Was; *"we could say to some extent the media do influence voter participation, without the media people would not know about the elections."* However, the researcher probed the PRO to explain what he meant by stating to 'some extent'. His assertion was,

*"I do not want to believe it is only the media that influence people to vote, we have other strategies like voter education facilitators, these are the people who speak to people face to face, for example there are people who have given up on voting so our facilitators engage people in persuasive conversation to ensure people are convinced, so the media play their role quite alright but we cannot attribute voter turnout exclusively to the media there are other means we use".*

He further explained, electronic media had more influence than the print media since voters had access to it especially the radio. This was so because almost everyone had access to the radio. For instance, there were 70 community radio stations in Zambia. On one hand the PRO said that the print media had no much influence due to the fact that not everyone had access to it.

On the contrary based on these findings, it can be deduced that the influence of the print and electronic media on voter participation was not entirely dependent on the dual but on other strategies which are initiated by other stakeholders in the electoral process like the ECZ. The print media has less influence than electronic media on voter participation because the former was less accessible to many people compared to the latter.

#### **4.1.4 Response from munali Member of Parliament**

The MP for Munali constituency had this to say concerning research question one. The electronic and print media do influence the voter participation and at the same time no. This is supported by her statement which states that, *"in Munali constituency yes and no, those who have access to the media do"*. The findings revealed that voter participation was also influenced by social media. The law maker lamented that, there were social groups on Facebook where people were able to share information but she did not know how much it was

influencing voters. These groups are community groups and church groups. Moreover, like other informants, she acknowledged the radio as a more widely used electronic media, hence it stood a chance of influencing more voters. She again observed that the print media had less influence since it was not affordable by many people. In conclusion, voter participation can only be influenced by electronic and print media if people had access to it. Not all voters are influenced by the print and electronic media.

#### **4.1.5 Responses from voters of munali constituency**

The findings from the research question one from the voters' perspective were divergent. The researcher noted that from the individual interviews conducted, the results revealed that voter participation was not entirely influenced by the electronic and print media. This was evident from the responses gotten from this interview question, *"Has the media influenced you to go and vote? If yes how?"* 33 respondents out of 48 said they were influenced by the media through advertisement and announcements on both print and electronic media giving us 69 per cent of the voters influenced by the media. To cement the assertion above, here is the quote from one of the respondents,

*"Without the media we cannot know that there are elections".*

On the contrary, others attributed their participation to the availability of electronic and print media.

All the same, in answering to the same interview question, 12 respondents said they were not influenced by the electronic and print media and 3 respondents were partially influenced. This means 25 per cent of the respondents were not influenced by electronic and print media and 6 per cent of the respondents were partially influenced by the electronic and print media. Their arguments were: I went to vote because of personal interest, am patriotic, it is my right to go and vote, elections are already programmed, self- decision, we are influenced by friends and political rallies and campaigns. Some of the claims from respondents about the media not influencing them are quoted below:

*"not really because they just remind us",*

*"Not really, do not influence because they do not give enough information about elections",*

*"People already know about elections, the media bring the information late".*

*“Not very much because the reporting is biased hence making my own judgement”.*

*“No because everybody knows that there are elections, because it is programmed which is like education”.*

*“Print and electronic media do not influence people to go and vote because posters are everywhere”.*

Consequently the findings from the focus group interview were that, 5 focus groups accepted that voter participation is influenced by both electronic and print media. One of the sentiments there was, *“yes, because in the media that is where you find people speak out and give manifestos in the media everyone could listen, and examine the manifestos and think of the best person to choose”*. The reasoning from the 5 focus groups was that, without the media they were not going to vote since the media helped them to know about elections.

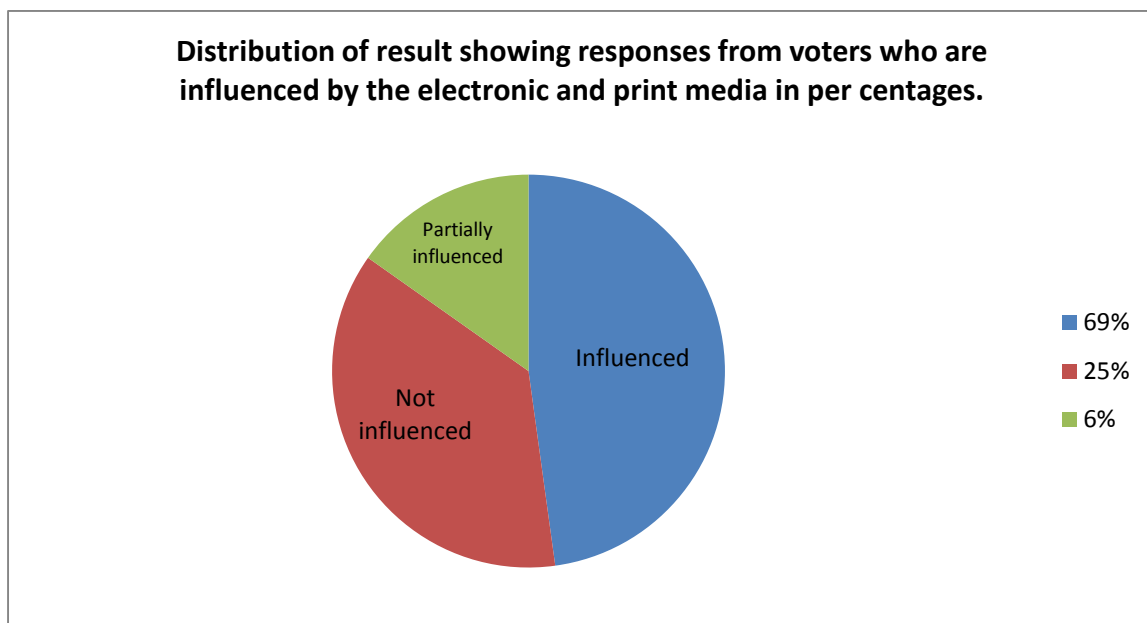
The 2 focus groups did not agree that voter participation is influenced by print and electronic media. The reason is that people get information from other people about elections through the people who conduct campaigns in compounds by using vehicles which announce about elections. The sentiment was, *“even if you do not have T.V or radio you can still go and vote because you still hear from people”*. The other aspect was that the ECZ through its voter educators tend to go in the compounds to educate and sensitise people on the importance of voting and choosing their desired candidate.

It was revealed that from the general view that voter participation was influenced by the electronic and print media as 68 respondents out of 96 said voter participation was influenced by electronic and print media, while 23 did not assent to the assertion and 5 respondents said both media partially do influence voter participation.

Additionally, in all the individual interviews and from focus group discussion conducted the study established that, electronic media had more influence on the voters than the other channels especially the radio due to its wide coverage. It was estimated that about 80% of the voters had access to the electronic media although the print media had no or less influence because of various factors as observed by the informants. Some of the factors were; it was expensive, most people were not able to read, it was not detailed and used only one language (English).

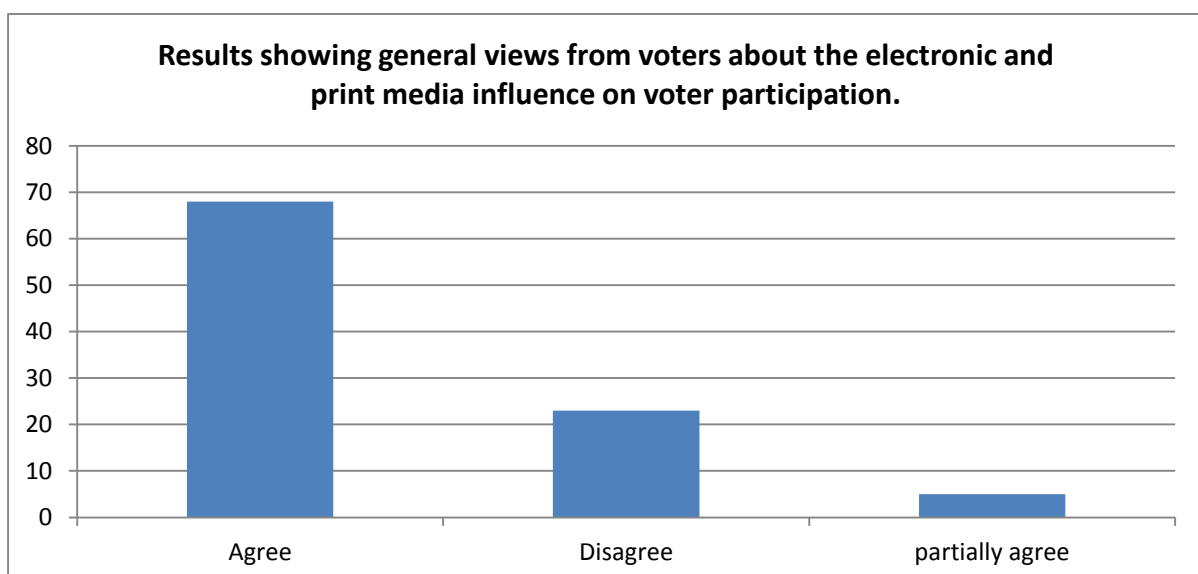
The summary of the findings from voters is illustrated through the pie chart and the bar below.

