

**AN EXAMINATION OF FACTORS INFLUENCING VOTERS' CHOICE OF CANDIDATES  
DURING TRIPARTITE ELECTIONS IN MANDEVU AND MUNALI CONSTITUENCIES  
FROM 2001 TO 2011**

**By**

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fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Master of Education in Civic Education.**

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## **DECLARATION**

I, Andrew Muchanga, declare that this dissertation represents my own work. It has not previously been submitted for a degree or any award at the University of Zambia or any other institution. All published work or materials from other sources incorporated in this dissertation have been specifically acknowledged and references thereby given.

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

## **DEDICATION**

To my daughters Nicola, Nalukuta and Nelly. I thank them for having provided a calm environment as I compiled this dissertation.

## **CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL**

This dissertation prepared by Andrew Muchanga is approved as fulfilling part of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Education (MEd.) in Civic Education by the University of Zambia.

### **Examiners**

Name ..... Signature..... Date.....

Name ..... Signature..... Date.....

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## ACRONYMS

<b>ACC</b>	Anti-Corruption Commission
<b>BJP</b>	Bharatiya Party
<b>DA</b>	District Administrator
<b>DP</b>	Democratic Party
<b>MMD</b>	Movement for Multi-party Democracy
<b>PF</b>	Patriotic Front
<b>PO</b>	People's Organisation
<b>PST</b>	Purposive Sampling Technique
<b>UNIP</b>	United National Independence Party
<b>UPND</b>	United Party for National Development

## **ABSTRACT**

The quest for leaders in many societies tends to give rise to moments when citizens are accorded an opportunity to elect leaders of their own choice. In making their choice of leaders, citizens may be influenced by a variety of factors. In the context of Zambia, the same can be said about voters in Mandevu and Munali constituencies. Therefore, this study sought to unearth the factors that influenced voters' choice of candidates during tripartite elections in Mandevu and Munali constituencies from the year 2001 to the year 2011, based on the responses of selected respondents. Uncertainty and speculation on what factors influenced voters' choices during tripartite elections in Mandevu and Munali constituencies necessitated this research whose results could be relevant and beneficial to political parties, electoral candidates, Civic organisations and the world of academics, among others.

The objectives of the study were to establish the main socio-economic factors, ascertain the main political factors, determine the environmental factors and investigate possible undemocratic factors influencing voters' choice of candidates during tripartite elections in the two constituencies. The study employed both quantitative and qualitative approaches in the context of a cross-sectional study design. In terms of data collection, the study used purposive sampling technique to select 135 quantitative respondents and 10 qualitative respondents from each constituency. Data collection instruments included questionnaires and semi-structured interviews. Results were analysed using descriptive statistics and thematic analysis.

Respondents suggested examples of the most influential socio-economic factors, political factors, environmental factors and undemocratic factors in terms of voters' choice of candidates during tripartite elections in both constituencies. For instance, the most influential factors among undemocratic and socio-economic factors were candidates' gifts to voters, and salaries and wages of workers respectively. The study concluded that elections in both constituencies would hardly pass without the involvement of bribery among both the candidates and voters. Potential candidates would also do well to hinge their campaign messages on the welfare of public and private workers.

The study recommended proactive and continuous voter education in order to promote good practices and discourage bad practices on the part of both the candidates and voters.

## **CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 Overview**

This chapter gives background information to the study highlighting democracy as a pillar upon which citizens must make appropriate choices when they seek to elect leaders to positions of authority. It also states the statement of the problem, the purpose of the study, the objectives of the study, the research questions, the significance of the study, the conceptual and theoretical frameworks of the study among others.

### **1.2 Background information**

Proponents of democracy argue that it is the best form of government because it gives power to citizens to elect leaders of their choice. As amplified by Johari (2013), democracy serves as a platform for popular participation among citizens as they are availed an opportunity to choose leaders based on their will. Given the fact that they are chosen based on the people's will, leaders and representatives ought to act with a sense of responsibility or risk losing the mandate of the electorate. In this vein Johari (2013) submits that leaders in a democracy can rise and fall based on the winds of public mind. The wind of public mind clearly illustrates the political power held by the citizens, through their right to vote, to determine who to entrust public affairs with at a given time. Newton and VanDeth (2005) argue that the citizens' right to vote should be placed at the centre of democracy because citizens hold the key to the smooth delivery of democracy and it matters the most what they do with the right to vote bestowed upon them.

Holding elections in every democratic society cements the citizens' capability to elect leaders and representatives. As noted by Johari (2013), an election involves the recruitment of representatives by the choice of the voters. Additionally, Harrington (2012) states that it is through elections that people delegate their power to representatives and as such the elected individuals are conferred with the authority to govern on behalf of the people who elect them. However, it is of utmost importance to note that the people may not just vote for the sake of it but are bound to be influenced by a range of factors. It is also necessary to be mindful of the fact that the factors that influence voters during an election may either be progressive or retrogressive to the delivery of democracy by the citizens.

In their struggle for substantial support from the voters, political competitors create an atmosphere of political competition. Patterson (2003) argues that political competition serves as a foundation on which the public is influenced by political competitors whose main inclination is towards offering choices to those involved in voting, also referred to as the electorate. Political competition is intensified mostly through party mobilisation which leads to identification of candidates who should be capable of drawing desirable support from the public. For this reason, political parties are described as having a responsibility of selecting nominees and submitting them to the voters so that they can either be accepted or rejected through the choices made by the voters. The acceptance of candidates by voters, as advanced by Patterson (2003), is anchored on the understanding that political parties have philosophies and policies which attract the voters so that their candidates can command more support and gain advantage over those who oppose them. Johari (2013) further asserts that candidates through their philosophies and policies help the public to form a common opinion by telling people about various challenges society is faced with and suggest possible solutions to such challenges. Thus it is through their efforts to offer solutions to societal challenges that candidates are able to influence the choices made by the voters when two or more candidates are presented to them during elections.

In a related sphere, the more the solutions electoral candidates seem to offer to societal challenges, the more they create a platform upon which they should be accountable to the voters. On that score Venter (2003) is emphatic on the fact that through their pronouncements political competitors are made accountable to the people as they are expected to put into practice that which they pronounce. Failure to do so may prompt the voters to withdraw their support and shift it to other political competitors who may seem to have the capacity to fulfil the voters' hopes and aspirations. This goes to show that voters' choices in a democratic dispensation should not be expected to be static but change depending on prevailing conditions at a given time.

Epstein (1967) views political competition as arising under certain socio-economic conditions. Therefore, the role of those competing for political power should be to strive and institute appropriate interventions to the satisfaction of the voters. It may not be an easy undertaking to satisfy the aspirations of the voters especially when their life styles are characterised by high spending. In socio-economic conditions where the voters' per capita income is high the expectations of the citizens, particularly voters, also tend to be very high. As such those who aspire to be elected by the people should expect to offer much more in order to convince the

voters to vote for them, as voters who harbour high expectations also tend to judge candidates based on their individual standards. Newton and VanDeth (2005) further argue that voters may judge candidates according to their past records and future promises based on numerous issues that include taxation, inflation, unemployment and the general performance of the economy. In this case incumbent candidates are expected to account for their successes and failures in terms of their past pronouncements and promises to the voters if they are to draw a fresh mandate from them. In the event that the voters are not satisfied with the incumbent they may switch their loyalty and allegiance to another candidate who may seem to promise better solutions to their socio-economic challenges.

A candidate may also do well by coming to the realisation that there are variations in voting behaviour among voters based on different aspirations. Newton and VanDeth (2005) alluded to the question of taxation and unemployment. By implication voters that are in employment and other income generating activities may look forward to supporting a candidate whose promises are inclined towards a reduction in taxes, while those that are victims of unemployment may put their hopes on voting for a candidate who promises them to secure employment within the shortest possible time. For this reason Patterson (2003) argues that it is not enough to confine political support to a specific segment of society because doing so could lead to forfeiting a number of votes elsewhere which may hamper a candidate's chances of success during elections. In this light candidates would do well to take into consideration voters' different aspirations and tailor policies in such a way that a broader spectrum of society would find them appealing if wide spread support is to come their way.

Although elections are said to have an important role of delivering democracy through the participation of citizens, it is important to note that merely holding elections does not guarantee a smooth delivery of democracy. This comes to light when those competing for political power resort to using manipulation as a way to obtain votes from the electorate. Johari (2013) notes that in a democratic setup where there is stiff competition among candidates during elections, there is a high propensity of having leaders who are products of manipulation. In a situation such as this, the manipulated majority may suffocate the reasoning minority as candidates employ unconventional tactics such as vote buying to deceive the masses and amass huge numbers of votes during elections in the name of democracy. For this reason Harrington (2012) emphasises that if elections are to reflect the will of the people a free and fair atmosphere must prevail in

which every candidate must enjoy equal opportunities in terms of freedom of speech and movement so that he or she can articulate policies and programmes that can convince the voters. In the same vein, independent candidates just like those sponsored by political parties should enjoy enough space to make their propositions to the electorate. Harrington (2012) further argues that candidates must at all cost resist the use of violence to instil fear in the citizens. At the same time the voters must not allow themselves to be manipulated by being subjected to force, intimidation or bribery. Instead, citizens must vote using their conscious as there is a strong possibility of those contesting as candidates in an election resorting to undemocratic means of influencing voters to vote for them. Once voters are influenced by wrong factors, democracy is compromised and wrong people push their way into leadership.

Zambia reverted to multi-party democracy in 1990. As stated by Mwanakatwe (1994), this was in the aftermath of the amendments to the Zambian constitution that allowed the formation and registration of political parties other than the ruling party at the time. This also served as a significant event prior to the 1991 general elections. Since then, Zambia has had several multi-party elections during which citizens have had an opportunity to vote for candidates of their choice. As espoused by the Zambian constitution, citizens have voted during tripartite elections which encompassed Presidential, Parliamentary and Local government elections (GRZ, 1996). For this reason the study was focusing on the combination of the three types of elections collectively called tripartite elections. Taking into consideration the fact that voters were influenced by various factors during elections it was of interest to examine socio-economic factors, political factors, environmental factors and undemocratic factors in view of their influence on voters' choice of candidates during tripartite elections in Mandevu and Munali constituencies.

### **1. 3 Statement of the problem**

Voting is a subtle component of any democratic society and diverse factors influence voters' choice of candidates. However, in the context of Mandevu and Munali constituencies there was no clear certainty of factors that influenced voters as they decided which candidates to vote for during tripartite elections. In spite of the studies that had been done about Zambia in general, for instance Erdmann (2007), it was not clear as to what factors mostly influenced voters' choices and to what extent each of them influenced voters' choice of candidates in Mandevu and Munali constituencies. This lack of certainty constituted a problem. As a matter of concern, when voters elect leaders based on retrogressive and unconventional means such as vote buying and sectional

inclinations the value of their vote becomes diluted to the extent that voting becomes a mere formality without achieving the purpose of putting credible leaders into power. This problem, if not addressed, may affect both the current and future generations in the sense that the constituencies might sustain a culture of voting without clear objectivity. With time this problem might not only continue to affect Mandevu and Munali constituencies but could spread to other constituencies in Lusaka and subsequently the whole Zambia. This is possible given the fact that citizens migrate from one constituency to the other.

#### **1.4 Purpose of the study**

The purpose of the study was to examine factors influencing voters' choice of candidates during tripartite elections in Mandevu and Munali constituencies of Lusaka, Zambia.

#### **1.5 Specific objectives**

The specific objectives of the study were to:

- a. Establish the main socio-economic factors influencing voters' choice of candidates during tripartite elections in Mandevu and Munali constituencies.
- b. Ascertain the main political factors influencing voters' choice of candidates during tripartite elections in the two constituencies.
- c. Determine which environmental factors were influencing voters' choice of candidates during tripartite elections in each the two constituencies.
- d. Identify possible undemocratic factors influencing voters' choice of candidates during tripartite elections in both constituencies.

#### **1.6 General research question**

What factors influenced voters' choice of candidates during tripartite elections in Mandevu and Munali constituencies of Lusaka District, in Zambia?



## **1.6 Specific Research Questions**

- a. What were the main socio-economic factors influencing voters in Mandevu and Munali constituencies to vote for a particular candidate during tripartite elections?
- b. What were the main political factors influencing voters in Mandevu and Munali constituencies to vote for a given candidate during tripartite elections?
- c. Which environmental factors influenced voters in Mandevu and Munali Constituencies to vote for a particular candidate during tripartite elections?
- d. Which undemocratic factors influenced voters` choice of candidates in Mandevu and Munali constituencies and how could they be addressed?

## **1.7 Significance of the study**

Having unearthed the factors that influenced voters' choices in Mandevu and Munali constituencies, the study would benefit potential candidates by providing them with an idea about the expectations of voters in Mandevu and Munali constituencies during tripartite elections. From the point of view of political parties, the information from the study may help them in the adoption of candidates to contest elections on their political party platform so that they are able to field candidates who are closer to the aspirations of the voters in Mandevu and Munali Constituencies. Other stake-holders such as Civic Organisations may be helped to realise their role in terms of voter education, while academicians could add to the pool of existing knowledge in civic education.

## **1.8 The Scope of the study**

During the research the researcher`s focus was on the factors influencing voters` choice of candidates in Mandevu and Munali Constituencies during tripartite elections from 2001 to 2011, because uncertainty surrounded the factors that influenced the voting pattern among the residents of the two constituencies. The researcher also focused on which factors influenced voters the most in each constituency.

## **1.9 Working definitions**

**Clientelistic**-Existing as members of a political Organization

**Environmental Factors**-Challenges of the environment that need solutions

**Heterogeneous**-Existing and acting as different kinds of people

**Periodic** -Occurs at regular intervals

**Political Factors**-Characteristics of political mobilization in democratic processes

**Socio-Economic Factors**-Characteristics which reflect the economic outlook of society

**Tripartite Elections**-A combination of Presidential, Parliamentary and Local Government

**Undemocratic Factors**-Practices that are not in conformity with democratic procedures

## **1.10 Theoretical Framework**

The study was guided by two theories namely the theory of democracy and the theory of rationality. The two theories were both appropriate to the study because they both depicted people's power to make choices through well informed decision-making. As described by Johari (2013), the theory of democracy is a culmination of ideas about democracy as propagated by various proponents of democracy such as Mill, Rousseau, Green and Lindsay, among others. The theory of democracy points to the fact that power is vested in the people and they exercise it either directly or through their chosen representatives. In agreement with this idea, Raphael (1992) states that citizens may take part in the government either directly or through their elected representatives and stresses that such representatives should be freely elected. Going by this assertion, citizens of a democratic country such as Zambia, in particular Mandevu and Munali constituencies ought to have representatives only chosen by them and not chosen on their behalf or craftily imposed on them. The people's choice of candidates comes into the picture and for this reason there must be elections held so that the citizens can review their choice of representatives, and by so doing representatives are made accountable to the people who elect them.

