AN ASSESSMENT OF VOTER EDUCATION PROGRAMME CONDUCTED BY THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION OF ZAMBIA (ECZ) AND THE CIVIL SOCIETY IN LUSAKA.

BY

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A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA IN FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF EDUCATION IN ADULT EDUCATION

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2015
DEDICATION
This study is dedicated to my mother Mundia, Pauline I. Your love, support, encouragements and prayers have helped me greatly in my studies. May the lord abundantly bless you.
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AUTHOR’S DECLARATION

I, Mundia, Lungowe Maria do declare that this dissertation represents my own work and that it has neither in any part nor in whole been presented as substance for award of any degree at this or any other University. Where people’s work has been drawn upon, acknowledgements have been made.

Signature of Author_____________________________________________

Signature of Supervisor __________________________________________

Date ________________________________________________
CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL
The University of Zambia approves the dissertation of Mundia, Lungowe Maria fulfilling part of the requirements for the award of the Degree of Master of Education in Adult Education.

Signed___________________________ Date __________________________

Signed___________________________ Date __________________________

Signed___________________________ Date __________________________
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ABSTRACT
This study set out to assess Voter Education Programmes (VEPs) conducted by the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) and the civil society in Lusaka District. A descriptive study design was employed to assist the researcher gain more insight on the types of VEPs conducted in Lusaka. The study used both qualitative and quantitative methods to collect data. The sample for the study was 158 participants which comprised 8 Voter Education (VE) officials, 1 officer responsible for managing VEPs on behalf of (ECZ) from Lusaka City Council (LCC) and 150 participants that were trained in VE trained by ECZ or the civil society. The officials were purposively selected as they were rich information sources. Snowball sampling was employed to select the 150 participants. Data was collected using open ended questionnaires and interview guides. Qualitative data was analyzed by categorizing similar themes as they emerged and was presented in a qualitative form. With respect to quantitative data, it was analyzed using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) and was presented using frequency distribution tables.

The study revealed that the types of VEPs that ECZ and the civil society conducted were seminars, workshops, radio productions, posters and community mobilisation programmes. However, it was established from this study that other types of VEPs like rallies, dance, music, documentaries, banners, commercial advertises and role playing were not identified as VEPs conducted by ECZ and the civil society. It was further discovered that most trainings in VEP were conducted in English and facilitators were not adequately trained and that there was erratic funding. As such, the study recommended that the civil society and ECZ to implement VEP in local languages, source for more funding and translate VEP materials into local languages and train VEP facilitators so that they can undertake their work without difficulty.
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<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AVAP</td>
<td>Anti-Voter Apathy Project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CE</td>
<td>Civic Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DVEC</td>
<td>District Voter Education Committees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECZ</td>
<td>Electoral Commission of Zambia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FODEP</td>
<td>Foundation for Democratic Process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMD</td>
<td>Movement for Multi-Party Democracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PF</td>
<td>Patriotic Front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SACCORD</td>
<td>Southern African Centre for Constructive Resolution for Disputes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPSS</td>
<td>Social Statistical Package</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNIP</td>
<td>United Nation Independence Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VEP</td>
<td>Voter Education Programme</td>
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<td>VI</td>
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<td>ZNWLG</td>
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CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Introduction
Zambia has been governed through the multiparty democracy since 1991. Zambia’s democracy has over the last 25 years been growing steadily with considerable peace as power transfer has been done without violence from one regime to the other. The change of government is usually done through the democratic process of voting. Thus, voting is the only means by which citizens choose who they want to rule them. There is a close correlation between elections and democracy. In a democracy, it is the people who choose the leaders that govern them. And since the people are the ultimate authority, they have the right to criticize and replace their leaders and representatives if they are not satisfied with their performance. It is also through elections that an incumbent government gauges its popularity or lack of it. Hence, among the components of democracy is the element of periodic free, fair and credible elections (Moyo, 2011). However, being elected to power has raised questions. For example, Foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP) (2008) expressed concern over electoral corruption and malpractices and voter blackmail through donation of materials such as goods and services as enticements by contesting political parties. Some leaders have thus been elected based on the handouts to the electorates during campaigns. However, while such practices have been reported, voters have oftentimes remained resolved to elect their preferred candidates which may be a clear indication for their want of change. Thus, voters need to be educated for them to vote for someone out of their own judgement and choice.

Zambia is a Democratic Republic and depends on elections which also rely on Voter Education Programme for their success. Voter Education Programme is the
dissemination of information, materials and programs intended to educate citizens on
the general election process and specific electoral activities. The Voter Education
Programme (VEP) also provides electoral activities such as voter registration, voting
process, referendum, nomination process, campaigns, by-elections and the general
elections. Voter Education Programme is designed to ensure that voters are ready,
willing, knowledgeable, confident and able to participate in electoral politics with a
view to promoting policies that will benefit the individual voter.

Voter Education Programme is an effective instrument to dispel concerns about such
issues as ballot secrecy and dampen the impact of misinformation. The Electoral
Commission of Zambia (ECZ) has established a National Voter Education
Committee to oversee a national team of Voter Education Facilitators who conduct
educational dialogues with grassroots community groups. Voter Education
Facilitators are recruited at the District level (USAID, 2011). The EU Report (2006),
further states that the Electoral Act of 2006 introduced Voter Education as part of the
ECZ’s mandate. The Electoral Commission is also responsible to provide electoral
information and voter education to members of the public and the electorate on the
various phases/stages of the electoral process and elections, in particular (The
Electoral Act, 2006). To this end, the ECZ embarked on a wide Voter Education
Programme communicated through the media and local stakeholders (facilitators)
across most of the country. These initiatives were supported by round tables with
candidates, parties and local Non Governmental Organisations. Voters were
encouraged to exercise their right to vote, and innovative formats, such as television
drama, were employed to enhance public understanding of the election process.
Additionally, ECZ (2012) explains that various organisations, groups and individuals
known as stakeholders play key roles in the electoral processes. Some of the Civil Society Organisations in Zambia that are involved in Voter Education Programme include Foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP), Anti-Voter Apathy Project (AVAP), Zambia National Women’s Lobby Group (ZNWLG), Zambia Civic Education Association (ZCEA) and Southern African Centre for Constructive Resolution for Disputes (SACCORD). Political parties, private and public media are also involved in provision of Voter Education Programme in the Lusaka District.

Political parties and civic organizations contribute to voter and civic education efforts but it is ultimately the responsibility of the authorities, including the election management body to ensure that voters receive objective, impartial, and timely information. Public funded or state media also have a special responsibility to ensure that voters receive sufficient, balanced information on the candidates in order to enable them make a well-informed choice (Moonga and Rudo 2010). However, Agyiri (2012) argues that elections are political. Hence, she suggests that Voter Education should be neutral and should not favour any political party or candidate. This justifies the study in question which sought to assess Voter Education in Lusaka District.

This chapter presents the background of Voter Education Programme in Lusaka. It will also look at how organisations like Electoral Commission Zambia (ECZ), Foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP), Anti-Voter Apathy Project (AVAP), Zambia National Women’s Lobby Group (ZNWLG) and Southern African Centre for Constructive Resolution for Disputes (SACCORD) have been providing Voter Education Programme, the problem statement, purpose of the study, research objectives, research questions, significance of the study, limitations and delimitations
of the study, operational definitions, organisation of the dissertation and summary of
the chapter will also be presented.

1.2 Background
According to the University of Southern California Online Libraries (2014),
background information identifies and describes the history and nature of a well-
defined research problem with reference to the existing literature. The background
information indicates the root of the problem being studied, its scope, and the extent
to which previous studies have successfully investigated the problem, noting, in
particular, where gaps exist that this study addressed. Hence, the background for this
study included information on Zambia’s political history. This provided a good
framework for the Voter Education Programme conducted.

At Zambia’s independence, Dr Kenneth Kaunda of the United Nation Independence
Party (UNIP) assumed power from the colonialists. There was only UNIP and the
African National Congress Party (ANC) led by Harry Nkumbula until 1973 when Dr
Kaunda established a one-party State (Moonga and Mumba 2006). It was called
Zambia’s First Republic after independence. The UNIP government gave free access
to health and education from primary school to university. Then came the one Party
Second Republic (1973-91), followed by the multiparty Third Republic under
Presidents Frederick Chiluba (1991-2001), Levi Mwanawasa (2001-08) and Rupiah
Banda (2008-11) respectively under the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy
(MMD). In 2011, Michael Sata under Patriotic Front (PF) became president until his
death in 2014 which saw yet another presidential election on 20th January 2015 under
the Patriotic Front (PF). The outcome of this election ushered in a new President, Mr
Edgar Lungu of the PF. In between the demise of Mr Sata and the holding of the
presidential by election on 20th January 2015, the Vice President, Dr Scott acted as
president as provided for in the laws of Zambia. For instance, Article 36 of the Zambian Constitution allows the Vice President to perform presidential functions in an event where the incumbent dies or is unable to perform the functions of the office. Similarly, Article 38 of the Zambian Constitution makes provision for holding of by-elections within 90 days from the date of the demise of the president. Zambia has since undergone three democratic presidential general elections and two presidential by-elections.

The civil society in Zambia dates back to colonial times and have always been a medium for attempting to solve grievances for the masses. Moonga and Rudo (2010) state that during Kaunda’s 27 years rule, there were no associations that operated away from the umbrella of UNIP. Nonetheless, Kaunda drew influential all Institutions, individuals and the government into UNIP thereby rendering them ineffective (CHRI, 1996). Mutesa (2006) also notes that civil society’s role has been restricted despite their presence. Dr Kaunda lifted the ban on the operations of political opposition groups in 1990 (CHRI, 1996). The civil society represents the values, culture and political views of the social set up. Keane (2009) defines civil society as realm of social life including market exchanges, charitable groups, clubs and voluntary associations, independent churches and publishing houses which are institutionally separated from territorial state institutions. In December 1990, President Kaunda accepted the need for multi-party Democracy after uprisings. On 31st October 1991, the Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD), led by the late trade unionist President Frederick Chiluba, won both parliamentary and presidential elections. Thereafter, the civil society started to play a significant role in Voter Education Programme in Zambia (Report of the Commonwealth Observer Group, 2001).
Most elections held in Zambia have not been assessed on the comprehensiveness of Voter Education Programme. Potential Voters may have had limited knowledge to understand, appreciate and be enthusiastic to participate effectively in elections with inadequate Voter Education Programme. It is also possible that inadequate voter education can contribute to incidents of vote buying and violence. Therefore, this research looked at Voter Education Programmes provided by the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) and civil societies in Lusaka.

Voter Education is the dissemination of information, materials and programmes designed to inform voters about the specifics and mechanics of the voting process for a particular election. Voter Education involves providing information on who is eligible to vote, where and how to register, how electorates can check the voter lists to ensure they have been duly included. The voters are also educated on the type of elections being held, where, when and how to vote, and who the candidates are. It ensures that voters are ready, willing, and be able to participate fully in the election process. Zambia, as a democratic country, conducts general elections every five years during which time different political party candidates compete for the positions of President, Member of Parliament and Ward councillors.

The Electoral Act (2006) empowers the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) on matters relating to elections and enables the Commission to make regulations, providing for the registration of voters and for the manner of conducting elections. The Commission did take up the initiative to be the main body of conducting Voter Education Programme. However, given that Voter Education Programme is enormous, the Commission invites and accommodates politicians and the Civil
Society to carry out the task. For this cause, organizations such as the Anti-Voter Apathy (AVAP), Zambia Civic Education Association (ZCEA), Zambia National Women’s Lobby Group (ZNWLG) and Southern African Centre for Constructive Resolution for Disputes (SACCORD), Public and Private Media and the church conduct the Voter Education Programme. For the noble work that ECZ and the civil societies conduct, it was vital to assess their impact.

The Electoral Commission of Zambia and the civil society play a significant role in the Voter Education Programme. Most of the organisations that advocate for democracy do so through elections by providing Voter Education. The details of the civil societies are as follows: the Southern African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (SACCORD) is a Zambian based Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) that was registered in 2000 to deal with issues pertaining to Human Rights, peace, security and democracy in Zambia and the Southern African Region. It is worth noting that voting is a human right. Therefore, SACCORD engages in Voter Education Programme in order to promote the right to vote.

The second organisation involved in the Programme is the Anti-Voter Apathy Project (AVAP) which was registered in 1995. AVAP is a Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) actively involved in the promotion of democracy, political and voter participation, respect in human rights and other good governance related issues. Thirdly, the Operation Young Vote is a civic Youth Organisation which was established to involve young people in monitoring the Electoral Process in Zambia. It is also active in conducting Voter Education Programme.
Fourthly, the National Women Lobby Group (NWLG) is a Zambian Organisation whose mission is to bridge the gender gap in political decision making process by advocating for increased women’s participation and representation (Zambian Civil Society Stakeholders, 2012). The fifth organisation in Voter Education Programme is the Foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP) which was formed in 1992 as a successor to the Zambia Election Monitoring Coordinating Committee (ZEMCC), a consortium of civil society organizations which. FODEP was formed in 1991 to monitor Zambia's first round of multi-party elections. FODEP got its motivation in Voter Education Programme (VEPs) in 1991 when Zambia embraced liberal democracy. FODEP concluded that many Zambians would need to know the rules and principles of the new type of government. It was particularly concerned with the low voter turnout which was at 45% in 1991 way below the 58% in 1996 voter turnout from the preceding elections in the one party era (FODEP, 1996). Thus, FODEP embarked on boosting voter turnout in future elections by educating people on the need for them to become more active participants in the political processes of the Country.

The Electoral Commission of Zambia usually partners with the civil society to provide Voter education Programme. The success of such a partnership was apparent in the 2008 elections. During this time, organisations such as Foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP), the Anti-Voter Apathy Project (AVAP) and the Zambia National Women Lobby Group (ZNWLG) were involved in the partnership. However, voter turnout fell to 45% in the 2008 presidential elections (Electoral Commission of Zambia, 2013). This shows that civil society also plays a significant role in voter education in Zambia. This, too, points to the fact that there are no
unwarranted restrictions to voter education. In fact, the Zambian system is designed in a manner that encourages participation and does not seek to put in place unnecessary bottlenecks that would negatively impact on citizen participation in election matters. Despite the aforesaid, the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) is mandated by the government to provide Voter Education Programme (Denford, 2006).

However, despite the many actors involved in voter education provision noted above, it has been reported that little has been achieved. Most elections held so far have been conducted without any comprehensive Voter Education Programme by either ECZ or the civil society and politicians. As a result, many voters could have had limited knowledge, understanding, appreciation and enthusiasm to participate effectively in the elections and base their choices on substantial information. FODEP hopes the situation will be considered seriously by all concerned stakeholders so that Voter Education activities can be enhanced for future elections. It is also possible that the absence of Voter Education could have contributed to repeated incidents of vote buying and violence in some areas.

1.3 Statement of the problem
Walliman (2006) defines a research problem as the general statement of an issue meriting research and its nature suggests the appropriate forms for its investigation. The University of Southern California Online Libraries (2014) also defines a research problem as a statement about an area of concern, a condition to be improved upon, a difficulty to be eliminated, or a troubling question that exists in scholarly literature, in theory, or in practice that point to the need for meaningful understanding and deliberate investigation. Zambia has experienced many elections with decreasing voter turnout. This could be attributed to voters questioning how
their votes result in political positions. Hence, if people are to participate continuously in the voting processes there is need for more Voter Education Programme to be conducted. Though ECZ and the civil societies have played a great role in Voter Education Programme, there is need to evaluate their programmes. The Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) and the civil society have been conducting different types of Voter Education Programmes (VEPs) through various activities. However, it is not certain how much those types of VEPs have contributed to voter turnout in Zambia. Therefore, this study assessed ECZ and the civil society’s Voter Education Programmes with a case study of Lusaka District.

The increasing low voter turn-out is a problem that needs solutions for Zambia’s democracy to thrive. Voter Education Programme (VEP) can be used to minimise the problem of less people voting. As such, this research assessed the impact of VEP in Lusaka conducted by ECZ and the civil society.

1.4 Purpose of the study (Aim)
The purpose of the study is the intent of the study. The purpose of the study is a statement of "why" the study is being conducted, or the goal of the study (Beckingham, 1974). The Cambridge Rindge and Latin school (2004) also defines purpose of the study as a sentence written, which states, in some detail, what the researcher is to learn about in his research. The purpose of this study was to evaluate the impact of Voter Education Programme conducted by civil societies and ECZ in Lusaka District.

