

**UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA**

**SCHOOL OF EDUCATION**

**AN EXAMINATION OF STUDENT'S PERCEPTIONS OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN  
NATIONAL GOVERNANCE: A CASE OF UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA**

**By**

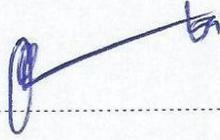
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**A Dissertation submitted to the School of Education, University of Zambia in partial  
fulfillment of the requirements for a Master of Education in Civic Education**

## DECLARATION

I **Kaumba Chivunda**, do hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of my own work and that it has not been previously presented for a degree at any level at this or another university.

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**APPROVAL**

This dissertation of **Kaumba Chivunda** has been approved as partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Education in Civic Education.

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## ABSTRACT

This study examined the University of Zambia students' perception of participation in national governance of Zambia. It established students' views on three major governance issues: human rights, media and access to information and the relationship of the police and society and the role they play in national governance.

In methodological perspectives, the study used a mixed method design in which the embedded design was adopted. Quantitative data was the main umbrella of data supplemented by qualitative data. Unstructured interviews and Likert scale questionnaires were used simultaneously as data collection tools. For quantitative data, a convenient sampling of 220 students was considered and under maximum variation purposive sampling, eight (8) Student Union and Association leaders were interviewed.

The study established that students had a positive attitude towards participation in national governance. Further, it was observed that promotion and protection of political rights in Zambia was lacking due to misapplication of the public order act. The existence of police that serves the interest of the government over the public had also negatively impacted the levels of public participation in national governance. The police made it hard for the realisation of rights to freely assemble, protest and demonstrate as modes of citizens' engagement in affairs that govern them.

Public media as an important element in democratic governance suffered setbacks with a heavy government control. This leads to a lack of meaningful access to information that citizens can use to actively participate as informed parties.

Based on the findings, the study concluded that there was need to create an environment that could allow for more participation. Zambia has the potential to uphold democratic tenets, coupled with a number of instruments put in place to enhance participation. There should be deliberate policies firstly, that aim to foster sensitisation and citizen consultation on decisions of public magnitude. To do so, it requires a bottom up approach on decision making processes that affect the citizens. Other avenues that can enhance public participation include the changing of the Media and Access to Information Act to allow for more freedom of expression among the media institutions as a way to create a transparent and accountable society. The Public Order Act should be amended to create good relationship between the police and the public as both are actors in the maintenance of law and order.

The study, therefore, recommends that in order to enhance participation, Civic Education Campaign should be intensified to create awareness both in formal and informal education settings. This will in turn increase awareness of citizens' rights and duties and thus create an engaging citizenship.

## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this research to my father Charles Kapalu Kaumba, and my mother Hildah Kavwanda for supporting my educational endeavours. For the Joys and pains they have undergone, I dedicate this work to them.

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## LIST OF ACRONYMS

<b>ACHPR</b>	–	African Commission on Human and People’s Rights
<b>CRC</b>	–	Convention on Children’s rights
<b>ECA</b>	–	Economic Commission for Africa
<b>ECZ</b>	–	Electoral Commission of Zambia
<b>EISA</b>	–	Electoral Institute of Southern Africa
<b>ICCPR</b>	–	International Covenant on Civil Political Rights
<b>ICESCR</b>	–	International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights
<b>MMD</b>	–	Movement for Multiparty Democracy
<b>MPs</b>	–	Members of Parliament
<b>PF</b>	–	Patriotic Front
<b>SACCORD</b>	–	Southern African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes
<b>SADC</b>	–	Southern Africa Development Community
<b>SPSS</b>	–	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
<b>UNESC</b>	–	United Nations Economic and Social Council
<b>UNDP</b>	–	United Nations Development Programmes
<b>UNIP</b>	–	United Nation Independence Party
<b>UPND</b>	–	United Party for National Development
<b>UDHR</b>	–	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
<b>UN</b>	–	United Nations
<b>UNZAAGRIC</b>	–	University of Zambia Agriculture Association
<b>UNZABECA</b>	–	University of Zambia Business and Economics Association
<b>UNZAESA</b>	–	University of Zambia Engineering Association
<b>UNZAMA</b>	–	University of Zambia Mines Association
<b>UNZAPOPSA</b>	–	University of Zambia Public Administration and Political Science Association
<b>UNZASEDA</b>	–	University of Zambia School of Education Association
<b>UNZAVESA</b>	–	University of Zambia Veterinary Medicine Association
<b>UNZASU</b>	–	University of Zambia Student Union

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# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.0 Overview

This chapter gives background information on participation from a global perspective and the context in which participation is used in the study. It explores the connection between university and society and the place of a university in matters of governance. It further gives brief historical events of students' participation in national governance of Zambia. Most profoundly, it gives the context in which the term participation is applied or used in the research.

### 1.1 Background

In recent years, there has been a trend in international human rights law to expand the responsibilities of governments to include consulting stakeholders in decision making processes. Participation has been incorporated into the human rights based approach to development as a goal in itself as well as a cross cutting principle (Sipilanyambe and Habasonde, 2013). Public participation is acknowledged as a precondition for genuine realisation of all other human rights in the UN General Assembly resolutions and in the general comments of the UN treaty bodies. In these instruments, participation constitutes both a fundamental right and a cross cutting core human rights principle, obliging a system in which people can participate actively and informed in the realisation of all their rights and freedoms. In essence, as expressed by Ifiok (2007), democracy is built upon political participation, the forms of which may vary from voting in general elections, to actively participating in referendums, constitution making processes and initiatives or through other tools of citizen involvement. The involvement of the citizens bestows accountability on the system and lends support to the notion that this will eventually lead to good governance on the part of those elected to represent the people's interest.

Public participation does not happen in a vacuum. There are institutions and processes that make it possible. In this regard, government as the institution and governance as the process, however, in understanding the relationship that exists between the terms government and governance (as the terms are often used interchangeably), it is imperative that the contention between governance and

government is examined in order to make a clear picture of the issue of participation. Blatter (2012) sees a government as an instrument of the state with institutions and structures, a steering of political power but advances that governance is a new form of steering in which the relationship between society and state has transformed from an instrumental to an integrative-constitutive relationship. The state is no longer an instrument for the realisation of societal goals; rather the state and society interact as co-producers, in order to give society self-reassurance and identity, to mobilise self-regulatory potentials and to guarantee societal integration. In support of citizens driven government, Blatter (2012) indicates that this is a shift in which issues of steering and control of power do not matter, but an integration of society and state efforts in resolving society problems. Therefore, the new form of governance in this manner as modelled in this research refers to those relationships that exist between the state and society that involve more participatory forms of interaction. Hence, participation is a very important element in the management of national affairs. National governance in this regard points to the mutual interaction of the state and citizens on matters of national interest that include among others, constitutional processes (constitutional reforms), public-policy reforms, human rights, national budgets, security (for example, police relations with the public), corruption and other public service deliveries (such as education and health).

The challenge of public participation in many developing countries has seemingly led to a lack of trust between governments and citizens due to lack of citizens' engagement in the activities that govern them. Nye (1997) maintained that the gap between public expectation and perceived government performance contributes to the decline of public trust. In addition, the power distance and information gap between the citizens and government are major elements that infuse the decline of public trust in government (Welch *et al.*, 2005). Berman (1997) proposed strategies aimed at reversing negative perceptions against government. Berman proposed that such strategies be specifically designed to target the most cynical citizens in the society. Modalities to ensure transparency and accountability in the delivery of public services, access to public information, and opportunities to participate in the public policy process are strategies that could engender trust (Berman, 1997; Welch *et al.*, 2005). Some scholars like Lynn (2002) argue that participation undermines institutions of representative government. Such claims are less convincing in the developing-country context, where citizen involvement can force comparison between clientelist or corrupt representatives and participatory forums (Heimans, 2002). Political systems that have a

record of poor governance may decide to foster participatory forums in order to increase the government's legitimacy (Moynihan, 2003).