Another important component of the theory of democracy is that it emphasises the will of the people. Johari (2013) quotes Rousseau as having stressed the fact that democracy ensures the general will of the people and that force should not be exerted on the people to choose a particular

representative, but they should be left to express their will freely. Raphael (1992) goes along with the same assertion and adds that the will of the people is as expressed through the majority as it is not possible to have everyone agree on one thing due to divergent views among citizens. If that were the case it would appear as though there was no problem to agree upon. In the Zambian context, the multi-party system should serve as a good platform on which the will of the people should be seen to prevail. Going by Raphael's argument it is not very possible for all citizens to vote in the same pattern as contrasting views and preferences are expected. That is the reason why every candidate would strive to win the support of many voters by influencing them in one way or the other.

The theory of democracy was also relevant to the study because it brought out the aspect of people controlling their public affairs. This is founded on the people's natural right to participate in political affairs which is illustrated through election of individuals who are expected to carry out common good (Johari, 2013). Therefore, citizens should participate in controlling public affairs by taking part in voting during which they make choices that play an important role in fulfilling that which they desire. This is complimented by the need for universal adult franchise, free and fair periodic elections as well as the freedom of the press.

On account of universal suffrage, Raphael (1992) goes further to argue that every citizen should be treated equally on the basis of one man, one vote with each vote commanding equal value. From this perspective a candidate will strive to use all methods to draw support from every voter. Johari (2013) also cites Bryce as saying that democracy has brought more blessings as there is no better alternative to it. In the Zambian context a universal adult franchise is of significance because it allows every citizen who has reached the voting age to participate in voting and when elections are periodic, new voters arise to replace or re-enforce the old voters. When the press is independent citizens are able to receive adequate and relevant information that can help them make objective choices in the manner they vote.

Johari (2013) suggests that democracy embraces the concept of competition that is political in nature. He stresses the fact that in a competitive struggle for political victory the only practical method to accomplish it is democracy which can be practiced by every community regardless of its population. For instance, a community of one hundred inhabitants and that of millions of people can both use the same electoral method to choose their leaders. The competitive nature of democracy is what makes it ideal because it gives candidates a task to solicit for support from the

electorate. It is in this context that voters have to be influenced by various factors such as the ones that were considered in this study.

Further reference to the theory of democracy reveals that even a government in power cannot afford to be complacent with its leadership style because the electorate has the propensity and the capacity to change government through the ballot box. As alluded to by Johari (2013) the electorate has the primary function of not only putting a government in place but also that of evicting it from power. This implies that a government that might have graciously ascended to power with an overwhelming majority from the electorate may lose acceptance in subsequent elections once the voters decide to withdraw their support. For this reason each election should be considered as unique and may command various influences that might persuade the electorate to vote along certain lines. In this context campaign messages might even change and have a huge influence leading to either continuation or eviction of incumbent leadership. Basically, the theory of democracy illustrates how the quest for power is supposed to be viewed and how democracy places the people, particularly the voters, at the helm of decision making.

Apart from the theory of democracy, this study was also guided by the theory of rationality. Froman (1966) propagates that rationality is an ideal in decision-making especially when it comes to the electoral process. He stresses that there should be rational campaigning by candidates and rational decision making by the electorate. In the electoral process the candidates together with their political parties should offer meaningful choices to the voters by presenting clear alternative messages and policies so that the voters are able to listen to them attentively and gather as much information as possible about the candidates and the issues they present so that based on the information and evidence presented to them by the candidates, voters can make rational choices. This is an important aspect and is very meaningful to the Zambian electoral process. In this context the media can play a significant role in making available information about candidates and their messages to the voters so that the voters can make accurate evaluations to come up with a candidate of their choice and vote for that particular candidate during tripartite elections.

In most, if not all elections, candidates aim at amassing as many votes as possible. Froman (1966) describes this as a win big mentality among election candidates in the hope of reducing the strength of their opposition in current and possibly future elections. In this case winning big performs specific functions which include a demonstration that a candidate has what is known as the vote-getting power. Additionally, winning big, gives a candidate a sense of security and

acceptance from the voters. From the Zambian perspective, in particular Mandevu and Munali Constituencies, a candidate, whether it is at presidential, parliamentary or local government level may equally wish to command support from as many voters as possible in order to win elections with a big margin and this would depend on how much the voters are influenced to vote for such a candidate. Therefore, it would be possible for a candidate in Mandevu and Munali Constituencies to be a big winner although that would depend on what factors would influence the voters to vote for that particular candidate based on rational decision making.

Political campaigns, as argued by Froman (1966), also play an important role in helping citizens with decision making. He postulates that within the electoral process, campaigns play the role of creating intimate contact between a candidate, who may be an incumbent or potential office holder, and the voters. He contends that within the campaign process revelations are made about the voters' attitudes to issues as well as what the voters' problems are, and in the process the candidate would think about such problems and suggest possible solutions. The possible solutions to such problems are what may become a strong message to influence the voters to vote for such a candidate. The voters in Mandevu and Munali constituencies in a similar manner have their own issues and problems that they present to candidates for possible solutions. Hence their vote could be anchored on the possible solutions to their problems as promised to them and that quest for solutions should be premised on the concept of rationality.

In agreeing with the argument by Froman, Newton and vanDeth (2005) argue that politics is based upon the rational calculations of actors such as individuals and governments who try to maximise their interests. Indeed when political actors especially individual voters make political decisions based on rationality there is likelihood that they will elect a representative who will serve their interests. In this light the mass media are identified as a critical component because in achieving the concept of rationality citizens depend on the media to obtain information. For this reason Newton and vanDeth (2005) argue that the media must be characterised by fairness, accuracy and balance in the dissemination of news and only when citizens are fed with accurate information can they play a meaningful role in promoting democracy as they make informed decisions.

The residents of Mandevu and Munali Constituencies were, therefore, assessed to determine whether or not they practiced rationality in electing a particular candidate to a position of responsibility. The two theories were of great importance because they helped in discovering how much value the residents of Mandevu and Munali constituencies attached to the benefits of

democracy as well as the extent to which they applied the concept of rationality in deciding who to vote for during tripartite elections.

### **1.11 Conceptual Framework**

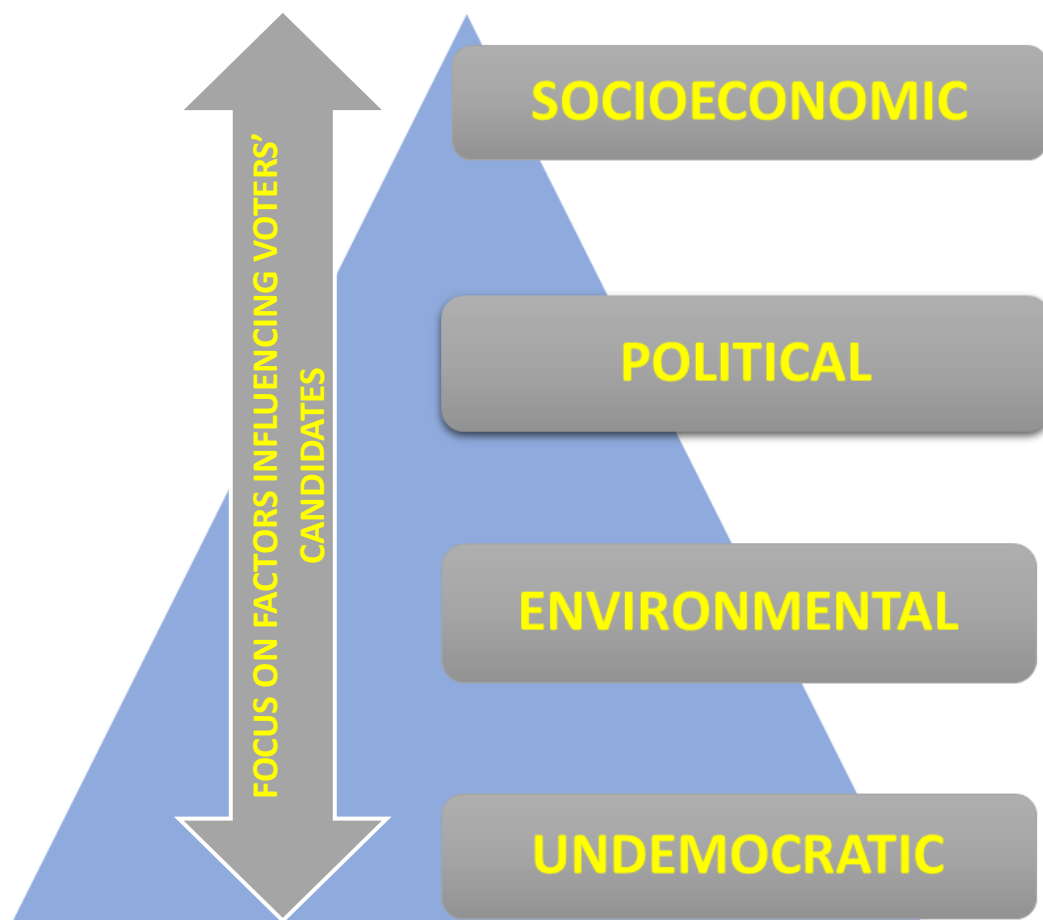
Factors that influence voters' choice of candidates during tripartite elections could be viewed in terms voters trying to choose a candidate who would eventually serve their interests. They culminate from the perspective of a multi-party system where voters are presented with a variety of alternatives from which to choose leaders. This study was, therefore, inclined towards establishing how socio-economic, political, environmental and undemocratic factors motivated voters in Mandevu and Munali Constituencies to vote for certain candidates in preference to others. In this vein only factors that could lead to electing good and responsible leaders were expected to stand out, so that Voter Education could play an appropriate and meaningful role.

Socio-economic, political, environmental and undemocratic factors could be defined in the context of this study. Socio-economic factors are characteristics of an economy which affect the economic well-being of citizens. Epstein (1967) refers to fiscal matters such as taxation as being characteristics critical to the economic well being of people, particularly voters. Political factors may be defined in the context of the views advanced by Patterson (2003) who considers political mobilisation as an important tool when it comes to drawing political support from the citizens. Therefore, political factors are characteristics of political mobilisation which are in tandem with democracy and make a party or candidate popular.

Environmental factors may be viewed as challenges within the environment that need solutions. Nkhuwa (2007) cites waste disposal as one of the various environmental challenges arising from cramped living in high density areas. They come into the picture at the time of elections when candidates decide to take advantage of prevailing environmental challenges and tailor them around campaign messages to entice voters. Therefore, they may influence how voters make choices at the time of elections.

As for undemocratic factors, these are practices that are not in conformity with the practice of democracy. Johari (2013) cites manipulation of citizens through vote buying as one of those practices that are deemed undemocratic.

Figure 1 below illustrates the conceptual framework of the study. It depicts the idea that a hybrid of socio-economic, political, environmental and undemocratic factors influence the way people make choices of candidates during tripartite elections. It also shows that such factors have implications on Voter Education not only within an established formal system, but also in informal institutions such as residential areas. The ultimate focus is on the election of credible leaders who are also democratically elected.



*Figure 1: Conceptual Framework of the study on factors influencing voters' choice of candidates during tripartite elections.*

### **1.12 Summary**

The conceptual framework brings out the understanding that socio-economic, political, environmental and undemocratic factors may take turns in influencing voters' choice of candidates during an election as a single factor may not suffice due to various interests among voters. However, emphasis should be placed on factors that do not come into conflict with democratic practice.



## **CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE**

### **2.1 Overview**

This chapter presents a review of literature on factors influencing voters' choice of candidates. It stresses the themes in line with socio-economic, political, environmental and undemocratic factors from the global, African and Zambian contexts. Thereafter, a summary of reviewed literature will be presented.

### **2.2 Studies from the global perspective**

There are several global perspectives that can be referred to in identifying factors that influence voters during elections. In this study reference was made to different parts of the world such as Canada and Germany.

A study by McGregor (2012) reveals different patterns of voting in Canada. He classifies the voters as early deciders and late deciders. Early deciders were those voters who possessed very strong partisan attachments. Such voters decided who to vote for right at the time of nomination. McGregor (2012) adds that such voters did not pay much attention to campaign messages as their decisions about who to vote for were made during pre-campaign period. A political party which enjoyed support from this category of voters was said to stand a chance to benefit greatly as nothing could change their minds due to their strong partisan allegiances. McGregor (2012) describes such voters as people who may resort to low information rationality as they do not need to spend time on weighing their political inclination based on campaign messages. In short, the party comes before anything else when it comes to deciding who to vote for. Therefore, their party influences them into voting for a candidate of that particular party. McGregor (2012) cites the Conservative party as having benefited greatly from attracting pre-campaign deciders in 2008. Cameron and Stephenson (2010) agree with McGregor's argument by stating that early deciders could constitute 50 percent of the electorate as they made up their minds before election campaigns begun. If the 50 percent were for one political party or candidate, such a party or candidate would be left with a flexible percentage of the electorate to convince before they can claim victory over their political competitors. This is a confirmation of partisan influence as an important consideration in terms of Canadian voter choices.

The second group of voters is referred to as the late deciders. McGregor (2012) in his study discovered that such voters had no strong partisan attachments and could decide on who to vote for during the campaign period or just on polling day. Such individuals were described as the primary audience of campaign communication. Political competitors in this case designed their campaign messages in such a way that they won the support of the late deciders. McGregor (2012) further argues that any political competitor who targeted this group stood to realise political dividends as it had a high propensity to change political allegiances. This group exercised high rationality in deciding who to vote for based on the messages they received from the campaigns. Therefore, if by coincidence a political party or candidate gained substantial support from both the early deciders and the late deciders they could be assured of winning by a large margin.

Cameron and Stephenson (2010) also refer to several other factors as playing a role in voting behaviour in Canada such as economic evaluations where the economic performance of the incumbent in Canada at the time of elections influenced voting behaviour. This was associated with fiscal issues which included tax, although these were considered to be short term factors. Therefore, an incumbent candidate stood to retain power if the prevailing economic conditions at the time of elections were favourable to the electorate. That goes to show that an incumbent candidate must put in place good fiscal policies to ensure that issues pertaining to prices of goods and services as well as taxes were able to influence the electorate to vote for him or her, or else opposing candidates could use that as a spring board to campaign their way through by promising better policies.

The use of religion in political activities also stands out as one of the factors playing a role in the manner in which voters make decisions as they choose leaders during elections. Shively (2007) confirms this point by stating that religion may have a great deal to do with politics to the extent that its emotional strength becomes an important facet of a people's political culture because of the moral imperatives that flow from the relationship between a group of people and a creator. For instance, Cameron and Stephenson (2010) also identify religion as playing a relevant role in voting patterns among Canadian voters. They contend that the Catholics, for instance, tend to maintain consistence in voting for the Liberal Party and its candidates because they are catholic orientated. A Further example can be drawn from Newton and VanDeth (2005) who cite Western Europe as another part of the world where religious voting is found, adding that right and centre parties are traditionally supported by Catholics while protestants are inclined to left and green

parties. This goes to show that even among members of the same religion such as Christians political orientation may be influenced by specific beliefs thereby determining voter choices. Particular focus is also made on India by Newton and VanDeth (2005). They contend that the Bharatiya party (BJP) in India is rooted in Hinduism thereby offering political competition to other political institutions whose existence is premised on Islam. As such even the voting pattern is based on religious affiliation and it is not surprising that the BJP became the ruling party in India in 1998.