1.5 Research objectives
According to Matenga (2008), research objectives summarize what is to be achieved by the study. Objectives as well provide an accurate description of the specific actions you will take in order to reach this aim (Campaign School of Global Health,
The research objectives for this study were the goals which the study sought to achieve. Hence, this research was guided by the following objectives:

1. to identify the Voter Education programme conducted by ECZ and the civil society;
2. to determine how Voter Education is implemented by ECZ and the civil society;
3. to identify the challenges encountered by ECZ and civil societies in voter sensitization; and
4. to make suggestions of how the Voter Education Programme can be improved.

1.6 Research questions
Research questions are answered in the research. A research question is a clear, focused, concise, complex and arguable question around which centers a research (Mason, 2014). According to Booth (2008) research questions are general questions about the phenomenon under study, what the researcher wishes to learn or understand about it. In addition, research questions are “specific questions that researchers seek to answer” (Creswell, 2005, p. 117). Maxwell (2005) explains that research questions are what the researcher wants to learn (p. 69). Given the above definitions, in this study, the research sought answers to the following questions:

1. what Voter Education programmes are conducted by ECZ and the civil society?
2. How is Voter Education Programme implemented by ECZ and the civil society?
3. What challenges ECZ and the civil society encounter in their attempt to sensitize voters? And;
4. What can be done to address the challenges encountered in the Voter Education Programme?
1.7 Significance of the study

The significance of a study reflects the extent of contribution made by the study to improve understanding, to change a concept or to promote a new hypothesis in a particular field of research. Brown (2012) explains the significance of the study as the establishment on how the study could fill gaps and how results might contribute to positive social change. Further, Calmorin et al (2007) state that the significance of a study is the importance of research in relation to contributing to solving the problem. Hence, this study describes how an active and effective participant in elections needs adequate information which Voter Education Programme provides. No knowledge is a waste. When Voter Education is implemented, it helps to build confidence, create awareness that promotes attitudinal change and increases active participation. Voter Education Programme increases electoral knowledge which helps in curbing election/post election violence that is usually witnessed. The findings of the study may help ECZ, the media and other organizations in better implementation of Voter Education. Additionally, it is likely to increase voter turnout which determines who is voted into power or wins the elections by having reasonable margin differences.

In a Democratic Zambia, voter education is very essential but the effects are not well pronounced. As such, ECZ and other civil societies, which implement the Voter Education Programme needs to have their Programmes appraised.

The assessment will help ECZ, the civil society and the media improve their current practices and adopt new ones that will ensure effectiveness in the Voter Education Programme Education.
1.8 Delimitations of the study
Brown (2012) defines delimitations as the boundaries of the study. Ellis & Levy (2008), in addition, state that delimitations give the reader understanding of research boundaries. As such, this study was carried out in Lusaka where ECZ and civil societies that provide Voter Education Programme headquarters are located. This was because the designers and implementers of the Voter education are found at respective secretariats.

1.9 Limitations
Limitations are nearly unavoidable and are in almost everything that people do, as such, they also occurred in this study. According Leedy & Ormrod (2005), every study has limitations. Further, Creswell (2005, p. 198) describes a limitation as potential weaknesses or problems with the study identified by the researcher”. Barons (2008) also define limitations as factors usually beyond the researcher's control that may affect the results of the study or how the results are interpreted. In this vein, the findings of the impact of Voter Education programme conducted by ECZ and civil societies lacked views of other implementers of the programme who are outside Lusaka which made generalization biased. Additionally, voters trained by ECZ and civil societies outside Lusaka were equally not included in the assessment. Consequently, the findings did not give results about the Voter Education Programme conducted by ECZ and civil societies in Zambia as the study was only conducted in Lusaka.

1.10 Operational Definitions
Operational definitions are the definition of terms as used in the study (Calmorin et al, 2007). As such, this study gave definitions of terms that may otherwise not be dictionary definitions. The definitions used were tailored for this study and the following were the concepts:
**Elections:** the casting of votes by people in an effort to select a leader of their choice.

**General Elections:** Voting process where eligible citizens elect simultaneously their Councillors, Members of Parliament and the Republican President.

**Candidates:** Individuals or persons who contest for elections either as Ward Councillors, Members of Parliament or as President.

**Electorates:** The eligible people who take part in voting during the elections.

**Evaluation:** An independent, systematic investigation into how, why, and to what extent objectives or goals are achieved.

**Voter Education:** the basic voter information that every voter must have in order to arrive prepared at the voting station and vote on the set voting day(s).

**Voter Education Facilitators:** The people who are from organizations that provides Voter Education Programme.

**Voter Participation/Voter Turn Out:** This refers to the number of electorates that take part in elections by voting.

1.10 **Organisation of the Dissertation**

This study has been organised and divided in six chapters. The first chapter gives the introduction of the study. It also presented the statement of the problem, objectives, research questions, limitations, delimitations and operational definition of terms used in the study. Chapter Two presents the theoretical framework and literature reviewed. The theoretical framework gave support to the study and the literature reviewed was related to the study. Chapter Three gives the methodology used in the collection and analysis of data. The chapter explains the research design; study population; sample population; sampling techniques; data collection procedure and data analysis.

Chapter Four provides findings from the study. The chapter gives answers to the research questions. Chapter Five discusses the findings of the study. The discussion
is based on the objectives of study. Chapter Six finally, gives the conclusion of the study and makes recommendations from the research findings.

1.11 Summary of the chapter
This chapter provided information on when Zambians began participating in democratic elections in relation to the Voter Education Programme. It explained why there is need for Voter Education programme and the people who provide the programme in Zambia. Further, it explained why the Electoral Commission of Zambia and some organisations in Lusaka conduct Voter Education Programme. Their important role in an independent democratic country like Zambia was essential to evaluate. The chapter also highlighted the introduction, statement of the problem, objectives, research questions, limitations, delimitations and operational definition of terms of the study.

The succeeding chapter will supply information on the theoretical framework and review of literature related to this research.
CHAPTER TWO  
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter explores the theoretical framework as well as the literature review relevant to the study. The assessment of Voter Education Programmes (VEPs) needed to be situated within an appropriate theoretical framework to enable a fair assessment of the programme. In essence, the adopted theoretical framework in the study helped to identify, define and pinpoint the research problem. This is premised on the assumption that any theoretical frame should have the capacity to guide and foreground the research, drawing on the relevant existing literature and theory. In this way, the study was conceived of in an objective and impersonal way thereby validating the undertaking. Being aware of this, the theoretical framework was decided based on the overall research objectives. The review included looking at VEPs, the implementation and challenges of the VEPs.

2.1 Theoretical framework
Every study that has ever been conducted anchors on a theory in the existing literature. A theory is not a myth or a guess but scientific evidence from research. A theory explains, foretells or challenges existing assumptions. University of Southern California Online Libraries (2014) explains that theoretical framework as consists of concepts, together with their definitions, and existing theory/theories that are used for a particular study. The theoretical framework gave the perspective for evaluating the Voter Education Programmes (VEPs) conducted by Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) and civil societies in Lusaka.

This research used Jurgen’s Critical Theory (Habermas, 1968), which is a form of self-reflective knowledge that involves both understanding and theoretical explanations which aims to reduce entrapment in systems of domination or
dependence. For this study, voters can gain knowledge on the secrecy of their vote and vote for their independent choice. Therefore, critical theory was found to be more appropriate for the assessment of VEPs conducted by the Electoral Commission of Zambia, Anti-Voter Apathy Project (AVAP), Zambia National Women’s Lobby Group (ZNWLG) and Southern African Centre for Constructive Resolution of Disputes (SACCORD). This, however, does not mean that there are no other theories that could have helped carry out the study. This is except to say, and this very important, that critical theory believes that adult literacy programme should not be confined to teaching specific literacy skills. The theory rather suggests that such programmes should contextualize instruction within a framework of social activism and societal transformation. More importantly, programmes should establish a democratic setting where students are able to use their developing literacy skills to analyze critically their place in society. Further, students understand how certain cultural assumptions and biases have put them and their families at risk and ultimately learn how to challenge the status quo.

Critical adult education programmes do not simply teach literacy and other basic skills; rather, they show students how they can use those skills to transform their lives and the society in which they live (National Centre for the Study of Adult Learning and Literacy, 2005). Such skills help people to vote for their chosen leader without being manipulated or coerced. Habermas thought of emancipation for the students. The emancipation implied transformative or revolutionary actions. As such critical theory engages the process of political clarification. Hence, in Voter Education Programme (VEP) critical theory helps the student to take political action by being involved in the election process (IEP, 2015). Ngwenyema (2002) explains Habermas’ critical theory as the emancipation knowledge whose concern is freedom.
from physical, mental and social distortions. Further, emancipator knowledge focuses on the establishment of knows and enhancement of human freedoms. Undoubtedly, human freedoms include voting which is a human right.

Another theory that would also have helped to understand the research would have been Kolb’s theory of experimental learning. This theory explains how people learn, develop and grow. Kolb & Kolb (2007) explained that the theory was holistic and viewed learning as the major process of human adaptation, involving the whole person. The experimental learning theory would undeniably include Voter Education Programme (VEP). The holistic nature of the theory would have helped implementers and learners to fully understand voter education as a process of the learner’s adaption. This would have helped implement the process of learning and application. However, the emphasis on reflection and experience for the learning process in the theory was not appropriate for assessing ECZ and civil societies’ Vote Education Programme. The study needed a theory that would help measure how well people understand and apply knowledge acquired for a particular task to judge, decide and vote independently. For this cause, the critical theory was the best theory for study as it stresses emancipation as a result of learning. This is because people need to use critical knowledge for them to vote.

Voting involves people thinking carefully about who to vote for without any undue influence that can cloud their judgement. Voters must have a sound mind as they decide who to vote for. Hence, only persons who are of unsound mind and have been declared so by a competent court or are disqualified due to ‘corrupt practices’ or offences relating to elections are not entitled to be registered in the electoral processes. The use of critical thinking before acting and during the electoral process including voting was what made Critical theory more applicable for the study.
2. 2 Literature review

2. 3 Introduction
Voter Education Programme explains why a person should take part in the voting system. Voter Education Programmes (VEPs) is generally used to describe the dissemination of information, materials and programmes designed to inform voters about the specifics and mechanics of the voting process for a particular election process. It involves providing information on the eligibility of voters, places and processes of registration, checking the voter lists, as well as the nature of elections being held. The primary goal of VEPs is to make information available and accessible to all constituents and seek to achieve universal coverage of the electorate (White, Rose and McAllister 1997).

In a democracy, elections are the life blood for the governance process. Citizens choose who they think is right to govern them. They also elect a person who they are persuaded will represent and stand for their views.

The literature reviewed was on Voter Education Programme (VEP) as it relates to the Electoral Commission of Zambia and civil society organisation’s VEP. The literature reviewed showed the gaps in the Programme. It also showed other researches which were conducted around the area of VEP. The literature reviewed also looked at the objectives of the study which were VEP, how it is implemented and its challenges. The details of the literature reviewed are discussed below.

2. 4 Voter Education Programme
There are three activities in democratic elections that support, anchor and sustain them. These are Voter Information, Voter Education Programme and Civic Education. The three are distinct but work together to ensure that free and fair elections are conducted. The three are not interchangeable (ACEEEO 2006). Their
differences lie in their functions, goals and timings. In addressing Voter Education Programme, examples are drawn from Asia, Africa and Zambia.

The Administration and Cost of Elections project (1999 to 2013) defines Voter Education as an enterprise designed to ensure that voters are ready, willing, and able to participate in electoral politics. It has been assumed that this entails election literacy and confidence that the electoral process is appropriate and effective in selecting governments and promoting policies that will benefit the individual voter (The Administration and Cost of Elections project, 1999 to 2013). Voter Education Programme must be carried out in a non-partisan and impartial manner. It is important to utilize available resources and build stakeholder partnerships in order to facilitate effective educational strategies and interventions.

Voter Education Programme targets eligible voters and addresses specific electoral events alongside general electoral processes. Civic education emphasizes active citizenship while Voter Education’s focus is participation in elections. Both Civic and Voter Education promote democracy and supplement each other. Association of European Election Officials (2006) defined Civic Education as dealing with broader concepts underpinning a democratic society such as the respective roles and responsibilities of citizens, government, political and special interests, the mass media, the business and non-profit sectors, as well as the significance of periodic and competitive elections. On the other hand, the Administration and Cost of Elections project (1999 to 2013) refers to Voter information as the basic of enabling qualified citizens to vote, including the date, time, and place of voting, the type of election, identification necessary to establish eligibility, registration requirements and mechanisms for voting.
Voter Education (VE) in contrast to Civic Education (CE) is usually provided only immediately before and during elections. CE is a longer-term process of strengthening democracy, not only focusing on the electoral process and voting. The impact of VE on an election can be observed using indicators such as election participation rate, number of null and void votes, incidents of election-related violence and choice of candidates (Peters-Berrie, 2004). This means that the impact of Voter Education Programme can be measured using either of the indicators to ascertain its effectiveness in Lusaka.

Coliver and Merloe (1997) express that Voter Education Programme provide information needed for voters to understand the nature of the issues, the platforms and programmes of the political parties as well as the character of the candidates. Such information helps voters to be prepared to vote according to the information they receive about the contesting election candidates and elections. Once voters have the information, they can easily participate in elections by voting after making an informed decision on whom to vote for.

This research, however, had its focus on Voter Education Programme. In this vein, the research assessed the impact of Voter Education Programme conducted by the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) and civil societies in Lusaka.

According to the Election Commission of Pakistan (2012), Voter Education Programme addresses relatively more complex types of information about voting and the electoral process. Among them, include the link between basic human rights and voting rights, the roles, responsibilities and rights of voters, the relationship between elections and democracy and the conditions necessary for democratic elections,
secrecy of the ballot, why each vote is important and its impact on public accountability, and how votes translate into seats. Such information is vital for this study as it found out the assessment of Voter Education Programme on the voter as it directly relates to democracy. The Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) places great importance on Voter Education Programme in any election. For this cause, ECZ’s Voter Education is aimed at increasing Zambians’ civic knowledge to enable the electorate participate meaningfully in elections. Therefore, Voter Education should address issues such as electorate’s understanding of the importance of elections and their role, rights and responsibilities as citizens, voting procedure, voter frustration and apathy, corruption in the electoral process and general election malpractices. Hence, the Commission appeals to both District Voter Education Committees (DVECs) and Voter Education Facilitators (VEFs) to familiarise themselves, not only with the Electoral Code of Conduct, but also learn more about the electoral process and the role of the Commission so that they can adequately and sufficiently answer the various questions that would be posed by the electorate. The DVECs and VEFs are reminded of the need to abide by the Voter Education code of conduct and adherence to the programme principles namely; political neutrality, non-partisanship, objectivity and transparency, as they conduct Voter Education Programme. Further, they were told that the success of the elections in terms of voter turnout and having a knowledgeable and well informed electorate was dependant on their positive and full participation in their roles as facilitators and DVECs. In that vein, they were urged to participate actively in the Voter Education Programme (ECZ, 2013). It is clear that ECZ emphasized the importance and role of Voter Education Programme.
This type of Education shows how the voter understands voting as a human right and how each vote translates into seats. Consequently, it helps the voter exercise his right and grasp how votes eventually result into political positions. Hence, a voter may refrain from political unrest or selling his vote after receiving such Education.

To substantiate further on Voter Education, the Election Commission of India (2013) states that there are a lot of gaps between what the voters ‘should know’ and what they ‘actually know’ in important areas like registration, identity proofs, polling station location, timings of the poll, do’s and don’ts with regard to the model code of conduct, use of money/ muscle and liquor power by political candidates or their associates to influence vulnerable sections of the electorate. In this vein, Charney and ACNielsen (1999) indicated that many Indonesians did not know their need to register to vote, were uncertain if the elections would be fairer than the past, and were unfamiliar with many of the basic tenets of democracy.