**FIGURE: 2**



The results in figure 2 revealed that 69% of the respondents were influenced by the electronic and print media, 25% of the respondents were not influenced by the electronic and print media and 6% of the respondents were partially influenced by the electronic and print media.

**FIGURE: 3**

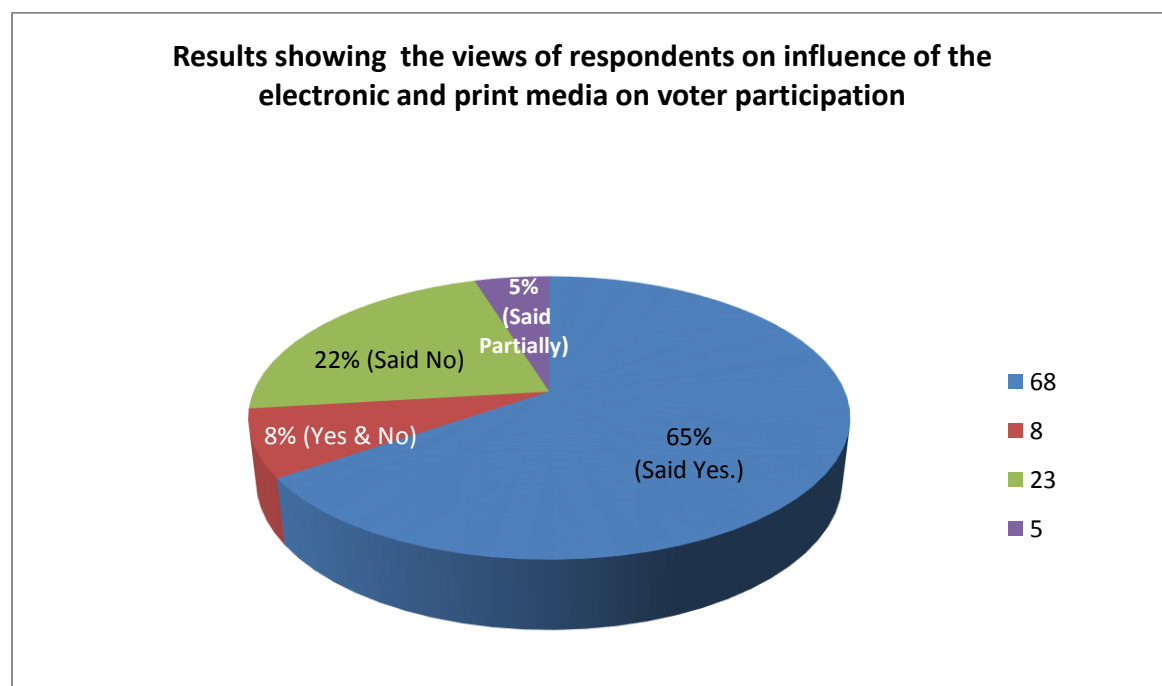


The findings in figure 3 show that 68 respondents agreed that voter participation was influenced by the electronic and print media, 23 respondents disagreed that voter participation was

influenced by the electronic and print media and 5 respondents partially agreed that voter participation was influenced by electronic and print media.

In conclusion, the findings from the research question one established that voter participation was partly and not partly influenced by the electronic and print media. This was because there were other factors which played a role in influencing voter participation like political campaigns, mobile voter educators and posters which talked about elections from the ECZ. It was noted that the print media had less influence due to the limited coverage and being expensive thereby making voters not to afford it. The study revealed that electronic media had more influence on voter participation especially the radio due to the wide coverage. The reason is that there were about 70 community radio stations in Zambia. The summary of the results is illustrated in the pie chart below.

**FIGURE: 4**



The results in figure 4 established that out of 104 respondents, 68(65%) respondents said that voter participation was influenced by the electronic and print media, 8(8%) respondents stated that it does influence and at the same time it doesn't due to various reasons. 23(22%) respondents did not agree that voter participation was influenced by the electronic and print media and 5(5%) respondents said voter participation is partially influenced by the electronic and print media.



## 4.2 Ways of Influencing Voter Participation

The objective of the theme above was to investigate how the electronic and print media influence voter participation. The research question was: how do the electronic and print media influence voter participation? The responses to the research question were.

### 4.2.1 Responses from the media houses

The informants from the four media houses claimed they had different ways of influencing voter participation. The Muvi TV Human Resource Officer said they air programmes where voters are able to get information about elections. These programmes include; airing political news, televising political rallies, political advertisement paid for by political parties, and having programmes for political parties. The ZNBC Corporate Affairs Manager argued that as a media house they had lined up programmes to air during the period of elections such as voter education, open line, morning live, TV programmes in local languages, news carrying political messages. For example, during morning live programme an ECZ official would be featured to talk about voter registration. The Sunday Mail Editor added that they wrote stories about voter education, did interviews with interested parties which in turn were published and the ECZ press briefing pertaining to elections was published. Furthermore, The Post Newspaper Editor General explained that they had voter education through the editorial comments where they encouraged people to vote and publicised stories about aspiring candidates. Here are some of the sentiments which were generated from the interviews with regards to how the electronic and print media influence voter participation;

*“In all our stories we try as much as possible to inform the electorates on the importance of taking part in voting because we want them to know that it is their responsibility to put a leader in office they so wish so that these leaders are able to be held responsible”* (Interview with Sunday Daily Mail Editor, 17-03-2016)

*“Every time there is an election we always do an editorial comment, always guiding people and telling people what to do, to say you can only know you are participating in governance when you participate in voting and if you do not vote do not consider yourself to be a citizen”.* (Interview with The Post Newspaper Editor General, 17-03-2016).

*“We do have public service programme through that platform we do invite people to do discussions both on Radio and Television, through that we are able to sensitise people on issues concerning elections”. (Interview with the ZNBC Corporate Affairs Manager, 17 -03- 2016).*

The study established that the media houses do influence voters by having various programmes which carry messages of elections. These may include televising political rallies, airing political news, and featuring aspiring candidates by interviewing them so that they can sell their party manifesto to the voters.

#### **4.2.2 Responses from non-governmental organisation**

The researcher discovered that the NGOs had various views concerning research question stating “how does the electronic and print media influence voter participation? When the researcher asked the FODEP CEO to explain how voter participation was influenced by the print and electronic media, the CEO stated that the media through the election information which they offered print media adverts, civic education and election awareness. He continued by saying the media could influence voters either to go and vote for the candidates or rise against the results. On the contrary, the AVAP CEO gave his point of view by stating that the media influenced voter participation through call in programmes on both radio and televisions in English and local languages, voter education conducted by ECZ and Civil Societies on print and electronic media. The other means he mentioned was giving elections information to voters on when the elections were to take place and based on the information given, voters were able to make decisions. Their assertions of how voter participation was influenced by the electronic and print media were;

*“Through voter education by ECZ and Civil Societies when featured on TV and Radio programmes”. He continued saying, “through call in programmes both on T.V and Radio in English and Local Languages.” (Interview with the AVAP CEO).*

*“Through the information what they offer, they can influence them either to vote for the candidate or not or rise against the results”. (Interview with the FODEP CEO)*

These results showed that both electronic and print media do influence voter participation through putting up programmes like call in programmes, civic education and awareness, advertisement and airing and publishing political news and rallies.

#### **4.2.3 Response from the electoral commission of Zambia**

The ECZ PRO 's response on how the electronic and print media influence voter participation was, the voters were influenced by voter education and sensitisation, announcement, adverts and exclusive interview with the candidates on both TV and the radio. He further stated that, *“Drama shows which help the people to understand the importance of voting and electoral malpractices are aired on radio and TV”*. The other aspect was that press statements both on electronic and print were put up on elections.

#### **4.2.4 Response from munali member of parliament**

The Munali MP argued that the electronic and print media influence voter participation by having radio programmes such as debates about elections. The other aspect noted was by voters having access to both print and electronic media. Her sentiments were, *“By having access to the radio, if you do not have access to the radio and T.V you miss it out”*. This entails that voter participation could only be influenced if voters had access to the electronic and print media. The election messages could be there on both media but if voters were not reached by the dual, the voter participation would be null and void.