Another factor noted by Cameron and Stephenson (2010) is candidate evaluation among the electorate in the sense that they looked out for specific characteristics of a party leader in terms of character and competence especially when an election was closely contested. The competence of a candidate could be reflected through delivery to people's expectations while character could be related to how well the candidate measured up to public morality. The liking for the leader could motivate the voters to like and subsequently vote for his or her party too. In such a setup voters could vote even for other candidates who contested other seats other than that of their leader. Further Cameron and Stephenson (2010) identified incumbency as another factor that motivated voters to vote for a particular candidate. They asserted that certain voters, even when there were large shifts in voter preferences, would still prefer to vote for the incumbent candidate. In such a situation incumbent candidates would benefit greatly if the majority of voters voted in a similar fashion.

Another aspect arising from the Canadian situation is that of public policy. Cameron and Stephenson (2010) allude to public policy on issues such as public health care and environmental protection as an important factor influencing voters in Canada. For instance, the Liberal Party in 2000 gained support based on its favourable public health care policy. This goes to show that political competitors could be more motivated to strengthen their public health policies if the voters showed interest in the environment which culminates into enhanced good public health.

Meanwhile, from the study based on the 2009 federal elections in Germany, Beckmann, Walter and Trein (2011) assert that the elections in question were highly influenced by economic issues. At the centre of economic issues was the issue of unemployment which was compounded by the financial and economic crisis at the time. The situation prompted the German authorities to institute anti-crisis policies such as short time work to mitigate the effects of unemployment. Beckmann et al. (2011) were emphatic on the fact that the unemployment situation arising from

the economic crisis created a reward or punishment mechanism among the electorate. This implied that where the unemployment rates were high within individual federal states the incumbents were punished by losing votes, but where the policy of short time work mitigated the unemployment situation the incumbents were rewarded by commanding improved results through high votes. From the study it is clear that circumstantial factors such as high levels of unemployment, high taxation, high inflation and high prices of goods and services have a significant bearing on the outcome of an election and the onus is upon those who compete for political positions during elections to put in place possible solutions to prevailing conditions in order to influence the electorate in their favour.

The studies from Canada and Germany highlighted political factors such as strong partisan attachments and the incumbency of a candidate. It would appear that such factors mainly advantaged an incumbent candidate and voters never need to apply any rationality when it comes to choosing a leader as their choices are predetermined by their attachments. Socio-economic factors were reflected through consideration of economic performance by focusing on fiscal issues such as taxation and prices of essential services. Since such issues appear to have a direct impact on the survival of citizens, there is a likelihood that citizens will apply rationality in arriving at their preferred candidate since they have their well-being to preserve.

Similarities in religious affiliation as cited from Canada, Western Europe and India could represent similarities in cultural backgrounds between candidates and the electorate which could be termed undemocratic although hidden in the guise of democracy. When similarities in cultural background between a candidate and the voters become the basis upon which a candidate must be voted into leadership, voters may ignore all the other aspects of such a candidate and concentrate only on that which is similar between them and the candidate. Such a voting pattern might perpetuate the stay of a particular candidate in leadership at the expense of other citizens who may have better leadership skills.

The aspect of public health care policy and environmental protection in Canada represented environmental factors. However, environmental factors did not appear to command equal significance as political and socio-economic factors. Perhaps this could imply that voters attached less significance to issues of the environment and its well-being therefore, little or no rationality could apply.

It was interesting to learn about individuals who voted primarily because of their attachment to a political party as well as those who applied rationality by listening to campaign messages before deciding who to vote for. Therefore, it was necessary to observe whether or not the factors identified from the global perspectives could be replicated to the Zambian context, particularly Mandevu and Munali constituencies.

### **2.3 Studies from the African perspective**

From the African perspective, studies on Ghana and Kenya and Namibia were referred to in this study. From the study conducted in Ghana based on the elections held in 1996 and 2000, Lindberg and Morrison (2006) sought to establish whether or not voters in Ghana were primarily ethnic or clientelistic in their voting behaviour, with the assumption that African political behaviour was highly entrenched in ethnicities and clientelism. Such behaviour is believed to arise from high level political competition. However, the conclusion of the study was that, though it was an undeniable fact that ethnicity and clientelism could play a role in the manner people voted, these were minor features among the Ghanaian electorate as they were not easily swayed by ethnic or family ties when they decided who to vote for. Lindberg and Morrison (2006) added that only one tenth of the Ghanaian voters were decisively influenced by either clientelism or ethnic and family ties. As such the Ghanaian electorate were found to be mature democratic citizens whose voting behaviour was premised on evaluative rationales which included considering the characteristics as well as the accomplishments of the candidates.

It could appear that evaluative rationales were also responsible for shifting voters' political patronage from one political party to the other. This could be cemented by the understanding that voters evaluated the economic policies of political parties to ascertain their suitability to be elected during elections. It is also clear that from their evaluative capabilities the Ghanaian electorate were able to clearly bring out their aspirations and expectations from those who aspired to ascend to political office.

According to Lindberg and Morrison (2006), Ghana, having come from the background of military rule to sustain successful democratization, was a good example of what African voter behaviour ought to be, especially after having held three successive multi-party elections with observable voting patterns within the space of eight years. Therefore, rational voters qualify to be classified as mature voters.

With reference to Kenya, a study by Kimenyi (2008) reveals that Kenyans are influenced by various factors. In the first place, they are heterogeneous voters depending primarily on their identities in terms of ethnicity or occupation. This implies that certain categories of Kenyan voters may vote for a candidate based on the similarities in ethnicity between them and a particular candidate. Similarly, those in a particular occupation would tend to identify themselves with the candidate closer to their occupation. This could further be viewed in terms of academic and professional qualifications of both the candidate and the voters. However, Kimenyi (2008) goes further to state that in spite of Kenyans being identity voters, they still go beyond identity voting as they are also influenced by economic issues which reflect their absolute living standards or access to public goods. This goes to suggest that Kenyan voters have the propensity to offer support at poll to a candidate who has met or has the potential to meet their economic aspirations. Therefore, a candidate would be courting defeat during an election if they failed to resist the temptation of depending solely on identity voters and ignore the influence of economic issues on the voters.

Keulder (1998) describes the voting behaviour in Namibia as being instigated by a variety of factors namely, Party identification, tactical voting, pocket-book voting and sociotropic voting among others. In terms of party identifications, voters entirely regarded their party as the best and they maintained their loyalty to their party at all times regardless of the circumstances. They offered unconditional support to their party and they allowed their party representatives to carry out any task as they pleased. The party loyalty in this instance arose from simply their liking for the party and they would vote for it as a sign of their support. A scenario such as this depicts the voters whose choices in terms of candidates is not based on rationality thereby creating a smooth platform for candidates to succeed in an election with limited challenge especially when the majority voters make choices in such a manner. This is notwithstanding the fact that it is their democratic right to support a political party of their choice.

Keulder (1998) also refers to what is termed as the tactical vote. The tactical vote is as a result of voters not liking a certain political party or candidate. In such instances, some voters could vote for a particular party or candidate just to ensure that the party or candidate they did not like did not win the elections. Presumably, even if the party had the best policies to offer to the general populace, such a party or candidate could not win the elections because it was not liked and those who did not like it would do everything to ensure it did not succeed during the elections. This is

an indication that candidates with good characteristics in terms character and competence may stand to lose an election simply on account of the party they belong to, which may not be liked by the tactical voters. What is not clear in this instance is why some voters in Namibia may choose not to like a particular party even though they may have good policies although it could appear that tactical voters are the same as those with strong party identities.

On account of pocket-book voting, Keulder (1998) asserts that the voters in this category act in a non-emotive manner before deciding on the best option. They would rather gather as much information as they could and weigh their fortunes before arriving at who to vote for. Ideally the pocket book voters are motivated by their personal economic experiences in relation to tax levels, loan interests and retail prices. In this case pocket book voters would vote for a party or candidate who they believe may provide more economic benefits for them. Such benefits could include job opportunities, good salaries and wages as well as reasonable prices of goods and services, among others. Keulder (1998) notes that although such voters may have aligned themselves with candidates from the incumbent party they still have the propensity to shift their allegiance to another party if the incumbent is not seen to be delivering to their expectations. Basically, pocket book voters think of their personal benefits more than wider national interests. In that case their individual economic well- being serves as a primary factor in influencing their vote. However, such voters can be commended for not using their emotions in deciding who to vote for and to a greater extent they are rational in their choices.

When it comes to sociotropic voting, Keulder (1998) highlights the fact that the voters in this category equally are influenced by economic issues, except for them national conditions come before their personal interests. Therefore, such voters try to further their country's economic well being and would not vote for any candidate that was seen as a threat to national interests. Therefore, such voters should not be handled with simplicity as they seem capable of critically analysing the policies each candidate or party is able to offer not only for them but also for the country at large. Given the context, candidates must always aim at formulating policies that portray national interests in Namibia.

Religion, particularly Christianity also comes to the fore in the African perspective just as was noticed from the global perspective in influencing who should be in a position of leadership. Cheyeka (2014) refers to a study in Liberia by Gifford which highlights the use of Christian rhetoric as a tool employed by some African Presidents to unjustifiably cling to power for a long

time. This is so because Christianity is viewed as refusing to challenge the record of those in power thereby shielding their deficiencies upon which they may be removed from power by the citizens. The influence of Christianity in politics can be quite manipulative especially when those in authority are viewed as anointed by the Supreme Being to rule for as long as they can. Therefore, during time for elections if the majority voters are Christians the candidate who is viewed to be more Christian, especially an incumbent, may thrive on that and get support from the voters.

The studies reflected above have revealed the main categories of factors arose namely political factors and Socio-economic factors. Political factors were reflected through partisan attachments though this was on a small scale in Ghana, characteristics and accomplishments of the candidate as well as non-appreciation of the opposing candidate as it was the case in Namibia and partially ethnic orientation in the case of Kenya. In terms of socio-economic factors, economic issues were of great significance especially fiscal issues such as commodity prices and taxes, though such were more pronounced in Namibia than in Ghana. There was no reference to environmental factors in both studies, though it was gratifying that none of the two countries, Ghana and Namibia reflected undemocratic factors in both studies thereby prompting an aspect for future studies. However, reference to ethnicity in Kenya clearly demonstrates an example of undemocratic influences on voters.

With reference to the Ghanaian , Kenyan and Namibian perspectives it was of great interest to compare with the Zambian context particularly Mandevu and Munali constituencies and establish how some of the factors from the three countries could be similar to those influencing the voters` choice of candidates during tripartite elections in the constituencies under consideration..

## **2.4 Studies from the Zambian perspective**

Zambia is a multi-party state and as defined by Johari (2013), it signifies the existence of many political parties for purposes of alternating power among the existing political parties. However, merely having many political parties in a country does not guarantee obvious chances to every political party when it comes to alternating power because that may be overshadowed by victimization of opposition political parties by those already in power in order to prevent them from ascending to power. As documented by Mwanakatwe (1994), it is of essence to recognise the fact that Zambia was once a One-party State from 1973 up to 1990



when the country reverted to a multi-party system. The importance of reflecting on Zambia during the one party state is trying to point out and ascertain some of its characteristics which could still be in existence in the Zambian electoral process and might have continued to play a role in influencing the manner citizens vote.

A review of the one party state in Zambia prior to 1991 reveals two distinct features namely intolerance and intimidation which apparently influenced the manner in which people chose leaders. As argued by Chabatama (2007), the United National Independence Party (UNIP) led by Kenneth Kaunda adopted intolerance and intimidation in order to silence opposing views. Mwanakatwe (1994) adds that the UNIP government became a supreme institution. The implication of the situation at that time was that citizens had no choice but to be members of UNIP and when it came to elections, at whatever level, citizens were deprived of alternatives. For instance, Mwanakatwe (1994) states that during presidential elections Kaunda was a sole candidate even though citizens were made to vote only yes or no as there was no alternative presidential candidate. As expressed by Chabatama (2007), the political set up was so undemocratic to the extent that citizens with contrary political views and aspirations were labelled as subversive thereby limiting their capacity to express their will.

It was, therefore, a glaring fact that both candidates and voters during an election were greatly influenced by the strong party mechanism and functionaries to the detriment of their right to freedom of choice. Chabatama (2007) amplifies the argument by stating that the One-party regime was so feared to the extent that it created a culture of silence among the citizens. Unfortunately, even the ballot box through which they could express their will did not guarantee them an opportunity to do so. Out of fear citizens voted and out of fear they voted for the only options granted to them which was a very serious departure from democratic practice. Having reverted to a Multi-Party state it could be interesting to note the any possibility of intimidation to the voters by those in political positions and wish to be elected during elections.

Apparently, even after the reintroduction of a Multi-Party system, Zambia continued with some old traits such as a dominant party system. As stated by Erdmann (2007) Zambia experienced a dominant party system after the transition from a one party system to a multi-party system and continued to be so under the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) until later after

holding two general elections. It could appear that the whole essence of a dominant party system was to ensure that any other political party in existence had little or no influence at all on the voters. Erdmann (2007) is quick to point out that the dominant party system outlived its time as Zambia approached the 2001 general elections. However, dominant party system cannot be said to have gone away completely because of its propensity to reappear from time to time. It is a glaring fact that successive ruling political parties in Zambia have wished to stay in power for as long as they could. It would appear that the weaker the opposition parties became the happier those in power would be.

Sichone and Chikulo (1996) highlight some of the political parties that emerged in Zambia after the return of the Multi-Party system as including the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD), which became the ruling party, People's Liberation Party (PLP), Democratic Party (DP) and the People's Organisation (PO) among others. Kabemba and Eiseman (2004) also point to the fact that the United Party for National Development (UPND) and the Patriotic Front (PF) emerged later due to a number of factors. As observed by Kabemba and Eiseman (2004) the Patriotic Front emerged later as a break away party from the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) following attempts by then President Fredrick Chiluba to amend the constitution which would have allowed him to seek a third term of office. The constitution barred any citizen who served two five year presidential terms from seeking a third term (GRZ, 1996). The attempt by President Chiluba did not succeed. Most importantly, the availability of many political parties offered more choices to the voters in subsequent elections.

Erdmann (2007) alludes to the fact that the ruling party (MMD) experienced a tremendous decline in their share of votes as fragmentation manifested within the party due to factional tendencies that emerged as a result of personal and ethnic orientations. This also culminated into voter alignment to political parties as voters began to vote according to the party they liked. Erdmann (2007) asserts that voter alignment is mostly associated with the party to which a candidate belongs, emphasising that the affiliation of the candidate is more important than his individual past or expected behaviour. Therefore, voters get influenced by the party to which a candidate belongs thereby giving high chances of winning elections to such a candidate. To amplify this point Erdmann (2007) makes reference to the fact that members of parliament were usually elected on a party ticket such that if a member of parliament decided to switch political parties he

or she was bound to lose that seat and could only regain it by recontesting the seat in a by-election.