The question that seeks to be answered relates to the source of information which in turn helps voters to freely and confidently participate in the electoral process. There is consensus among scholars that the answer may lie in nothing else but the Voter Education Programme. Zambia is not exempted from the need for Voter Education Programme. Stemming from this realisation, the Electoral Commission of Zambia and civil societies need to be evaluated to see how much their effort in voter education has accomplished and contributed to the country’s democracy. In this connection, the Electoral Commission of India (ECI) (2013) observes that Voter Education Programme needs to be given due and strong emphasis with the kind of seriousness and depth it deserves by the election management bodies. In particular, the ECI (2013) noted that Voter Education was not only the correct but also the most
appropriate way to improve participation in a democracy compared to any other alternative.

Voter Education Programme is an important element in developing an environment within which free and fair elections may take place. The Programme addresses voters’ motivation and preparedness to participate fully in elections. It pertains to relatively more complex types of information about voting and the electoral process and, is concerned with concepts such as the link between basic human rights and voting rights, the role and responsibilities of voters, and rights of voters; the relationship between elections and democracy and the conditions necessary for democratic elections, secrecy of the ballot; why each vote is important and its impact on public accountability, and how votes translate into seats. Voter Education Programme requires more time for implementation than voter information and, ideally, should be undertaken on an on-going basis. This type of information is most often delivered by election authorities and civil society organisations that target a wide range of groups, including men, women, youth, minorities, people with disabilities and future citizens. This type of information is what is referred to as Voter Education Programmes (VEPs).

Voter Education Programme VEPs helps the electorates to prepare for when and how to vote. The programme also helps them electorate correctly vote. Subsequently, their vote counts because they are not damaged neither is the electorate ignorant of the voting process.

2.4.1 Voter Education Programme and Democracy in India
Since her independence in 1947, India has been governed by parliamentary democracy. The Electoral Commission collaborates with educational institutions and youth organizations to particularly tap the new voters in the age group of 18-19yrs.
This promotes greater awareness amongst youth and students about the electoral process. It further seeks their assistance in facilitating voter registration. The Electoral Commission of India also works in partnership with the Central and State Government Departments in order to extend their existing infrastructure and manpower (field functionaries) for electoral education and outreach. Collaboration with Government and private media as well as the civil society and credible Organisations for increasing people’s awareness regarding electoral participation has also helped in creating voter awareness (Electoral Commission of India, 2013)

The Voter is the central actor in a democratic election. Voters’ Participation in the democratic and electoral processes is integral to the successful running of any democracy and the very basis of wholesome democracy. Further, India and the world need enhanced voter participation in Elections which is no more a matter of debate, but a serious assignment. According to the Electoral Commission of India (2013) the world seen a decline in voter’s participation in elections, which would inevitably point to a democracy deficit. As such, Voters Education is not only the correct but also the most appropriate way to improve enlightened participation in a democracy compared to any other alternatives (Election Commission of India, 2014). In order to fight against work people not participating in elections, the Electoral Commission of India (ECI) took initiative of involving young people in the fight. The Commission involves students in their Voter Education programme as Campus Ambassadors. According to the Electoral Commission of India (2014), Campus Ambassadors are appointed from among the students from recognised Colleges and Universities to bridge the gap in youth electoral participation. In addition, the Campus Ambassadors are emissaries of the ECI in the campus and facilitate registration among students and the faculty and staff. The Ambassadors organise programmes in coordination
with the District Education Officer’s on voter awareness and participation and include Voter Education Programme into the various extra-curricular activities on their Campuses.

The Electoral Commission of Zambia can also engage students from public colleges and universities in the Voter Education Programme. These students like the Indian students can also be involved in registration among students and their surrounding communities.

2.4.2 Democracy and Elections in Yemen
One of the pillars of any democratic election is the mechanism by which eligible citizens register to vote. A functioning registration system ensures that all potential voters are able to participate in the political process, one of democracy’s core principles. Likewise, registering to vote is, for most citizens, their first encounter with the electoral system, and thus, often shapes their attitude toward the entire electoral process including voting. When voter registration is efficient and fair, people enthusiastically participate in voting.

Increasing the political participation of women is central not only to Yemen’s democratic future, but to its economic and social development as well. Women represent one-half of the human capital upon which the country needs to draw if it is to maximize its potential (IFES, 2012). Yemen’s human capital may not be the same as that of Lusaka being Zambia’s capital. Accordingly, the men are usually dominated and it would be more reasonable to target them so that they can easily allow women and children to participate in Education and voting.

2.4.3 Voter Education Programme and Democracy in Malawi
According to Peters-Berries (2004) in 1994, Malawi became one of the later countries in Africa to embrace democracy. Until then, Malawi was for nearly 30
years under Kamuzu Banda with one of the most autocratic regimes. In a predominantly peaceful process, the faith communities brokered between 1992 and 1994 a transition to a multi-party democracy. The first free and democratic elections were won by the newly established United Democratic Front (UDF) of Bakili Muluzi, a former minister of the Banda regime. In 1999 he repeated his victory.

Voter Education Programme in Malawi is carried out by political parties, the churches, the National Initiative for Civic Education (NICE), the Public Affairs Committee (PAC), the Malawi Electoral Commission (MEC) and other various accredited groups on the radio and the grassroots. What constitutes Voter Education Programme came to be understood by Malawian voters in a very broader sense to be political education (Lawton et al, 2003). For the 2004 elections, the responsibility to organise the delivery of Voter Education (VE) rested with the Malawi Electoral Commission (MEC). Only a handful of Civil Society Organisations were involved in the Voter Education Programme as they lacked funds to execute the Programme.

The electoral commission made an effort to harmonise and standardise the provision of Voter Education (VE) by developing a Civic and Voter Education Policy. In a number of high-level stakeholder meetings (including representatives of the major political parties) and with the help of regional experts, the MEC produced a draft policy paper. The policy papers tried to determine the role of all interested parties involved in Voter Education Programme, regulate their conduct, and establish a framework under which the Programme was to be provided. However, the policy draft paper was in the end never officially adopted and implemented. Despite not being officially recognised, the draft policy paper nevertheless served as a guide, at least for some providers of the Education (nice-malawi.org 2015). Though the Voter Education Programme policy was not adopted and implemented it is worth noting
that it was used. This means that it guided Voter Education Programme providers. The providers of the Education were working within the framework of the policy. Subsequently, the Electoral Commission of Zambia can also draw a policy framework that will help guide Voter education providers. This will help stakeholders with standardised Voter Education materials that will help voters make informed decisions.

The National Initiative for Civic Education (NICE) employed a wide range of instruments ranging from ‘traditional’ rallies to whistle-stops at rural settlements and house-to-house visits. Voter Education Programme had to be all-inclusive and cover the entire country because:

1. a large number of new voters were expected to participate in the elections;
2. there is a high illiteracy rate (about 34 per cent);
3. there is still insufficient familiarity with voting (after all this was only the third general election since 1994); and
4. there have been numerous attempts by politicians to manipulate the voting behaviour through false information regarding the voting itself (Peters-Berries and Kalindekafe, 2004)

The latter was particularly worrisome as they were numerous incident reports that local politicians and chiefs tried to make people believe that they could check how they voted. Additionally, in other incidents, voters were told the elections were not about choosing new leaders and representatives but endorsing the current government. In this vein, the Electoral Commission in Zambia and other civil organisations can partner with the government and international organisations. This can help them possibly reach a wider and rural population. If voters receive similar Voter Education Programme it will dispel the aspect of voting on ethnicity lines or
interactions with the politicians, relatives or peers. Voters should be able to receive
information that will enable them vote according to their best of judgement.
Voter Education has had an impact in Malawi. However, people see political rallies
as sources of Voter Education as reflected in the fact that the most frequented form
of Voter Education is indeed political rallies. Other sources of Voter Education
remain notable though. For example, Peters-Berries (2004) explains the fact that
PAC/NICE programmes were, by then, continuing to reach some 10,000 people a
month and that their offices around the country were being used by 25,000 people
monthly was an encouraging Voter Education effort, particularly when one
considered that they had already reached one fifth of the voting population by that
time. More encouraging however, was the fact that many people who voted on issues
and policy grounds in 1999 had attended a National Initiative for Civic Education
(NICE) or the Public Affairs Committee (PAC) Civic Education Programme.
Moreover, it is also encouraging that repeated Voter Education seemed to be having
an increased impact, making people less likely to vote because of tribal, regional and
family loyalty and more on the basis of policies and developmental issues.
For democracy to continue flourishing in Malawi it is important that the electorate
develop a clear picture of what the issues and policies are. As such, the electorate
will then be motivated to vote for reasons related to broad policies, developmental
issues, capabilities and achievements of an individual. The trends indicate that this
was indeed happening in Malawi, and that the PAC/NICE civic education programs
in particular were having a very positive effect. It was important that this momentum
be continued throughout the 2004 election period and beyond.
The impact of Voter Education in Malawi cannot be over emphasized. It is clear that
Voter Education must be carried out repeatedly so that people fully understand and
apply it. Therefore, Zambians can take part more often in voting if they are taught more frequently more about Voter Education.

2.4.4 Voter Education Programme in South Africa.

South Africa’s successful transition from the white minority domination to an inclusive democracy culminated in the first all race elections in May 1994. The success of the elections was the ability of Africans who had been denied the franchise to participate confidently in the electoral process. Voter Education Programme was fundamental in ensuring democratic participation and in transmitting key messages (Tutu, 1999). The elections signified a new political order in which blacks gained the full citizenship that had previously been reserved exclusively for whites. The 1994 elections with the 1995/96 local government elections marked the first voting experience for the majority of South Africans. Voter Education Programme was provided to most first-time illiterate voters. The Programme was about the mechanisms of voting in democratic elections (Bratton and Posner, 1994). More than 19 million newly enfranchised citizens voted in the April, 1994 election. South Africa’s new democracy emerged victorious.

The 1994 elections showed the importance of Voter Education Programmes to whites, coloured and Indian voters. However, even more critical was the fact that the majority of black voters voted. Further, many South African voters were illiterate, had no previous experience in voting, with the exception of the small number of Africans who voted in ‘homeland’ elections. The elections were therefore, the first time that all South Africans took part in a unifying democratic process. Voter Education Programme was a key task in the democratic process. In explaining the importance of Voter Education succinctly, intensive and extensive work amongst
voters is the real building of democracy. For the first time, all South Africans were
informed of their choices and given the opportunity to go out and make their choice.
Mass Voter Education was instrumental in setting the climate for democratic
participation (IEC, 1994).

South Africa’s liberation struggle had been characterised by cycles of violence and
conflict that inevitably caused fears and scepticism about the electoral process.
Johnson and Schlemmer (1996) argue that the Voter Education Programme prior to
the election contained trust building measures as well as teaching the basics of
democracy and electoral procedure. They described the period that led up to the
elections as a social education process. The process had as its aim on the one hand
the electoral participation and electoral competence of all South Africans and on the
other attempted to create trust in the system.

Voter Education Programme achieved a number of key tasks, including educating the
electorate about the electoral process, motivating them to participate, and convincing
them of the secrecy of the vote (Poground, 1994). Voter Education virtually reached
all South Africans. The delivery model was based on the use of Non-Governmental
Organisations (NGOs) and Faith Based Organizations (FBO) that were trained by
Information, Education and Communication (IEC). A national curriculum for Voter
Education was developed. The curriculum was implemented by face-to-face
(workshops, door-to-door and one-on-one discussions). There were awareness
campaigns (taxi ranks and sporting events), Schools Voter Education Programmes
and Multi Media Education.

During South Africa’s first democratic elections, it was observed that what was
crucial to the process of democratisation was the question of access of Voter
Education in a doubly articulated form. As such, the South African Broadcasting Cooperation (SABC) and a range of organizations from the civil society partnered for the process of Voter Education Programme. The target audience was identified as all potential South African voters, with a special emphasis on women, youth, rural people and township and informal sector dwellers.

It is evident that the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) and the civil societies played a great role in Voter Education. The corporation aired Voter Education across the screens for South African voters. It is clear that their work was not under government restrictions which could have interfered with their work. However, the Zambian situation has been observed to have government influence on their Voter Education Programme without any input from the civil societies. Coliver and Merloe (1997) acknowledges that, in Zambia's 1991 elections, political advertising was not allowed which includes Voter Education. Much more, the government-controlled Zambian National Broadcasting Company (ZNBC) refused to air the opposition's advertisements, apparently on grounds that they violated advertising ethics and could put ZNBC at risk of an action for libel. As observed from the literature reviewed, political parties also play a significant role in providing Voter Education. Such censorship could hinder the success of Voter Education Programme and may cause less people to be reached with the Programme. Consequently, potential voters may not participate in elections. Coliver and Merloe (1997) further urge that three sectors of the population have critical free expression rights to consider in the electoral context in Voter Education Programme. The three sectors are potential voters as part of the general population, the news media, and the political forces that seek to compete for elected positions or otherwise to affect the
outcome of the vote. Voters, of course, depend upon the right to receive full and accurate information. The media depends on their right to question and criticize the government, the candidates, and the otherwise contending forces, free of censorship, intimidation or political pressures. The political parties and coalitions depend on the ability to present their messages freely without distortion or manipulation and with sufficient time for their messages to be understood. Additionally, democracy depends on all contesting points of view being fairly and equitably communicated so that the people may make informed choices. In this vein, it is certain from the literature reviewed that the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) does work with the media and civil societies. However, their efforts need to be intensified to ensure people understand electoral processes and participate in voting during elections. Further, ECZ must try to lessen government influence especially when they are working with media houses alongside organisations.

2.5 Implementing Voter Education Programme
The primary purpose of Voter Education Programme is to bring out capable, engaged citizens and specifically informed voters. Informed voting is for a voter to know the election candidates, policies and voting according to one’s own informed preferences.

Voter Education Programme is implemented by governments, constitutionally established bodies and the civil society. Voter Education Programme tends to sensitize the electorate by the use of various techniques which include lectures, rallies, workshops or seminars, music, dance, drama, role-plays, networking with stakeholders, use of media, films, documentaries, face to face interactions and materials such as posters, brochures, banners, leaflets and commercial advertising (Westheimer and Kahne, 2004).
It is true that government Institutions are mandated to conduct Voter Education Programmes. However, the government needs to be complimented by civil organisations and political parties. As such, Robert et al (2005) agree that greater levels of civic engagement might help to disseminate political information through social networks leading to more informed and interested voters. Civic engagement might also encourage individuals to participate in politics by leading them to have a greater sense of social responsibility, and make electoral participation more important to potential voters.

The programme can be implemented more effectively through the use of theatre in local languages and not only using the official language that has more available materials. In the case of Indonesia, Hillman (2011) states that, there were two main target groups of voters that required two different approaches. One technique aimed at voters with higher formal education and income levels and a more basic one aimed at lower-income and lesser-educated voters. The former targets included young or secondary-educated urban men, and the second group included rural women, the very poor, low-educated women, and non-Television (TV) viewers. The most efficient media or means of conveying Voter Education messages to reach the targets are television (TV), radio, religious organizations, neighbourhood associations or leaders, youth groups and places of worship. On the other hand, women, rural people, those with low income and low education and those without televisions are less certain about the future. Those are more occupied with the immediate in their concerns, unsure if they can speak out and more often have to cut back on necessities. Additionally, Evans (2003) stated that registration was an urgent Voter Education issue in 1999 in Indonesia. Priority target groups for registration information included students, under-25 of age, the high school educated, television
watchers, and the jobless. The election planned for that year enjoyed significantly more voter confidence than those of 1997.

The voter is the main actor in democracy. Hence, deliberate efforts by a country’s electoral body and the civil society must be tailored to motivate him to vote. The Voter Education Programme must be delivered in a language and manner that best fits the voter. However, it must maintain the message of encouraging the voter to vote with details of when and how to take part in elections. Chisinga (2006) states that Voter Education Programmes must reflect democratic content and approach. The programmes should, among other things, include citizen participation; how people relate to one another and their environment; cooperation and tolerance; and helping citizens to see themselves as agents of change.