A more general definition of public participation refers to the practice of involving members of the public in the agenda setting, decision making and policy forming activities of organisations or institutions responsible for policy development (Rowe and Frewer, 2005: 253). This definition, however, lends itself to variable interpretations as the public may be *involved* in policy formation in a number of different ways or at a number of *levels*. In some cases, the public may 'participate' by being the passive recipients of information from the governing bodies concerned. In other cases, public input may be sought, as in the solicitation of public opinion through questionnaires, or there may be active participation of public representatives in the decision making process itself such as through the representation on a board or advisory committee. Rowe and Frewer use three different descriptors to differentiate initiatives that have in the past been referred to as public participation based on the *flow of information* between participants and sponsors. These are *public communication*, *public consultation* and *public participation* (Rowe and Frewer, 2005). Whatever starting point is adopted for public participation, it must serve to encourage citizens from diverse backgrounds to take part in the running of affairs in their communities. In this regard, this study is modelled on media and access to information as one element to be explored from students' point of view in the manner it affects participation.

Public participation is an instrument of deliberative democratic systems that seeks to capture the concerns and opinions of the people affected by governments' decisions, or of the citizenry in general. Effective and meaningful public participation can, therefore, have a profound impact on democratic governance and the realisation of other human rights such as economic, social and cultural rights.

Hyden, *et al.* (2006), indicated that the essence of governance is the way that state-society relations are being structured and managed. Managing a regime successfully has a lot to do with how citizens perceive the rules that guide their interaction with public officials. Perception of society has much bearing on the way the nation progresses. University community being a place comprised of citizens with diverse backgrounds offered quiet a good population for inquiry. As seen by Omari and Mihyo (1991), in most African countries, most of the university students have peasantry backgrounds; as such it is a truism that they (students and staff) occupy a special position in the society. It is a special

and privileged position with respect to access to intellectual power, articulation of ideal governance models and playing a brokerage role in the process of acquisition, articulation, distribution, diffusion and utilisation of knowledge for social and technological development. In the analysis of the Danish Institute for Human Rights (DIHR) Report (2012), participation should be enjoyed by all individuals including women and men, children, minorities, privileged or non-privileged, empowered or non-empowered. Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and African Commission on Human and People's Rights (ACHPR) all stress that the rights set out shall be enjoyed equally by all without any discrimination. Students offer quiet a remarkable class of citizens, as part of the public and in their capacity as students, they have for a long time in history been regarded as active participants in national affairs. These can be traced in the dramatic events that led to the closure of the University of Zambia for shorter or longer periods in 1971, 1976, 1982, 1984, 1986, 1989 and 1990. The closures from 1976 to 1986 deprived the students of 400 days of learning (Mangani, 1991). In 1997 during the demonstrations of Chiluba's third term campaigns and other constitutional demonstrations in the aftermath of 2001 during the Mwanawasa regime, students faced numerous closures.

Omari and Mihyo (1991) give a more interesting contradiction with regard to student's involvement in national affairs, in which when it suits the interest of power groups, students are referred to as mature adults who should be exemplary leaders of tomorrow. When students try to take independent and critical action or positions, they are quickly dismissed as misguided, irresponsible and treacherous or simply as adulterated youths. The author in this regard reposes that universities as institutions have a mandate and a mission that transcends ideologies and partisan movements. They need to be protected. Protection thus, has much more to do with two elements; Human Rights as a fundamental principle to democracy and the Police as an institution that defends and maintains law and order and creates an environment in which rights can be enjoyed.

Bergan (2003) gives an explicit connection between higher education and society by indicating that higher education institutions are an important part of, and play an important role in society. These ideas can further be seen in the works of Southern African Regional Universities Association (SARUA) (2012), which equally reveals that higher learning institutions are at the centre of national development. Bergan (2003) claims that the institutions are societies unto themselves, but they are also part of the larger society. As frontiers of knowledge and providers of human capital, higher

learning institutions, offer an important role to society. Higher education institutions should thus, not be detached from the immediate issues of the day in order to identify sustainable solutions to the most serious and long term challenges facing our society. Instead, as noted by Omari and Mihyo (1991), students as citizens and an informed group, favour active participation in these choices, and in the determination of how universities should be treated, but hopefully without sacrifice to intellectual diversity and independent criticism which are the two essential tenets of the mission of any university. Students tend to continuously engage in national affairs. Hence, considering the University of Zambia Students' participation in national governance in Zambia was a worthwhile research to undertake.

Universities are generally treated with the respect, reverence and dignity befitting serious minds engaged in intellectual adventure, discovery and reflection. As described by Ndulo (1986), the university is supposed to be a birth place of fresh insight, vision and an arena where fundamental ideas are pronounced, challenged, clarified and disputed in the most dignified and collegial manner. This had, in earlier times, tempted the famous British philosopher, Mills (in Wallerstein and Starr, 1971) to describe a university as a 'reclusive place where students are trained to methodize their knowledge and become the masters of their disciplines'. Given this scenario about the university's positions in any given country, there is need to inquire from the University of Zambia about its perceived view of public participation in the national governance system on issues such as, media and access to information, political rights and the relationship between the police and the public.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

While national and local government policies and legal frameworks provide for broad-based participation in national processes (UNDP, 2012), only limited public participation has been observed. Some of the important factors that limit public engagement in national processes include poor access to information, weak civil society and general public apathy due to limited civic education (UNDP, 2012). As a unitary state and constitutional democracy, Zambia acknowledges the supremacy of the constitution in its governance. The constitution has undergone several amendments since the country attained its independence in 1964, including in 1973, when the country was established as a single-party state; in 1991, when multi-party politics were re-introduced, but even with these major efforts and reforms, citizen participation is still lacking. However, some sectors of

society have made headways in trying to forcefully take part in major decisions of public affairs and these among others include the student populace.

Students have proven to be active participants in national governance as seen in the analysis of Omari and Mihyo (1991). This is evident from numerous protests and demonstrations by students over food shortages and prices, constitution making processes, subsidies and so forth (Kelly, 1991; Carmody, 2004 and Masaiti, 2013). Students in higher learning institutions seem not to be satisfied with the political conditions prevailing in the nation. This is evident from the many protests students have held over the years. The most recent one is on the removal of subsidies at Zambia National Broadcasting Cooperation grounds (ZNBC) (*Times of Zambia*, 13 May, 2013). This is possibly due to the way students at the University of Zambia perceive matters of national governance and public participation. However, even with this active role of engagement, there appears to be little to non-existent clear theoretical or empirical studies that have been undertaken to explore either students' engagement in national governance and or their level of participation in Zambia. Studies by Burawoy (1976), Balsvik, (1998), Mangani, (1991), have only given the contextualisation of why students protested in those different particular years. This study, therefore, takes a holistic approach and critically examines the extent to which students are participating and involved in national governance. We currently do not know exactly what students think about the state of human rights, media and access to information and the role of the police in a democratic society. In their capacity as citizens and as an informed group in society as stated by Omari and Mihyo (1991), there must be a deliberate approach taken to inquire from population on their perceived view of participation in national governance in Zambia. Lack of participation of citizens in the decision making processes leads to bad governance system, which is characterised by unjust policies and oppressive systems of management, protests, violation of human rights, corruption, lack of citizens' control in decision making, loss of trust and confidence in the management of public affairs. If such studies on participation are not done, bad governance might be perpetuated.