However, another question arises as to why voters tend to associate themselves with a particular political party. First of all Erdmann (2007), begins by explaining the distinction between voter affiliation and voter alignment. He contends that voter affiliation to a greater extent involves people possessing a membership card of that particular party. However, in Zambia some people would rather have membership cards for more than one political party for opportunistic reasons, bearing in mind the benefits that might accrue to them such as benefiting from gifts offered by political parties, while others may use it as a tool to have access to government officials since government institutions are highly politicised. As for party alignment, Erdmann (2007) points out that some people indicated that they were members of a political party even though they never possessed a membership card. Both situations were cited as being mainly motivated by ethnicity which was discovered to be the main driver of either party affiliation or alignment as people are attracted to a political party by the ethnicity of its leader and subsequently people will vote for the same party. Therefore, in Erdmann's view ethnicity plays a role in the manner people vote in Zambia. No wonder party affiliation is usually not long term because once the ethnicity of its leadership changes, its membership also tends to change.

In spite of ethnicity being a major factor in party affiliation, Erdmann (2007) is quick to mention that it is not the only factor, as citizens also look out for the programmes and policies of the party before associating with it. However, it remains a strong argument that the party to which a candidate belongs is considered much more important than the traits of the candidate as most voters decide who to vote for during elections. The issues raised by Erdmann (2007) were relevant to examining the factors influencing voters' choice of candidates in Mandevu and Munali constituencies which this study undertook.

Another dimension that was worthy considering in this study was the aspect of religion and in the Zambian context, Christianity. The question that arose was, does Christianity have any influence on the political decisions of the citizens? This question could be answered in the context of Zambia having been declared a Christian nation by former President late Fredrick Chiluba. An excerpt from Cheyeka (2014) suggests that the declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation sought to maximise the political fortunes of the leader in power at the time of the declaration, adding that an organisation of independent churches was formed in Zambia to support the leader in power. In

his argument Cheyeka (2014) did assert that some African governments used Christianity to divert attention from their deficiencies and subsequently derive support from it in order to perpetuate their stay in power. For this reason Cheyeka (2014) wondered what the role of the church and Christianity in general would be in influencing people's choice of political leaders.

From Cheyeka's assessment it was clear that, Fredrick Chiluba, the leader in power at the time brought church leaders closer to his rule so that they could help him influence voters amongst their flock to support his quest for the third term and subsequently vote for him in the 2001 general elections. It should be borne in mind the even regimes in post Chiluba times could thrive on such a phenomenon because of the popularity of the Christian faith in Zambia. Therefore, from the perspective of Mandevu and Munali Constituencies, it was necessary to discover whether or not citizens voted on grounds of similarities between a candidate and the voters bearing in mind that ethnicity and religion, particularly Christianity, accounted for such similarities.

A review of the 2001 general elections by Simfukwe (2002) dealt with corruption and abuse of office by contestants from the ruling party Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD) at the time, which were described as a breach of the 1996 Electoral code of conduct which was put in place prior to the 2001 elections. As stated by Simfukwe (2002), those who held the positions of District Administrators (DAs), though expected to remain non-partisan, were involved in partisan political activities campaigning for the party in power while using government resources thereby giving political advantage to the incumbent government during political campaign. This was a clear illustration of how an incumbent candidate or political party can manipulate public institutions to their advantage.

Apart from DAs, aspiring Parliamentary candidates were reportedly inducing voters by giving them gifts. Simfukwe (2002) documents that parliamentary candidates from the ruling party were involved in distributing money, mealie meal and maize to potential voters, especially to the party-card carrying members of the ruling party. The gifts were nothing but a glaring example of bribery meant to influence voters to vote in a particular manner particularly in favour of the candidate giving such gifts. Simfukwe (2002) also refers to the prevailing socio economics conditions culminating from liberalization and privatization programmes brought about by the government. For instance, because of the privatization programme, state owned and mine houses were sold to sitting tenants. However, an analysis of that undertaking by the government pointed to the fact that sitting tenants were being induced to vote for the party in power. Given the socio economic

situation and considering that the houses were sold cheaply, sitting tenants must have received the offers with both hands. Whether or not they actually voted for the ruling party may not be an issue but the fact remains that they were induced and inducement of voters is a typical example of undemocratic factors that influence voters during elections.

Although the available literature only points to inducement of voters specifically by members of a ruling party, it is necessary to understand that such traits can also be found in any other category of candidates including independent candidates who equally may find bribery as an easier way to win support from the voters and if such practices are not checked democracy may end up getting diluted.

The literature about Zambia brings out three categories of factors namely political, economic and undemocratic factors. Partisan orientations among voters are a clear manifestation of a dominant political factor. Under socio-economic factors, economic programmes of political parties are considered though they seem to command less significance than political factors. Ethnicity and religious affiliation could well fit under similarities in cultural background between a candidate and the voters and these amount to undemocratic practices just the same as electoral bribery and not forgetting the propensity by political groupings especially a ruling party to resort to intimidation for the sake of tightening their political grip.

## **2.5 Knowledge gap**

From the reviewed literature, it was clear that there was non-availability of literature on how the environment influences voters' decisions during an election both from the African and Zambian perspectives. The study has therefore, identified how environmental issues may play a role in influencing the choices made by voters particularly in Mandevu and Munali constituencies.

## **2.6 Summary**

The reviewed literature brought to the fore the influence of political factors, for instance partisan attachments during elections. Socio-economic factors could not be left out as they stood out on their own. For instance, fiscal issues such as taxes could not be ignored as they too had a degree of influence in the manner voters made choices during elections. Environmental factors only arose from the Canadian situation and were silent from the rest of the literature. This may go to suggest that environmental factors did not bother the candidates and the voters during election period.

Undemocratic factors were much clearer in the case of Zambia owing to the historical aspects of manipulation by a ruling party. Ideally, the reviewed literature proved relevant to the study as it brought out a good number of factors applicable to voters' choice of candidates during tripartite elections in Mandevu and Munali constituencies. However, it was not clear as to what methodologies were used by the various writers to come up with the said literature.

## **CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY**

### **3.1 Overview**

This chapter explains the research methodology that was used during data collection. It presents the philosophical assumption and the research design used in the study and reasons for adopting it. It also presents study population, sample size and sampling method. Subsequently it will show the method of data analysis as well as the limitations of the study.

### **3.2 Philosophical underpinnings and research design**

The research methodology of this study was guided by analytic eclecticism, a philosophical framework which seeks to make intellectually and practically useful connections among clusters of analyses that are substantively related but normally formulated in separate paradigms. It draws together analytical methods, techniques and tools from both quantitative and qualitative paradigms. Analytic eclecticism does not seek to displace one paradigm in favour of the other or exalt one above the other, instead it holds that each paradigm is only good at doing certain things and none is free from shortcomings. Therefore, mixing them would play a very crucial and complementary role in the generation of necessary knowledge (Rob, 2011). In other words, this research philosophy shows that, it is possible and, indeed necessary, for scholars to resist the temptation of assuming that one or another research tradition is inherently superior for posing and solving all problems.

Epistemologically, analytic eclecticism states that both complete knowledge could be acquired through combination of quantitative and qualitative methods unlike using a single approach. Ontologically, it holds that reality independent of our social and mental processes co-exists with knowledge that is as a result of our lived social and mental experiences (Taneja, 2009). In order to realize this co-existence of reality and knowledge, mixed methods are inevitable in scientific studies. Analytic Eclecticism upholds a compatibility thesis which is the idea that quantitative and qualitative methods are compatible, that is, they can both be used in a single research study such as this one.

Having considered some philosophical underpinnings this sub section turns to the research design. As noted by Bryman (2008), a research design is a framework for collection and analysis of data. This study employed a cross-sectional design which contextually fits within the framework of

analytic eclecticism. Bryman (2008) adds that within the cross-sectional design both qualitative and quantitative approaches are integrated. The design was appropriate to the study because of the advantages the study drew from both the quantitative approach as well as the qualitative approach at the same time. The quantitative approach helped to reach out to as many people as possible who provided valuable information to the study. Not only did the quantitative aspect allow the study to reach out to many people but it also provided necessary statistics which were necessary for justification of certain responses necessary to the study.

Apart from the quantitative approach the study also applied the qualitative approach. As observed by Chackraborty (2012), the qualitative approach provided an opportunity to come into direct engagement with respondents who provided more insight on unfolding events. In this manner a qualitative approach provided rich and deep data as it also offered an opportunity to understand people's perceptions of situations within their own experiences. During the study, the assertion by Chackraborty (2012) came to light when various oral respondents gave diverse responses based on their electoral experiences within their respective constituencies. For this reason, residents are required to be equipped with necessary knowledge to enable them articulate accurate ideas. Ideally, Bryman (2008) gives an insight that a cross-sectional design has a wider relevance and in the context of this study it provided an opportunity to encompass two constituencies in one study. Therefore it helped broaden the scope of the study.

### **3.3 Study target population**

Kombo and Tromp (2006) argue that a study population is an entire group of elements that have at least one thing in common, from which the sample is taken. In this context the study targeted 300 respondents from both Mandevu and Munali constituencies of Lusaka District but only went as far as 270 respondents. The two constituencies were selected for consideration on the assumption that they were both vast constituencies within Lusaka District with similar characteristics in terms of densities and life styles.

### **3.4 Sampling design**

Msabila and Nalaila (2013) describe a sampling design as a procedure or a plan of how to obtain or select a sample from a given population before any data are collected. This research used a non-probability sampling design. According to Chaturvedi (2015), non-probability sampling is any sampling method where some elements of population have no chance of selection, or where



the probability of selection cannot be accurately determined. It involves the selection of elements based on assumptions regarding the population of interest, which forms the criteria for selection. The main selection criteria in this study were based on respondents' experience in previous elections and their age, those who were below voting age were not targeted. There are diverse types of non-probability sampling techniques; this study specifically used a Purposive Sampling Technique (PST) to select respondents from Mandevu and Munali constituencies. The process will be explained in due course (Leedy and Ormrod, 2001).

### **3.5 Sample size**

The sample size was made up of 270 quantitative respondents equally drawn from both Mandevu and Munali constituencies thereby representing 135 respondents from each constituency. As shown in table 1 in chapter four, the age group of quantitative respondents ranged from 18 to 50 years. For qualitative respondents, 20 individuals equally spread between the two constituencies were targeted for interviews. They were drawn from various backgrounds including political enthusiasts, traders, market chairpersons, church leaders and ordinary self and public employed individuals. Basically, 10 oral respondents from each constituency provided information necessary for construction of knowledge about the study themes.

### **3.6 Sampling techniques**

During field visits, respondents to whom questionnaires were distributed were identified and selected through visits to residential places and institutions. The set of oral respondents from whom interview data were collected, were selected based on their specific backgrounds such as politics and economic activities among others.

### **3.7 Tools and process of data collection**

Primary data were collected both quantitatively and qualitatively. To achieve the objectives of the study, the researcher mixed both a questionnaire, a quantitative tool of data collection (see Appendix 2) and a semi-structured interview schedule, a qualitative tool of data collection (see Appendix 3) to investigate the factors influencing voters' choice of candidates during tripartite elections in Mandevu and Munali constituencies. The questionnaires were distributed in person to 135 household respondents per constituency with the aid of research assistants. Respondents were given adequate time to give appropriate responses and the questionnaires were collected on a date

as agreed by individual respondents. However, some respondents preferred to respond to the questionnaires right upon being approached as that was the only time they had to spare.

Qualitative data of the study were collected from 20 respondents from both constituencies using a semi-structured interview schedule (Bryman, 2008). Semi-structured schedule was advantageous because it was flexible in nature as it accorded the interviewer chance to ask further questions that could arise from the replies given by the respondents. It was also good to obtain insights on the implications of the factors influencing voters' choice of candidates on Voter Education. During face to face interviews, participants were allowed to express themselves freely thereby bringing out additional and relevant information. This granted the study an opportunity to gather further and more in-depth information from the participants. The interviewer then summarised and sought clarification where necessary after carefully listening to the participants. The interviewer recorded the information either on a note pad or using an electronic gadget depending on the preference of individual respondents.

As the respondents expressed their views, the researcher paid captured relevant phrases in the respondents' expressions as the respondents did more talking than the researcher. Particular attention was given to the responses that were more connected to the main themes of the study. The views of the researcher on the study did not feature anywhere during the interviews so as to avoid influencing the responses of the respondents. Each respondent was given as much time as possible to put their views forward. At the end of every interview, the interviewer always thanked the respondents for their co-operation and valuable time and then proceeded to the next stage of the study which was data analysis.

The study also benefited from secondary data. Secondary data in a general academic understanding is a secondary reference that will support the notion of the actual research topic or framework (Ryan, 2013). Moreover, secondary data are related research data to present research task. In this study, secondary data were obtained from sources such as electronic media, magazines and some books, among others from the University of Zambia library and other sources. The process involved reading, reviewing, gap identification, critiquing where necessary and comparing of different findings already done by different scholars in the context of the current study themes.

### **3.8 Analysis and processing of collected data**

The collected data were analysed using descriptive statistics. The questionnaires were coded from 1 to 135 (R1 to R135) for each constituency in the order in which they were collected from various respondents during data collection. Thereafter demographic characteristics on each questionnaire were also coded to describe each respondent. The codes were posted on excel to determine what responses came from which respondent. Further the views were entered on a three point scale with each scale to represent disagree, medium agree with reference to particular themes considered during the study. Each theme represented a specific category of factors considered in the study namely socio-economic factors, political factors, environmental factors and undemocratic factors, but for the oral respondents, the themes were extended to implications of such factors on Voter Education. The results were, thereafter, quantified and presented in form of tables and graphs.

For the sake of determining the standard deviations, an analysis table was created clearly stating each theme of the study under a particular category of factors. Different responses by respondents were attached to every theme. Every response by a respondent to a particular theme was captured in such a manner that it only either Agree, Moderate or Disagree. In the event that a respondent did not give any response to a theme or gave more than one response to one theme, that was deemed as invalid. The tables were created in order to easily determine the standard deviation for each category of responses. All in all, the final analysis table showed three categories of responses namely 'Agree', 'Moderate' and 'Disagree' were used to find the standard deviation. To determine standard deviation for each type of response from the questionnaire, the mean for each category of response was determined first, this was achieved by dividing the population of respondents across different categories (disagree, moderate, agree) and then divide it by the number of scores across the three categories. All factors with highest standard deviation compared to the mean were considered to be more influential than those with the least.