#### **4.2.5 Responses from the voters of munali constituency**

The responses from voters on how voter participation is influenced by the electronic and print media were given out in different dimensions. Some of the dimensions were through announcements, advertisement, and news on both media. Moreover, some of respondents argued that the electronic and print media influenced them through the interviews which they published and aired that were conducted by the political aspirants from different political parties contesting the elections. In the same vein, it was discovered that voters were influenced when both media repeatedly announced the elections thus, influencing the voters' participation and the pattern of voting. This was evident from what one of the respondents stated; *“because of the way they speak about elections and you concentrate as they talk about elections”*. Others claimed that they were attracted by songs or music played on the electronic media about

different political parties who were participating in the elections. Additionally, the findings showed that the programmes which were aired or published by the ECZ during the electoral process had a bearing on voter participation for instance, the voter education and sensitisation through drama and poetry.

On the other hand, a few respondents showed some negativity concerning how the media influence voter participation. Their claim was that the media had let them down and it was negative and bias in its reporting. In addition, they said that the media did not give full information about the elections hence they were not influenced.

Responses from focus groups were as follows; electronic and print media influenced voters through advertisement from ECZ, campaign rallies which were aired and published and by being told the importance of voting. Below are some of the claims made by the respondents from some of the focus groups discussions

*“They influence us through adverts; they also bring candidates  
and interview them”.*

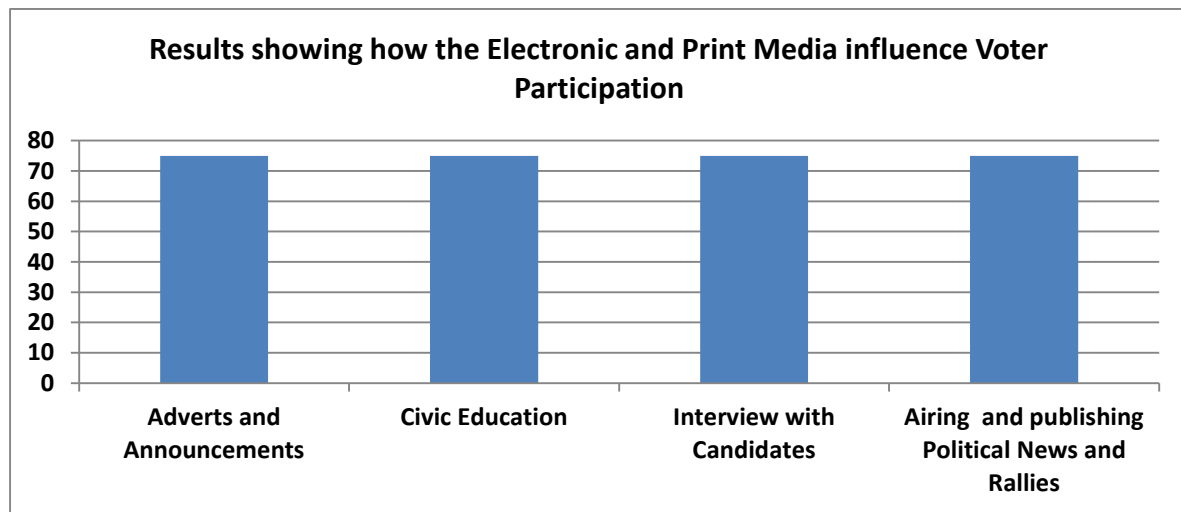
*“They high light the importance of voting”.*

*“Like the ZANIS, they pass in compounds and tell people that  
this general election you need to take part and participate and all  
the time they pass through this place this is one way of influencing”.*

In conclusion, the findings revealed that 75% of the respondents from individual interviews and focus group discussions affirmed that they were influenced by the political advertisement, campaign rallies and ECZ sensitisation programmes which were published in the print media and aired on the electronic media. But 25% of the respondents did not assent to the claim that the media does influence voter participation by their programmes due to the biasness in their reporting and lack of detailed information about elections.

The summary of the research question under discussion is shown in figure 5 below.

**FIGURE: 5**



The findings from the study as illustrated in figure 5 established that, 75% of the respondents affirmed that electronic and print media influenced voters' participation through advertisement, civic education, interview with candidates, aired and published political news and rallies. Then 25% of the respondents argued that the media did not influence voter participation by any means.

#### **4.3. Voters' Access to both Electronic and Print Media.**

The objective under this theme was "to ascertain if voters have access to both electronic and print media. The research question is "How accessible are electronic and print media to the voters? The respondents answered the research question as follows.

##### **4.3.1 Responses from the media houses**

The findings from the media houses with regards to the accessibility of electronic and print media to the voters were both negative and positive. This is so because three of the respondents said the voters had access to both electronic and print media. But one of the respondents said not all voters had access to the print media. Those who claimed that the voters have access to the media their arguments were, "*We are a public media and so they have access to both TV and radio, we do run 7 major languages over 600,000 have access but not certain how many listen to the radio*" (Interview with the ZNBC Corporate Affairs Manager, 17 -03- 2016). He emphasised that the radio was more accessible than the TV owing to the fact that the firm do

have radio programmes in different languages. The MUVI TV PRO affirmed the accessibility of electronic media to the voters by stating, “*We cover sub-Sahara and in Zambia you can find us everywhere*”. The Post Newspaper editor general when asked if the voters had access to the print media, she had this to say, “*Yes they do. We have a wide coverage. We are the only ones who reach the remotest areas of the country*”. In responding to the same question, The Sunday Mail editor explained that, “*Some of them do, I cannot say everybody. Others are able to have access, some are not able, some areas our paper does not get there and some electorates cannot afford to buy the paper*”. According to the document checklist conducted on The Post Newspaper, Times of Zambia and the Daily Mail for the 2011 tripartite elections, the coverage of Political Parties was seen to be biased by the researcher. The biasness was much on the coverage of political rallies. For instance, the Post Newspaper covered more of the Patriotic Front Party (PF) and The Times of Zambia was more of the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD). Samples of Pictures of rallies captured are shown below.



**Figure 6:** Picture showing the MMD former president addressing a campaign rally.



**Figure 7:** Picture showing the Late PF leader addressing a rally.



**Figure 8:** Picture of another political campaign rally





**Figure 9:** Picture showing the MMD former president addressing a rally.

Figures 7 and 8 are showing political campaign rallies of the PF late President Mr Michael Sata captured by the Post Newspaper and figures 6 and 9 are showing campaign political rallies of the MMD former president Mr Rupiah Banda which were captured by the Times of Zambia. These are explaining how bias the media is in disseminating information to the voters in the quest of influencing voter participation.

The findings from the media houses also showed that voters had more access to the electronic media than the print media. This was because the print media could only be accessed by a minority number of voters due to financial setbacks. On the contrary, it has been noted that the radio had a wide coverage compared to the television.

#### **4.3.2 Responses from non-governmental organisations**

The findings on this research question are that, all the informants from the NGOs stated that the voters had access to both electronic and print media. But the electronic media was accessed by a lot of voters easily because it was free. The AVAP CEO argued that, *“electronic media is well covered but the print media is a challenge because it is not easily accessed since not all*



*can manage to buy it". The FODEP CEO added that, "In urban areas papers are more prominent and in rural areas electronic media is prominent due to community radio stations".*

The observation from these findings was that, the voters had access to both electronic and print media. As for the print media not everyone could access it because it was expensive. There was also a distinction between the rural and urban areas where it was noted that the rural areas had more access to the electronic media (radio) than the print media and the urban areas had access to the print media.

#### **4.3.3 Response from the electoral commission of Zambia**

The ECZ PRO revealed that the voters had access to both electronic and print media. However not everyone could afford the newspaper especially in rural areas. He further mentioned, *"But voters are more of radio since there are 72 radio stations where voters can have access"*.

These findings entail that voters had access to both electronic and print media but the voters had more access to the electronic media unlike the print where only a few could afford to buy or have access to it.

#### **4.2.4 Response from munali member of parliament**

The MP for Munali constituency had this to say concerning voters having access to both electronic and print media, *"90% of people in Munali constituency have access to churches where they get information about the elections but there are disadvantaged through the print and electronic media due to the limitations that they have, 15% of people in Avondale, chelstone and Handworthy have access to electronic and print media and are fully involved in the electoral process"*. The MP stated that the Munali constituency had 90% of voters who did not have access to the electronic and print media and only 15% had access to the electronic and print media. The pie chart below gives the summary of the findings.