Voter Education can be targeted on those people who are marginalised in society. Those maybe neglected and left out from the regular Voter Education Programme. The marginalised would include women, youths who would be first time voters and those in rural areas that may not have access to the media or modern technology. The Election Commission of Pakistan (2012) states that Voter Education Programme includes the education of future citizens, not just people who are already eligible to vote and can thus, be delivered in schools. However, from the literature reviewed of FODEP’s Voter Education Programme, it is clear that their Programme does not consciously target first time young voters. Foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP)’s Voter Education Programme apparently targets voters without special considerations. FODEP’s work with the University of Zambia does not give the impression that students were actively involved in their work of voter education. For instance, it was the University of Zambia, Department of Political and Administrative Studies (UNZA-PAS) and the Foundation for Democratic Process
(FODEP) that conducted an assessment. The assessment determined the extent to which Zambia has achieved the democratic ideals in both politics and society, and most importantly, for continued development, and to provide recommendations. It is clear that the Department and FODEP did not involve students in their research. However, if the students participated it should have been in the data collection and not them being a part of that whole research process (FODEP and UNZA-PAS 2011). Voter Education Programme must appeal to the voter on their urgency and desperate need to vote in elections. Since every vote counts, it would be crucial to follow voters and give them the programme within their comfort. Educational Institutions can learn best from entertainment theatre that can teach Voter Education Programmes. Such initiatives can help reach first time voters who are young.

2.5.1 Importance of Voter Education Programme
Voter Education Programme ensures that voters are motivated and prepared to exercise their voting and political will by voting during elections. If voters are not prepared or motivated to participate in the electoral process, then questions may begin to arise about the legitimacy, representativeness and responsiveness of elected leaders and institutions.

Voter Education Programme avails citizens with voting information that shows them the advantages and disadvantages of voting. The pride of any democratically elected government is enhanced when the voter turnout grows close to 100%. This can only happen if voter apathy is reduced through Voter Education Programme (ECK, 2007). Additionally, Voter Education Programme helps prevent messages that can promote conflicts during and after elections. Furthermore, Voter Education reassures the public that the personal safety of voters will be maintained on the Election Day. The Education also includes information on electoral crimes and avenues for seeking
redress to reduce the incidence of, or attempts at, voter intimidation (Coliver and Merloe, 1997). Elections are political and it is possible for people to lose their temper and engage in violence. Thus, the assurance that Voter Education Programme brings can guarantee voters of their safety and encourages them to participate in elections freely.

The Electoral Commission of Zambia (2014) states that Voter Education is vital for the citizenry if they are to know their political rights. The absence of Voter Education has had negative effects on the citizenry as they did not have the knowledge necessary for them to use when voting for their national representatives. The more people know about Voter Education programme, the more likely they are expected to participate in elections by voting. To this end, Coley and Sum (2012) argue that the lack of civic knowledge provides ample concern for the future of our democracy, as it has an effect on civic participation as voting. Similarly, Galston (2004) argues that civic knowledge promotes support for democratic values and political influence. He advances the point that people who are more knowledgeable in civic issues are more likely to take part in civic and political affairs as well as less likely to have a generalized mistrust and fear of public life. Acknowledging and responding toward the role that Voter Education Programme plays is important in democracy. It is also significant to diligently enhance efforts toward the Education.

Voter Education Programme assists the election administration in its task of delivering a free, fair, efficient and cost-effective election. It encompasses the basic voter information that every voter must have in order to arrive prepared at the voting station and vote on set voting days. Voter education sensitises the electorate on the importance of participating in elections. Voter Education Programme also provides the background, attitudes, behaviour, and knowledge amongst citizens that stimulate
and consolidate democracy. During an election, this education ensures effective organisation and activism by citizens in support of parties and/or causes, behaviour by citizens that is appropriate to a peaceful election, acceptance of the results, and tolerance of competition and opposition (ACE 1999 to 2013).

Lessons were learnt for the study from India which has the largest democracy system in the world. The Electoral Commission in Zambia prepares for the election process by intensive registration where house-to-house enumeration is done. The electorates residing in each house are registered by official numerators who go physically from door-to-door to collect the information about electors. This prepares people for the upcoming elections. However, this maybe more practical for Zambia as they are less people in Zambia compared to India. Hence, Zambian electorates can also be followed to their door steps for Voter Education. The right to vote, and more importantly the exercise of franchise by the eligible citizens, is at the heart of every democracy. People, through this exercise of their right to vote, have the ultimate power to shape the destiny of the country by electing representatives who run the government and take decisions for the growth, development and benefit of all the citizens.

According to Dalton (1988) “citizen involvement in the political process is essential for democracy to be viable and meaningful” (p. 35). Hence, voters must be reached at almost any cost for democracy to thrive.

2. 6 Challenges of Voter Education Programme
Civil societies, like Foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP), Anti-Voter Apathy Project (AVAP), Zambia National Women’s Lobby (ZNWLG), Zambia Civic Education Association (ZCEA) and Southern African Centre for Constructive Resolution for Disputes (SACCORD) play a great role in the economy, cultural and
political affairs of any given nation. However, they have bottlenecks in their service delivery. In terms of voter education, those civil society organisations in Zambia compliment the work of the Electoral Commission of Zambia. They also implement other programmes in-line with human rights and democracy. The organisations implement different programmes and techniques as they provide voter education. Voter Education Programmes come along with challenges that can be overcome by implementers if they have planned and prepared well. Among the challenges include poor planning, inadequate and lack of ample time, culture, religion and comprehension of the programme by the implementers. Another challenge of Voter Education Programme is that of lack of finances.

Voter Education Programme is a huge task to be carried out by one body or institution. It requires huge sums of money therefore, stakeholders that advocate for human rights and democracy need to work together to accomplish the programme. Implementers usually have inadequate time to design and execute an effective Voter Education Programme throughout the country (ECK, 2007). As a result, it becomes difficult for the implementers including the Foundation for Democratic Process to conduct an efficient and effective programme.

First time voters, including youths comprise eligible voters. The new voters may sometimes be elderly people that had never participated in voting. If those new voters are not targeted with Voter Education Programme, an overall democratic victory is not guaranteed in elections. Others that may also threaten democracy if not properly reached are people with disabilities. People with disabilities face special challenges in trying to register and thus fail to turn out to vote on the Election Day. Thus, the new voters and those with disabilities may often not exercise their right to vote if the Voter Education Programme has not prepared and motivated them to vote.
Ethnic, religious and other minorities often face obstacles from the dominant majority and others to exercise their right to vote freely. Finally, reaching out to male voters becomes important. This not only encourages them to participate in election. It also plays an instrumental role in facilitating/obstructing the involvement of female, elderly, youth and other members of their families and communities in electoral processes (Election Commission of Pakistan, 2012).

Voter Education Programme promotes voter awareness which is vital for participation in voting during elections. There is a need to address the decreasing voter turn-out which negatively affects democracy. People usually do not participate in voting due to disappointment arising from the poor performance of the previous governments. FODEP (2008) observed that the widespread voter apathy experienced during the 2008 presidential elections was also due to lack of adequate voter education prior to elections in Zambia. It was noted that high attendance at political campaign rallies did not correspond to voter turnout on the voting day. This means that political campaigns as they are called did not concentrate on Voter Education. As such, Voter Education Programme should not be left to the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) and the civil society. Political parties and other stakeholders in Zambia must help overcome voter apathy in the country.

Crewe et al (1992) defines apathy as a lack of feeling of personal responsibility, a passivity and indifference for political affairs. However, other factors such as bereavement, sickness and relocating cause people not to participate, which are not necessarily voter apathy.
Lack of adequate civic and voter education has also contributed to the sharp decline in voter turnout (Magolowondo, 2003 and NICE, 2005). Abudu and Fuseini (2014) have as well indicated that presently there is a drop in people’s engagement in civic and political activities in many countries worldwide. In addition, Delli and Keeter (1996) reiterated that the lack of civic knowledge in form of Voter Education has contributed to more limited civic involvement in key domains like voting. Lack of Voter education Programme negatively affects democracy as people remain ignorant and fail to exercise their rights to vote. “Without democrats, there can be no democracy“ – the words of Friedrich Ebert(1871-1925), Germany’s first democratically elected President, who experienced the turmoil of Germany’s Weimar Republic. This means that without voters, or without a sufficient turnout, there can be no true elections that would reflect people’s preferences. INEC and FES (2011) explain that high voter turnout not only makes the result of an election more credible.

Additionally, high voter turnout also deters criminals from hijacking or sabotaging the electoral process, guaranteeing more impartiality and fairness. It increases the pressure on elected officials to live up to campaign promises (PIB, 2014).

Voter Education Programmes (VEPs) is what gives people the zeal and energy to participate in the voting process. Nevertheless, there is usually less Voter Education Programme to prepare and encourage people to go and vote. For instance, Chisinga (2006) affirms that there is very little, if any, civic and voter education in between elections yet continuous civic and voter education is vital in the concerted efforts to promote active citizenship necessary for the people to meaningfully engage with the
political process. The challenges of Voter Education Programme show that the success of the programme can help prevent apathy and promote democratic elections. The impact of Voter education programme can only be measured against the rise of voter turnout. Civil organisations and the Electoral Commission of Zambia should therefore, increase their efforts and make deliberate efforts to ensure that youths and those that are marginalised receive the Programme repeatedly. This will help enhance democracy in Zambia as more people will vote as informed citizens.

2.7 Summary of Chapter two

Elections are fundamental in a democratic country. Citizens have a chance of choosing who will represent them in government through elections. Nonetheless, citizens need education that will support that election process. Thus, Voter Education Programme is essential for democracy to succeed. For this cause, an assessment of the impact of Voter Education Programme conducted by the Electoral Commission of Zambia and some civil societies.

Thus in this chapter we looked at the theoretical framework and reviewed literature of the research. The theoretical framework gave the study meaning and basis for understanding on how research was strengthened. Jurgen’s Critical theory was the theoretical framework that was used. The theory shows that people need to acquire education that can help them decide independently and be able to solve their problems individually. In this case, the framework supported an education system for people to learn and be able to go and vote from an informed point of view.

Literature was also reviewed in this chapter which showed how Voter Education Programme is implemented. The literature review also explained which people are usually left out and how they can be included in the programme. The literature
further highlighted the gaps in Voter Education in FODEP’s Voter Education Programme, the challenges and how they can be resolved.
CHAPTER THREE
METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction
A research methodology is a way of systematically solving research problems. University of Bradford (2007) defines research methodology as the only way to apply the various specific tools or ways data can be collected and analysed. Examples of those specifics include questionnaires, interview checklists and data analysis software. Comparably, Collis and Hussey (2003, p.55) refer to methodology as the overall approaches and perspectives to the research. They further add that, methodology as a process as a whole is concerned with the way data is collected, what data is collected, where it is collected, how it is collected and finally analysed. Covered in the methodology for this study, are rationales for the research design, study population, research instruments and procedures for collecting and analysing data. Therefore, this chapter shows how the researcher entered the field to collect data, population of the study, population sample, methods that were used to collect and analyse data and ethics in this research.

3.2 Research design
A research design is the process that involves the overall assumptions of research up to the method of data collection and analysis (Creswell, 2009). The research design must be one that fits into the research from the research questions to the analysis of the data collected. The research design helps to plan in detail how to answer the research questions. Yin (1989) states that a research design deals with a logical problem and not logistical problem. Similarly, Polit and Hungler (1999:155) describe a research design as a blueprint, or outline, for conducting the study in such a way
that maximum control will be exercised over factors that could interfere with the validity of the research results.

For this research, the research design chosen was suitable for the objectives of the research so that the research questions could be answered. The descriptive research design which employed both qualitative and quantitative research was applied.

A descriptive research design is usually structured and specifically designed to measure the characteristics described in research questions (Hair, et al 2011). Hence, this research that looked at the impact of Voter Education Programme needed a design that would look at a programme and consider its characteristics. As such, a descriptive research design which attempts to describe systematically a situation, problem, phenomenon, service or programme, or provides information about, say, living conditions of a community, or describes attitudes towards an issue was selected (Kumar, 2005).

Combining qualitative and quantitative methods is called mixed method or triangulation. Onwuegbuzie and Leech (2006) explain that mixed method research involves collecting, analyzing, and interpreting quantitative and qualitative data in a single study or in a series of studies that investigate the same underlying phenomenon. Qualitative data involves detailed, verbal descriptions of characteristics while quantitative data is about numbers. While quantitative research is designed to study variables that can be measured. Thus, Cohen et al. (2007) say that, when both qualitative and quantitative techniques are used, the researcher is given an opportunity to validate the findings of the study. To give full and clear explanations of the given study, it was foreseen that combining quantitative and qualitative research designs was the best way to achieve these.
The research design allowed the research to understand Voter Education Programme, how the programme can help the electorates participate in elections and use the knowledge gained for his life decisions.

3.3 Study population
Polit and Hungler (1999:43, 232) define a study population or universe population as the totality of all subjects that conform to a set of specifications, comprising the entire group of persons that is of interest to the researcher and to whom the research results can be generalised. In a related manner, Salant and Dillman (1994) describe the population in a study as a group of experimental data or persons. With the definitions given, the population of this study was 158 participants. The civil society in Lusaka for this study included Foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP), Anti-Voter Apathy Project (AVAP), Zambia National Women’s Lobby Group (ZNWLG) and Southern African Centre for Constructive Resolution for Disputes (SACCORD). The 150 participants were served with semi-structured questionnaires and were involved in Focus Group discussions (FGDs). The eight officials from ECZ and the civil society that implement VEPs responded to an interview guide to obtain data. Furthermore, 3 participants came from officials from ECZ, 2 from FODEP and 3 from AVAP, SACCORD and ZNWL one from each organisation respectively.

3.4 Sample and Sampling Procedure
Sampling techniques are methods used to draw samples from a population usually in such manner that will facilitate determination of some hypothesis concerning the population. Sampling is deciding who will participate in a study. Sampling is a procedure where a fraction of the data is taken from a large set of data, and the inference drawn from the sample is extended to the whole group (Cochran, 1953 – 1963).
A sample is taken from the universe population of a study. If the sample is adequate it has the same characteristics as those of the universe population (Zikmund, 2003). Field (2009) also adds that the findings from the universe population can be used to make conclusions. Further, Haber (1998:250) describes a sample as a portion or a subset of the research population selected to participate in a study, representing the research population.

Sampling methodologies are classified under two general categories which are Probability Sampling and Non-probability Sampling. The three types of non-probability samples include convenience sampling, quota sampling and judgmental or purposive sampling. Whereas four basic types of sampling are used for conducting probability samples which consist of simple random, stratified, cluster and systematic sampling (Fairfax County, 2012).

A purposive sample refers to the selection of units based on personal judgement rather than randomization (ILO, 2009). Additionally, Fairfax County (2012) describes judgmental or purposive sampling as one where the researcher employs his expert judgment about who to include in the sample frame. Prior knowledge and research skill are used in selecting the respondents or elements to be sampled.

Cochran (1953 – 1963) states that snowball sampling identifies one person who meets the criteria for inclusion in the study. In purposive sampling, sampling is done with a purpose in mind. Usually there are one or more specific predefined groups that are sought. The researcher knows what he wants hence, it is sampling with a purpose, (Cochran, 1953 – 1963). In general, there has been an understanding among authors of statistical books that the larger the sample size greater than 50 participants the more it is appropriate to analyze the data quantitatively (Pallant, 2006). Further, Hair (2006) suggested that a sample larger than 100 is sufficient for quantitative analysis.
Therefore, this study collected data from 158 participants. Eight (8) Voter Education (VE) officials that implement VE were from the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) and civil society officials. 3 officials came from ECZ with 1 of them from Lusaka City Council who manages VEPs on ECZ’s behalf. One official came from Anti-Voter Apathy Project (AVAP), 2 from foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP), 1 from Zambia National Women’s Lobby Group (ZNWLG) and 1 from Southern African Centre for Constructive Resolution for Disputes (SACCORD). While 150 participants were those that had been trained by either ECZ or the civil society.

The study employed purposive and snowball sampling. The purposive sampling was used for implementers of Voter Education Programme. Purposive sampling was preferred for 8 officials from ECZ, FODEP, AVAP, ZNWLG and SACCORD. This was because precise information details of the Programme that implementers provided had to be collected from them. Snowball sampling was used for 150 people that were trained by either ECZ or by one of the civil organisations mentioned above. The participants that were trained in Voter Education had contacts with other participants that they had been trained with. As such, it became a chain to collect data from the trainees and thus, snowball sampling was applied.