Data from the interviews were qualitatively analysed using thematic analysis by taking note of the ideas that arose in relation to the various themes of the study. Data collected through interviews was analysed using the Thematic Analysis method. Kombo and Tromp (2006), argue that thematic method of data analysis classifies or categorises topics or major subjects which emerge in the interview discussions. In this form of data analysis, the researcher perused through the collected data and identifies information that was relevant to the research questions and

objectives. After the summary of the findings from the interview questions, main emerging themes were synthesized and interpreted. After obtaining the final overall portraits of the crude data from different areas, the data were qualitatively interpreted and discussed in chapter five. Thereafter, conclusions were drawn as shown in chapter six. Thematic analysis was the best analytical technique because of the qualitative nature of the data obtained through interviews (Leedy and Ormrod, 2001). A mixture of analytical methods had a backing from analytic eclecticism as earlier mentioned; this philosophical framework allows complementary co-existence of both quantitative and qualitative techniques.

### **3.9 Limitations of the study**

The limitations of the study included the following:

- Both Mandevu and Munali constituencies were vast; hence it was not feasible to do a large scale research as that would have required a huge financial resource to accomplish. As such the study was limited to 135 respondents per constituency (using questionnaires) and 10 respondents per constituency (for interviews).
- There was suspicion among some respondents especially those who participated in the interviews. In some instances the researcher was mistaken for a Journalist. However, presentation of introductory and consent letters by the researcher provided calmness during data collection.

### **3.10 Delimitation of the study**

The study areas were easily accessible and both constituencies were within the same District.

### **3.11 Ethical considerations**

The study embraced a range of ethical considerations. As stressed by Chakraborty (2012), during research, respondents should not be put in situations that might expose them to the risk of physical or psychological harm. The following were the ethical considerations during data collection on the factors influencing voters' choice of candidates during tripartite elections in Mandevu and Munali constituencies:

- The researcher did personal introduction and afterwards produced a letter of introduction from the University of Zambia.
- The respondents were requested not to disclose their names in order to uphold anonymity which guaranteed the respondents' privacy.
- None of the respondents participated in the research without their consent. As such they were requested to append their signature to the consent letter (see Appendix 1). Therefore, voluntary participation by the respondents was the basis of the study. In most cases appointments between the researcher and the respondents also played a role.
- Respondents were encouraged to communicate in the language they were comfortable with and could make communication with the researcher easier.

### **3.12 Summary**

The chapter considered various aspects of the methodology employed during the study . Specific reference was made to philosophical underpinnings, research design, study target population, sampling design,sample size, sampling techniques, tools and process of data collection, analysis and processing of collected data, limitations and delimitation of the study afterwhich ethical considerations were outlined.

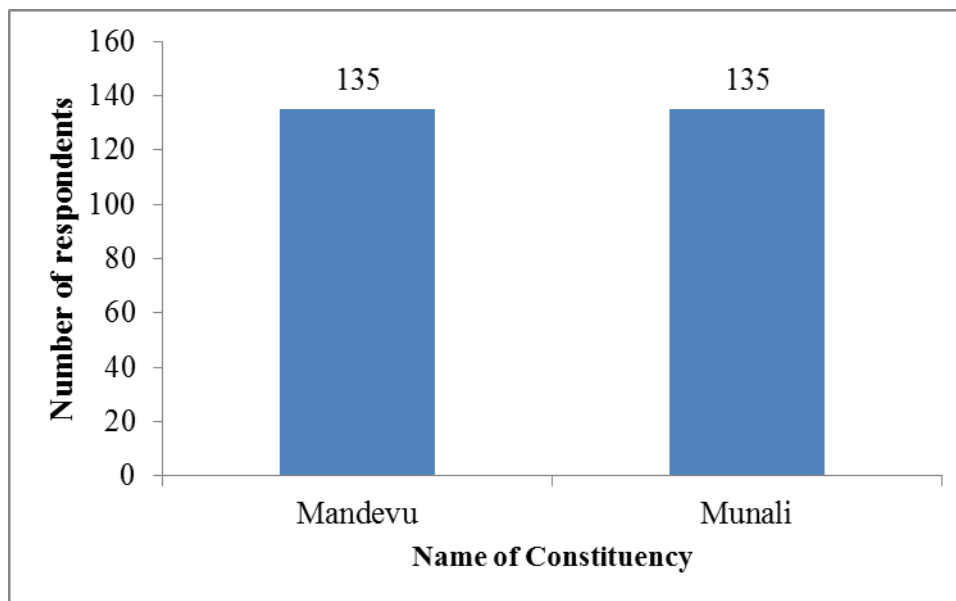
## CHAPTER FOUR: PRESENTATION OF RESULTS

### 4.1 Overview

This chapter presents results in the context of the objectives of the study as outlined in chapter one. Given the influence of socio-demographic backgrounds in voters' choices, their demographic backgrounds are presented first and thereafter, the factors that influenced their choices of candidates. The factors were in four categories namely socio-economic factors, political factors, environmental factors and undemocratic factors.

### 4.2 Socio-demographic characteristics of Respondents

This section presents results on socio-demographic backgrounds of respondents with emphasis on gender, age, marital status, employment status, educational attainment, political affiliations and experience in voting during tripartite elections. These were necessary in justifying some responses from the respondents.



*Figure 2: Distribution of Respondents in Mandevu and Munali. Source: Field data (2016).*

Figure 2 above presents the sample sizes of respondents obtained from Mandevu and Munali constituencies. According to Figure 3 below, Munali recorded a higher number of female respondents compared to Mandevu.

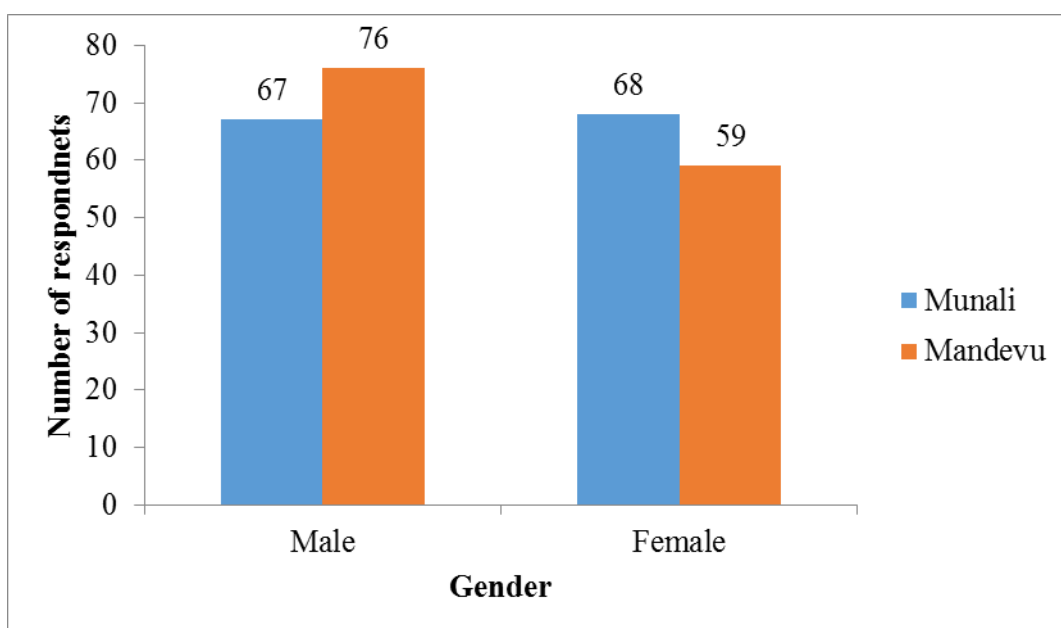


Figure 3: Distribution of Respondents in Mandevu and Munali by Gender. Source: Field data (2016).

Table 1: Distribution of respondents by Age in Mandevu and Munali Constituencies

Respondents' Age Group	Mandevu		Munali	
	Frequency	(%)	Frequency	(%)
18-25	24	18	23	17
26-31	31	23	41	30
32-37	34	25	32	24
38-43	21	16	21	16
44-49	16	12	7	5
≥50	9	6	11	8
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>135</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>135</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Field Data (2016)

Table 1 above presents age groups of respondents, it is evident that the majority of the respondents (89 in Mandevu and 96 in Munali) were youthful ranging between 18 and 37 years of age.

Figure 4 below shows that majority (69 in Munali and 80 in Mandevu) of respondents were married, and Figure 5 shows that a large number of them were in public and private employment.

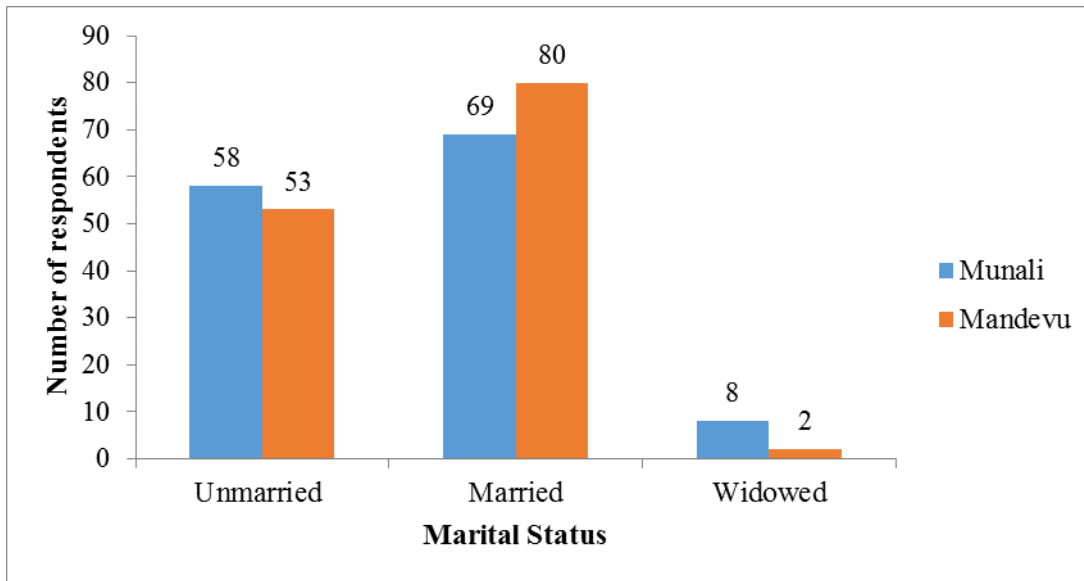


Figure 4: Distribution of Respondents by their marital status. Source: Field data (2016).

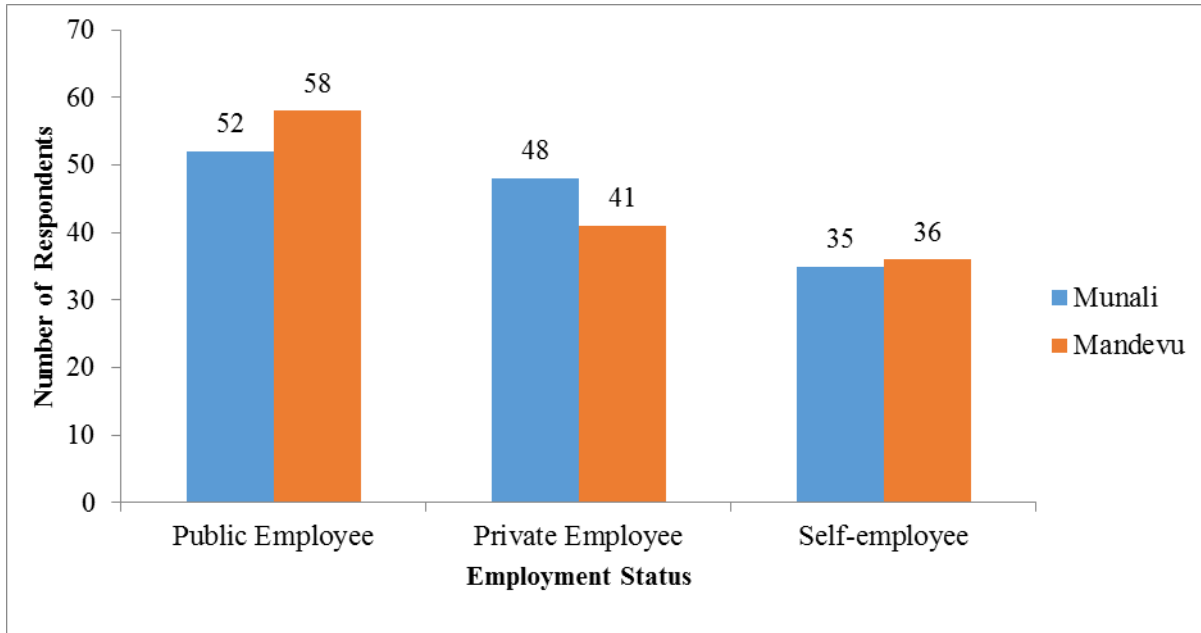
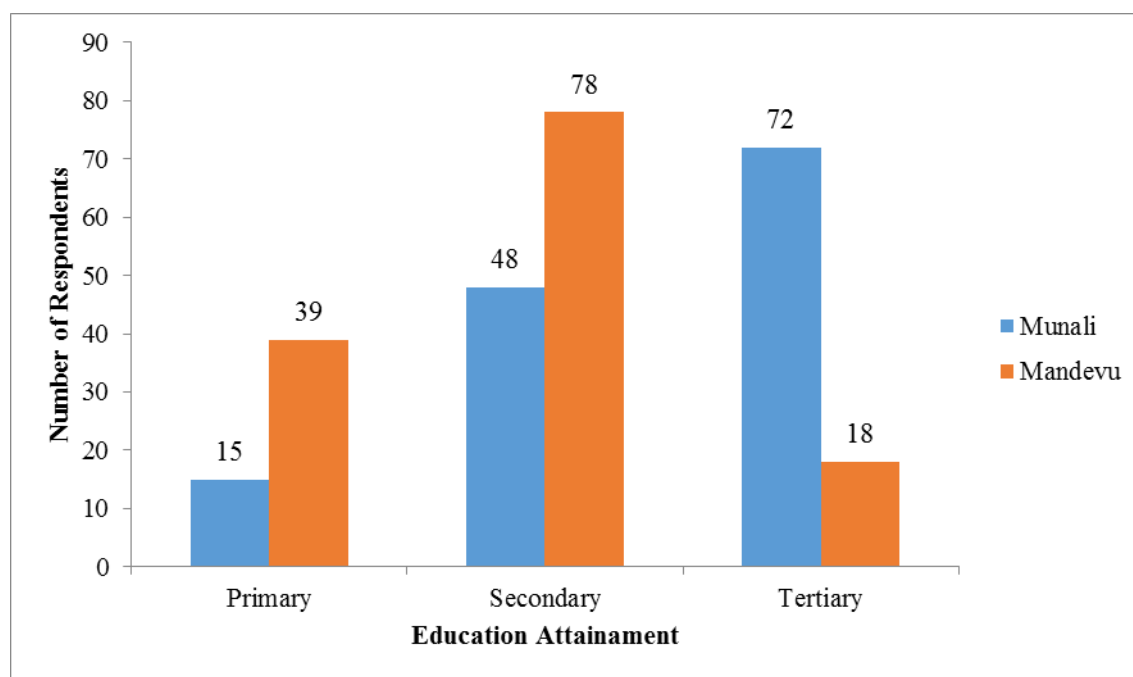


Figure 5: Employment status of Respondents. Source: Field data (2016).