**FIGURE: 10**

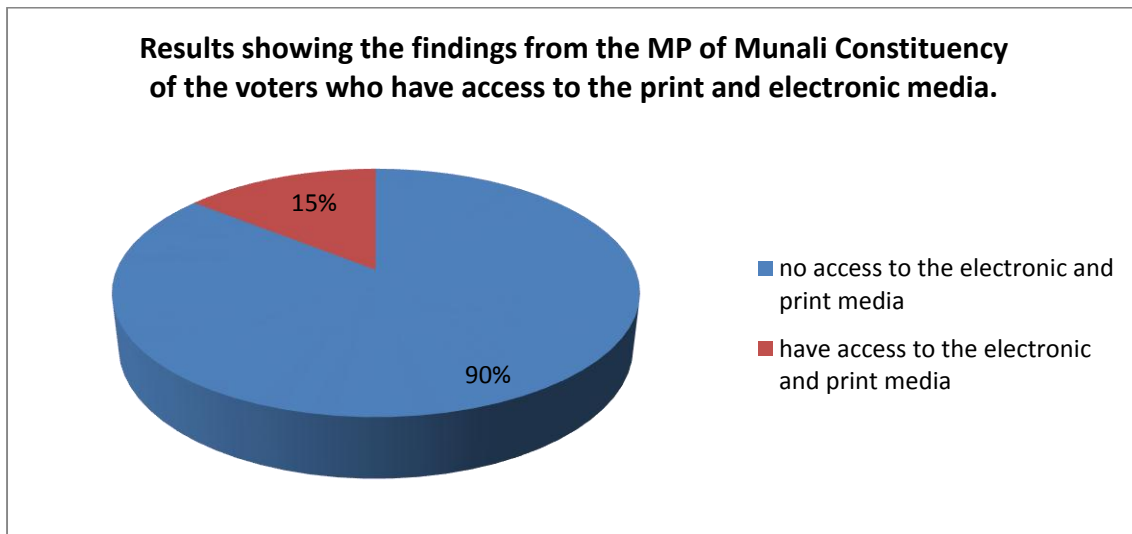


Figure 10 shows the number of voters who had access to print and electronic media in Munali constituency as per information given by Munali Law Maker.

The illustrations from the pie chart show that 90% of the voters from Munali constituency did not have access to the print and electronic media and 15% of the voters from Munali Constituency had access to the electronic and print media.

The findings of the research question 3 whose objective was to ascertain if voters have access to both electronic and print media were that, from the individual interviews conducted, 44 of the 48 respondents said they had access to the electronic media, 3 of the 48 respondents said they had access to the print and electronic media and 1 of the 48 respondents said had no access to both the electronic and print media. However, the researcher observed that majority of the respondents had more access to the television than to the radio. Also there were 3 respondents who said they had access to the social media. The researcher found out from the respondents why they did not have access to the print media and one of the respondents stated that *“electronic media people have access but the print media people do not know how to read”*. Another respondent added that, *“not everybody reads the newspaper, but the electronic media is accessible by many”*. Furthermore another respondent argued that, *“electronic media people have access but print media few people have no access due to financial constraints”*.

In view of the above findings, it could be deduced that the voters had more access to the electronic media than they did with the print media.

On one hand, the findings from the focus group discussions were that, all the 7 focus groups said they had access to the electronic media. However from the 7 focus group, 3 said they had access to print media and 4 they said had no access to the print media. The reasons which were given as to why they did not have access to the print media were that the print media had less coverage, it used one language, most people did not know how to read and it was expensive.

The findings of the study established that out of 104 respondents 11 respondents have stated that voters had access to both electronic and print media and 93 respondents said the voters had access to the electronic media.

The summary of the findings from all the 104 respondents on this research question is illustrated on the bar below.

**FIGURE 11. Showing results of respondents' views on Voters Access to the Electronic and Print Media.**

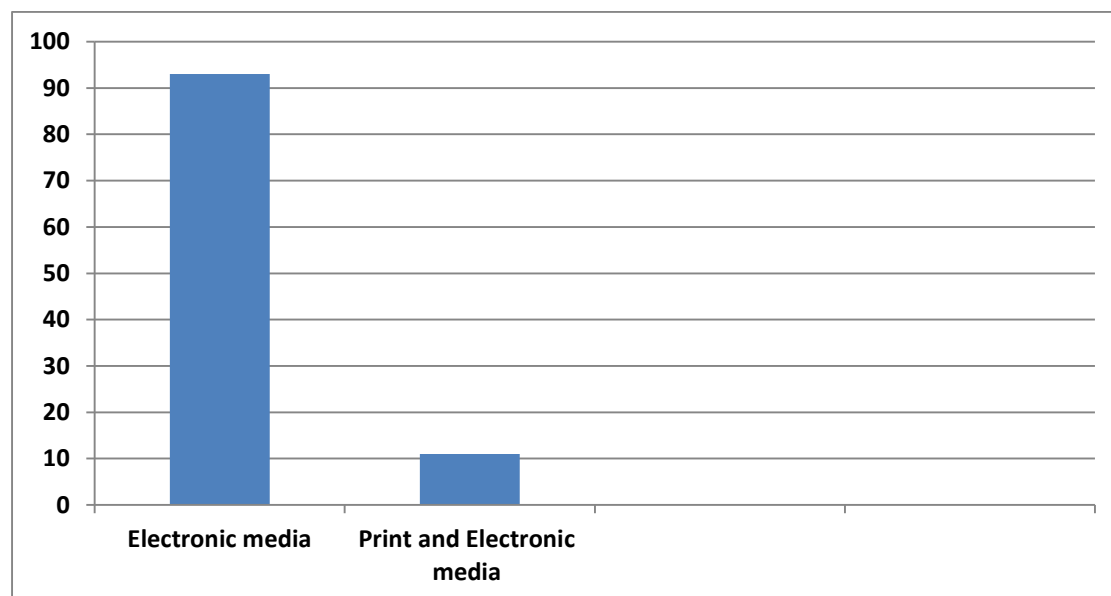


Figure 11 shows the views of the respondents on voters' access to both electronic and print media. The study found out that 93 respondents affirmed that voters had access to the electronic media and 11 respondents said voters had access to print and electronic media.

#### **4.4 Summary of Chapter Four.**

The chapter presented the findings on the evaluation of the electronic and print media influence on voter participation in Lusaka District a case of Munali constituency. The findings showed that the programmes which were aired or published by the ECZ during the electoral process had a bearing on voter participation, for instance, the voter education and sensitisation through drama and poetry. The study also revealed that from the media houses the voters had more access to the electronic media than the print media. The next chapter presents the discussion of findings.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS**

#### **5.0 Overview**

The chapter presents the discussion of the findings presented in the previous chapter. The purpose of the study was to evaluate the electronic and print media influence on voter participation in Lusaka District a case of Munali constituency. David and Sutton (2004:338) contend, “The discussion section has brought out the findings and also the researcher’s analysis concerning the topic at hand.

#### **5.1. Electronic and Print Media Influence on Voter Participation**

The discussion of findings of establishing the influence on voter participation by the electronic and print media in Lusaka District will be discussed under these categories, media houses, NGOs, The ECZ, Munali constituency Law Maker, and Voters of Munali constituency.

The respondents from all the four media houses stated that voter participation was influenced by the electronic and print media and on the other hand they said it was not influenced by the electronic and print media. The reason they said the electronic and print media do influence voter participation is because it is through the media where voters are able to get information about elections and from the information they get, they are able to make an informed decision. This is supported by Dukor (1999:283) who contends, “The role of the media in politics anchors on fundamental rights to receive and impart information”. However, the researcher agrees with the assertion of voter participation being influenced by both media anchored on one of the roles of the media during the electoral process stipulated in the ECZ manual which reads, “adequately encourage eligible persons to register as voters and cast their vote when elections are due’ (ECZ, 2015). Through such encouragements indeed voters are bound to be influenced in one way or another to participate in the electoral process.

On the aspect of voter participation not being influenced by the electronic and print media, their argument was that there were other factors which could influence voter participation. These may include; political campaigns through rallies, personal decisions and information

received from voter educators of different NGOS, Civil Societies and ECZ. As one of the informants remarked,

*“No in the sense that there are things they believe in and I can tell them about candidate A but they can have a different view about candidate A. And also not everyone can agree with what we write. Others will agree with what you write and others will not agree with what you write. Not necessary what we do so earnestly influence the people and also to say make a decision on candidate A or B but we give them as much information as possible for them to make their own decision about what they feel about each and every candidate”.*( The Post Newspaper Editor General Interview ,2016/03/17).

From the above remarks, it can be deduced that voter participation is not solely influenced by the media but voters have their own decisions to make depending on the information they are receiving concerning a certain candidate and their attitude toward a given candidate. For example the media can give negative sentiments about a particular presidential candidate to discourage people to vote for him or her but such a candidate happens to win an election despite the electorates being discouraged to vote for him or her. This scenario happened in Zambia in 2011 tripartite elections where the PF presidential candidate was demonised by the ZNBC but nonetheless the PF aspiring candidate won the 2011 elections.