3.5 Research instruments
Data collection instruments refer to devices used to collect data such as questionnaires, tests, structured interview schedules and checklists (Seaman 1991:42). Instrumentation refers to the tools or means by which investigators attempt to measure variables or items of interest in the data-collection process. The instrument is the device used by investigators for collecting data. For this study, the researcher used semi –structured questionnaires, focus group discussions and
interview guide. Polit and Hungler (1997:466) define a questionnaire as “a method of gathering information from respondents about attitudes, knowledge, beliefs and feelings”. Meanwhile the purpose of a focus group is to gather information, not to make a decision or complete a task (Rennekamp and Nall, 2000). Focus groups are used to gather the information needed for decision-making or guiding action such as voting. Questionnaires give information that provides evidence on patterns while interviews give more in-depth insight on actions. Participants who were trained by ECZ and the civil society were interviewed using semi-structured questionnaires and focus group discussions. Meanwhile, the officials from ECZ and the civil society were interviewed using an interview guide. This was because the information collected from addressed similar concerns about Voter Education Programme (VEP), voting, challenges and solutions in VEPs.

3.6 Data collection procedure
The researcher firstly got a letter from the Directorate of Research and Graduate Studies (DRGS) to be introduced in the field and the study. Hence, when the researcher entered the field introductions of the researcher, the study and the school were made. Consent was sought from the respondents prior to data collection. Further, Polit and Hungler (1999:267) define data as “information obtained during the course of an investigation or study”.

Data collection Instruments
Data collection instruments are devices used to collect data such as questionnaires, tests, structured interview schedules and checklists (Seaman 1991:42). This study used an interview guide, focus group discussions and questionnaires. Collecting data on Voter Education Programme included both primary and secondary data. Secondary information came from books, journals, election commission’s
publications and the internet. While primary information came from questionnaires, focus group discussions and interviews.

3. 7 Data analysis
Data analysis procedure is the helping hand that leads to data analysis. Data analysis instruments are devices used to give meaning to the collected data. Data analysis is a mechanism for reducing and organising data to produce findings that require interpretation by the researcher (Burns & Grove 2003). Data analysis for this study included analysing data which was narrative and data that was statistical. The triangulated data was a combination of qualitative and quantitative data which was analysed separately and differently. Numeric data (quantitative data) was analysed using the Social Statistical Package (SPSS) to generate frequencies. While data that was qualitative was analysed manually by putting together common explanations and trends into themes. In this regard, Patton and Cochran (2007) state that thematic analysis is one that looks across all the data to identify the common issues that recur, and identify the main themes that summarise all the views collected. Qualitative data analysis is a very personal process with few rigid rules and procedures. For this purpose, the researcher went through a process called content analysis. Content analysis means analysis of the contents of an interview in order to identify the main themes that emerge from the responses given by the respondents.

3.8 Ethic considerations
Creswell (2002) states that the required procedure before data collection involves gaining the permission from individuals in authority (such as gatekeepers) to provide access to study participants. This often involves writing a letter that identifies how long the interview would take, the potential impact, and the outcomes of the research.
The researcher had to give respect to the participants during data collection. Moreover, the researcher also did not have to put participants at risk and had to respect vulnerable populations (Sieber, 1998). Participants were told of their right to participate voluntarily and the right to withdraw at any time, so that they are not being coerced into participating. As such, consent was sought from the participants and they were assured of their privacy being protected before any data was collected. In reference to this, McNamara (1994) identifies five ethical concerns to be considered when conducting survey research. These guidelines deal with voluntary participation, no harm to respondents, anonymity and confidentiality, identifying purpose and sponsor, and analysis and reporting. They are methods, procedures or perspectives for deciding how to act and analyze complex problems and issues.

3.9 Summary
This chapter looked at how the researcher prepared and entered the field. The research design and why it was chosen for the study. The chapter also looked at population and sample of the population. The methods that were used in data collection and analysis of data.
CHAPTER FOUR
PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

4.1 Introduction
This chapter explains the demographic nature of the respondents and presents findings of the study on the assessment of Voter Education Programme in Lusaka. The chapter also, gives the views of the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) and the civil society on how they carry out the programme and the summary of the chapter.

The findings of the study were established from the following research questions:

a. what Voter Education programmes are conducted by ECZ and civil societies?

b. How is Voter Education Programme implemented by ECZ and civil societies?

c. What challenges does ECZ and civil societies encounter in their attempt to sensitize voters?

4.2 Voter Education Programmes that are conducted by the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) and the Civil Society
In order to respond to the research question which sought to identify the Voter Education Programmes that ECZ and civil societies conduct, a question to identify the programmes was asked. The ECZ is mandated by the government of Zambia to carry out the Voter Education Programme (VEP) while the civil society compliments ECZ’s work. To respond to the first question of what type of activities ECZ and the Civil Society conducts information was collected from the people who were trained and the implementers of VEP. Table 1 shows the programmes that ECZ and the Civil Society conduct.
Table 1. Types of VEPs conducted by ECZ and the civil society.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trainer</th>
<th>Seminar</th>
<th>Workshop</th>
<th>Drama performances</th>
<th>Posters and fliers</th>
<th>Media-radio programmes</th>
<th>Community mobilization</th>
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<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
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<td>% of Total</td>
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4.2.1 Findings from participants who were trained by either ECZ or the Civil Society

To evaluate Voter Education Programmes (VEPs) conducted by the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) and the Civil Society in Lusaka, 150 participants that they had been trained in VEP were asked to identify the programmes they conduct. The information that those participants gave was quantitative. The 150 participants were asked to state the types of Voter Education Programmes (VEPs) they had
participated in. From the findings in Table 1, 28 (18.7%) participants were trained through workshops and 35 (23.4%) participants received VEPs training through seminars. This established that (42.1%) which is 63 types of VEP that organisations use for Voter Education training are in a formal way. It was also established that majority (42.1% = 63) of the techniques used to conduct VEPs are workshops and seminars. The formal way of conducting VEP was (42.1%) equal to 63 people out of the 150 participants who received that type of Voter Education Programme (VEP). Further, posters and fliers comprised (10%) that is 16 participants being reached through posters. This implies that, 79 (52.8%) participants received VEP through means that required literacy. One participant said that: the type of VEPs provided by the organisation that trained her was only for educated people. She said that: VEPs were for the literates who are found in low density areas and the students at higher Institutions of learning.

Table 1 shows Voter Education Programmes (VEPs) conducted by Anti-Voter Apathy Project (AVAP) and Southern African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (SACCORD) VEP requires one’s ability to read and understand. Those programmes are seminars, workshops and posters.

However, other types of VEPs techniques employed required people to demonstrate the content on their own. One respondent that was trained by the Zambia National Women’s Lobby Group (ZNWLG) stated that: the type of Voter Education I received was one in which I participated in. He said that: we were asked to dramatise the message in the best way that our friends and relatives were able to understand.
Among such programmes that participants got involved in included meetings in churches, at market places, clinics and drama.

Furthermore, the research discovered that radio programmes on VEP were also conducted only by the civil society as indicated in Table 1. The ECZ does not conduct any VEP using any electronic media.

Table 1 also shows that ECZ and the civil society complement each other. It has been established from Table 1 that there are some particular activities that were done by particular organisations. For example, Southern African Centre for Constructive Resolution for Disputes (SACCORD) does not conduct Voter Education Programme in flipcharts, posters and does not conduct any drama performances.

In responding to the question about the types of Voter Education Programmes that AVAP conducts, one participant that was trained by AVAP said that: AVAP has centres that have voter education books. These centres are situated along Cairo Road, in Madevu, Kayama and Chawama.

It is clear from Table 1 that some organisations like Zambia National Women’s Lobby Group (ZNWLG) and Foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP) don’t conduct VEP through posters.

The information given in Table 1 was from participants who were either trained by ECZ or the civil society. Their information was in response to question one which sought to identify the types of activities that ECZ and the civil society in Lusaka conducts for VEP.

4.2.2 Findings of the Types of Voter Education Programmes (VEPs) conducted. Qualitative data was collected from the implementers of voter education to respond to question one as well. To evaluate VEP conducted by ECZ and the civil Society,
the implementers of the programmes were asked to identify the programmes they conduct. It was revealed that ECZ and the civil society conduct seminars, workshops, stick posters and community mobilisation programmes. However, some activities are peculiar to certain organisations only. Among the types of VEP that are done by particular organisations include radio productions, drama, distribution of VEP materials, working in collaboration with schools to train pupils and through the use the Public Address (PA) system.

It was revealed that the Anti-Voter Apathy Project (AVAP) has voter education centres. This was confirmed by an implementer from AVAP that reported that the organisation has information centres. He said: people learn a lot from the centres about VE. Not only does the organisation provide books but also platforms where people can come discuss their problems. We have a day when women go to the centres not only to learn about VEP, good governance and democracy but also share ideas, problems and solutions. He said: women learn better and are free when they are no men around. And that they would not be very good citizens if all they learnt was merely voter education or political participation without them finding solutions to their problems.

On the hand, all civil society organisations in Lusaka that provided voter education through electronic media use radio programmes. However, the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) did not conduct radio programmes or use any type of media to conduct VEP. To this end, an implementer from ECZ stated that: the Commission at the moment does not conduct any VEP using the media.

Nevertheless, ECZ and FODEP were the only ones that conducted Voter Education Programme (VEP) via school clubs though they used different strategies. ECZ
trained pupils from their centre at the show grounds while FODEP trained pupils from their schools by allowing them to engage in debate.

Two implementers of VEP from SACCORD clearly stated that: *our organisation does not replicate the activities of ECZ in terms of Voter Education Programme. The organisation only compliments the works of ECZ. Therefore, SACCORD does not carry out Voter Education Programme in a dramatised way. ECZ is the one that conducts Voter Education Programme (VEP) using drama, flipcharts and posters.* In a nutshell, SACCORD’s work is meant to compliment ECZ and not to replicate their work.

**4.2.3 Summary of findings from research question number one (1).**

The first research question has been answered by identifying the types of Voter Education Programmes that ECZ and the Civil Society conducts. 150 participants that were trained by either ECZ or the civil society identified the VEPs they conduct. ECZ and the civil society also identified the types of VE they conduct. It was established from the data collected that the identified types of VEP constitute of seminars, workshops, drama, radio productions, distribution of VEP materials, posters and community mobilisation programmes as shown in table 1 above. SACCORD complements ECZ and as such did not conduct VEP via drama, posters and flip charts that ECZ used.

**4.3 How Voter Education Programmes are implemented by the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) and the civil society.**

To decipher the answer to the second research question on how ECZ and the civil society conduct Voter Education Programmes (VEPs), the implementers and participants were asked to explain the programmes that were used to conduct VEP. The Voter Education Programmes are implemented differently by the organisations that conduct them. 150 participants were asked to explain how the VEP activities are
conducted through semi-structured questionnaires. While implementers of VEP were also asked to explain how they conduct VEP through an interview guide. Table 2 below shows the activities that are undertaken to implement VEP. The data collected from 150 participants was both quantitative and qualitative. While the data collected from ECZ and the civil society was qualitative only.
Table 2 Activities conducted to implement VEP in Lusaka.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trainer</th>
<th>Drama Count</th>
<th>Drama % of Total</th>
<th>Seminars Count</th>
<th>Seminars % of Total</th>
<th>School clubs Count</th>
<th>School clubs % of Total</th>
<th>Meetings through churches, markets and clinics Count</th>
<th>Meetings through churches, markets and clinics % of Total</th>
<th>PA system announcements Count</th>
<th>PA system announcements % of Total</th>
<th>Distribution of materials Count</th>
<th>Distribution of materials % of Total</th>
<th>Media Count</th>
<th>Media % of Total</th>
<th>Total Count</th>
<th>Total % of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ECZ</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9.3%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FODEP</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>14.0%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>14.7%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>40.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZNWLG</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>12.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SACCORD</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>12.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVAP</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>25.3%</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9.3%</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11.3%</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3.1 Findings from participants on how VEPs are conducted by ECZ and the Civil Society.

To respond to question two on what type of activities are implemented by the ECZ and the civil society to conduct Voter Education Programme (VEP), 150 were asked to name and explain the type of VEP they had received. Table 2 above shows that the types of VEP conducted by the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) and civil society in Lusaka as identified by the participants they had trained. The Voter Education Programmes (VEPs) identified as being conducted are drama, seminars, school clubs, meetings, through the use of Public Address (PA) systems and distribution of VEP materials.
Table 2 shows that ECZ and the civil society reached out to 17 (11.3%) participants through drama, 16 (10.7%) participants through seminars, 8 (5.3%) participants through school clubs, 38 (25.3%) through meetings, 8 (5.3%) participants through announcements using the Public Address (PA) system, 14 (9.3%) through the distribution of (VEP) materials, 17 (11.3%) participants through the media and 33 (22%) were taught in a formal way. It was generally agreed by participants that they had received VEP through some teachings. Majority (93 = 61.3%) participants noted they trained through workshops, flip charts and posters or seminars. Such activities are only successful if participants are literate, as they require participants to read or understand the lessons. In view of this, a participant stated that: *the training does not even take long maybe a class of two to three hours. In such classes we are taught about Voter Education (VE)*. Another participant added on how the classes are conducted through the use of posters. He stated that: *I was taught VEP in just a half day seminar were we were shown how to vote.*

The findings revealed that school clubs and announcements through the use of PA system both reached 8 (5.3%) each. The participants (8 = 5.3%) reported that they had received VEPs by either school clubs or through announcements from the PA system. Meanwhile, majority participants (38 = 25.3%) received VEP through meetings alone. From the findings the overall majority (93 = 61%) received VEP through workshops, seminars, distribution of VEP materials and flip charts. Other VEPs participants received through radio programmes, drama and announcements via PA systems. Furthermore, the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) and Foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP) conduct Voter Education Programmes (VEPs) in schools as is evidenced in Table 2 though they use different techniques.
4.3.2 Findings from ECZ and the Civil Society on how they implement VEP.
To find out what types of activities that ECZ and the civil society conducts to implement VEP, implementers from the organisations were asked to explain how they implement VEP. Implementers responded by listing and explaining the activities use to conduct VEP. It was discovered that Foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP) and Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) conduct VEP by means of school clubs through the use of different strategies. In this vein, an implementer from ECZ stated that: 

**ECZ has a centre in the Lusaka show grounds that is open to the general public for Voter Education (VE). It is to such a centre that pupils are taken to learn about various aspects of Voter Education Programme (VEP).**

While a FODEP implementer expressed that: 

**FODEP conducts VEP activities by allowing pupils to form debate groups where they share and debate on Voter Education.**

An implementer from the ECZ also added that: 

**the Commission was working with the University of Zambia through the University of Zambia Youths of United Nation Association (UNZAUN) in training students on VE.**

Additionally, an official from ECZ stated that: 

**they conduct their programmes at times by going through the communities proclaiming messages on voter education through the use of a PA system.** Similarly, one of ECZ’s facilitators said that they: 

**we drive around the communities making announcements through loud microphones about voter education.**

Foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP) also implements VEP through the use of the PA system.

Additionally, it must be noted that ECZ may have reached more people if they had trained more facilitators to go in the field to train participants. However, ECZ only has two facilitators in each ward who conduct VEP on their behalf. Unlike ECZ, the civil society conducts VEP on their own through their members of staff who run the
VEP projects. The civil society’s staff members conduct training and keep records of participants they train for their organisations. Nonetheless, ECZ recruits facilitators through the Lusaka City Council. Those facilitators are tasked to reach at least every eligible voter in each ward and they do not keep their records of the people. Further, ECZ places more value on ensuring eligible voters receive VEP than keeping records of the eligible voters. Additionally, ECZ facilitators move from house to house, churches, market places, clinics and any other public fora without keeping records. An official from ECZ stated that: *ECZ has two facilitators in every ward that carry out VEP on their behalf.*

Voter Education Programmes (VEPs) are as well conducted through the distribution of Voter Education materials 14 (9.3%) as indicated in Table 2. One implementer from SACCORD stated that: *we sometimes go in the field wearing T-shirts that have VEP messages on them while distributing handbills and fliers containing detailed information about VEP.*

4.3.3 Summary of findings on research two
The second research question was answered by looking at the types of activities that ECZ and the civil society in Lusaka conduct in implementing Voter Education Programmes (VEPs). Participants that ECZ and the civil society had trained and the organisations both named and described the types of VEPs that are conducted. The activities include the use of the radio programmes, drama, working with school clubs, seminars, teachings, distribution of VEP materials and the use of PA system in making announcements for VEP.
4.4.1 Language used to implement Voter Education.

For training to take place there should be a language to be used as a medium of communication. As such, the implementers and participants were asked to mention the language(s) used when conducting and receiving the programme respectively. Table 3 below shows the languages that were used in implementing VEP.