### **1.3 Purpose of the Research**

The purpose of this research was to determine the University of Zambia students' perception of participation in the national governance of Zambia.

## **1.4 Research Objectives**

The study was guided by the following objectives:

- i. To determine the University of Zambia students' perspectives on public participation in national governance in Zambia.
- ii. To ascertain the level to which political rights are guaranteed in the face of public participation and good governance.
- iii. To explore whether students consider media and access to information as ingredients to participation and national governance.
- iv. To assess the students views of the relationship between the police and the public so as to establish power relations in respect to governance.
- v. To propose alternative measures that can be used to enhance public participation in national governance in Zambia

## **1.5 Research Questions**

The study was guided by the following questions:

- i. What is the University of Zambia students' perspective on public participation in national governance in Zambia?
- ii. To what extent are political rights guaranteed in the face of public participation and good governance?
- iii. Do students consider media and access to information as ingredients to participation and national governance?
- iv. What is the students' perceived view of the relationship between police and society relations?
- v. What are some of the alternative measures that can be used to enhance public participation on national governance in Zambia?

## **1.6 Significance of the Study**

This research gives insights about how the students perceive participation in national governance in Zambia and explores in-depth students' participation in national governance and suggests strategies that can be used to reshape the practices of public participation among readers. The study has immensely contributed to the ongoing debate about the extent and nature of public participation in national governance based on students' views. It equally has enriched a body of literature that exists

in the field of governance and created a frontier of knowledge that students studying governance courses at the University of Zambia may use.

### **1.7 Delimitation**

The study concentrated on students' perception on public participation in Zambia. It was done at the University of Zambia, and as such, and the findings were not generalised to other institutions. This is because the University of Zambia's character of influence as the biggest learning institution in Zambia has proven to persistently be in the forefront of demonstrations and protests across the country. Hence, looking closely at the institution was the best option in creating students' perceived view of participation in national governance.

### **1.8 Conceptual Clarification**

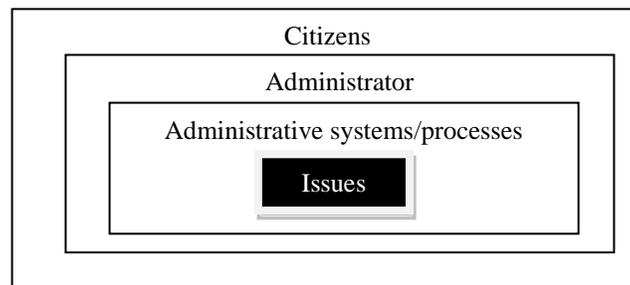
This section clarifies the applications of concepts (such as governance, good and bad governance, participation, public participation, media and information, political rights and police and the public) that were used in the research and outlines the different ways in which these concepts are interrelated in the context of the research. Governance is a complex concept with quite a number of varied meanings. This study focused on the perceptions of students at the University of Zambia on public participation in national governance in Zambia. Using the concept of state formation, the aspect of participation was traced from the social contract theory and direct democracy theory. Before theories can be explored, it is important that we clearly explore the concepts used in the research.

**Governance:** World Bank (1989: 60-62) defines governance as '... the traditions and institutions by which authority in a country is exercised for the common good, in which those in authority are selected, monitored and replaced, the capacity of the government to effectively manage its resources and implement sound policies, and the respect of citizens and the state for the institutions that govern economic and social interactions among them'. From the definition, the common good as an approach is conceived as a particular form of living; that is, a political life lived in accordance with that which is good and just (Peterson, 2011). The conception of the common good implies a good society in which citizens take part in the affairs of governance in which they give their private life for public life.

**Good and Bad Governance:** UNESCAP (2010) portrays *good governance* as a sort of *governance* that embodies processes that are participatory, consensus oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective and efficient, equitable and inclusive, and (which follow) the rule of law. Ayittey (2012) notes that leaders in countries rated with *bad governance* have control over all relevant branches of their economy, civil service, electoral commission, judiciary, media, security forces and the central bank. Leaders tend to assume in some of these countries discretionary power in their design and the power makes them subjugate all institutions, making it hard for institutions to be accountable, and checks and balances to be achieved. Such countries are prone to corrupt practices. As such Punyaratabandhu (2004) admits that systems that reflect good governance imply that all citizens can influence the decision making processes.

**Participation:** King, Feltey and O’Neill (1998), present participation in two forms. These are conventional participation and authentic participation. In *conventional participation*, the citizen is placed at the greatest distance from the issue, the administrative structures and processes are the closest, and the administrator is the agent between the structures and citizens, as depicted in Figure 1.1.

**Figure 1.1: Conventional Participation Model**

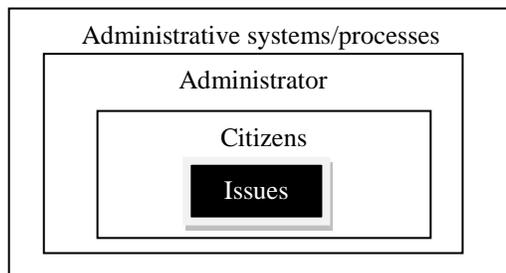


(King, Feltey, and O’Neill, 1998)

In the context of conventional participation, the administrator controls the ability of the citizen to influence the situation or the process. This type of participation is more in favour of government as it makes citizens on the receiving end of the process and not seen as a part of the process. Authentic participation, which is the form of participation supported by this research on public participation, offers quiet a good depiction of participation in a democratic state. As for King, Feltey, and O’Neill (1998), authentic participation moves the administrator away from a reliance on technical and

expertise models of administration and toward meaningful participatory processes. The model of this participation can be seen in Figure 1.2.

**Figure 1.2: Authentic Participation Model**



(King, Feltey, and O'Neill, 1998)

Public participation thus, is defined by Smith (2003: 34): *'as a framework of policies, principles and techniques which ensure that citizens and communities, individuals, groups and organisations have the opportunity to be involved in a meaningful way in making decisions that will affect them, or in which they have an interest'*. Thus, Crick (2000b) sees political participation in terms of cooperation with others.

**Political Rights:** Human rights are universal undertakings protecting individuals and groups of individuals against actions by their government or groups of individuals, which interfere with fundamental freedoms and human dignity (Human Rights Commission, 2007). This study selected those rights that have a direct bearing on participation in public affairs. Civil and political rights are considered in four ways; the right to equality, right to vote, right to assemble and freedom of expression. As Klein (2005) states, the right to participate is spelled out in similar language in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Article 21) and the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (Article 25). Article 25 of the covenant states: 'Every citizen shall have the right and the opportunity, without ... unreasonable restrictions to take part in the conduct of public affairs, directly or through freely chosen representatives' (quoted in Steiner, 1988). Right to participate as put by Klein (2005) is a right that people enjoy because they are citizens amidst the rights they have as human beings.

**Media and Access to Information:** The term 'media' as observed by Buckingham (2003) includes the whole range of modern communications media: television, the cinema, video, radio,

photography, advertising, newspapers and magazines, recorded music, computer games and the internet. Banda (2008) defines access to information as the right of every individual to both hold and express opinions and to seek, receive information and use that information to help make informed decisions.