The study established that to a large extent the electronic media has a lot of influence due to its wide coverage. The other reason why the electronic media has influence is because through the radio people are able to hear a person's voice and through the television the voters are able to see pictures about election advertisements. This assertion agrees with what the Agenda-Setting Theory explains as quoted by foully (2007:304) who contends that, “the basic assumption of the agenda-setting theory is that, whether consciously the media create particular image of reality.” This entails that the media can influence the listeners on how they would perceive things depending on the way it is reported. The researcher agrees with this claim in that, the electronic media is able to reach a good number of voters regardless of where they are found and the messages of elections can be accessed easily. Moreover through electronic media the voters do get first-hand information which is not diluted and what they hear and see cannot be forgotten. Unfortunately this mandate has not been fulfilled in that, most media houses during elections do not provide the necessary information but they end up discrediting their opponents instead of encouraging voters to turnout in large numbers on the polling day (Lifuka

e-tal , 2011). In this vein the influence of the electronic media and print media on voter participation is questionable.

The findings from the NGOs were diverse and contained different views. The informant from FODEP established that voter participation is sometimes influenced by electronic and print media and sometimes it is not influenced. This is because people can still vote with or without the media. He further argued that, *ideally they are supposed to influence positively but due to biasness in nature of coverage electorates feel they have been cheated*". On the contrary his statement insinuated that the media has not done its role of influencing voters to take part in voting, instead it has influenced them in a negative way by encouraging them to practise voter apathy due to biased reporting during the electoral process. His argument is in agreement with MISA Zambia (2006:11) who adds that, "the study of public media during elections was to provide the nation with well-balanced coverage". This shows that the media had not really influenced voter participation as claimed by the four respondents from the media houses.

Furthermore, the respondent from AVAP had similar views with the informants from the media houses by saying that the media plays a critical role in influencing voters. As PANOS (2004) notes, the 2001 tripartite elections depended mostly on the electronic media (radio) where most of voter education was given. The study found out that the media influence voters through information about elections given to voters. Additionally, both informants acknowledged the influence of the electronic media on voter participation based on its wide coverage. For example, there are community radios where people are able to listen to, be it on the mobile phones or in the cars to those who have cars. Also the study observed that the print media has more influence in urban areas because in remote areas voters are not able to access it. This claim does not hold water in the sense that even in urban areas most people cannot manage to buy a newspaper hence the influence of the print media on the voter participation is not credible. It was noted that peer pressure, political parties through campaigns where they give voters their Party manifestos and Civil Societies by doing voter education have an influence on voter participation apart from the electronic and print media.

The findings from the ECZ PRO concluded that to some extent voter participation is influenced by the electronic and print media. The explanation given to such a response was, *"we could say to some extent the media does influence voter participation, without the media people would not know about the elections."* The study also revealed that there were other strategies like voter education using facilitators employed by ECZ who helped to encourage the electorate

to go out and vote through their door to door campaign. From this it is clear that influence of voter participation cannot only be attributed to the print and electronic media. However, the PRO holds the same views with the NGOs respondents of the media not being the only one influencing the voter participation. Consequently, as other respondents from the media houses and NGOs stated, the PRO asserts that the electronic media has more influence on voter participation especially the radio. His arguments was that, because in Zambia there are 70 community radio stations where people are privileged to hear information about elections in their local languages. But the claim is not in agreement with what Lifuka et al (2011) in his thesis. He observed that, during the previous three elections the media has been insignificant especially in areas lying far away from the line of rail and ZNBC despite having a wide coverage the signals were bad and in some places the signals were not there like remote areas of Zambia. Thus most communities had no access to radio or the reception was not good thereby no voter participation influence would be expected from such experiences.

The researcher's view concerning the findings is that in as much as communities can have radio waves, it does not give an impression that everyone listens to the programmes about the elections. Therefore, it can be estimated that only a few would listen or pay attention and among them only a handful are influenced by the media. It was acknowledged that the print media has no much influence since not everyone has access to it.

The findings from the MP for Munali constituency were that, not everyone in Munali constituency is influenced by the electronic and print media but only those who have access to the media are bound to be influenced. However, like other respondents the law maker acknowledged the radio as mostly widely used electronic media hence it stands a chance of influencing voter participation. In the same vein, the study received the same sentiments pertaining to the print media that it has less influence because not everyone can afford it. On the other hand, the study established that there are community groups and church groups which help people to know about the importance of participating in voting and influence them to take part in the electoral process. This implies that in Munali constituency voter participation is also influenced by other factors or drivers. The social groups on Facebook were mentioned to be one way of influencing voters but it was not known as to how many voters are influenced since not many are using the social media. The views of the researcher over the social media are that the social media is not a reliable electronic media because what people post are personal views which sometimes are meant for character assassination if one is not in support of the particular



candidate and if there are genuine posting from ECZ or other well-meaning Civil Societies only those who are connected to them can access the information about elections. Nevertheless, the conclusions of the findings are that, in Munali constituency not all voters are influenced by the electronic and print media but other drivers play a role in influencing voters.

The researcher noted that from the individual interviews conducted the results showed that voter participation is not entirely influenced by the electronic and print media. This is evident from the responses gotten from the respondents. Some of the respondents acknowledged that the electronic and print media influence them during election time. They are influenced through the announcements and advertisement done on both media. Their argument was that, *“without the media we cannot know that there are elections”*. These never had two views like the respondents from the NGOs, media houses; ECZ and the MP who claimed that electronic and print are not the only ones which influence the voters. The study established that 33 respondents out of 48 respondents said they were influenced by the media through advertisement and announcements on both print and electronic media giving us 69 per cent of the voters influenced by the media.

On the contrary, 12 respondents said there were not influenced by the electronic and print media and 3 respondents were partially influenced. This entails 25 per cent of the respondents were not influenced by electronic and print media and 6 per cent of the respondents were partially influenced by the electronic and print media. Their arguments were: they went to vote because of personal interest, being patriotic; it is their right to go and vote elections are already programmed, self- decision, and influence from friends, political rallies and campaigns. They further explained that the media do not give enough information about elections and the information reaches the electorates late. In addition, the concerns of these respondents can be supported by what the researcher found in the Post Newspaper dated June 28, 2006 where Reverend Reuben Banda of Open Doors Ministries stated,

*“The electoral process is rhetoric and no adequate information is given to citizens to help them understand the process so that we do not have spoiled votes”* (Post Newspaper, Christ Mulaliki, June, 28, 2006.)

The assertion differs from what the informants from ZNBC and The Post Newspaper who contended that the electorates have enough information about the election during the electoral process. Also the study found out that the voters are not influenced because the reporting which

is done by media is biased. This makes the electorates to lose interest in the information given by the electronic and print media. This is supported by Dukor (1999), who asserts that, media is politically polarised in terms of ethnic loyalty, sectional party and selfish interest. In the same vain the FODEP CEO alluded to the same view of the media being biased in their transmitting of information to the masses. The trend of being biased has been the order of the day in Zambian political history. For instance, the media in colonial days only served the interest of the colonial masters who wanted their propaganda to be achieved at the expense of the African natives (Kasoma, 2001).

Nevertheless, Dukor (1999) alleges that, media must be non-intruding and nonpartisan. This would help the media to be an independent observer and alert at all costs in order to carry out its mandate of receiving and imparting information. That is why Agba (2007:26) opines that, “media should go back to the concept of journalism in public interest to be able to discharge its proper role in terms of elections.” Nwaozuzu (1997:87) continues to say, “Elections campaign reportage should seek out relevant truths for the people who cannot witness or comprehend the events that affect them.

The other observations from the individual interviews as to why voters were not only influenced by both media because some voters know that there are elections every after five years which take place every after five years and posters about elections are put everywhere in the streets or main roads on bill boards.

Findings from the focus group discussion showed that the 5 focus groups accepted being influenced by the electronic and print media because without the media they would not have known about the elections. The other 2 focus groups claimed that both media did not influence them to go and vote, but they attributed their participation in voting to the door to door campaigns which were done by various political parties and the ECZ voter education programmes. One of the sentiments was, “*even if you do not have T.V or Radio you can still go and vote because you still hear from people*”. The reasoning of the 2 focus groups is in line with what the AVAP CEO mentioned in the remarks. Nevertheless on the general views about the voter participation being influenced by the electronic and print media, 68 respondents out of 96 respondents said that voter participation was influenced by electronic and print media, 23 respondents did not assent to the assertion and 5 respondents said both media partially did influence voter participation.

In all the individual interviews and from focus group discussions conducted the study established that electronic media, especially the radio, has more influence on the voters due to its wide coverage. It was estimated that about 80% of the voters had access to the electronic media. However the print media had no or less influence because of various factors as observed by the informants. Some of the factors are that it was expensive, most people did not know how to read, and it was not detailed and uses only one language (English). The latter factors attributed to the print media are real in the sense that, it is believed that most Zambians are not able to read and write and at the same time they have a poor reading culture.