Table 3 Common Languages used to implement Voter Education Programmes (VEP).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tonga</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyanja</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bemba</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>88.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.4.1 Findings from participants on the languages used to implement VEP

Majority participants indicated that they received the programme in English that is 133 from 150. Table 3 shows that majority participants (133 = 88.7%) received VEP in English. While minority participants (17 = 11.3%) received Voter Education Programme in some Zambian local languages as indicated in Table 3. Participants who received VEP in Nyanja were 11 (7.3%), 3 (2.0%) in Bemba and another 3 (2.0%) in Tonga. In view of this, one participant from ECZ stated that: the organisation should not be employing young facilitators who don’t even know how to speak local languages. Those young people only follow what is in the book they can’t explain it in their local languages or give real life examples. Another participant added that:
ECZ’s training materials and other VEP information should be translated into local languages as many people are unable to understand them.

4.4.2 Findings from ECZ and the Civil Society on the languages used to implement VEP
Implementers of VEP from ECZ and the civil society were asked what language they use to implement VEP. It was generally agreed among the implementers that most of their Voter Education Programmes (VEPs) were conducted in English. To confirm this, one implementer from the Zambia National Women Lobby Group (ZNWLG) said that: *most of the trainings we carry out are conducted in English since most VEP materials are in English.* Other implementers however, stated that at times they include local languages. Further, different languages are used often to conduct VEP in different gatherings and social contexts. Implementers mentioned that in community meetings such as churches, markets and clinics local languages are used to conduct VEP. This was further confirmed by an implementer from Anti-Voter Apathy (AVAP) who said: *local languages were used in big gatherings where people are from different educational backgrounds such as churches and market places.*

4.4.3 Summary of the language used to implement VEP
It was agreed by participants and organisations that English was the prominent language used for training. Majority participants (133 = 88.7%) noted that they received VEP in English. However, minority participants (17 = 11.3%) reported that they had received VEP through local languages. The implementers of VEP also reported that they usually use English because of the VEP materials are produced in English. The implementers also did state that they sometimes use local languages when they are conducting VEP meetings such as clinics, markets and churches.
4.5 The preferred duration for Voter Education Programme.
Participants were also asked how long they would like Voter Education Programme (VEP) to be provided to them to obtain both qualitative and quantitative data. Additionally, the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) and civil society were also asked how long they conduct their training for VEP. Table 4 below shows the duration of VEP training used by the (ECZ) and the civil society.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Continuously</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quarterly</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twice a year</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Six months</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once per year</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Election Year</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No need for training</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.5.1 Findings of the preferred duration for training VEP from participants
Majority participants (79 = 53%) indicated that they would like voter education to be an ongoing exercise. Some participants (14 = 9%) stated that they did not need any VEP training. On the contrary, one participant that was trained by the Anti-Voter Apathy Project (AVAP) said that: since Zambia is a democratic country, voter education must be provided infinitely because elections are always with us. Another participant also reported that: some of us are old and our memories are not very good in remembering things. So, if voter education is not there to remind us of what to do and when. We will forget all they teach us and they have to come and start again.

Conversely, other participants stated that they would like Voter Education Programme to be conducted once per year were 19 (13%); four times (quarterly) per year 14 (9%); those for six months were 11 (7%), those for twice in a year were 8
(5%) and during the election year 5(3%). Suffice to say; only five (3%) participants wanted the voter education exercise to be conducted in the year of election. However, only 14 (9 %) from 150 participants stated that they wouldn’t like to be offered the Voter Education Programme.

It is clear from Table 4 that there is need for Voter Education Programmes (VEPs) to be provided to the people, though 14 people from 150 participants stated that they had no need for it.

4.5.1 Findings of the duration VEP training from the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) and the civil society

The ECZ and civil society were asked how long they take to conduct voter education. They both had four hours as shortest duration they had conducted Voter Education Programmes (VEPs). Nevertheless, ECZ and the civil Society stated that they would prefer carrying out VEP continuously given available and adequate resources. However, it was only an implementer from Southern African Centre for Constructive Resolution for Disputes (SACCORD) that indicated that they had not carried out VEP since 2013. Further, ECZ and the other civil society stated they had been conducting VEP in different intervals. An official from ECZ stated that it is only at the show grounds that VEP is conducted continuously. While Foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP), Anti-Voter Apathy Project (AVAP) and Zambia National Women’s Lobby Group (ZNWLG) reported that their VEP was a continuous exercise that sometimes takes weeks.

4.5.2 Summary of preferred duration for conducting voter education

The implementers and participants of Voter Educators were both of the view of that there was a need for continuous VEP. Majority participants (79 = 52%) reported that they would like to receive voter education continuously. Meanwhile, minority (14 =9.7%) participants indicated that they had no need for VEP. Further, it was
revealed from both that VE is usually short taking three hours sometimes. However, the implementers stated that VE at times takes weeks which was not agreeing with the data collected from participants who claimed the longest training took three days.

4.6 Challenges that the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) faces during their Voter Education Programme

In answering the third and final research question, the researcher sought to find out the challenges that ECZ and civil societies faced during the implementation of their Voter Education Programme (VEP). 150 Participants that were trained by ECZ and the civil society were asked through semi-structured questionnaires what challenges the organisations that trained them faced. ECZ and civil society VEP implementers were also asked what challenges they face when sensitising people on VEP. Table 5 below shows the challenges ECZ and the civil society face in Lusaka in implementing Voter Education Programme.

Table 5. Challenges ECZ and the civil society encounter in VEP provision.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Challenges</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inadequate funds</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political violence</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People wanting to be paid</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inadequate support from stakeholders</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posters are removed</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Climate change</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police’s unprofessional behaviour</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Periodic trainings not effective</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.6.1 Findings on the challenges of implementing VEP from the participants

To answer the fourth question for this research, 150 participants were asked to list and explain challenges that the organisations that trained them in VEP face. Majority participants (52 = 35%) in Table 5 reported that funding was a challenge for the
implementers of VEP. To clarify the extent of the funding challenge, one respondent that was trained by the Anti-Voter Apathy Project (AVAP) said: *I know that AVAP would carry out Voter Education with much efficiency if they had available funds.* A participant that was trained by SACCORD expressed similar sentiments that: *the organisation would have reached more people if they had more funds for general elections. Lack of funds makes it difficult for SACCORD to conduct VEP when there are no elections.* Consequently, the inadequate funds affects negatively the duration of VEP. VEP is carried out periodically because they are no enough funds to conduct it continuously. The periodic trainings as well pause a challenge as noted by a participant that who was trained by FODEP: *Some of us our memories are aging so this kind of voter education that comes once in a while cannot be fully comprehended. The time duration is short and often times we are not able to understand it and then it comes to an end. The next time it comes we do not remember it. It would be better if they did the programme often.*

Other challenges include violence 5 (3%), participants wanting to be paid for participating in training 14 (9%), inadequate support from stakeholders 25 (17%), posters being removed - vandalism (away from training sessions and not VEPs participants) 3 (2%), climate change 3 (2%), police unprofessionalism 14 (9%) and periodic training 33 (22%) as shown in Table 5.

Table 5 shows that political violence 5 (3%). Further, Table 5 shows 14 (9%) participants wanting to be paid for being trained in voter education. Additionally, some participants were also of the view that they should be paid for being trained in VEP. One participant said: *we just can’t sit and leave our busy schedules without getting any payment.* Another one also said that: *the civil society get a lot of money for VEP so they could afford to at least give them something.*
Other challenges reported in Table 5 are that of posters being removed which was reported by 3 (2%) respondents and climate change 3 (2%) that were expressed by the Electoral Commission Zambia (ECZ) facilitators only. However, some other facilitators from ECZ said the colours on the posters look like those for some political parties which makes people remove them because they do like looking at political adverts. Another ECZ facilitator added that the words Electoral Commission Zambia (ECZ) are in very small letters which make it difficult to be recognised as such, people remove them thinking they are just papers without the posters conveying their messages. Further, some facilitators from ECZ stated that ECZ makes their work dip into their pocket. They lamentably stated that ECZ sometimes gave them posters without or with little adhesives or glue. Consequently they were left without any option but to purchase such using their personal money so as to stick the posters.

4.6.2 Findings from ECZ and the Civil Society on the challenges they face in conducting Voter Education Programme (VEP).
Implementers of Voter Education Programme (VEP) from ECZ and the civil society were asked what challenges they face in implementing VEP through the use of an interview guide. It was reported broadly reported by implementers that erratic funding was a great challenge in implementing VEP. To attest to this, implementers from ECZ reported that: the Commission desires and plans to do more in the area of Voter Education Programme. However, funding has tied our hands. In a similar manner, an implementer from SACCORD stated that: the organisation had not been involved in VEP since 2013 because they have not received funding for VEP. Additionally, another implementer from FODEP mentioned that: the organisation was not able to conduct VEP throughout the year because they only receive donor funding for VEP usually when there are elections coming fourth.
Implementers and facilitators from ECZ both agreed that during the rainy season it was difficult to conduct Voter Education as some roads became flooded in Lusaka. The facilitators further added that: *ECZ does not usually provide any protection from the rain to them during the rainy season as they go through the community to conduct voter education.* Additionally a facilitator from ECZ mentioned that: *ECZ should at least be more considerate by providing facilitators with umbrellas and gum boots during the rainy season.*

An implementer of Voter Education Programme (VEP) from the Foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP) bemoaned the Zambia Police’s unprofessional manner of dismissing gatherings. Table 5 shows police unprofessionalism 14(9%) as a challenge to voter education. A FODEP VEP implementer said that: *the police are usually brutal and behave in an unprofessional manner toward civil society gatherings especially when elections are approaching.*

The Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) and Foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP) officials on the other hand stated that providing voter education without paying participants was not easy. They reported that participants usually want and sometimes even ask to be paid for attending VEP training. They noted that: *participants usually look at us expectantly, hoping they will receive money or other material things during and after the training sessions.* However, FODEP and ECZ do not pay their participants for attending VEP training, the attitude of desiring payments has not been cultivated by them. According to FODEP and ECZ it is the politicians who usually pay participants when they provide them with Voter Education Programme (VEP). This in turn makes people to think that they have to be paid whenever they are trained in VEP. Both the ECZ and FODEP officials noted that: *such expectations of wanting to be paid for being trained in VEP have been
inculcated by politicians who usually pay participants when they are campaigning and providing Voter Education Programme (VEP). A (VEP) implementer from FODEP stated that: participants usually expect to be paid. This is because the politicians who provide them with VEP sometimes pay them. However, when the civil society only sensitizes participants without paying them, the participants usually just shun the civil society’s VEP training.

FODEP implementers also reported that: political cadres are political and always see people who do not belong to their parties as being political opponents as well. Therefore, cadres incite violence when people gather peacefully for voter education which disturbs their progress.

Further, an implementer from the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) Voter Education Programme implementer reported that: the Commission would like to conduct voter registration continuously but the Constitution of Zambia does not allow them. ECZ only operates within the parameters of the laws of Zambia. ECZ initially used to conduct continuous registration at our centre in the show grounds. However, the exercise was stopped by law because of by-elections. When the country stated having by elections the law also stopped the continuous exercise of voter registration because some people might always be registering whenever there is a by-election in a different constituency.

In addition, implementers of voter education also stated that political cadres often make their work difficult by causing violence in communities.

4.6.3. Summary of research question three (3).
The third and final research question has been answered by the responses that implementers and participants gave as the challenges for conducting Voter Education
Programme. Among the challenges that have been presented in table 5 above include lack of funds, violence, posters being removed, participants wanting to be paid and periodic training.

4.7 Suggested improvements for the Voter Education Programme.

To obtain data for the areas that need to be improved upon participants that were trained by ECZ and the civil society were asked propositions through semi-structured questionnaires in order to improve the training the received. The Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) and the civil society officials that implement voter education were asked what they would do better to improve on their training of Voter Education Programme. Table 6 shows the suggested improvements that ECZ and the civil society need to improve on.
Table 6 Suggested improvements for better implementation of VEP.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of improvement to be implemented for training</th>
<th>ECZ</th>
<th>FODEP</th>
<th>ZNWLG</th>
<th>SACCORD</th>
<th>AVAP</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Make training practical</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.00%</td>
<td>6.00%</td>
<td>3.30%</td>
<td>2.00%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>13.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Make registration a continuous process</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.70%</td>
<td>2.00%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>2.00%</td>
<td>10.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Train facilitators</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.30%</td>
<td>9.30%</td>
<td>2.00%</td>
<td>3.30%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>22.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engage fulltime/part-time facilitators</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.30%</td>
<td>10.70%</td>
<td>5.30%</td>
<td>2.00%</td>
<td>2.00%</td>
<td>23.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Need more funds to conduct Voter Education Programmes</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>2.00%</td>
<td>2.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allocate more time for training</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9.30%</td>
<td>10.70%</td>
<td>3.30%</td>
<td>3.30%</td>
<td>2.00%</td>
<td>28.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
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<td>58</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>38.70%</td>
<td>14.00%</td>
<td>10.70%</td>
<td>8.00%</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.7.1 Findings from participants on improvements to be made on Voter Education Programme (VEP).

Majority participants (43 = 28.70%) reported that there was need to make the training of a longer duration. The participants stated that the training were too short for them to understand everything that is required for one to be ready and be willing to go and vote. One participant from Zambia National Women Lobby Group (ZNWLG) reported that: *I noticed that we did not finish the content in the course of voter education because the time was limited.*

Among other improvements that were proposed by the participants in Table 6 include making the training practical (20 =13.30 %). One participant stated that: *training should not be left to imagination. She stated that it was easier for people to understand and relate to voter education if they were not just told stories but they are shown what do and how to do. People must be given a chance to practice voting and have a feel of it not just being told how it could and should be done.*

People who were trained by the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) and civil society were all of the view that those organisations should employ people on full-time or part- time as voter education officers. Some participants 35 (23.30%) from Table 6 suggested that voter educators should be employed by organisations that provide VEP on full-time or part-time.

Another suggestion given for the organisations to improve upon was the need for more funds to be allocated specifically for voter education. One participant from Anti-Voter Apathy Project (AVAP) stated that: *AVAP should source for more funds so that they could reach more people with voter education.*
Most participants trained by ECZ (33 = 22.00%) suggested that their facilitators must be trained. One participant said that: *ECZ should train their facilitators because it is discouraging to sit and learn from facilitators who do not understand the learning material. Some of us have an idea on voter education but being taught by someone who doesn’t really know what they are doing can be confusing.*

Another proposition made for ECZ was that they should carry out voter registration continuously. Table 6 shows that 16 (10.70%) participants indicated that ECZ should make registration an ongoing exercise.

### 4.7.2 Findings from ECZ and the civil society in the areas they need to improve on.
Implementers of Voter Education (VE) were asked for areas they need to improve on in their implementation of Voter Education Programme (VEP). There was a consensus among the implementers that they needed to source for more funds to implement VEP more efficient and effective.

An implementer from Southern African Centre for Constructive Resolution for Disputes (SACCORD) reported that: *there was need for ECZ and the civil society to engage political parties in order to avoid violence. SACCORD must ensure that Indabas are brought down to constituencies so that they are no conflicts.*

The SACCORD official further noted that: *there was need motivate members of staff and volunteers monetary terms for them to conduct VEP effectively.* Similarly, a facilitator from ECZ stated that: *we need more and adequate materials not always getting into our pockets to effectively implement VEP even if we love Zambia.*

### 4.7.3 Summary of findings from research question number three (3).
For recommendations of this study, the Electoral Commission of Zambia, civil society and the people they have trained were asked what improvements they can
make in order to improve their Voter Education Programme (VEP). Table 6 above shows the areas of improvement which included making training practical, increasing the time for training, engaging full-time or part time facilitators of VEP and training the facilitators.