**Police and the Public:** The word police is related to the Greek word *Politeuein*, which means to be a citizen or to engage in political activity, and *polis*, which means a city or state (Roberg, 2000). As its derivation suggests, in ancient Greek cities there was no clear distinction between duties now performed by the police and those of others engaged in the city government. Thus, in a democracy, the police should be agents of the law, which is the same responsibility of the citizens, who in this case denote the public.

## **1.9. Theoretical Framework**

In the views of Potter and Riddle (2007), theories are important for guiding research and providing justification of ideas and findings. The theoretical framework of this study was supported by two theories: direct democratic theory (Barber, 1984) and social contract theory (Asirvatham and Misra, 2001).

### **1.9.1 Social Contract Theory of the State**

Many theories exist that can inform the relationship that exists between the state and the society. Philosophers in France, Britain and Germany pioneered ideas that guided new forms of political development. Montesquieu heralded the idea of separation of power between the various branches of government. Rousseau's principal message was the sovereignty of the people. Locke advocated a social contract between rulers and the ruled. Hegel, and later Marx, pursued the notion that development is the product of opposing social forces (Hyden, *et al.*, 2006). Rousseau's conception, therefore, is the principal formation of the social contract view undertaken in this research. Rousseau favours individual sovereignty over the government. In this, the people retain political power to themselves and enter into contract with a leader and give up not all but certain rights which are natural rights. In the social contract theory, the people have the power to overthrow (a revolution) the government if it fails to perform and deliver.

Governance is about relationships and a web of networks that underpin the formation of states (Bevir, 2006a). In democratic nations, the ultimate sovereign is the voters. Democracy, borrowing the views of Abraham Lincoln is the rule of the people, by the people, for the people, best informs us that the people (electorates) are the sole determiners of the existence of government and every government must owe allegiance to the electorates. Social contract theory in this regard was assessed and formed the basis for our theoretical framework. Social contract theory entails that the state is born as a result of the contract between the governing and the governed. Asirvatham and Misra (2001) offer two dimensions of social contract theory as regarded by different theorists, for some, it is responsible for the institution of civil society alone, while others regard it in addition as an agreement between the rulers and their subjects resulting in the institution of a particular government. The first contract is known as the social contract and the second part is known as political or government contract.

Although some scholars have critiqued the social contract theory, it still stands to inform the modern states that so far exist and the models upon which such states are formed and maintained. For example, in an attempt to critique the social contract theory, Kranenburg (in Asirvatham and Misra, 2001) acknowledged to a greater extent that the social contract theory defines the rights and duties of the rulers and the subjects making political contract a fact and social contract fiction (Asirvatham and Misra, 2001). In the modern era, it is important that the political contract is maintained and followed with strictness. Social contract theory lays a foundation upon which the rulers and the subjects agree upon the issues that will both affect them in turn. Social contract theory lays a democratic environment in which the rulers do not override the electorates.

When the contract between the rulers and the subjects is maintained, the rulers become accountable and responsible. The two characteristics are central in the discourse of governance. Schumpeter (1976) in this vein points out that democracy was important as a means of generating responsible government, rather than as a form of providing power for the majority. Political representatives must always, therefore, be 'sensitive' to the demands of the electorate. The democratisation of the state and the democratisation of society must clearly go hand in hand. The problem is that the capacity to bring about these changes is generally weakest among those who have the greatest stake in achieving them: people who are poor, vulnerable and socially excluded. Living close to the margins of survival, uncertain of their ability to meet their basic daily needs, these groups are often forced to bind themselves into highly asymmetrical patron-client relationships through which they secure the

resources they need for their subsistence in return for labour and loyalty to their patrons (Smith, 1997; Wood, 2003). The challenge of the social contract in developing countries is that one part in the contract (the government) becomes stronger than the other (the citizens) and as such, there is a complete distance between the two parties. The electorates who are the majority poor, mostly are marginalised and on the receiving end from their government.

In relation to governance, the social contract theory, therefore, must mean that the people have the direct link to participate actively to define the way their affairs must be organised and also to hold the government accountable to them. In the social contract theory as noted by Johari (2009: 84), sovereignty lies on the people, and they exercise it in the name of the general will. In connection to rule of law, the implication of social contract theory then means that the people and the rulers both adhere to the terms and conditions of the contract, in this regard the constitution. Salisbury (in Johari, 2009) states, 'Political participation is regarded as a legitimising act. Insofar as citizens participate in governmental affairs, through voting and whatever other means exist, they give their consent to decisions and so legitimise those decisions and the regime that makes them' (1975: 326). A good constitution, therefore, offers a good contract policy between rulers and subjects. Needs of citizens vary across countries and demands differ across time. These tend to reshape the terms of contracts through demands of reconstruction of the terms and conditions of the contract. Citizens are the custodians of the contract and it is in their powers to change the terms of the contracts, but the situation in most countries is that the governments oppress the sole custodians and decide when those terms of a contract can be fit or unfit.

### **1.9.2 Direct Democratic Theory**

Partly related to the social contract theory in the conception of democracy and participation, the direct democracy theory by Barber (1984) extends quiet varied views of participating in a democracy. In his analysis, communication is central to democracy. Barber believed that communication would facilitate more strong democracy and a more proactive participation in massive societies where face-to-face interaction was close to impossible due to scale. Communication in the theory of Barber is core as it replaces the politics of force and enhances the politics of talk. Well supported by the use of technology, direct and deliberative democracy undergoes a pervasive era among many nations. Seen in the Kenyan society as electronic

governance, where citizens participate online on most matters affecting society and among and between different parties, electronic communication has become a Pandora for more direct participation in many nations. The direct democratic theory argues that casting a ballot during periodic elections is simplistic and provides a narrow vision of democracy (Barber, 1984). Instead, citizens need multiple opportunities to engage continuously in democratic processes and practice citizens' monitoring of government affairs to ensure accountability and transparency in the public sector (Barber, 1984; 1999). This theory is of the idea that public participation is central to a democratic nation. Hence, as used in this research, direct democratic theory denotes that any form of governing must seek first the consent of the citizens in all best ways possible including the use of technology if need be, as a way of direct engagement or contribution to the democratic governing process.

Social contract theory and direct democracy theory are complimentary in vast societies where the citizens elect representatives to represent their views as explained in the social contract theory, direct democracy theory offers a good opportunity for engagement between the representatives and the citizens whom they represent. Communication of direct democracy theory implies that there can be a mutual understanding between the governed and the governing as there would be more open talks and sharing of information. This would legitimise the government actions since most of them would receive consent of the citizens, the sole custodians of the contract. Both theories place citizens' interaction with the government at the centre of governance and the ultimate goal of a good society.

### **1.10 Structure of the Dissertation**

This section gives brief outlines of the chapters in the study.

Chapter one gives the background information on participation from a global perspective and gives the context in which participation is used in the study. The problem, objectives, conceptual and theoretical framework have also been presented. Chapter two explores the literature that relates to the nature of this research. The literature is explored under four subtopics; studies of students' participation in national governance, state of political rights in Zambia, studies on measures of public participation, and general comments of participation and governance. Chapter three explores the methodology of the research. It addresses the research philosophy, research design, sampling design,

sample size and sampling procedures, data collection and analysis, the ethical considerations, and data validation and reliability.

Chapter four presents the results of the research, while chapter five discusses the findings presented in chapter four and their implication to Zambia in relation to the reviewed literature. This is done in themes guided by objectives of the research in order to realise the purpose of the study. Lastly, chapter six gives conclusions of the study and recommendations.

## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.0 Overview

The previous chapter discussed the background of the research and the objectives to be achieved. This chapter explores the literature that relates to this research. The literature is explored under four subtopics. This research relied much on literature from articles and books on participation and governance due to insufficient information from research works.

The history of thought around governance issues is deep and rich. Many of the important issues are what political theorists would term 'essentially contested' (Moore, 1993). Attitudes and perceptions reflect such widely diverging beliefs about society that no agreement can reasonably be expected (Moore, 1993). The quality of governance has become an issue of increasing concern in countries around the world, both developed and developing. While the evidence suggests governance matters for development, there is less understanding regarding what aspects matter most and how to improve governance (Hyden, Court, and Mease, 2006). The main problem is the lack of reliable, valid and comparable data on key governance issues. Citizen participation in governance is essential as it allows the people's voices to be heard. This is done through various avenues, such as voting, neighborhood associations, initiatives and referendums, town hall meetings and so forth.

Such participation, which is generally taken for granted in the developed world, is considerably different in the developing world, which inherently has led to crisis. Pye (1966: 65) noted, 'The participation crisis occurs when there is uncertainty over the appropriate rate of expansion of political participation and when the influx of new participants creates serious strains on existing institutions. As new segments of the population are brought into the political process, new interests and new issues begin to arise so that the continuity of the old polity is broken and there is the need to re-establish the entire structure of political relations'. The crisis of participation facing developing countries is leading to threats to the general stability of countries, which have only recently, in the last two decades, moved toward more democratic governance.

Citizens' participation is not an indigenous Zambian concept but has existed in the traditional life of the Zambian people for centuries and has been part of the norms and customs such that all community and political events were celebrated together (Indakwa, 1977). Zambia's pre-colonial days had an active social, political and economic life in which all was integrated and all would spontaneously participate. However, colonialism and the one party state brought mass oppression of the people and the concept and practice of participation was hindered and reduced only to certain traditional ceremonies (Indakwa 1977; Macola, 2002). In the colonial administration, Zambians faced a more restricted public life and participation such that voting was only for the whites. Public policies were designed only to suit the white populous and generally all political and administrative rights were restricted from indigenous Zambians including freedoms of association and expression. Zambians could not vote, form trade unions or any other groupings and even churches were censored by the colonial authorities till the period of independence when much of these became more open (Harry, 1972). The period after 1991, with the birth of multiparty democracy, brought much hope among the Zambians, with greater hopes of increased participation, and an improved governance system. But the question of to what level this has improved still stands a point of inquiry. This study examined the University of Zambia students' perception on participation in national governance processes in an attempt to answer the question whether or not public participation is a visible aspect in the Zambian governance system.

## **2.1 Students' Participation in National Governance**

There are many reasons surrounding the students' participation in national affairs. This participation has been in form of protests and demonstrations. In the views of Burawoy (1976), since the inception of the University of Zambia in 1966, students supported government policy and showed solidarity with the government leadership. Burawoy attempts to understand the reason behind the students approach to national affairs. For example, he states that the protests and demonstrations that took place in the era after independence signifies the symbolic functions of the University. It signifies Zambia's independence in 1964 and the claim for international recognition was seen as prominent in the formation of the university. The incompatibility of this function (political) with other functions of the university, contributed to tensions between the University and society; the tensions that I believe still exist today. It is clearly expressed by Burawoy that the conflict between University and dominant political organs is due to incomparability between the solidarity function of the University

and its symbolic function. Solidarity function here refers to national building and national unity. Violation of the function can lead to confrontation with powerful political institutions. It is not clear how the university today can take a critical role in national building given the fact that there seems to be a distance between the government's main stream decision making and the university. Little or no consultation between the university and the government characterises the relationship between the two parities.

Burawoy notes that the oppositional stance adopted by the Zambian students is more directly a response to their exclusion from the political system and a holistic rejection of the contemporary order is not encountered. Burawoy mentioned or explored some parts of participation in which students are engaged. This article by Burawoy focuses much on the conflicts but does not clearly state what institutional factors are not in correlation with university functions such as symbolic and solidarity functions. This is so because beyond the functions of the university, there are many other forces that have an impact on the way the university community can carry out its mentioned functions. Any dysfunction on those external forces can lead to none effective engagement between the university and Society. The analysis of Burawoy justifies well why students should participate but does not give a holistic approach to what can make it possible for the participation to take off.

Balsvik (1998), in an article entitled '*Student Protest – University and State in Africa 1960–1995*', explores the dynamics of students' involvement in society in an attempt to justify their active protests. In this regard, Balsvik is of the idea that students constituted a disproportionately large section of what may be called the carriers of public opinion in the period 1960-1995. Yet, compared to the Western world, civil society in Africa is weak and the influence of students' organisations in the public sphere proportionately much larger. But most often, students were victimised. The dramatic confrontations between students and armed security forces led to student leaders being expelled from the university, often arrested, and their union and paper banned. Students then strike in solidarity to have arrested leaders released or expelled student activists reinstated. A period of tension and uncertainty follows, in which the student body becomes divided between those who want to continue with the boycott and those who want to resume classes. The administration starts an unsuccessful deregistration of students. The authorities announce that the institution is closed. Over the years, this decision has been reached with increasing speed. The approach taken by Balsvik in

these dramatic events does not clearly state beyond the reasons of engagement he outlined. The sources of such ill treatment the student suffered are not clarified.

Balsvik (1998) sees most conflicts between university and state born from challenges from the university community as to who were entitled to forward opinions and criticism of the political affairs of the country at large. The attempts to create debate among the students within the universities were often thwarted. Students' demands to be participants in a public political process were definitely not welcomed. Here, we can see parallels to the part played by industrial workers in the European political processes of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. This role was left to the university students in African countries, where labour organisations were much weaker due to the under-developed stage of production. The dynamic of this trend in which students still take active role is still a challenge and most persistent. The working class in Zambia has gone to slumber, evident from protests on the increase in retirement age in 2013 and the issue of removal of subsidies in which students though in latent terms protested and called for revisiting of the policies but were regarded as worthless contributors with a most silent voice heard from the civil society.

Omari and Mihyo (1991) in their book *'The Roots of Student Unrest in African Universities'* give a remarkable insight as they explore and justify the students' involvement in most national affairs in the four universities (Dar Es Salam University, University of Zambia, University of Zimbabwe and University of Nairobi) and how the attempts of participation are often undermined. Beyond all odds, the writers cite that it is quite evident that all student protests are of a political nature. Far from it, some protests have been against academic issues. Students have held protests over issues such as the definition of legitimate knowledge, the relevancy of academic programmes and examinations. Protests have also occurred over welfare matters such as bad food and congestion in dormitories and managerial matters such as lack of students' participation in university governance. Yet, as seen on a larger extent, most dramatic and eventful crises have had a political slant, and their frequency justifies the emphasis without necessarily suggesting their glorification. In all the four universities, the issues of academic freedom and university autonomy, the freedom of expression and that of the press have been raised in student protests. Student papers are good avenues for venting mental frustrations and tensions but above all, they facilitate training for editorial work, responsible journalism, writing skills and communication through the mass media. But the existence of freedom of expression seems lacking and exploring the element of media and information in this research offers quiet a unique dynamic approach in understanding the levels of participation at play.