## **5.2 Ways of Influencing Voter Participation.**

The objective of the theme above was, to investigate how the electronic and print media influence voter participation. The question which was asked was, how do the electronic and print media influence voter participation? The responses to the question were;

The findings from the four media houses established that there are different ways of influencing voter participation. The Muvi TV Human Resource Officer said they aired programmes where voters were able to get information about elections. These programmes included airing political news, televising political rallies, political advertisement paid for by political parties, and having programmes for political parties. The ZNBC Corporate Affairs Manager argued that as a media house they had lined up programmes to air during the period of elections such as voter education, open line, morning live , TV programmes in local languages and news carrying political messages . For example, during morning live programme an ECZ official would be featured to talk about voter registration. The Sunday Mail Editor added that, they write stories about voter education, conduct interviews with interested parties which in turn were published and the ECZ press briefing relating to elections was published too. An example of an interview from a print media is, Dora Siliya who said, *“Voters should take time to scrutinise leaders vying for political office in 2011 election to secure the future of the country”* (Daily Mail, 3-06-2011, by Zangose Chumbwa). Furthermore, The Post Newspaper Editor General explained that, they had voter education through the editorial comments and publicised stories about aspiring candidates. The editorial messages were there to encourage the voters to participate in voting and at the same time to guide them on what to do during elections. For example, the voters would be told not to just vote for people who gave them gifts but must vote for people who are going to bring real development and have a good reputation in society. The findings from media

houses are supported by Makungu (2004:1) who explains, “The media encourages open dialogue and democratic process.” Thus the media is the medium of communication where all stakeholders in governance system play a part of passing on information concerning political, economic, social and culture life. Nevertheless, literature revealed that the ECZ is the major educator or provider of the voter education in Zambia (FODEP, 2007). It has committees which spearhead the voter education programmes at national and district levels thus, National Voter Education Committee (NVEC) and the District Voter Education Committee (DVEC). (Lifuka et al, 2011).

However in contrast with what was obtained from the print media informants, the researcher after doing a document checklist of 2011 newspapers from June to October of the Daily Mail, The Times of Zambia and The Post Newspaper on how elections messages were being disseminated, the results established that most of the information was not in detail were someone would be positively influenced to take part in voting. Like polling stations were not published for voters to know exactly where they were going to vote from. Also the advertisement which were shown were mainly coming from a particular political party. For example the public print media published more of the ruling party than the opposition parties as in the document check list on coverage of political rallies for 2011 in the table 1 below.

Post Newspaper		Times of Zambia		Daily Mail	
Ruling Party	Main Opposition Parties	Ruling Party	Main Opposition Parties	Ruling Party	Main Opposition Party
MMD	PF	MMD	PF	MMD	PF
X	✓	✓	X	✓	X

**Table 1: Political Campaign Rally Coverage for 2011 Tripartite Elections**

Table 1 above shows how the print media was covering political campaign rallies in the 2011 tripartite elections with an X indicating no coverage and a tick indicating coverage. As can be seen from Fig. 1, The Post Newspaper covered more of the political campaign rallies of the main Opposition Party the PF than that of the ruling party, MMD. Meanwhile the Times of Zambia and the Daily Mail covered more of the political campaign rallies of the ruling party than that of the opposition party. The study revealed that the coverage of the print media both

the public and private was biased towards a particular party of their preference. This affirms with what the respondents from residential areas had observed. These findings are in line with what Eggbon (2004) who claimed by stating that television houses did not allow opposition leaders to be covered on public media or they would appear but their voices and voices would be distorted deliberately.

In summary, from this study it can be established that, 100 % of the media houses do have various programmes which carry messages on elections. These may include televising political rallies, airing political news, and featuring aspiring candidates of different political parties to talk about their manifestos.

The study revealed that the print and electronic media influence voter participation through the information they offer about elections such as through, adverts, civic education and awareness news items. The FODEP CEO contended that the media can influence voters either to go and vote for the candidates or raise against the results depending on the information about elections is given to them. All the same, the AVAP CEO gave his point of view by stating that the media influences voter participation through call in programmes on both radio and television in English and local languages, voter education done by ECZ and Civil Societies on print and electronic media. As PANOS (2004) notes, the 2001 tripartite elections depended most on the electronic media (radio) where most of voter education was given. Unfortunately, in as much as others got the information about the elections but some remote areas did not get voter education due to bad signals (CIDA, 2008). The other means noted was the giving of election information to voters when the elections were to take place and based on the information given, voters would be able to make decisions. One of the sentiments of how voter participation was influenced by the electronic and print media was;

*“Through voter education by ECZ and Civil Society Organisations when featured on TV and Radio programmes”.*

He continued saying,

*“Through call-in programmes both on T.V and Radio in English and Local Languages”*  
(Interview with the AVAP CEO).

The latter sentiment is in line with what the respondents from ZNBC alluded to where he said the station is able to have programmes on both TV and Radio in all the seven languages regarding the electoral process.

The results showed that both electronic and print influence voter participation through putting up programmes like call in programmes, civic education and awareness, adverts and airing and publishing political news and rallies.

The ECZ PRO's response on how the electronic and print media influence voter participation established that, the voters were influenced by voter education and sensitisation, announcement, adverts and exclusive interview with the candidates on both TV and the radio. The announcement and adverts were conducted repeatedly so as to emphasise the importance of the matter. This is in line with the Agenda –setting theory which describes the ability of the news media to influence the salience of topics on the public agenda. That is, if a news item is covered frequently and prominently, the audience will regard the issue as more important. (McCombs and Reynolds, 2002) Thereby making the voters get influence to participate in the electoral process. On the contrary, the respondent never reported on how the print media influences voter participation. On the above statement ECZ PRO seems to agree with the previous respondents. He further stated, the electronic and print media influence voter participation through airing Drama programmes organized by ECZ personnel which show the people the importance of voting and bad vices which can be avoided during the course of an election period.

The findings from the Munali MP showed that the electronic media influence voter participation by having radio programmes about elections and debates. The other aspect which was noted was by having access to both print and electronic media by voters. This entails that, voter participation can only be influenced if voters had access to the electronic and print media. So the election messages can be there on both media but if voters are not reached by the dual, the voter participation is null and void. The views of the law maker were just in conformity with the respondents from the media houses, ECZ and the NGOs. Her response does conform to what the Institute of Southern Africa states that it is prudent to involve both print and electronic media in the disseminating of information (Institute of Southern Africa, 2004). This is because both the electronic and print media need to have election messages so that all people can be vested with the rightful information for them to participate in electoral process with an understanding mind.

The study established the ways in which voters were influenced were through announcements, adverts, and news on both media. Moreover, some of the respondents argued that the electronic and print media influence them through the interviews which they publish and air. These interviews involve the political aspirants of different parties contesting the elections. In the same vein, the researcher found out that voters are influenced when both media repeatedly announce about elections for example, announcing the voting period and how people are going to vote. While others claimed they were attracted by songs or music played on the electronic media about different political parties who are standing. Additionally, the findings showed that the programmes which are aired or published by the ECZ during the electoral process have a bearing on voter participation influence for instance, the voter education and sensitisation through drama and poetry.

On the other hand, the researcher noticed some negativity concerning how the media influence voter participation. There were some claims that the media is a let-down, is negative and bias in its reporting. This observation is in line with the study done in Nigeria by Eggbon (2004) in 1993 elections who claimed that, television houses didn't allow opposition leaders to be covered on public media or they would appear but their voices and images will be distorted deliberately. This entails that, media in this vain was used to disadvantage the opposition leaders at the expense of the electorates. The study noted that the electronic and print media do not give full information about the elections hence there is no much influence on voter participation. The above trend can be solved if the government does its obligation of ensuring that the public receives adequate information during elections. ((Matibini, 2006). MISA Zambia (2006:11) adds that, "the study of public media during elections was to provide the nation with well-balanced coverage." Unfortunately this mandate has not been fulfilled in that, most media houses are being polarised by politicians.

The findings from focus groups were; electronic and print media influence voters through adverts from ECZ, campaign rallies which are aired and published and by being told the importance of voting.

Conclusively, the findings have shown that 75% of the respondents from individual interview and focus group discussions have affirmed that they were influenced by the political adverts, campaign rallies and ECZ sensitisation programmes which are published in the print media and aired on the electronic media. But some the respondents did not assert to the claim that the

media doesn't influence voter participation by their programmes due to the biasness in their reporting and lack of detailed information about elections.

The findings established that, electronic and print media influence voter's participation through adverts, civic education, and interview with candidates, airing and publishing political news and rallies. On the contrary, the study has established that, it is not only the electronic and print media which influence voter participation but there are stakeholders who are involved in influencing voter participation. These stakeholder are Zambia Civic Education Association of Zambia, Electoral Commission of Zambia, Ant-Voter Apathy and Forum for Democracy Process. (Mulyata, 2011). The organisations have various programmes which they do with various groupings of the community during the electoral process, such as voter education through drama, songs and door to door sensitisations. These findings are in agreement with what Simfukwe (2007) alludes to by stating that, pressure groups conduct voter education by doing press campaigns and seminars in communities in order to enlighten of their civic duties and rights. In light of these findings the researcher concludes that the electronic media do have these programmes of educating and sensitising electorates on the importance of participating in the electoral process but their programmes are sometimes limited to a particular period. This at times can have some negative impact on the voter turnout.