4.8 Summary of chapter four
This chapter presented the findings of the study on the evaluation of Voter Education Programme. The chapter presented the findings that came from the research questions of the study. Figures were used to show the types of Voter Education Programmes (VEPs) that are conducted by the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) and civil societies in Lusaka. The chapter presented findings on how the VEP are conducted and the languages used. It further highlighted the challenges and the proposed improvements the ECZ and the civil society should implement. Among the challenges include funding, unprofessional conduct of police officers and political violence. And finally, proposed improvements were that facilitators of VEP should be adequately trained, fulltime or part time officers should be employed for VEP and make it practical and not just teach theories.
CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction
The purpose of this study was to evaluate the Voter Education Programmes (VEPs) conducted by the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) and the civil society in Lusaka. The previous chapter presented the findings of the study. This chapter gives a discourse of the findings of the study. The discussion is based on the four objectives of the study which were: to identify the Voter Education Programme conducted by ECZ and civil societies; to determine how Voter Education is implemented by ECZ and civil societies; identify the challenges encountered by ECZ and civil societies in Voter sensitization; and make propositions of how the Voter Education Programme can be improved.

5.2 Types of Voter of Education Programmes conducted by ECZ and the civil society
The first objective of the study was to establish the types of Voter Education Programmes (VEPs) that ECZ and the civil society conducted in Lusaka. To establish the types of VEPs conducted, 150 participants that were trained by either ECZ or the civil society were asked to identify VEPs that ECZ and the civil society conducted. To confirm the VEPs that ECZ and the civil society conduct, ECZ and the civil society officials were also asked to identify the types of VEPs they conducted. Majority participants (38 = 25.3%) reported that they received VEP through community mobilisation. Meanwhile, few participants (16 =10.7%) received VEP through drama and another few (16 =10.7%) received VEP through posters and fliers. Further, the study revealed that other types of VEPs that ECZ and the civil society conducted were seminars, workshops, radio media productions, posters and community mobilisation programmes. Accordingly, community mobilisations as
Voter Education Programme (VEP) were in line with Peters-Berries (2004) identification of the National Initiative for Civic Education (NICE) VEPs. NICE employed a wide range of instruments for implementing VEP that range from ‘traditional’ rallies to whistle-stops at rural settlements and house-to-house visits. It is evident that communities are mobilised in Lusaka. However, rallies were not identified in the findings of this study. On the other hand, Westheimer and Kahne (2004) noted that sensitizing electorates in VEP included the use of various techniques such as lectures, rallies, workshops or seminars, music, dance, drama, role-plays, networking with stakeholders, use of media, films, documentaries, face to face interactions and the use of materials such as posters, brochures, banners, leaflets and commercial advertising. It was established from this study that rallies, dance, music, documentaries, banners, commercial advertise and role playing were not identified as VEPs conducted by ECZ and the civil society in Lusaka. As such, this may cause a gap in the number of people who are being reached out for voter education. Additionally, people may have a peculiar way in which they may enjoy and understand the programme.

On the other hand, findings from this study have confirmed activities of VEP as outlined by Westheimer and Kahne (2004) which are workshops or seminars, materials such as posters and drama. ECZ, the civil society and the participants they had trained in VEPs named the aforementioned activities as the types of VEPs they conducted. The first objective was addressed by identifying the types of VEPs activities that ECZ and the civil society conducted. Those types of VEPs they conducted were seminars, workshops, teachings, media productions, posters and community mobilisation programmes.
5.3 How Voter Education is implemented by the ECZ and the Civil Society

The second objective of the study was aimed at determining how Voter Education Programmes (VEPs) are implemented by ECZ and civil society. The findings of the study established that Voter Education Programmes (VEPs) are conducted through drama, seminars, school clubs, meetings, the use of Public Address (PA) systems and distribution of VEP materials such as fliers.

According to Finkle and Smith (2011), some of the tools most commonly used in Voter Education (VE) activities include seminars, training of trainers, peer to peer learning, workshops, focus group discussions, drama, simulations, role plays, radio and television programmes, information technologies (e.g. blogs, internet forums) and other informal teachings and information sharing methods. The findings established that Foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP), the Zambia National Women Lobby Group (ZNWLG) and the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) conduct seminars during their implementation of Voter Education (VE). One of the respondents stated that they are usually put in classroom setups during seminars where they are taught on VE.

Furthermore, the study revealed that Trainer of Trainers (ToT) is applied in the VEP by ECZ and FODEP. For ECZ, they train facilitators who go to the communities to train eligible election participants. ECZ has two facilitators in each ward; the facilitators go door to door to conduct VE. They also organise and facilitate meetings in churches, market places and clinics. In the same vein, FODEP trains facilitators who recruit members and train them in VE. Therefore, the findings have revealed that ECZ and FODEP conduct Training of Trainers (ToT) in their implementation process of VEP. This kind of training ties up with Jurgen’s theory of critical theory. Jurgen’s Critical Theory (Habermas, 1968) is a form of self-reflective knowledge that involves both understanding and theoretical explanations which aims at reducing
entrapment in systems of domination or dependence. Jurgen Habermas (1968) thought of emancipation for the students, his theory aims to reduce entrapment in systems of domination or dependence. Jurgen’s critical theory believes that adult literacy programme should not be confined to teaching specific literacy skills. The theory rather suggests that such programmes should contextualize instruction within a framework of social activism and societal transformation. As indicated by the techniques used to conduct VEPs such as drama, it is clear that participants have the freedom to participate as the organisations that conduct VEPs do not dominate the trainings.

The IEC (2004) states that the delivery model for Voter Education Programme (VEP) was based on the use of national curriculum for voter education developed. The curriculum was implemented through workshops, door-to-door campaigns and one-on-one discussions. There were awareness campaigns through taxi ranks and sporting events, Schools Voter Education Programmes and Multi Media Education.

This study found that the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) is mandated to conduct VEP and that they are responsible for developing the standard VEP training manual. Moreover, ECZ confirmed that it has produced a standard guideline manual for facilitators to conduct VEP. It is however, not clear whether the ECZ manual is the standard curriculum for VEP providers such as the civil society and political parties in Lusaka. The need for a curriculum was also suggested by a respondent who noted that it would help children and facilitators familiarize themselves with voting and consequently influence participants in voting. It is clear from the literature reviewed that a curriculum for VEP is necessary. The curriculum would bring about uniformity in what VEPs participants receive and would also help facilitators to focus on the required issues in VEP.
On the other hand, Hillman (2011) states that the most efficient means of conveying Voter Education messages are through Television (TV), radio, religious organizations, neighbourhood associations or leaders, youth groups and places of worship. However, this study has established that ECZ and the civil society in Lusaka don’t conduct VEP through sporting events, taxi ranks and Television (TV) and neighbourhood associations or leaders. Those voter programmes that are not conducted in Lusaka definitely have particular audiences that are missing out on VEP. Further, the study revealed that the Anti-Voter Apathy Project (AVAP) is the only organisation that conducts VEPs that is specifically for women. In confirming specific VEP that is targeted at women, IFES (2012) advocates for women’s specific VEPs as they argued that VEPs are usually dominated by men. Women’s own VEP enhances women and children participation in voting.

This study established that ECZ and the civil society in Lusaka do not conduct VEP through the use of the social media. Though Robert et al (2005) did not confirm to what extent the social media may contribute to voter turnout, he observed that greater levels of civic engagement of disseminating political information is through social networks which lead to more informed and interested voters. Civic engagement might also encourage individuals to participate in politics by leading them to have a greater sense of social responsibility and make electoral participation more important to potential voters.

In confirming the involvement of students, the findings of this study revealed that ECZ and FODEP work with secondary schools to train pupils in VEP through school clubs. The pupils are given a chance to practice mock voting which motivates and prepares them for the actual voting. This certainly does show pupils how to vote and inspire them to vote once they are eligible. In this vein, an official from ECZ
mentioned that they are working with University of Zambia through the University of Zambia Youths of United Nation Association (UNZAUN) in training students in voter education. Additionally, FODEP as well works with schools through debate clubs. Pupils are given the information on VEP which prepares them for voting in future. This was supported by the Electoral Commission of India (ECI) that collaborates with educational institutions and youth organizations to particularly tap the new voters between the age group of 18-19 years. The Commission involves students in their Voter Education programme as Campus Ambassadors. According to the Electoral Commission of India (2014), Campus Ambassadors are appointed from among the students from recognised Colleges and Universities to bridge the gap in youth electoral participation. In addition, the Campus Ambassadors are emissaries of the ECI in the campus and they facilitate registration among students, faculties and staff. The Ambassadors organise programmes in coordination with the District Education Officer’s on voter awareness and participation and include Voter Education Programme (VEP) into the various extra-curricular activities in their Campuses. In support of this, the Election Commission of Pakistan (2012) echoes that Voter Education Programme includes the education of future citizens, not just people who are already eligible to vote and can thus, be delivered in schools.

The second objective was addressed by establishing how VEPs are conducted by ECZ and the civil society. It was revealed that they conducted VEPs through drama, seminars, school clubs, meetings, through the use of Public Address (PA) systems and distribution of VEP materials.

5.3.1 Language used to conduct Voter Education Programme.
Language is important in conducting Voter Education Programme. This study revealed that majority participants (133 = 88.7%) received VEP in English from
either ECZ or the civil society in Lusaka. While minority participants (17 = 11.3%) received Voter Education Programme in selected Zambian local languages. Among the local languages used to conduct VEP, were 11(7.3%) Nyanja, 3(2.0%) said Bemba and 3(2.0%) Tonga. However, English is not an indigenous language for Zambians. The implementation of VEP in English may result in participants feeling intimidated and discouraged and not comprehending the programme. In addition, one participant reported that ECZ’s training materials and other VEP information should be translated into local languages as many people are unable to read and understand them. In this line, another participant stated that ECZ should not be employing young facilitators who do not even know how to speak local languages. The young facilitators only follow what is in the book. They cannot explain in other local languages or give real life examples. As such, VEPs is mainly conducted in English as some young facilitators are unable to speak local languages even when the audience do not understand them. However, respondents require VE in the local Zambian languages as opposed to English which is mostly used by implementers.

5.3.2 The Voter Education Programme Duration.
This study also sought to establish the preferred duration for VEP to be provided to participants. Majority (79 =52%) participants were of the view that VEP should be provided on a continuous basis. Some participants noted that the VEP must be continuous for their memory to easily recall because they would forget if the programme was only provided at election time. Conversely, minority (5 =3%) participants stated that they only needed VEP training during the election year. However, the need for continuous VEP has been supported by findings in Malawi that indicated that continuous Voter Education Programme (VEP) had a very positive
impact. It is important that the momentum for VEPs is throughout the election period and beyond (nice-malawi.org 2015).

The second objective has been addressed by the discourse of how Voter Education Programme is conducted. It was established that the Electoral Commission of Zambia and the civil society in Lusaka implement VEP by the use of the radio, drama, working with school clubs, seminars, teachings, distribution of VEP materials and the use a PA system in making announcements for VEP. However, literature posits that there are other VEP activities which are not conducted by ECZ and the civil society. Among those other activities that were unveiled include sporting events and taxi ranks visits, through Television (TV), through association leaders and the use of the social media. Furthermore, the second research question responded to the language that is used to implement VEP and the preferred duration of VEP. The findings revealed that most of the VEP trainings were conducted in English. However, majority (133 = 88.7%) participants preferred that VEPs should be conducted in local languages as opposed to English.

5.4 Challenges that the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) and Civil Society encounter in their attempt to sensitize voters.

The third objective for this study was to look at challenges that ECZ and the civil society encounter in their attempt to sensitize voters. It was established that the implementation of Voter Education Programme (VEP) by the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) and the civil society encountered numerous challenges. Majority participants (52 = 35%) reported that funding was a challenge for the implementers of VEP. Other challenges unveiled from this study included violence (5 = 3%), payments (14 = 9%), inadequate support from stakeholders (25 = 17%), removal of posters (3 = 2%), climate change (3 = 2%), police unprofessionalism (14 = 9%) and
periodic training (33=22%). The challenges reported by participants and the implementing officials of VEP are discussed below:

5.4.1 Lack of funding
Both implementing officials of the Voter Education Programme (VEP) and the participants in the programme stated that there was lack of funding for voter education. The civil society in Lusaka does not only carry out VEP but also other programmes that are related to democracy. As such, officials who implement the programme gave similar opinions that they usually concentrate on other programmes that donors support frequently. They further concurred that VEP depends on donor funding and that donor funding usually comes during the election period. The civil society organisations were of the view that donors do not provide or release money for VEP in good time but usually avail VEPs money three to six months before elections. For this reason, the civil society cannot conduct VEP continuously. Some participants also supported the delayed and insufficient funds by the ECZ and the civil society by stating that they knew that those organisations that provided voter education would reach more people if funds were available. In a similar manner, an official from ECZ stated that the government does not provide sufficient money to the Elections department especially when they are no elections and thereby, implementing VEP is difficult.

Erratic funding is the reason that ECZ and the civil society do not continuously conduct VEP. Hence, ECZ and the civil society are forced to conduct VEP periodically. The challenge of not having ongoing VEP is in tandem with Chinsinga (2006) who affirmed that there is very little, if any, civic and voter education in between elections yet continuous civic and voter education is vital in the concerted efforts to promote active citizenship necessary for the people to meaningfully engage
with the political process. However, as earlier mentioned through the findings, it is very difficult to conduct VEP continuously since funds are not readily available.

Moreover, Voter Education (VE) activities should be supplied much earlier than what studies and experience currently reflect. And this is especially important that if a national political consensus regarding the process needs to be reached prior to the elections. The investment of time and resources would help to ensure that the election results are more likely to be accepted by all political contestants (Jennings, 1999). Further, Jennings (1999) stated that sufficient resources, financial and human, should be allocated by government to the election management bodies so that they can adequately undertake nation-wide voter education activities which would address the specific needs, concerns and cultures of the country, as well as, being appropriate for the particular stage of the transition a country may be going through.

5.4.2 Vandalism of Election Material and demotivated Facilitators.
The Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) stated that people usually removed posters that are supposed to help teach them in Voter Education (VE). ECZ facilitators mentioned that the colours on the posters look like those for some political parties which makes people remove them because they look like political adverts. This vandalism is result of participants not being aware of the education they are supposed to be receiving. This lack of conscientization for citizens is supported by Jurgen critical theory which suggests that literacy programmes should contextualize instruction within a framework of social activism and societal transformation. More importantly, programmes should establish a democratic setting where students are able to use their developing literacy skills to analyze critically their place in society (NCSALL, 2005). As such, participants would not vandalise ECZ posters as they would be aware and be able to interpret posters as instruments
for VEP. And they would protect and educate others of the posters if they are rightly informed.

Further, the findings revealed that ECZ facilitators complained that they are usually not given enough glue to stick the posters. As such, facilitators used their own money to buy glue which they used to stick ECZ posters. The facilitators added that they usually walk long distances at times or use their own means of transportation as the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) sometimes allocates only one vehicle to service one vast area such as a constituency. The demotivation by facilitators is in agreement with Jurgen’s critical theory that certain cultural assumptions and biases have put people and their families at risk and ultimately they must learn how to challenge the status quo (NCSALL, 2005). As such, facilitators should be able to dialogue with the Commissioner and find a solution. They should not be demotivated by lack of transportation.

5.4.3 Inadequate training for facilitators
The findings revealed that participants who were trained in Voter Education Programme (VEP) were not happy with the calibre of facilitators. Participants complained that it was discouraging to be trained by someone who does not understand the VEP materials which they facilitate. Some participants reported that it was disheartening for participants who fully understood VEP materials but were being trained by facilitators who did not understand VEP materials. Those participants added that if given a chance, they would train VEP participants better and not leave out relevant VEP materials that VEP facilitators left out. The participants stated that they understood VEPs better than the people who trained them. The stated the facilitators were not oriented to the VEPs materials as they were unable to effectively deliver VEPs training. This VEP lacuna has been supported by
Quesenbery and Chisnell (2014) who stated that gaps in civics and election’s literacy strongly influence voters’ perceptions of how relevant elections are. Very little voter education addresses the question of why it’s worth the time and effort to vote (beyond doing a civic act), making it an information challenge as well as affecting the voting experience. This gap caused by the short duration that ECZ and the civil society allocate for conducting VEP. Such gaps may undoubtedly come from facilitators not being knowledgeable of the content of VEP materials.

5.4.4 Language barrier

The findings unveiled that most of the trainings were conducted in English. However, many Zambians are illiterate and are not very conversant with the English language. According to the Zambia Demographic Health Survey (2013-2014) 1.3 million adults are considered to be illiterate in Zambia. As such, those are unable to fully benefit from the VEPs. Additionally, since most VEP materials are in English this makes it difficult for people to educate themselves in the area of voter education. Some participants specifically attributed to election officials inability to converse in local languages as a barrier to the learning process. This is opposed to Jennings (1999) views who argued that elections officers often have bilingual team members for each required language. And that they also work to keep up with evolving needs in their communities.