Omari and Mihyo (1991) point two issues fundamental to the university operation. The university community and the public in general has the right to know what their governments are doing with taxpayers' money. This is central to the whole notion of accountability and transparency in public governance. Secondly, is the issue of university neutrality in national debates and developmental choices. On the first one, university students and staff will clearly take the position that accountability is not to a superior only but is a two way affair in which governments are accountable to the people they serve. The second issue of university neutrality is even more complex, it seems that a university cannot, even if it wanted to, choose to be really value free, and hence neutral. A university should articulate its own perspectives and be allowed to do so, so that people are free to choose what to apply or modify. The issue is not that the university is neutral or should try to be neutral but rather that it should aspire for more just values and social perspectives, articulating long term social goals, showing both sides of the coin and explaining the stand of each. The danger comes when some people advocate that since the university cannot be neutral, then it should tilt towards a particular ideology. The university community in this regard must take an active role for the purpose of intellectual diversity and as its right for its population to participate and be informed.

Negombwe (2012), explores students' activism at the University of Zimbabwe at length. The researcher reveals that student activism influences political, social and economic changes and is also affected by these factors. Different phases of student activism were shaped by changes in the environment outside the university and also conditions at the university. But it does not clearly state what this environment and conditions imply. Whether the environment and the conditions stated point to human rights, media and/or other institutions, is not clearly outlined. The study identified such changes in both the external and internal environment and presented the factors that incapacitated student activism from 2009 to 2012 to such an extent that there was an increase in the number of student concerns, which ironically was accompanied by increased silence of student activism in challenging these issues. However, the researcher goes a mile to explain in part what has strained student activism at the University of Zimbabwe (UZ). He notes that the state uses its repressive apparatus like the police, the army and the courts to silence student activism at the UZ. Student activism was crippled by police brutality. Activists were jailed, tortured and sometimes killed during clashes with the police. Respondents revealed a long history of clashes between students and the police that had such consequences as deaths of students and students sustaining

serious injuries. This was accompanied by jailing of activists. The torture they experience while incarcerated discourages them from participating in demonstrations. Given such ill treatment, citizens retreat from any form of involvement, criticisms or activism of any kind towards national affairs due to fear of being persecuted.

It seems police-society relations are a very cardinal element to consider. Although scholars such as Omari and Mihyo (1991) and Altbach (1982) and Balsvik (1998) have tried to explore this element, it is not clear what conditions perpetuate the police to behave in the manner it did in the case of Zimbabwe. In so doing, the research seeks to inquiry from the University of Zambia students who have in one way or the other engaged with the police during protests and other participatory ventures they have so far scored in the national life of Zambia.

## **2.2 State of Political Rights in Zambia**

Zambia Governance Assessment Report (Chilufya, 2010) has a lot to contribute in line with this research. The translation of the baseline report suggests that freedom of association, freedom of expression and discrimination are beyond moderate in Zambia as key features in the realisation of public participation. The baseline report suggests that there are low levels of participation and transparency but does not state factors leading to such conditions in the country. This research seeks to fill in the gap and establish ways in which such factors can be addressed because any meaningful progress or development requires identification of problems and solutions for resolving them.

Others studies like the Diakonia Zambia (2013), however, clearly point to levels of dissatisfaction in the citizens with regard to human rights enjoyment. Freedom of expression and association, for example, is in a bad state in the PF regime evidenced by political harassment, reluctance by the government and the lack of capacity or will to release permits to opposition political parties to hold political rallies.

A study by Diakonia Zambia (2013), states that there is a lack of majority control in Zambia. Many people feel left out in major decisions made by the leaders who they put in power. An example can be drawn on the removal of subsidies in 2013. We witnessed quiet a number of protests from the student populous around the country and from a number of civil society organisations. Members of the public felt sidelined by the leaders they put in power. Political participation or involvement is

thus, an important aspect in governance. However, according to Diakonia Zambia (2013), the major complaint is that most citizens do not see democracy as delivering development. They have strong views on how subsequent governments have not fulfilled promises arising from electoral campaigns, which has meant that the anticipated benefits from their participation in elections, including enjoyment of freedom of expression have not necessarily changed the economic status and way of life for the majority of the people.

With the Triumph of Michael Chilufya Sata over Rupiah Banda to make him the 5<sup>th</sup> Zambian President, since independence (Diakonia Zambia, 2013) and the smooth and peaceful handover of power following the September 2011 elections, raised Zambia's democratic credentials in a continent that had experienced several election reversals and contestations. But the country has suffered on many aspects of democratic governance. Participation seems to have only been reduced to elections. Political participation or involvement is an important aspect in governance (Ifiok, 2007). Political participation seems to be suffering setbacks due to reluctance on the part of government to adhere to the voices of the people on different calls of public concern.

### **2.3 Media and Access to Information**

In today's globalised world, the role of the media is to act as a watchdog to the government in order to achieve political, economic and social development. The media provides the platform upon which citizens can seek and receive valuable information. Access to information is critical in a democracy and people cannot participate without information. The SADC Media Law (2004: 4) states that 'shaping an effective democratic system requires many steps like formation of a strong media that contributes to democracy and development'. Access to information is crucial in the realisation of strong democratic governance. This is, however, often overlooked and rights of access not adequately promoted. Access to information as stated by Neuman (2002) is an important element in the effort to reduce corruption, increase accountability and deepen trust among citizens and their governments. Public access to government-held information allows individuals to better understand the role of government and the value in decisions being made on their behalf. Poor public access to information feeds corruption. Secrecy allows back-room deals to determine public spending in the interests of the few rather than the many. Therefore, for more accountability and transparency, there is need to have a strong flow of information and this can keep the government on track. Lack of

information impedes citizens' ability to assess the decisions of their leaders and make informed choices about the individuals they elect to serve as their representatives.

The situation in Zambia with regard to access to information is hampered by main state acts that have negatively limited the rights to access to information. The Defamation Act 1964, State Security Act 1969, Telecommunication Act 1994, Electoral Commission Act 1996, ZNBC Amendment Act 2002, Independent Broadcasting Authority Act 2002, and Electoral Act 2006, have all put limits on the way the right to information in Zambia is enjoyed. For example, Telecommunication Act 1994 establishes an authority which administrates radio frequency spectrum. However, the authority which finally approves licenses remains the Minister of Information and Broadcasting Services. This has threatened, for example, the levels of operations of private radio stations and has compromised standards of information that can be reported. As aptly put by the *SADC Media Law: A Handbook for Media Practitioners*, '...repression(s) still persist, which indicates that media freedom in Zambia is still not what it should be' (2004: 76). The study explored the perception of students on this matter in an attempt to establish their views with regard to the state of media and access to information in the context of Zambia.

## **2.4 Measures to Enhance Public Participation**

Ifiok (2007), in a research paper titled, '*Referendum as a Tool of Good Governance in the Developing World*', presents quiet reliable views with regard to citizen participation and its influences on governance. The study uses Switzerland and Brazil in establishing the extent to which referendum (direct participation) influences governance or can be used as a tool for good governance. Citizen participation in governance is noted as essential, as it allows the people's voices to be heard. This is done through various avenues such as voting, neighbourhood associations, initiations and referendums and town hall meetings, which can include political rallies, for example, in the case of Zambia. The study reveals that enhanced citizen political participation in the developing world, through the use of referendum may go a long way towards legitimising the actions of their governments. Ifiok indicates that as citizens lose faith in those in government, there is a corresponding level of apathy towards involvement in the political process. Jackman (1987) in Ifiok (2007), supports this view as he adds, 'where cultures are more participatory, citizens display heightened enthusiasm for politics: they exhibit greater political satisfaction with and pride in their

institutions and are generally more efficacious in the role they and their fellow citizens play in politics' (1987: 405). He asserts further that voter turnout would improve when the people feel that they are being listened to. In analysing the levels of public participation in Zambia, this research in its undertaking, attempts to identify if referendums would help revamp public participation in Zambia.