### **5.3. Voters' Access to both Electronic and Print Media.**

The findings of ascertaining voter's access to both electronic and print media are discussed as follows:

The findings from the media houses with regards to the accessibility of electronic and print media to the voters were of different views. Some of the informants said the voters have access to both electronic and print media. But one out of the four respondents said not all voters have access to the print media. The claim of saying voters have access to the electronic and print media was based on one of them being a public media where voters are able to access the radio waves and TV waves. The study further noted that there were seven major languages which were aired and over 600,000 have access. Nevertheless, despite having such a number accessing the electronic media, there was some doubt of how many of that number do listen to the radio. This implies that there is no certainty as to how many voters are influenced since there are no statics which show how many voters are able to listen to the programmes which aired on the radio. The MUVI PRO argued that, because their TV station covers the sub-Sahara



and everywhere in Zambia then it can be concluded that voters have access to the media. This view does not hold water in that, being everywhere in Zambia it is not a guarantee of having a lot of voters accessing the media. The Post Newspaper editor general explained that voters have access to their print media because there are the only ones with the widest coverage area even reaching the remotest areas of the country. The findings from the three respondents differ from what Lifuka et al (2011) wrote from AVAP Report about the three previous elections of the media being insignificant in their accessibility to the electorates. On the contrary, the findings from the Daily Mail editor revealed that some voters are able to have access to the print media and others are not able to have access. The reason why others fail to have access to the print media is because in some areas the newspaper does not get there and some voters it is unaffordable for them. These views are in support with the study in Sudan where CIDA commented that newspapers reach only a tiny segment of the population in Sudan (CIDA, 2008).

The findings from the media houses show that voters have more access to the electronic media than the print media. This is because the print media only a minority have access to it due to financial setbacks. On the contrary, it has been noted that the radio has a wide coverage compared to the television.

The findings show that the voters have access to the electronic and print media. Additionally, the researcher observed from the findings that the electronic media is easily accessed by many because is affordable. The foregoing views are in favour of the three respondents who stated that both media are accessible to voters. The AVAP CEO contented that print media is a challenge because it is not easily accessed since not all can manage to buy it. Non the less the views are in conflict with what The Post News Paper claimed that their paper is accessible by everyone since it even reaches the remotest areas of Zambia. The claim by the latter is somehow lacking validity in the sense that, even if the newspaper reaches all parts of Zambia not everyone will be able to buy the newspaper. Some will not buy because of lack of money and others due to not knowing how to read or lack of interest towards the paper. So the print media is not all that accessible. Moreover the views from AVAP CEO are in conformity with what was prevailing in Sudan where the print media was not accessible by many (CIDA, 2008). The study found that in urban areas papers are more prominent and in rural areas electronic media is prominent due to community radio stations.

The observations from these findings were that the voters have access to both electronic and print media. But for the print media not everyone can access it because it is expensive. There is also distinction between the rural and urban areas where it was noted the rural areas to be more of electronic media (radio) and the urban areas to be dominated with the print media.

The study revealed that the voters have access to both electronic and print media. But for the print media not everyone can afford especially in rural areas. It was mentioned that *voters are* more of radio since there are 72 radio stations where voters can have access. This assertion is in line with what the respondents from the NGO explained. Although Literature reviewed that mostly during rainy seasons in the previous elections a lot of people were not able to get the radio or TV signals due to bad weather. (Lifuka et al, 2011) This entails that there wasn't much effect on voter participation.

The conclusions from the findings were that, voters had access to both electronic and print media. The voters had more access to the electronic media unlike the print media where only a few could manage to buy or have access to it.

The results showed that 90% of people in Munali constituency had access to churches where they got information about the elections but there were disadvantaged through the print and electronic media due to the limitations that they have. Nevertheless, 15% of people in Avondale, Chelston and Handsworth have access to electronic and print media and are fully involved in the electoral process. The MP stated that the 90% of the voters in Munali Constituency did not have access to the electronic and print media and only 15% had access to the electronic and print media. The researcher does not agree with the estimations given in that in Munali constituency most of the voters had either a TV or a Radio or both. This means that at least 50% could have access to the electronic media. The argument would be verified from the findings obtained from the voters. .

The findings from the study showed that 44 of the 48 respondents have access to the electronic media, 3 of the 48 respondents have access to the print and electronic media and 1 of the 48 respondents have no access to both the electronic and print media. However, the researcher observed that majority of the respondents had more access to the television than to the radio. Also there were 3 respondents who have access to the social media. The estimated number of voters having access to the electronic and print media given by the Munali Constituency MP is conflicting with what the researcher obtained on the ground as the statics clearly shown

above. Consequently, from the results obtained as to why other respondents do not have access to the print media show that, some voters do not know how to read and others it was because the newspapers were too expensive for them. The other argument was that, although others know how to read or have the capacity to buy the newspapers but they do not have just the interest in reading. In view of the above findings, it can be deduced that the voters have more access to the electronic media than they are to the print media.

On one hand, the findings from the focus group discussions established that, all the 7 focus groups have access to the electronic media. But from the 7 focus group, 3 have access to print media and 4 have no access to the print media. The reasons which were given as to why they did not have access to the print media are; the print media has less coverage, it uses one language, most people do not know how to read and it is expensive. This is similar to what the literature reviewed from the study done in Sudan where voters were not able to access the media due to low circulation of the print media and language barrier too. (CIDA, 2008).

The findings of the study have established that out of 104 respondents 11 respondents had stated that voters had access to both electronic and print media and 93 respondents said the voters have access to the electronic media. Nevertheless the findings from this objective are in line with what the Agenda-setting theory proponents allude to. That is, the Agenda-setting occurs through a cognitive process of accessibility (Iyengar and Kinder, 1987). This implies that, when voters have access to both print and electronic media they will be accorded a chance of listening to political news and campaign information, thereby exposing them to certain issues of political concern. Consequently, through this process, high voter participation could be assured.

The study found out that 93 respondents affirmed that voters have access to the electronic media and 11 respondents said voters have access to print and electronic media.

#### **5.4 Summary of Chapter Five**

The chapter presented the discussion of findings on the evaluation of the electronic and print media influence on voter participation in Lusaka District a case of Munali constituency. The researcher agrees with this claim in that, the electronic media is able to reach a good number of voters regardless of where they are found and the messages of elections can be accessed easily. Nevertheless, the conclusions of the findings are that in Munali constituency not all

voters are influenced by the electronic and print media but other drivers play a role in influencing voters. The next chapter will present the conclusions and the recommendation of the study.

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **6.0 Overview.**

The preceding chapter presented the discussions of major findings of the study. The present chapter will draw conclusions to the study; provide recommendations on the influence of the electronic and print media on voter participation and make further suggestions.

#### **6.1 Conclusion**

The purpose of this study was to evaluate the influence of the electronic and print media on voter participation in Munali constituency of Lusaka District.

The study established that voter participation was influenced by the electronic and print media but there were also other factors which played a role in influencing voter participation. The findings showed that out of 104 respondents, 68 respondents said voter participation was influenced by the electronic and print media, 8 respondents said yes and no voter participation is influenced by the print and electronic media, 23 respondents were not in agreement of voter participation being influenced by the print and electronic media and 5 respondents said voters participation is influenced by the electronic and print media. All in all the findings established that voter participation was more influenced by the electronic media than the print media because most voters had more access to the former than to the latter.

The findings on the research objective 2 showed that the electronic and print media influence voter participation using different ways. On the access of voters to both electronic and print media the study established that the electronic media was more accessible to the voters due to its wide coverage.

#### **6.2 Recommendations.**

In the light of the findings of this study, the researcher recommends the following suggestions:

- i. The electronic and print media should not be bias in their reporting during the electoral process.

- ii. The electronic and print media should be factual and objective when reporting issues before, during and after the electoral process.
- iii. The voters must be given accurate information during the electoral process in order for them to make an informed decision as they vote.
- iv. Voter education and civic awareness must be an on-going process not done only during the election period so as to improve voter participation.
- v. The print media must be affordable to voters.
- vi. The print media should consider translating news articles in local languages so that most voters can have an opportunity of reading information about elections thereby increasing the voter turnout.
- vii. The print media should reach the remotest areas of Zambia.
- viii. The public and private media must serve public interest as they give information concerning the elections.

### **6.3. Suggestions for further research.**

This study only concentrated in Munali constituency, it is therefore being suggested that some more study should be done on the following topics;

- I. The effect of mass media reporting on post-election atmosphere in Zambia: A case of selected Districts of Zambia.
- II. Assessing the best ways of influencing voter participation by Civil Society Organisations in Zambia.
- III. Evaluating the influence of the print and electronic media in Lusaka district as a whole.