According to Figure 6 below the majority (78) of respondents in Mandevu have only been to secondary level of education whereas in Munali, the highest statistics (72) was recorded among those who have been to tertiary level of education.



*Figure 6: Educational backgrounds of respondents. Source: Field data (2016).*

From Figure 7 below, it is very evident that most respondents were politically inclined to some parties, 95 respondents from Munali confirmed it and so did 93 of them from Mandevu.

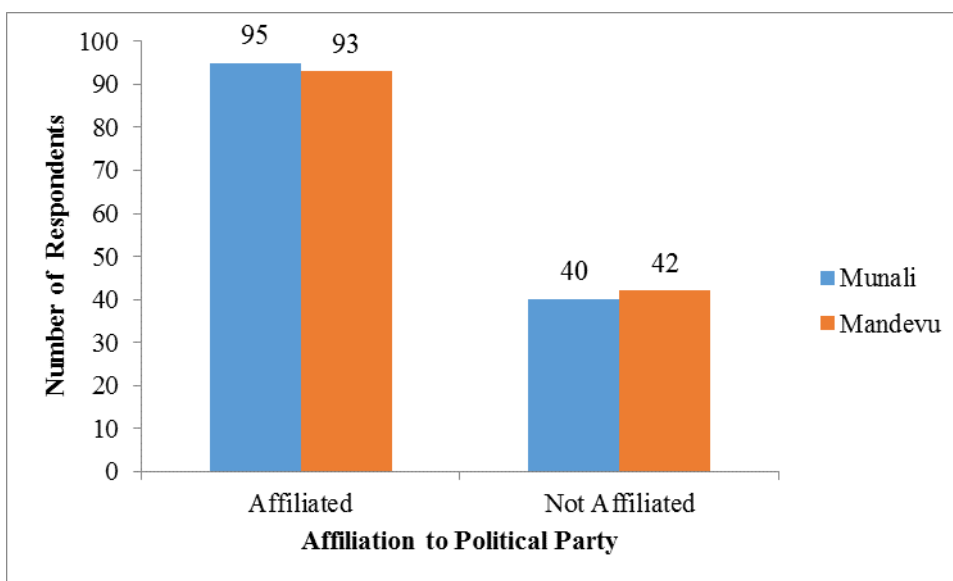


Figure 7: Political affiliation of respondents. Source: Field data (2016).

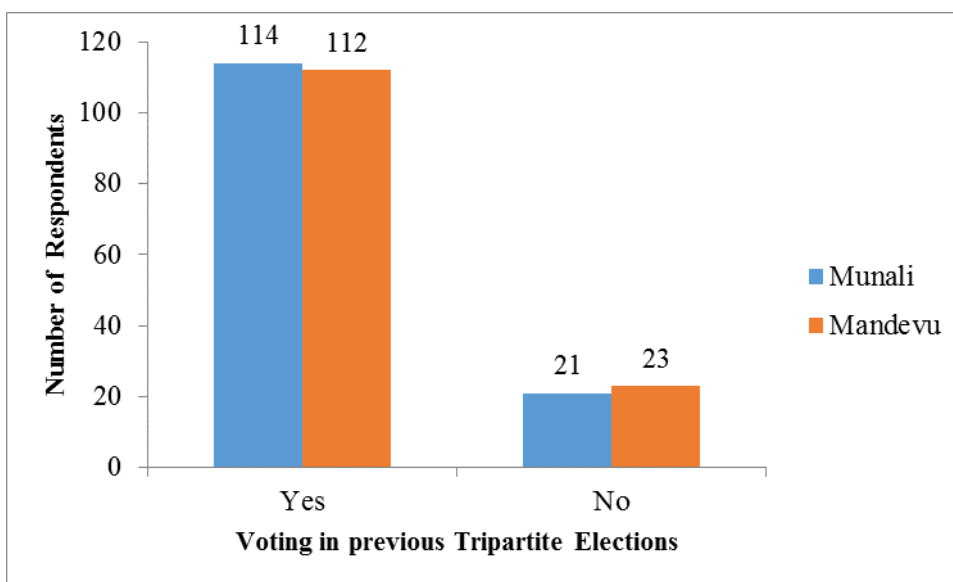
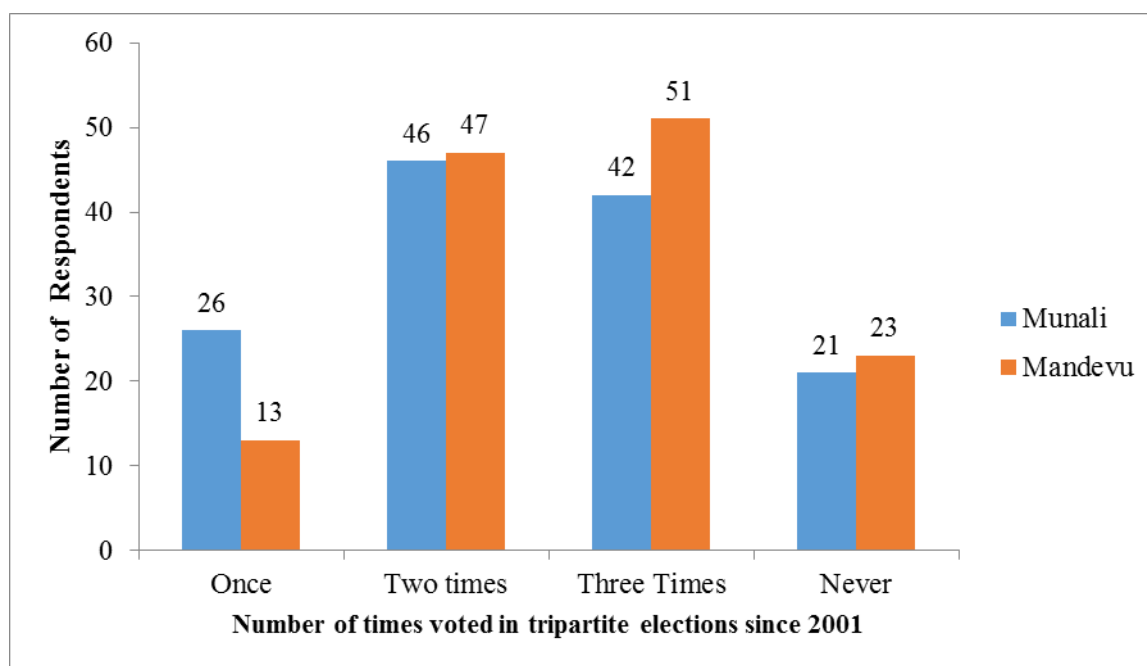


Figure 8: Participation in previous tripartite elections. Source: Field data (2016).

Figure 8 above shows that a huge proportion of respondents (114 in Munali and 112 in Mandevu) had already participated in previous tripartite elections. According to evidence from Figure 9, the majority of respondents from Mandevu had voted for three times since 2001 and, in Munali, the majority (46) had voted twice in tripartite elections since 2001.



*Figure 9: Frequency of participation in tripartite elections since 2001. Source: Field data (2016).*

#### **4.3 Findings on socio-economic factors influencing Voters' Choice of Candidates**

This section presents results on socio-economic factors that influenced voters' choice of candidates during tripartite elections.

Table 2 below shows the socio-economic factors that influenced the voters' choice of candidates during tripartite elections in Mandevu and Munali constituencies.

Table 2: Socio-economic factors that influenced voters' choice of candidates during tripartite elections in Mandevu and Munali constituencies

SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS	MANDEVU		MUNALI		MANDEVU		MUNALI	
	FEMALES				MALES			
	Mean	Std. Deviation	Mean	Std. Deviation	Mean	Std. Deviation	Mean	Std. Deviation
The economic performance of the incumbent candidate	2.44	.794	2.59	.758	2.47	.824	2.55	.744
Retail prices of goods and services at the time of elections	2.63	.717	2.69	.675	2.62	.711	2.67	.683
Workers' salaries and wages	2.66	.685	2.72	.643	2.72	.665	2.70	.603
Levels of taxation	2.47	.751	2.41	.738	2.50	.757	2.51	.704
Availability of good and affordable housing	2.32	.880	2.65	.707	2.50	.825	2.58	.801
Adequate clean water supply	2.53	.751	2.54	.781	2.58	.753	2.64	.711
Access to loan facilities at affordable rates	2.14	.860	2.22	.789	2.28	.776	2.27	.730
Flexible trading atmosphere including street vending	2.53	.751	2.38	.792	2.66	.644	2.39	.778
Acquisition of affordable land	2.36	.826	2.38	.829	2.47	.757	2.36	.792

*Source: Field data (2016)*

Closer consideration of oral responses noted similarities with some findings stated in table 2. For instance, retail prices and workers' salaries and wages in Mandevu and Munali respectively pointed to the understanding that voters would vote for a candidate who addressed economic issues in their favour.

A Patriotic Front (PF) branch Chairman in Mandevu argued that it was not necessary to vote out a leader who had improved the economy. *"How can you vote out a leader who has delivered in all sectors of the economy?"* He confidently boasted that the Patriotic Front commanded political

support because it improved the economy and deserved to be voted back into power in future elections.

In the same vein, a ruling party sympathiser in Munali asked, “*How can you usher in another leadership when economic indicators are showing development?*” This was in apparent reference to the leadership of the Patriotic Front. Meanwhile, a parastatal employee in Munali added his voice by stating that “people wanted a good economy with affordable commodities.”

Therefore, going by the oral responses given by various respondents, it was clear that a non-performing incumbent candidate would stand little or no chance of being re-elected. However, some political competitors could have the propensity to emerge only during the election period and blind fold the voters with impromptu developmental projects. Such candidates should be considered as deceptive because chances of them disappearing after being re-elected are very high. One of the respondents, a marketer, remarked that, “*apofye twabavotela tabamoneka kano fye ama elections nga yaba mupepi limbi elyo bakamoneka.*” (From the time we elected her she has never turned up to visit the constituency, but as soon as elections draw near she might be seen around). This was in apparent reference to a Member of Parliament who had not been visiting the constituency she represented in Parliament. This perhaps would tally with the assertion that some candidates only thrived on the name of the political party that sponsored them and would always find an easier way to electoral victory even though they under performed during their term of office. This could be replicated to other candidates at Presidential and Local Government election level.

Among the Socio- economic factors the least influential from the quantitative point of view was voters’ identification with a candidate’s academic and professional qualifications with the mean of 2.01 and 1.81 among females and males respectively, both in Munali constituency.

In this respect it is not the most educated candidate that may convince the voters to vote for him or her more especially if the voting majority is represented by citizens who care less about academic advancements of the candidates.

#### **4.4 Findings on Political factors influencing voters’ choice of candidates**

This section presents results on political factors that influenced voters’ choice of candidates during tripartite elections.

Table. 3 below shows the political factors that influenced the voters' choice of candidates in Mandevu and Munali constituencies.

Table 1: Political Factors Influencing Voters' Choice of Candidates.

<b>POLITICAL FACTORS</b>	<b>MANDEVU</b>		<b>MUNALI</b>	
	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std. Deviation</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std. Deviation</b>
A Political party with strong structures at local level makes the candidate of that party popular too.	2.64	.665	2.54	.790
The slogans of a political party make voters align themselves to its candidate	2.65	.662	2.53	.771
The characteristics of a candidate (character and competence) make him or her popular than others	2.57	.697	2.59	.736
A candidate gains popularity among voters if he or she promises to respect human rights	2.06	.862	1.79	.820
Voters loyalty and attachment to a political party makes its candidate popular	2.75	.607	2.69	.685
Non appreciation or dislike for opposing candidates among voters make a candidate more popular	2.41	.756	2.36	.787
A candidate stands to be popular if known to support the formulation and implementation of good laws	2.56	.730	2.31	.833

*Source: Field data (2016)*

Among all political factors considered to be influencing voters' choice of candidates, voters' loyalty and attachment to a candidate's political party was the most cited scoring the mean of 2.75 and 2.69 in Mandevu and Munali respectively. Although this factor proved very influential in both Mandevu and Munali Constituencies, the results showed that it was much more influential in Mandevu than Munali.

There seemed to be consistency between quantitative responses and qualitative responses on this aspect. Out of 20 respondents, 10 of them from both Mandevu and Munali gave responses that confirmed that indeed party affiliation and loyalty were very influential. For instance, a female marketer from Mandevu observed that, "*the pattern has been that most voters vote for a candidate based on which political party he or she belongs to.*" Having noted the most influential

political factors, the research also established that the least influential was one which pointed to a candidate gaining popularity among voters if he or she promised to respect human rights. In Mandevu the factor commanded the mean of 2.06 while in Munali it had a mean of 1.79. This suggested that the residents of Mandevu would still value a candidate who promised to promote human rights once elected much more than their counterparts in Munali would.

#### **4.5 Findings on Environmental factors influencing voters' choice of candidates**

This section presents results on environmental factors that influenced voters' choice of candidates during tripartite elections.

As shown in Table 4 below, most respondents in Mandevu constituency felt that a candidate who worked or promised to provide good drainage systems to prevent flooding would command more support during tripartite elections. This factor had a mean of 2.70. As for Munali constituency the most influential factor was that voters may support a candidate who collects or promises to collect garbage to keep the environment clean. This factor had a mean of 2.72. Going by the negligible difference between the most influential factors in the two constituencies they both can be said to be strongly influential. However, the least influential factor among the environmental factors was that of good policies and laws on the environment with a lower mean of 2.44 recorded in Munali constituency.

From the qualitative responses only the question of garbage collection stood out in both constituencies though to a very negligible extent. A domestic employee in Mandevu constituency remarked,

*“Bamakonda chabe kupanga ma promise yamene sibakwanisa. Kulibe azasiliza iyi bvuto yavinyalala. Koma bamene aba ndiye bamene bantu bamavotela.”*(They are fond of giving promises they do not even fulfil. Nobody will ever bring the problem of garbage to an end, although the same people are still voted into power).

In Munali constituency a parastatal employee also said, *“Some candidates do not fulfil their promises, no wonder there is garbage everywhere.”*

Table 4: Environmental Factors Influencing Voters 'Choice of Candidates during Elections.

ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS	MANDEVU		MUNALI	
	Mean	Std. Deviation	Mean	Std. Deviation
A candidate who works or promises to provide good drainage systems to prevent flooding commands more support	2.70	.659	2.56	.788
Voters may support a candidate who collects or promise to collect garbage to keep the environment clean	2.64	.707	2.72	.642
Good policies and laws on the environment may favour the incumbent	2.64	.652	2.44	.798

*Source: Field data (2016)*

#### 4.6 Findings on Undemocratic factors influencing voters' choices of candidates

This section presents results on undemocratic factors that influenced voters' choice of candidates during tripartite elections.