The African Governance Report II of 2009 by the Economic Commission for Africa gives a well outlined picture of the condition of governance in Africa. It stresses the aspect of flourished multiparty systems but with poor institutions to maintain and sustain such conditions. However, the report does not clearly state the reasons to why such poor conditions prevail and does not offer solutions that can be utilised to bring about strong democracies in Africa. With this lacuna at hand, this research explored the reasons that are possibly leading to weakened political institutions and explored the different ways that can possibly be used in the case of Zambia to strengthen democratic governance.

Another profound study by Gyainah-Boadi (2013), gives critical insights about elements of participation. Although the study relied more on views from donors in the country, it offers quite remarkable and outstanding insights that today underpin most African societies, including Zambia. The study shows election trends that have been hitting most African countries. The accusations of malpractice in Ghana after the 2012 elections, clearly shows an ill face of African democracy. Malpractices in most cases have led to a demoralised citizenry in the participation of elections, leading to massive voter apathy.

A more intricate perspective of Gyainah-Boadi's study is given on the aspect of separation of powers. Gyainah-Boadi (2013) indicates that power in Ghana is legally and constitutionally concentrated in the hands of the executive branch in general, and especially the president and the governing political party. There is a dominance and inadequate regulation of the exercise of presidential and executive branch officials. There is weak accountability and it is impossible to have meaningful checks and balances. Such a scenario in my view tends to affect public participation in most countries and Zambia is no exception. In Zambia, the challenge of separation of powers has for so long been a heated debate.

The rule of law also remains poorly entrenched and access to justice is inadequate, especially for the ordinary citizens in the rural and peri-urban areas. This partly explains the high incidences of mob justice and vigilantism in most communities.

According to Gyainah-Boadi, addressing such ill orientation of governance requires an active civil society organisation process, to understand and assess the extent to which the current proposals take step to address the issues and through engagement in on-going constitutional reform. The lack of a strong parliament (legislature) and the deficit of the Electoral Commission and the lack of credibility in it is all a matter of constitutional design. Overall, the ill transition of democracy and governance point to the failures in institutions that are legally established and guided by the constitution. Constitutional lacunas have impeded governance in many African countries. In this regard, with reference to Gyainah-Boadi's recommendations, the first step in offering solutions to these governance problems is through a distinctive separation of powers in the constitution. Achieving this would mean effective accountability, checks and balances on most governmental institutions and the civil society organisations. The suggested reforms by Gyainah-Boadi and his constitutional approach to governance is a remarkable down play in any efforts of consolidating governance in the midst of many democratic deficiencies.

However, the study's high concentration on donor views does not present a true reflection of a good governance assessment. The study did not, for example, adhere to the demands of the Paris Declaration in which any form of governance assessment should be less reliant on international experts and more on national institutions and local experts (UNDP, 2008). UNDP furthers these indicators by placing emphasis on a shift from external to local and national assessment if governance is to be well understood. In this research, it is hoped that new mechanisms will be established in an attempt to reconstruct the political fortunes of Zambia. This, however, required a close look on how students felt separation of powers impacts on governance.

USAID Ghana (2011) in a study on Ghana presents different perspectives on governance. Using the three basic elements, consensus, rule of law and inclusion, democracy and governance in Ghana was critically assessed. The objective of USAID was to determine what political changes or reforms can realistically support or catalyse the realisation of democracy and governance. This was done using a four step approach and methodology of USAID's newly revised democratic strategic governance framework (SAF) and these include:

- i. Defining primary democratic governance problem,
- ii. Identifying key actors and institutions,
- iii. Considering USAID's operational and programmatic environment and constraints, and
- iv. Outlining proposed strategy.

One obstacle to governance as observed by USAID is the aspect of consensus. The study revealed that Ghana has not reached an agreement about the role of traditional leaders in modern Ghanaian politics and society. The second problem is that political elites in the country are satisfied with the status-quo with regard to allocation of power. The challenge of lack of consensus leads to decisions that are not legitimate in most communities and affects the levels at which citizens are able to associate themselves with the issues at hand.

The rule of law as observed in the report has a lot to do with governance. Although the country records very good points on civil liberties, political freedom and human rights, two weaknesses with regard to the rule of law have been hindrances to democracy and governance in Ghana. The first being high concentration of power in the executive and the presidential appointees, the same element observed by Gyainah-Boadi. When there is high concentration of powers in the executive, there is a high possibility that the legislature and judiciary are overridden.

In the quest to uphold the law, they (executive and presidential appointees) face political incentives not to prosecute members of their own party. This leads to weak accountability mechanisms in other areas of government such as parliament and what appears to some observers as deliberate attempts to keep the judiciary weak.

Another weakness in the rule of law in Ghana is the extremely low capacity of the state to enforce the law at the local level in many parts of the country, especially in the rural areas. Even with the admirable record on human rights and civil liberties in Ghana since 1992 during the democratic transition of the country, some segments of society still face exclusion. The main beneficiaries of Ghana's economic development are increasingly the privileged few who have the capacity to gain access to the politicians. In relation to Zambia, the achievement of the rule of law is far from being fetched. The constitution of Zambia, for example, gives the president excessive powers to appoint people in very critical and sensitive positions like Auditor General, Service Chiefs (Police, Army,

Zambia Air force, Zambia National Service and Prisons), high court judges, commissioners of the electoral commission of Zambia and the Attorney General. Such appointments give the president loyalty. The implication is that loyalty compromises the quality of decisions for fear of losing their positions. The study clearly affirms that rule of law and consensus stands central in a quest to establish whether or not public participation is an important aspect in the governance of any given country.

## **2.5 General Comments on Public Participation and Governance**

Citizens must take themselves seriously in ensuring that they are responsible of decisions that affect them (Miyanda and Kakanda, n.d). Citizens need not take themselves as mere voters, but as governors and masters of their own fates, as watchdogs, voters and clients. They may not participate at all times in all public affairs, but should participate at least in some crucial public affairs. For example, in Zambia in 1996, it took the united civil society's pressure to compel the second republican president rescind his decision to go for the third term in office. There is need to work at achieving the best laws that guarantee us active participation in the political community. It is clear, then, that the public manifestation of good governance is centred on the participation of all its citizens. In such, freedom of assembly and expression must stand central on one hand and an organised civil society on the other hand. Therefore, to realise good governance, there must be free flow of information that helps in enhancing public participation.

Dahl (1956) argues that an efficient democracy is only possible when citizens can participate in governance. In the same vein, Kweit (1981: 93) noted that 'citizen participation is expected by many to reduce the alienation of citizens from their government'. Similarly, Bachrach (1967), Pranger (1968) and Pateman (1970) all support the view that democracy can only work efficiently when the citizens are involved. This argument by these authors and others goes further to enhance the theory that people are inherently satisfied with their government when their voices are being heard and acted upon as this will legitimise the actions of those in government.

It could be said, therefore, that participation is the bedrock of democratic systems of government. Representative government should not end when people are voted into office; rather, a conscientious effort needs to be made to keep the people involved at all levels of national affairs. One aspect of

citizen participation in the policy making process, is illustrated by Rose (2007) who notes that democracy is only accountable to the public when they are involved in the policy making process. The government and the people must act collectively in the formulation of policies; this can restore confidence and trust between those governing and the governed.