### **6.4. Summary**

The chapter has presented the conclusion in line with the objectives of the study. Recommendations have been derived from what the study established. Finally the chapter has given suggestions for further study.

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## **APPENDICES**

### **APPENDIX A**

#### **FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE/ INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW GUIDE.**

##### **TAXI DRIVERS AND MARKERTEERS**

Good morning, my name is Banda Rahabe. It is a pleasure to meet you today. We are meeting today to discuss how influential the print and electronic media are to voter participation during elections. The discussion is called a focus group.

Focus groups are used to gather information informally from a small group of individuals who have a common interest in a particular subject. In focus groups, there are no right or wrong answers. I would encourage each one of you to participate freely. I am glad that you are taking part in this session and am confident that you all have educative ideas on the subject under study.

I will be moderating the session and making sure we touch on all of the key areas on our agenda.

I will be keeping a record of this discussion so that I don't have to take notes so I can accurately convey your ideas and opinions.

1. Have you ever participated in voting during any elections? .Which elections have you participated in?
2. Each time you participated, how did you know that there were elections taking place?
3. Which sources of information about elections usually assist you to know about elections?
4. Do you think that there is enough information about elections at every election time?
5. Now, for you to go and vote, what influenced you? Has the media influenced you in any way for you to take part in voting?
6. If the answer to Question 6 is YES, how did the media influence you? Without the media would you have gone to vote?
7. There are different types of Media used to inform and educate people. Now, as for you which media do you most get information about elections from?
8. Now, between the Print and electronic media, which one has more influence on you as voters?
9. So in your own view, what would you say, is voter participation influenced by electronic and print media? If yes, how? If no, why?
10. What should the media do in order to make voters participate more effectively during the general elections?

**APPENDIX B****DOCUMENTS REVIEW CHECKLIST**

S/N	Times of Zambia	Yes	No
1	Reported on elections		
2	Reported dates of elections		
3	Reported polling stations		
4	Reported on voting times		
5	Reported on voter registration		
6	Reported on conduct of voters		
7	Encouraged voters to go and vote		
8	Did voter education.		
9	Reported on election Results.		

S/N	DAILY MAIL	Yes	No
1	Reported on elections		
2	Reported dates of elections		
3	Reported polling stations		
4	Reported on voting times		
5	Reported on voter registration		
6	Reported on conduct of voters		
7	Encouraged voters to go and vote		
8	Did voter education.		
9	Reported on election Results.		

S/N	THE POST NEWSPAPER	Yes	No
1	Reported on elections		
2	Reported dates of elections		
3	Reported polling stations		
4	Reported on voting times		
5	Reported on voter registration		
6	Reported on conduct of voters		
7	Encouraged voters to go and vote		
8	Did voter education.		
9	Reported on election Results.		

## **APPENDIX C**

### **ELECTIONS RELATED NGOs OFFICIALS INTERVIEW GUIDE**

#### **THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA, SCHOOL OF EDUCATION**

#### **DEPARTMENT OF LANGUAGE AND SOCIAL SCIENCES EDUCATION**

#### **1. Introduction of the researcher (giving information about the research and its aims)**

**Topic: AN AVALUATION OF THE ELECTRONIC AND PRINT MEDIA  
INFLUENCE ON VOTER PARTICIPATION IN LUSAKA DISTRICT OF ZAMBIA:  
A CASE OF MUNALI CONSTITUENCY.**

1. Do you get involved in the electoral process as an organisation?
2. If yes, how do you get involved?
3. As an organisation which areas are of concern during elections?
4. Why do you get interested in getting involved in the electoral process?
5. In which of the elections where you fully engaged?
6. Do you think voters fully participate during election? If yes why? If no why?
7. Each time there are elections, how do voters know about them?
8. Which sources of information about elections mostly assist the electorates to be aware of elections?
9. As an organisation, do you think that there is adequate information about elections whenever there are elections given to the voters?
10. What do you think always influences the electorates during elections?
11. Has the media influenced the electorates to participate in voting?
12. If yes, how do the media influence the voters?
13. Since there are different types of media where people get informed and educated about election. As an organisation, which media do you think voters get most of the information about elections from?
14. Between the print and electronic media which one have more influence on voters and why?
15. As an organisation, would you conclude that, is voter participation influenced by the electronic and print media? If yes why, If no why?
16. In your view, what should the media do in order to make voter participation more effectively during election

## **APPENDIX D**

### **ELECTORAL COMMISSION OF ZAMBIA OFFICIAL INTERVIEW GUIDE**

#### **THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA, SCHOOL OF EDUCATION**

#### **DEPARTMENT OF LANGUAGE AND SOCIAL SCIENCES EDUCATION**

1. Introduction of the researcher (giving information about the research and its aims)

**Topic: AN AVALUATION OF THE ELECTRONIC AND PRINT MEDIA  
INFLUENCE ON VOTER PARTICIPATION IN LUSAKA DISTRICT OF ZAMBIA:  
A CASE OF MUNALI CONSTITUENCY.**

1. What is the major role of the ECZ in the electoral process?
2. What else do the ECZ do before elections?
3. How is publicity done to the voters?
4. Which sources of information about elections usually assist the voters to know about elections?
5. Has the media influenced voter participation in any way?
6. If yes, how did the media influence voter participation?
7. Without the media would have voters gone to vote, and why?
8. There are different types of media used to inform and educate people. Now which media do voters get information about elections from?
9. According to you as a Commission which media has more influence on voter participation between the electronic and print media?
10. So in your own view, what would say, is voter participation influenced by the electronic and print media? If yes, how? If no, why?
11. What should the media do in order to make voters to participate effectively during the general elections?

## **APPENDIX E**

### **ELECTRONIC AND PRINT MEDIA HOUSE OFFICIALS INTERVIEW GUIDE**

#### **THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA, SCHOOL OF EDUCATION**

#### **DEPARTMENT OF LANGUAGE AND SOCIAL SCIENCES EDUCATION**

1. Introduction of the researcher (giving information about the research and its aims)

**Topic: AN AVALUATION OF THE ELECTRONIC AND PRINT MEDIA  
INFLUENCE ON VOTER PARTICIPATION IN LUSAKA DISTRICT OF ZAMBIA:  
A CASE OF MUNALI CONSTITUENCY.**

1. Do you get involved in the electoral process as a media?
2. How do you get involved in the electoral process?
3. How do voters know about elections?
4. As a media, do you think the voters have enough information about the elections?
5. What kind of information do you give to the voters during the electoral process?
6. How do the media influence voter participation during elections?
7. There are different types of media used to educate and inform people. Now, as for you as a media which media do voters get information about election from?
8. Do the voters have access to the print and electronic media?
9. So in your view, what would you say, is voter participation influence by the electronic and print media? If yes, how? If no, why?
10. What should the media do in order to make voters participate more effectively during the general elections?

## **APPENDIX F**

### **MUNALI CONSTITUENCY MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT INTERVIEW GUIDE**

**THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA, SCHOOL OF EDUCATION**

**DEPARTMENT OF LANGUAGE AND SOCIAL SCIENCES EDUCATION**

1. Introduction of the researcher (giving information about the research and its aims)

**Topic: AN AVALUATION OF THE ELECTRONIC AND PRINT MEDIA  
INFLUENCE ON VOTER PARTICIPATION IN LUSAKA DISTRICT OF ZAMBIA:  
A CASE OF MUNALI CONSTITUENCY.**

1. How do voters know in Munali Constituency about elections?
2. Which sources of information about elections usually assist voters in Munali Constituency to know about election?
3. Do you think that there is enough information about information about election at every election time?
4. Has the media influenced voter participation in Munali Constituency? If yes, how did the media influence voters to take part in voting?
5. As a member of parliament, what would you say, is voter participation influenced by the electronic and print media? If yes, how? If no, why?
6. Now between the print and electronic media, which one has more influence on voters?
7. What should the media do in order to make voters participate more effectively during the general elections?



## **APPENDIX G**

### **CONSENT FORM FOR RESPONDENTS**

Research topic: Evaluating the influence of electronic and print media on voter participation in Lusaka district: A Case of Munali Constituency.

By signing this form, you are agreeing that you have read the participation information and you are taking part in this research study voluntarily and without any payment.

.....

Respondent's name.

.....

Respondent's signature.

.....

Date

.....

Name of person obtaining consent.

.....

Signature of person obtaining consent

## APPENDIX H

### TIME FRAME

DURATION	RESEARCH ACTIVITY
1 Month	Proposal preparation
1 Month	Data collection
3 Months	Data analysis: Thus to synthesize and integrate documents analysis findings and outcomes and start to work on the actual findings.
3 Months	Dissertation writing.  Writing findings, modifying and expanding the introduction, literature review and methodological chapter from the proposal and dissertation.