As shown in table 5 below, the most influential undemocratic factor was a candidate who gives voters gifts and money to win support, with a mean of 2.84 and 2.79 for Mandevu and Munali respectively. From the table it can also be noted that the factor on similarities in cultural background between a candidate and voters making a candidate more popular in Mandevu stood out as strong as that of a candidate giving voters gifts and money in Munali constituency with equally a mean of 2.79 even though they had variations in terms of standard deviation. However, the least influential factor among the undemocratic factors was that of a candidate from strong functionaries having to intimidate voters to win votes.

From the qualitative responses, 10 respondents suggested that corruption and bribery are involved in the electoral process. For instance a domestic worker in Mandevu mentioned that *“Because of stiff competition most candidates bribe voters with money, though not all recipients vote for them.”*

A Church leader in Munali constituency argued that *“What the candidates offer in terms of material things such as T-Shirts influence voters to vote for them. Unpopular candidates offer food to voters yet they are not even fit to be leaders.”*



Furthermore, a male market trader in Munali constituency had this to say. *“Some voters follow every candidate who comes to campaign just for the sake of benefiting something from them. They say this is the time to eat with these people.”*

A parastatal employee stated that *“Certain political parties and their candidates know that they will lose even before the polling day. That is why they try to win support by buying beer for the youth.”*

A ruling party official from Mandevu constituency emphatically said, *“Opposition political parties use money to win popularity.”* Such responses were indicative of the fact that some candidates could use bribery to influence the voters in both Mandevu and Munali constituencies.

Even though intimidation of voters by candidates received the least responses among the quantitative respondents, the factor attracted some very considerable submissions among oral respondents and most of them came from Munali constituency.

A self-employed resident of Munali stated that *“Some candidates after being voted may end up making laws that only favour them and those close to them in order to intimidate their opponents in future elections.”* An opposition party official in Munali lamented that *“Violence is tolerated by those in power and there is no regard for the law and this instils fear in the people.”*

A resident of Munali also pointed out that, *“There is violence and insults during elections especially among the youth and many people fear to disclose their political preferences in terms of candidates”*. A marketeer in Mandevu gave her response by saying, *“mukazona chabe ma kampeni yakayamba bambili bamu market bayopa nakukamba ati kapena bangabacose mu market kusogolo”* (Just observe, when it is time for campaigns many traders cannot even speak for fear of being evicted from the market in the event that their preferred candidate does not win).

Table 5: Undemocratic factors influencing voters' choices of candidates during elections

<b>UNDEMOCRATIC FACTORS</b>	<b>MANDEVU</b>		<b>MUNALI</b>	
	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std. Deviation</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std. Deviation</b>
Similarities in cultural background between candidate and voters makes a candidate more popular	2.79	.561	2.65	.615
A candidate who gives voters gifts and money may win wide support	2.84	.492	2.79	.561
A candidate from strong party functionaries may intimidate voters to win support	2.63	.730	2.41	.875
Manipulation of public institutions (e.g. media) to gain more popularity	2.65	.726	2.68	.665

*Source: Field data (2016)*

## **CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION OF RESULTS**

### **5.1 Overview**

This chapter presents discussions based on the findings of the study in relation to the reviewed literature as well as the theoretical framework employed during the study. It also highlights the extent to which the objectives of the study, as stated in chapter one, were achieved based on the various factors influencing voters' choice of candidates during tripartite elections. The chapter also considers the aspect of socio- demographic characteristics of the quantitative respondents.

### **5.2 Socio-demographic characteristics of respondents**

On gender the study established more male respondents in Mandevu constituency than in Munali constituency while there were more female respondents in Munali constituency as compared to Mandevu constituency. However, there were generally more males than female respondents during the study. The distribution of gender in both constituencies could be used as a yard stick to justify certain responses especially under undemocratic factors.

On age distribution the study established that there were more young people among the respondents than those on the older side. Particularly Munali constituency recorded the highest frequency of young people below the age of forty (40). This scenario goes to show that the majority of the respondents in both constituencies may succumb more to factors that might influence the young people during tripartite elections. Such factors could be associated with the quest for employment. The young people may also be the most victims of political manipulation by way of bribery if employment opportunities were not made available to them.

On marital status the study established that there were more married people among respondents from both constituencies than those who were not married. However, Mandevu constituency had more married respondents than Munali constituency. There was a small proportion of respondents who were widowed although Munali constituency had a higher proportion than Mandevu constituency. The assumption then is that many of the respondents were family people whose lifestyles could be very demanding to meet the basic necessities of life.

On employment status the study established that the respondents there were more public employees in Mandevu constituency than in Munali constituency, more private employees among

the respondents in Munali constituency than in Mandevu constituency, with slightly more self-employed respondents in Mandevu constituency than in Munali constituency although the difference was negligible. However, from the study it was clear that most of the respondents were not in public employment as they were either privately or self-employed. However, a combination of both public employees and private employees showed that there were more respondents in formal employment than in informal employment. As such one would understand the question of salaries and wages of workers could come out so strongly among most respondents in both constituencies.

On educational attainment the study established a big difference between respondents with tertiary education in Munali constituency and Mandevu constituency with Munali constituency commanding a very large margin compared to Mandevu constituency. There were also more respondents with secondary education in Mandevu constituency than in Munali constituency while the number of respondents with primary education was more in Mandevu constituency than in Munali constituency. However, the general picture was that the highest education attainment among all the respondents was secondary school qualification. The fact that many had at least a secondary qualification gave hope that most of them were capable of receiving and understanding Civic education especially on why they should exercise rationality in the manner they choose who to vote for during tripartite elections. However, the statistic on educational attainment should be handled with caution given the assumption that many voters in Zambia are hardly driven by their educational backgrounds.

On party affiliation the study revealed that respondents from both constituencies were highly politically affiliated, with Munali constituency recording just a slight advantage over Mandevu constituency, although Mandevu constituency still had more respondents without any party affiliation as compared to Munali constituency. The respondents in both constituencies could succumb to voting for a candidate based on their partisan attachments. However, caution must be exercised by political competitors not to rely so much on voters' partisan attachments. Erdmann (2007) notes that party affiliation among voters in Zambia is not on long term basis given the fact that most voters aligned themselves to political parties for some material benefits.

On voting experience the study established that most respondents had taken part in previous elections at least once. However, more respondents from Mandevu constituency indicated that they had voted three times during tripartite elections since the year 2001 as compared to Munali

constituency where the majority respondents had voted only twice. It was also interesting to note that even the number of those that had voted only twice in Mandevu constituency still surpassed their counter parts in Munali constituency. However, Mandevu constituency still showed more respondents than Munali constituency among those who had not voted in any tripartite election since 2001. It remained to be established why some respondents had not taken part in voting during previous election. Speculation could suggest that may be some respondents had not yet attained the voting age or they simply decided to stay away from the previous polls due to voter apathy. In this context Voter Education could play a significant role in discouraging voter apathy among voters.

### **5.3 The influence of workers' salaries and wages under socio-economic factors**

#### **influencing voters' choice of candidates**

Under Socio-economic factors the study established that workers' salaries and wages was a very influential factor among voters in the two constituencies. Apparently the factor was very influential among female respondents in Munali constituency and among the male respondents in Mandevu constituency. Having registered the mean of 2.72 in both situations it proved that most voters agreed with a candidate who offered or promised to offer good salaries and wages especially at the time of elections. This scenario could perhaps be justified by the observation from socio-demographic characteristics that many respondents in both constituencies were in either public or private employment where they drew a regular salary or wage. It could also appear that most of the respondents depended almost entirely on their salaries and wages for economic survival. Therefore, salary levels defined their lifestyles and as such their expectations were high as they looked at their economic well-being.

This could be likened to the assertion by Beckmann, Walter and Trein (2011) in the German situation that workers were highly influenced by economic issues at the time of elections especially with reference to fiscal issues. This also brings in the dimension of pocket book voting among voters as advanced by Keulder (2011) in the Namibian situation, where a group of voters only voted for a candidate who promised to improve their individual economic well-being regardless of the national economic situation. It is also a confirmation of the assertion by Erdmann (2007) that in Zambia voters are not only interested in other factors but they also consider the economic policies of political parties and this could be a spring board for shifting political allegiances among voters. What comes to mind is the theory of rationality where a

candidate is expected to advance economic campaign messages so that based on such messages the voters can decide to vote for them or not. It is at this point that the influence of workers' salaries and wages come into play.

Meanwhile, although salaries and wages of workers turned out to be the best most influential there were other factors that were equally influential and could help a candidate command substantial support. For instance, Retail Prices of goods and services commanded enough influence among both females and males in Munali Constituencies with a mean of 2.69 and 2.67 respectively, implying that residents of Munali would also be highly influenced by the prices of goods and services in deciding who to vote for during tripartite elections. Other factors could include flexible atmosphere for trading including street vending. It could appear that even those who were in formal employment still would have other sources of income such as trading to supplement their income. This was clearly noticed among male respondents in Mandevu Constituency. As such they may be in favour of a candidate who allows them to trade on the streets and attract no market fees at all. Water supply also got a share of its influence with a mean of 2.64 recorded among male respondents of Munali. This could mean local authorities such as Councilors working hard to ensure adequate and constant supply of water.

The economic performance of the incumbent candidate as noted among female respondents in Munali could also hold a strong claim among the highly influential factors. Any incumbent candidate would do well to address the issues of the economy and create economic sustainability among voters. To a greater extent poverty at house level could also be a factor to consider by candidates as they design their manifestos as any candidate who directs efforts towards poverty alleviation may gain some political fortunes during tripartite elections, while on the other hand poverty may also be used by those seeking political power to manipulate the voters. This is so when and if at the time of elections candidates suddenly begin to care about the welfare of the citizens just for purposes of winning elections. In order for voters to make rational choices it is important that political competitor's spell out their policies on the factors alluded to. This could be very relevant to presidential candidates as they are regarded as vision carriers of their respective political parties. Basically the objective on socio-economic factors was achieved.

#### **5.4 The influence of voters' loyalty and attachment to a Political party under political factors influencing voters' choice of candidates**

In spite of many political factors influencing voters' choice of candidates during tripartite elections, the study established that voters' loyalty and attachment to a political party was the most influential in both Mandevu and Munali constituencies with a mean of 2.75 and 2.69 respectively. It implied that most respondents agreed that any candidate who contested elections on the ticket of a political party voters aligned themselves to, stood very high chances of winning elections at whatever level. Going by the mean recorded from each constituency this factor proved to be more influential in Mandevu constituency than in Munali constituency. The finding was in tandem with the revelation by Socio-demographic characteristics which suggested that most respondents from both Mandevu and Munali constituencies were highly politically aligned. However, this invokes the argument by Erdmann (2007) that alignment to political parties in Zambia was not a long term undertaking as voters mainly aligned themselves to a political party due to expected material benefits based on belonging to such a political party. For this reason those who command political support from voters should not make a mistake of believing that they have many voters sympathising with them, because the propensity among voters to shift political camps is very high. And for this reason voters may switch their allegiance if a political party does not continue to be beneficial to them.

In spite of voters' shifting allegiances, a political party and its candidate stand to benefit greatly during tripartite elections if by coincidence elections are held at the time when majority voters have their loyalty and attachment to it. This also brings to the fore the study by McGregor (2012) in Canada which identified those with strong party attachments as early deciders who had very little to do with campaign messages because they already decided who to vote for right at nomination time. Keulder (1998) in the context of Namibia argued that when voters have strong party identifications, they would offer unconditional support to such a political party and they would do anything to ensure that the party they support emerges victorious when it is election time. In such circumstances even candidates with seemingly low leadership qualities may get elected. It goes to show that voters may depend on very little or no rationality in deciding who to vote for. The voters' attachment to political parties in both Mandevu and Munali constituencies gives an insight that they could be highly clientelistic in nature.

This is a departure from the study by Lindberg and Morrison (2006) in case of Ghanaian voters who were found to be mature voters because they were not clientelistic and used evaluative rationales when deciding who to vote for during an election. Therefore, voters in Mandevu and Munali Constituencies could do well to use evaluative rationales and be mature voters as their Ghanaian counterparts. A further consideration of individual political factors points to the understanding that several other factors than voters' loyalty and attachment to political also could play a significant role in influencing voter choices, even though some of them could still be in relation to voters' loyalty and attachment to political parties. For instance, slogans of a political party in Mandevu Constituency could induce substantial support for a candidate because such slogans stimulate excitement in voters thereby drawing them emotionally closer to a candidate or political party on which he or she contests elections. It is also noted that party slogans in Mandevu had a higher influence than in Munali.

It could be the reason why in recent times campaign messages have been branded with slogans that are enticing to the voters. It also goes to suggest why slogans such as "*Don't Kubeba*" and several others could be used to win votes for certain candidates. Therefore, creativity on the part of a political party and its candidates may be cardinal in coming up with slogans that entice voters during an election period. When a party makes its structures available at local level chances are that voters get to know about its existence. Respondents from Mandevu attested to this fact and the likely outcome is that its popularity is enhanced and the popularity of a party boosts the popularity of a candidate who contests elections on the ticket of a popular party. Another factor that cannot be easily ignored is that of characteristics of a candidate. Both Mandevu and Munali seemed to stand on almost equal ground when it comes to the characteristics of a candidate with reference to competence.

An incompetent leader could easily make voters lose their confidence in him or her thereby making them change their political allegiance and vote for someone else. The moment voters changed their political allegiance due to incompetence of a leader the political party on whose ticket he or she stood definitely might also lose its popularity. Voters may need a leader without a criminal record and someone with integrity. This could suggest that voters could be interested in the character of who should be their leader.

This tallies with the study by Cameron and Stephenson(2010) from the study in Canadian which brought out the question of the character and competence of a candidate as playing a critical role



in the manner in which voters made choices especially when an election was tightly contested. This could explain why voters may change their political allegiance from one political party to the other due to the character of its leader.

However, it could appear that a good number of voters had little concern with having to elect a leader who would respect human rights. Although this factor turned out to be the least influential in both constituencies, the respondents in Mandevu still proved to have a slight more concern on the promotion of human rights by those entrusted to lead others. The literature review has not provided the bearing of human rights on voter choice of candidates. Voters ought to care about human rights or else they would end up voting for a leader who would end up violating their rights. Therefore, the study answered the question of the main political factors influencing voters' choice of candidates during tripartite elections in the two constituencies.

### **5.5 The influence of flood management and garbage collection under environmental factors influencing voters' choice of candidates**

Among the various environmental factors considered in the study, it was established that most respondents in Mandevu constituency agreed that a candidate who works or promises to provide good drainage systems to prevent or manage flooding commands more support during tripartite elections with a mean of 2.70. This goes to suggest that Mandevu was prone to flooding during the rainy season and that needed a solution. The flooding problem could be attributed to either cramped settlements, negligence by local authorities or the residents through their activities have caused a situation which does not permit a proper drainage system.

The study also established that most respondents of Munali were more concerned about garbage collection as this factor commanded a mean of 2.72. It could appear that most respondents from Munali constituency were very sensitive and attentive to the state of the environment in relation to accumulation and collection of garbage. They detest garbage around them and this calls for constant commitment to garbage collection by those entrusted with the task. Individuals could also do well to desist from activities that promote the generation and accumulation of garbage in Munali constituency. Therefore, the respondents agreed that a candidate who collected or promised to collect garbage to keep the environment clean was better placed during time for elections.