Another challenge of implementing VEP is that of participants who want to be paid for participating in VEP. In view of this, one participant said the implementers of voter education receive a lot of money so they can also give some money to their participants. Implementing officials of VEP on the other hand stated that the desire by participants to be paid arises from the fact that political parties tend to pay them each time they attend political meetings.
The third objective was addressed by looking at the challenges that ECZ and the civil society face when conducting VEP. Among the challenges include erratic funding of VEP by donors, inadequate training for facilitators, language barrier and the vandalism posters. Another challenge was that of political violence caused by political cadres. Further, FODEP lamented about the unprofessional manner in which police behaves when they are displacing VEP gatherings.

5.5 Possible Solutions to challenges of Voter Education Programme (VEP).

The fourth objective of the study sought for possible solutions to the challenges that the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) and the civil society faced in implementing Voter Education (VE). Majority participants (43 = 28.9%) reported that there was need to extend the duration for VEP training. Meanwhile, minority participants (3 = 2%) reported that there was need for more funds to carry out voter education continuously.

Another proposition was the need to make the programme practical. One of the participants stated that the training should be more practical than theoretical. In the same manner, some participants noted that they should have hands – on demonstrations on how to vote and not only learning how to vote. Moreover, a participant noted that the Zambia Women Lobby Group (ZWLG) should go out in the compounds to make their VEP training practical. Another participant added that people from compounds do not understand and know anything about voter education. One participant stated that going to compounds benefits participants more than providing VEP training to participants who already know a lot about voter education in townships and colleges.
Respondents further proposed that the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) should train their facilitators adequately, provide adequate and necessary materials for facilitators to undertake their task successfully. Moreover, they should also carry out continuous voter registration.

Other proposed areas of improvement included giving training more time. This was noted by participants trained by both ECZ and the civil society. The participants agreed that training should not be implemented for a few hours in workshops as it is not comprehensive. Added to the above, it was proposed to conduct continuous voter registration and voter education. In this view, Rogers (1992) observes that the effectiveness of any adult education programme depends largely on the effective implementation of the programme. Chuma (1991) similarly expressed that the use of education methods that take little of the needs of participants is often times compounded by a tendency to develop adult education programmes which do not correspond to the needs of the intended beneficiaries.

5.6 Summary of the chapter.
This chapter discussed the findings of the study based on the assessment of voter education programme provided by the Electoral Commission (ECZ) and the Civil Society in Lusaka. The study was based on four objectives which guided discussion of findings.

The chapter discussed the types of Voter Education Programmes (VEP) conducted by ECZ and the civil society, how they were implemented, challenges encountered in implementing VEPs, and possible solutions to redress the findings of the study. Form the findings, it was discovered that the main activities conducted by ECZ and the civil society in terms of VEP were seminars, workshops, teachings, media productions, posters and community mobilisation programmes. The findings also
revealed that the implementation of VEP was slightly different among organisations as they did not all provide similar programmes. For instance, school clubs are only conducted by FODEP and ECZ. Meanwhile, SACCORD does not conduct any VEP using drama activities and ECZ does not conduct any radio or TV programmes. Among the activities that they conducted included drama, seminars, school clubs, meetings, through the use of Public Address (PA) systems, distribution of VEP materials. The challenges that are faced in sensitizing participants are violence by political cadres, insufficient funding, language barrier and inadequate training for facilitators. The solutions to address challenges were proposed and they included making the training duration longer, training facilitators adequately, employing voter education officers on fulltime or part time basis and using local languages during the training sessions.
CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction
This chapter presents the conclusion and recommendations of the study based on the findings and discussions on the assessment of the Voter Education Programmes (VEPs) conducted by the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) and the Civil Society in Lusaka.

6.2 Conclusion
This study was based on four objectives and responded to four research questions. The first objective and research question aimed at identifying Voter Education Programmes conducted by ECZ and the civil society.

The first objective and research question were both answered in identifying the Voter Education Programme (VEP) conducted by the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) and the civil society in Lusaka. From the findings and discussion of the findings it was revealed that the VEPs identified were seminars, workshops, teachings, radio productions, posters and flip charts presentations and community mobilisation programmes. These were the activities the participants and implementers from ECZ and the civil society had agreed and identified as the ones they conducted. From the findings, the VEPs activities that the organisations conducted were discussed that the participants identified. The organisations as well identified the VEP activities they conduct. In naming the VEPs some participants stated that they are usually put in classroom set ups when being trained. They also added that the training would sometimes take few hours or days. In agreement with the participants, the implementers noted that they carry out VEP through teaching/trainings, seminars and workshops. Participants who were trained by Anti-
Voter Apathy Project (AVAP) further mentioned VEP materials being availed to them through voter education centres.

The second objective and research question looked at how the Voter Education Programme (VEPs) which were conducted by ECZ and the civil society. From the findings, VEPs were conducted through drama, seminars, school clubs, meetings, through the use of Public Address (PA) systems and distribution of teaching materials. Participants reported that they were involved in the implementation by dramatising VEPs. Facilitators as well stated that they provided VEP through PA system by announcing VEPs messages in communities. The participants also noted that they dramatised VEPs. This was in-line with what the implementers mentioned that they conducted VEP through drama. On the other hand, Southern African Centre for Constructive Resolution for Disputes (SACCORD) did not conduct any drama activities. A SACCORD official added that their work compliments ECZ’s VEP activities and not replicate their work. This agrees with ECZ’s notion that it was mandated to conduct VEP while the civil society compliments their efforts.

Further, FODEP and ECZ conducted VEP through school clubs. FODEP employed pupils in debate clubs. In those debate clubs, pupils were trained and made to debate VEPs. While, ECZ has centres at the Lusaka show grounds where pupils learn about voter education. ECZ also works with the University of Zambia Youths of United Nation Association (UNZAUN) to train students in voter education. Other activities that were discussed from the findings are fliers that were used to implement VEP.

This was confirmed by an implementer from SACCORD who stated that they sometimes went to communities wearing T-shirts that have VEP messages on them while distributing handbills and fliers containing detailed information about VEP.
The third objective and research question were answered by looking at the challenges that ECZ and the civil society encounter while sensitising people on voter education. In deciphering the answer to objective and question three implementers of VEPs and participants of VEP mentioned the challenges they encountered. The challenges include erratic funding by donors, violence by the political parties, language barrier and the unprofessional manner in which the police acts.

From the findings, official implementers of VEP complained that the police acts in an unprofessional manner when dismissing VEP meetings especially during the election period. The implementers noted that this disturbs their programmes. Additionally, violence by political cadres was also mentioned in the findings as a source of disruption in the implementation of voter education conducted toward the elections period.

Official VEP Implementers and participants both agreed that voter education could be extended to more people and time if more money was available. Implementers mentioned that donors usually avail funds for Voter Education (VE) when elections are nearing. This makes implementation of VE difficult because of time constraint. The challenge of short duration for VE was noted by both implementers and facilitators of VEP.

The other challenge faced by official implementers in implementing VE is demand by participants to be paid. From the findings, a participant said the implementers of voter education receive a lot of money so they can also give some money to their participants. Implementers on the other hand stated that the desire of receiving money by participants is because they receive money from political candidates.
Another challenge from the findings of the study was that of language barrier. Participants complained that implementers do not usually use the Zambian local languages when implementing VE. This was confirmed by the majority 133 (88.7%) participants who stated that they had received VEP in the English language.

From the findings the study solutions to the challenges were also proposed which were the fourth research objective and question. Among the proposed solutions revealed from the findings were that; the implementers should source for more funds to implement VEP widely and continuously. It was also proposed that facilitators of VEPs should be trained adequately because participants are usually discouraged when they feel they know and understand better VE materials than their facilitators. The other proposed solution was to make training more practical. Participants suggested that they should not only learn about Voter Education (VE) but they should be given a chance to practice what they learn. Further, participants proposed that VE providers should go to compounds where people are in much need of VE.

Other propositions were translation of VEP materials into Zambian local languages and provision of all relevant materials to facilitators. It was observed from the findings that local languages were not used much in the training. Hence, it was suggested that implementing officials of VEP and facilitators should make use of local languages that people are more conversant with. Facilitators as well suggested that they should be provided with the adequate VEPs training materials.

Conclusively, the assessment of Voter Education Programmes (VEPs) by Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) and the civil society revealed that their VEPs is commendable. ECZ and the civil society conduct VEPs through types of programmes that help participants learn in a democratic environment where they
participate and are able to think critically. Further, the VEPs that ECZ and the civil society deliver does cover all necessary aspects of VEPs such as the right to vote, how to vote, secrecy of a ballot and good governance.

6.3 Recommendations
In line with the findings of the study, the following are the recommendations to the Electoral Commission of Zambia and the Civil Society and implementers of the Voter Education Programme (VEP) that:

a. there is need for the civil society and ECZ to implement VEP in local languages and translate their materials into local languages as well as it will help facilitators and participants in VEPs;

b. there is need for thorough training and refresher training VEP facilitators so that participants will fully benefit from VEPs training;

c. the civil society should employ people as voter education officers on permanent or part time basis as they have shortage of staff. For instance, Foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP) does not have an officer in charge of voter education;

d. ECZ should provide voter registration continuously;

e. there is need to source for more funds to provide VEP continuously from the government and other International Organisations that advocate for democracy;

f. ECZ should provide a curriculum for VEP that other stakeholders can adopt so that VEP is uniformly conducted;

g. ECZ should provide their facilitators in their constituencies with adequate transport and necessary requirements for them to conduct VEP effectively; and
h. ECZ and the civil society should make use of the social media. They should also provide other types of VEPs like sporting events, where they can conduct rallies, dance, music, documentaries, banners, commercial advertise in order to promote VE activities.

6.4 Summary
Chapter six has provided a conclusion and recommendations of the study. The conclusion was based on the objectives of the study; while the recommendations were drawn from the research findings.

It was concluded from the study that the main type of Voter Education Programme (VEP) was conducted through meetings. From the findings, it was discovered that most of the trainings were conducted in a formal set up. Further, the language that was used is English. Most activities are mainly theoretical with little emphasis on. Other types of VEP conducted were radio, drama, working with school clubs, seminars, distribution of VEP materials and the use PA system. The respondents emphasised that local languages should be used in conducting VEP. On the hand, it was unveiled that funding was the major challenge in providing VEP. As such, VEP could not be conducted continuously and facilitators were not provided with adequate materials and transport. In this vein, the study recommended that ECZ and the civil society should source for more funds so that they employ voter education officers and supply VEP materials adequately.

Further, it was concluded that facilitators were not adequately trained in VEP. This negatively affected the implementation of VEP as participants were not confident and enthusiastic about what they are learning.
There is need to adapt to the changing world by engaging the social media and other types of VEP that would be more appealing to different people. The Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) should immediately provide a curriculum for VEP that can be used by other stakeholders. The curriculum should be incorporated into the school curriculum so that pupils learn and understand voter education early and develop interest to participate ultimately in voting.
REFERENCES


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APPENDICES
Appendix i

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PARTICIPANTS
Dear Valued Respondent,

I am a Student pursuing a Masters of Education in Adult Education at the University of Zambia. I am conducting a research whose theme is “The impact of Voter Education Programme conducted by the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ), Anti-Voter Apathy Project (AVAP), Zambia National Women’s Lobby (ZNLY) and Southern African Centre for Constructive Resolution for Disputes (SACCORD) in Lusaka”. The data collected will used for writing my dissertation. For this cause, I should be most grateful if you respond to this questionnaire. The information gathered will be used for academic work only nothing else.

INSTRUCTIONS
Answer all the questions to the best of your knowledge
1. Do not write your name
2. To answer the questions tick in the box [ ] or write in the spaces provided.
Please tick the appropriate choice and fill in the spaces provided.

SECTION A: BIO DATA
1. Sex
   Male [ ]
   Female [ ]
2. Age --------------- years
3. Marital Status
   Single [ ]
   Married [ ]
   Other (Specify) -----------------------------

SECTION B
IDENTIFICATION OF VOTER EDUCATION PROGRAMME
4. a. How did you learn Voter Education Programme? -----------------------------
4. b. Who taught you about Voter Education Programme?-----------------------------
5. What other programmes do they use to teach Voter Education?
   a) Through drama [ ]
   b) Through a workshop [ ]
   c) Through a seminar [ ]
6. How often would you want Voter Education to be provided to you?

7. How long do you think Voter Education Programme should be?
   a) For a year [ ]
   b) For months [ ]
   c) Just for a week [ ]
   d) Other (Specify) -----------------------------

SECTION C
IMPLEMENTATION OF VOTER EDUCATION PROGRAMME PROVIDED.

8. Which language was used to teach you Voter Education Programme?
   a) Lozi [ ]
   b) Tonga [ ]
   c) Nyanja [ ]
   d) Bemba [ ]
   e) English [ ]
   e) Other (Specify) -----------------------------

9. Did you easily understand the Voter Education Programme provided to you?
   Yes [ ]
   No [ ]

10. What programmes were used to teach you Voter Education Programme? Explain-
    -------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

11. Where you involved in the process of your learning Voter Education?
    Yes [ ]
    No [ ]

12. If yes to question 11, explain how you were involved-----------------------------

SECTION C
CHALLENGES RELATED TO VOTER EDUCATION PROGRAMME

13. What challenges does the organisation encounter?-------------------------------
    ------

14. How did you know about their challenges?
15. What challenges do you encounter during or after your training in Voter Education?

SECTION E
SUGGESTIONS ON BETTER PROVISION OF VOTER EDUCATION PROGRAMME

16. If you were training people on Voter education what would you focus on during the training? Explain-----------------------------

17. What do you think the organisation can do solve their problems?

18. What do you think the organisation can do better to train people on Voter Education programme?

-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

19. How satisfied were you with their Voter Education Programme?
   a) Very satisfied [ ]
   b) Satisfied [ ]
   c) Somehow satisfied [ ]
   d) Not satisfied [ ]
   e) Very unsatisfied [ ]

23. If you had not received Voter Education, would you still participate in voting?
   Yes [ ]
   No [ ]

We have now come to the end of the questionnaire. Thank you very much for your time to answer the questionnaire and please be assured that this information will be treated as private. May I repeat that the information you have given will used for academic purposes.

Should you wish to contact me below are my particulars:
Mundia, Maria Lungowe- 0961136911/0976198867
Email: marialungowe@hotmail.com
Appendix ii

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE IMPLEMENTERS OF VOTER EDUCATION PROGRAMME.

Dear Valued Respondent,

I am pursuing a Masters of Education in Adult Education at the University of Zambia. I am conducting a research whose theme is “Evaluating Voter Education Programme conducted by Forum for Democratic Process (FODEP) in Lusaka. The data collected will used for writing my dissertation. For this cause, I should be most grateful if you respond to this questionnaire. The information gathered will be used for Academic work only nothing else.

1. How long have you been involved in conducting Voter Education Programme?
2. What is your organisational role in Voter Education Programme?
3. What are the Voter Education Programmes do you provide?
4. How do you implement the Voter Education Programmes?
5. What languages do you use for the Programmes?
6. Are you satisfied with your provision of Voter Education Programme?
7. What challenges do encounter in sensitizing people on Voter Education?
8. What is your organisation doing to redress those challenges?
9. What do you think your organisation can do better to train people in Voter Education programme?

We have now come to the end of the questionnaire. Thank you very much for your time to answer the questionnaire and please be assured that this information will be treated as private. May I repeat that the information you have given will used for academic purposes. Should you wish to contact me below are my particulars.

Mundia, Maria Lungowe- 0961136911/0976198867
Email: marialungowe@hotmail.com
## Appendix iii

### RESEARCH TIME TABLE

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<td>1st August – 31st August, 2014</td>
<td>Handing in of the proposal to the supervisor for examination</td>
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<tr>
<td>31st August – 28th February 2015</td>
<td>Collection of research data</td>
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<tr>
<td>1st March – 20th March 2015</td>
<td>Data entry and analysis</td>
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<tr>
<td>20th March – 30th April 2015</td>
<td>Report writing from the research findings. Presentation of findings during post graduate week</td>
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<td>28th June – 30th June 2015</td>
<td>Submission of final dissertation to the directorate of research and graduate studies for examination</td>
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# Appendix iv

## RESEARCH BUDGET

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