In view of the findings, those who aspire to serve as local authority leaders should be ready to bear the task of ensuring that flooding problems in Mandevu constituency and the question of garbage collection in Munali were addressed in the most effective manner.

The study discovered that natural policies and laws on the environment were considered as the least of priorities among respondents from both constituencies. It could appear that most residents of both Mandevu and Munali Constituencies were more influenced by what they physically experienced than by what could just be written in official documents. This goes to show that those seeking political leadership may get away with it whether or not they put in place good policies and laws on the environment. It clearly went to show that there was either lack of awareness or simply indifference towards policies and laws on the environment among the residents of the two constituencies.

Cameron and Stephenson (2010) refer to how the Liberal party in Canada gained enough political support in 2000 because of its good policy on environmental protection which was a manifestation of the voters' awareness about the importance of environmental protection. Presumably non availability of adequate campaign messages on the environment during tripartite elections makes voters to vote with little or no rationality when it comes to environmental issues as they vote based on mere promises. Without clear policies and laws on the environment leaders cannot be held accountable on environmental issues. It is also possible that in the absence of awareness about policies and laws on the environment among the voters, those in power may deliberately allow the accumulation of garbage so that they can use it as a tool to campaign for votes during tripartite elections.

## **5.6 The influence of gifts and money under undemocratic factors influencing voters' choice of candidates**

Voters' choice of candidates in both Mandevu and Munali constituencies were influenced by some undemocratic factors. As established by the study, most respondents in both constituencies agreed that gifts and money influenced many voters' choices during tripartite elections. Although both constituencies could be influenced by a candidate offering gifts and money to voters, the factor proved more influential in Mandevu Constituency with a mean of 2.84 as compared to 2.79 in Munali Constituency. Perhaps the assumption could be that Munali Constituency may have a considerable portion of voters who may not be easily swayed by petty corruption hence the lower

degree of influence in this context. However, even the 2.79 recorded in Munali was too high. In this vein the mind-set of the voters should be considered more important than their economic status when it comes to accepting bribes from candidates. In fact, some oral respondents clearly stated that not all voters who received gifts and money from a candidate ended up voting for that particular candidate. For some voters time for elections simply provided an opportunity for them to access material and monetary benefits from the candidates. Therefore, candidates should exercise caution in the manner they splash gifts and money to the voters or else they may incur political costs with no political benefits at all.

However, the intentions of having to offer bribes to voters by candidates still remain the same especially that Zambia has attracted concerns of political bribery and corruption in some previous elections. This also brings to the fore the argument by Simfukwe (2002) when he made reference to the 2001 tripartite elections and described how the said elections were characterised by corrupt practices. This goes to confirm that voters in Mandevu and Munali Constituencies could also be targets of political corruption whose main objective is to entice voters to vote in favour of the candidate advancing such offers which is contrary to the promotion of the tenets of democracy. If this goes unchecked only candidates with money to bribe the voters would stand better chances of winning elections at the expense of candidates with good leadership qualities.

The study could also show that although giving of gifts and money to voters was the most influential undemocratic factor in Munali, it commanded the same mean as that of similarities in cultural backgrounds between the candidate and the voters in Mandevu Constituency and this goes to suggest that voters in Mandevu Constituency could easily be swayed by ethnic orientations and vote for a candidate who is closer to their ethnic interests. Perhaps this could be a confirmation of what Erdmann (2007) observed that ethnicity was deeply entrenched in Zambian politics and played a role in the manner people voted. Given the fact that ethnicity plays a role in the manner politics is conducted stability of democratic values can never be expected to stand a test of time as some voters may only support a candidate based on ethnicity. This also brings to the fore the question of religion. A candidate with similar religious beliefs as the voters may capitalise on that and make voters to vote on such grounds.

Cheyeka (2014) referred to the declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation which was meant to draw the support of Christians to those in political competition. Such a similarity in religious orientations may compromise people's choice of leaders and only perpetuate the rule of those who

profess the same religious beliefs as the voters. Candidates of a particular election may convert to religious groupings that may be politically convenient for them and given the context of Zambia a candidate may simply associate with Christianity for the sole purpose of influencing votes from the Christian community.

The use of bribery or taking advantage of similarities in cultural backgrounds between a candidate and voters or any other undemocratic approaches to win votes does not offer a platform to voters to exercise rationality in deciding who to vote for during tripartite elections as they are swayed by negative interests which dilute democracy. This could be the case among a good number of voters in Mandevu and Munali Constituencies. In spite of Zambia being capable of holding democratic elections the study has revealed that the democratic process is prone to undemocratic practices as shown in chapter four. Hence, the study meets the objective on identifying possible undemocratic factors influencing voters' choice of candidates during tripartite elections in Mandevu and Munali Constituencies.

## **5.7 Summary**

The chapter has discussed the findings of the study both from the quantitative and qualitative perspectives. From the quantitative aspect, the chapter placed emphasis on the influence of workers' salaries and wages, voters' loyalty and attachment to a political party, flood management and garbage collection as well as gifts and money on voters' choice of candidates during tripartite elections in Mandevu and Munali constituencies. From the qualitative dimension, the study noted the performance of an incumbent candidate, material benefits from candidates to the voters and intimidation of voters by members of the ruling party as some of the factors that influenced voters during tripartite elections in the two constituencies.

## **CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **6.1 Summary**

The study focused on examining factors influencing voters' choice of candidates during tripartite elections in Mandevu and Munali constituencies with reference to the period 2001 to 2011. It was divided into six chapters. Chapter one gave background information to the study and brought out the objectives of the study, the significance of the study, theoretical and conceptual frameworks of the study. In chapter two the study focused on literature review based on similar studies from global, African and Zambian perspectives. Chapter three dealt with the methodology employed during the study and brought out salient aspects such as philosophical underpinnings as well as tools for data collection and analysis.

Chapter four was concerned with presentation of results quantitatively in form of graphs and tables, and qualitatively in form of verbatim from respondents. Chapter five discussed the results as presented in chapter four. It mainly brought out the influence of workers' salaries and wages, the influence of voters' loyalty and attachment to a political party, the influence of flood management and garbage collection, as well as the influence of gifts and money on voters' choice of candidates during tripartite elections in Mandevu and Munali constituencies. Thereafter, chapter six made conclusions and recommendations based on the objectives of the study

### **6.2 Conclusions**

Having closely considered the various categories of factors influencing voters' choice of candidates, the study concluded that there is a myriad of factors that influence voters' choice of candidates during tripartite elections in Mandevu and Munali Constituencies. Such factors are complex in nature and must not be viewed from a linear perspective because they cut across various socio-economic, political and environmental aspects. In certain circumstances they also command some undemocratic characteristics.

The study concluded that the economic well-being of voters in Mandevu and Munali constituencies was critical especially during tripartite elections as evidenced by their support for good salaries and wages of workers. It was clear that many voters in the two constituencies were pocket book voters as they either worked for a salary or were related to a voter who earned a regular salary whom they considered as their bread winner. Such voters are in danger of being

manipulated with artificial economic improvement at the time of elections such as receiving sudden increments in salaries and wages.

The study also concluded that many voters in Mandevu and Munali constituencies aligned themselves and remained loyal to political parties mostly for not very good reasons. Many of them did so because of the popularity of a political party at a given time and not necessarily out of rationality. However, a well organised political party stood a chance to influence more people into its circles and maximise on the number of votes during tripartite elections.

On issues to do with the environment, the study concluded that they were mostly circumstantial and could only be a matter of importance possibly if a candidate heard the voters talking about them or when there was a major occurrence arising from environmental disorders. For instance if garbage accumulated and affected residents directly or if there was flooding especially at the time of an election or just slightly before an election. As such a candidate may coin campaign messages around the eradication of such environmental challenges in order to win voters' support.

The study also concluded that tripartite elections in both Mandevu and Munali Constituencies may hardly pass without involvement in bribery and corruption by those contesting particular positions of leadership and the voters. This could be either due to candidates' desperation to attain political power or voter's propensity to extract material benefit from those contesting for positions during tripartite elections. If not checked bribery and corruption may dilute well intended goals of strengthening democracy in the two constituencies. This should be a source of concern to all those interested in having a smooth and democratic electoral process.

### **6.3 Recommendations**

- i. Given the diversity of factors influencing voters' choices during tripartite elections, political parties and candidates should try by all means to broaden the scope of support mobilization in order to command support from voters with varied interests. Emphasis should be placed on factors that promote democratic processes.
- ii. Policy makers and political competitors must work to improve the economic lives of citizens with or without elections. Particularly workers must be awarded good salaries and wages to prevent them from being perpetual pocket book voters.

- iii. Political parties must formulate tangible, educative and long term ideologies to help citizens become rational voters as opposed to relying on momentary and fleeting political slogans each time there is an election. Above all, political parties must promote internal democracy and adopt only credible candidates to increase chances of having good national leaders.
- iv. Environmentalists must come to the fore and advocate for leadership that shows continuous concern for environmental protection as opposed to those who only show concern at the time of elections. Community initiatives on how to maintain the environment should also be encouraged instead of citizens having to depend on political competitors for solutions.
- v. To curb bribery and corruption during elections, the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) in partnership with law enforcement institutions must be empowered to penalize candidates and voters who indulge in such malpractices right at the time of elections. Most importantly, civic organizations must work hard to continuously educate voters on the need to reject political parties and candidates who attempt to win voters' support through bribery and corruption.

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## APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Consent letter.....

Dear Respondent,

I am (Andrew Muchanga) - ID 514704633), a post graduate student of Civic Education at the University of Zambia. I am carrying out a research on the factors influencing voters' choice of candidates during tripartite elections in Mandevu and Munali Constituencies.

The findings of the study will be used for academic purposes only.

The information you are going to provide in this interview/ questionnaire will be treated with a high degree of confidentiality. In this regard I request you not to write your name but only append your signature to show your consent.

Respondent's signature \_\_\_\_\_

Thank you for your co-operation.

## **Appendix 2. Questionnaire on factors influencing Voters' choice of candidates...**

### **SECTION A: Socio-demographic characteristics of respondents**

Please provide the following information. You are promised complete confidentiality. Thank you for your co-operation. Tick where applicable.

1. Your constituency of residence:

Mandevu [       ]

Munali [       ]

2. Your gender:

Male [       ]

Female [       ]

3. Your age \_\_\_\_\_ (write in the space provided)

4. Your marital status:

Single [       ]

Married [       ]

Widowed [       ]

5. Your employment status:

Public employee [       ]

Private [       ]

Self-employed [       ]

6. Your education attainment:

Primary [       ]

Secondary [       ]

Tertiary [       ]

7. Are you a member of any political party?

Yes [       ]

No [       ]

8. Have you voted before during tripartite elections?

Yes [       ]

No [       ]

If the answer in 8 is yes, how many times have you voted since 2001?

One [       ]

Two [       ]

Three [       ]

## **SECTION B: Socio-economic factors influencing voters' choice of candidates**

Voters may consider certain Socio-economic factors in deciding who to vote for during tripartite elections. Below are statements suggesting some of the socio-economic factors that may influence voters' choices. Read each statement carefully and circle one appropriate number that suits your opinion. Use the following Three (3) point scale of the agreement and disagreement with the statement. 1 = Agree, 2 = Neutral, 3 = Disagree

	<b>Socio-economic factors</b>	<b>Three (3) point scale</b>		
<b>10</b>	The economic performance of the incumbent candidate	1	2	3
<b>11</b>	Retail prices of goods and services at the time of elections	1	2	3
<b>12</b>	Workers' salaries and wages	1	2	3
<b>13</b>	Levels of taxation	1	2	3
<b>14</b>	Availability of good and affordable housing	1	2	3
<b>15</b>	Adequate clean water supply	1	2	3
<b>16</b>	Access to loan facilities at affordable rates	1	2	3
<b>17</b>	Flexible atmosphere for trading including street vending	1	2	3
<b>18</b>	Acquisition of affordable land	1	2	3
<b>19</b>	Poverty at household level	1	2	3
<b>20</b>	Voters' identification with a candidate's academic and professional qualifications.	1	2	3

### SECTION C: Political factors influencing voters' choice of candidates

Political competitors try to become popular by making voters familiar with what they do and what they stand for, thereby increasing chances of gaining more support during elections. Below are some statements that may suggest what makes a candidate popular during tripartite elections. For each statement circle an appropriate number to suit your view. Use the following Three (3) point scale. 1 = Agree, 2 = Neutral, 3 = Disagree.

	Political factors	Three (3) point Scale		
21	A political party which has strong structures at local level, makes the candidate of that party popular too	1	2	3
22	The slogans of a political party make voters align themselves to its candidate	1	2	3
23	Voters' loyalty and attachment to a political party enhance the popularity of the candidate sponsored by that party	1	2	3
24	Non appreciation or dislike for opposing candidates among voters make a candidate more popular	1	2	3
25	The characteristics of a candidate (character and competence) make him or her more popular than others	1	2	3
26	A candidate gains popularity among voters if he or she promises to respect human rights	1	2	3
27	A candidate stands to be popular if he is known to support the formulation and implementation of good laws	1	2	3

### SECTION D: Environmental factors influencing voters' choice of candidates

The environment in which voters live may serve as a mechanism to help them identify a candidate they believe may improve it. From the statements below circle one (1) appropriate number to express your opinion: Use the following Three (3) point scale

1 = Agree, 2 = Neutral, 3 = Disagree

	Environmental factors	Three (3) Point Scale		
28	A candidate who works or promises to provide good drainage systems to prevent flooding commands more support	1	2	3
29	Voters may support a candidate who collects or promises to collect garbage to keep the environment clean	1	2	3
30	Good natural policies and laws on the environment may favour the incumbent	1	2	3

## SECTION E: Undemocratic factors influencing voters' choice of candidates

A candidate may resort to undemocratic factors in order to win support among voters. With reference to the statements below, use the following Three (3) Point Scale to illustrate your views.

1 = Agree, 2 = Neutral, Disagree

	<b>Undemocratic tendencies</b>	<b>Three (3) Point Scale</b>		
31	A candidate from strong party functionaries may intimidate voters to win	1	2	3
32	A candidate who gives voters and money may win more support	1	2	3
33	Similarities in cultural background between the candidate and voters makes a candidate more popular	1	2	3
34	An incumbent candidate may manipulate public institutions such as the media to gain more popularity	1	2	3

**Appendix 3. Semi-structured interview guide .....**

1. What things do individual voters consider when deciding who to vote for between or among different candidates during tripartite elections?.....
2. Apart from the responses you have given, are there other reasons why voters accept and vote for a particular candidate and reject the rest?.....
3. What should a voter look out for in a candidate when deciding who to vote for?.....
4. What do you think helped your party and its candidates to emerge victorious in previous elections? (Specifically for ruling party officials).....
5. How does your party intend to win support from the voters in future elections? (For parties other than the ruling party).....