A study in Zambia by Kalungu and Lungu in 2001 found that the majority of local people (90 per cent) find their MPs elusive and greedy people who never visited their constituencies to listen to the people's problems. The MPs hide in the city corners of Lusaka, the capital city of Zambia. The author's (Kalungu and Lungu, 2001) research visit to Lesotho revealed the same pattern. MPs do not go back to their constituencies, preferring to spend their time in town. In South Africa, those who call for reform in the electoral system (proportional representation) argue that MPs are not accountable to their constituency and they are ineffective, since they are guaranteed party support even when they do not perform. In Zambia, there is limited contact between MPs and the citizens, and this has often raised questions like who do they represent? The value of representative democracy lies in the ability of citizens interacting with leaders. Not far from the demands of the direct democracy and social contract theory, citizens must be the drivers of affairs of the government through choices, telling the representatives what is ideal for their survival.

Nowadays, as seen by Kalungu and Lungu (2001), citizens not only vote but also are increasingly demanding a governance scheme free of bureaucratic and administrative corruption, patronage, nepotism and diversion of public funds and stealing of public assets; a governance approach that promotes development and equity. It is citizens who are demanding more participation in the decision making process of public policies, as well as their implementation follow-up. Citizens expect that parties in parliament will represent them. In reality, despite their numbers in parliament (opposition parties), with the exception of South Africa, opposition parties in SADC have not been very watchful and alert when passing bills. Several bills have been passed with inadequate deliberation. One such major example from the Zambia context is the passing of the retirement age bill which increased the retirement age from 55 years to 65 years during the PF regime. However, the views of the civil society were not considered by the government in power. This is as a result of the domineering government that pays little attention to citizens.

In SADC, public consultation between government and citizens is very limited. The lack of visits by MPs to their respective constituencies suggests that the critical link between central government and local government systems is either weak or non-existent in the countryside. In turn, this means the opinions and views of local people are not given prominence in the decision making processes at the higher levels of government. The study by Kalungu and Lungu (2001) found that the varied experiences local people have had with their elected representatives tend to influence their attitudes towards voting. Generally, however, local people seem to understand the power of the vote in terms of electing leaders of their choice to office. The impact of citizen political participation on the policy making process is particularly interesting as this will ultimately determine their attitudes towards those in government.

Nie and Verba define political participation as ‘those legal activities by private citizens that are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of government personnel and/or the actions they take’ (1975: 1). This definition shows the power of the citizens over those in government if they are actively involved in the decision making process. Huntington *et. al.* (1976) also noted that there are various forms of political participation apart from voting, such as citizen protests and involvement in political campaigns but these other forms in most developing countries are usually suppressed and received with resentment by those in government.

Participation thus goes beyond just voting. Olsen writes that participation allows people ‘to be informed, interested and involved citizens who have a sense of control over their own lives’ (1982: 22). Developed democratic countries tend to have a more participatory culture, leading to more citizen involvement and interest in government activities. In Zambia as noted by UNDP (2012), while national and local government policies and legal frameworks provide for broad-based participation in national processes, only limited public participation has been observed. Some of the important factors that limit public engagement in national processes include poor access to information, weak civil society, and general public apathy due to limited civic education. For example, only 500 individuals commented on the 2010 NCC Draft Constitution despite it being posted on three websites, distributed in the national print media and hard copies being circulated. Further, only thirty responses were received when the National Assembly invited the public to submit views on the Constitution Amendment Bill. In the same vein, there is limited public response to invitations from the Ministry of Finance and National Planning for public participation in national

budget hearings. The limited public participation/engagement on national processes curbs the effectiveness of public policy and programme formulation and implementation as well as accountability for results.

Thompson (1970) also notes that participation enhances self-realisation and reinforces government legitimacy by citizens. The conscious acceptance of government legitimacy by the people also enhances political stability as protests, riots and coups would not occur. Keim (1975) further argues that sometimes people are just happy to be involved in the participatory process with others as it is an enlightening task. Political participation could be said to be the foundation on which democracy is built. Democratic cultures that do not have a history of active citizen involvement run into the problem of voter apathy, leading to a general belief that the government is illegitimate. Salisbury states, 'political participation is regarded as a legitimising act. Insofar as citizens participate in governmental affairs, through voting and whatever other means exist, they give their consent to decisions and so legitimise those decisions and the regime that makes them' (1975: 326).

The lack of legitimacy could lead to problems in the polity of countries like Zambia, such as strikes, citizen apathy towards elections, a general breakdown of law and order, and, in extreme circumstances, to military coups. An example of citizen perception of the lack of legitimacy in government was the Orange Revolution in Ukraine, which occurred after the run-off vote of the 2004 Ukrainian presidential election that was characterised by voter intimidation and electoral fraud. It was only after the election was annulled that protesters stopped striking and demonstrating in the streets.

Democracy relies on the citizens because they are involved in the electoral process; this in itself is the bedrock of participation. Political participation on the other hand requires that citizens be involved in decisions taken on their behalf. Citizens can, if given the opportunity, participate more in politics if they are given the ability to participate in policy making. Barber (1984), for example, emphasises that democracy will only get stronger with direct political participation. Good governance involves the active involvement of the citizens and referendums as stated earlier could enhance such citizen participation and this participation could lead to more accountability of those in elected offices.

Pateman (1970) notes that democracy becomes more successful with enhanced citizen participation; the ability to be heard would lead to a better relationship between those who govern and the governed. Klein (2005) adds that citizen rights are supremely important, such as the right to vote and the opportunity to provide input. Thus, the right to participate makes the design of participatory practices central to good governance.

## **2.6 Chapter Summary**

Most profoundly, the literature gives the different dimensions upon which governance and participation tend to meet and how citizens can be incorporated in the processes that govern their lives. Participation in governance is a complex aspect in looking at society interaction. It goes beyond the elections and voting. Participation requires an active involvement even during post elections. In support of participation being beyond just voting, Olsen (1982: 22) writes that participation allows people 'to be informed, interested and involves citizens who have a sense of control over their own lives'. Developed democratic countries tend to have a more participatory culture, leading to more citizen involvement and interest in government activities.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.0 Overview**

The previous chapter explored the literature related to this research and now this chapter explores the methodology of the research. It addresses the research paradigm, research design, Sampling design, sample size and Sampling Procedures, data collection and analysis, the ethical considerations, and data validation and reliability.

#### **3.1 Research Paradigm**

The research philosophy through which this research was informed was pragmatism. Pragmatism is a paradigm that allows an individual researcher to focus on the outcomes of the research rather than the methods (Creswell, 2007). This paradigm focuses on what works in addressing the problem at hand and the questions asked. In this worldwide view, the researcher has the freedom of choice on what methods, techniques or procedures to use in meeting the needs and purpose of the study. This philosophy underlay the assumption that research always occurs in social, historical political and other contexts. Issues that are not real or part of nature are subjective and must not be debated upon. The goal of this research therefore relies much as possible on the participants' views of the situation or event. As Creswell (2007) puts it, the meanings constructed in this tradition are subjective and are negotiated socially, politically and historically. This implies that they are not imprinted on individual's mind but are formed through interactions with others and through Social, historical and political forces that operate in individuals' lives. Pragmatism as a research tradition informed this research based on the fact that it allowed the researcher select the methods that were seen as fit in an attempt to answer the many questions posed in the study. A mixed method design thus falls well under this paradigm of pragmatism (Creswell, 2012). The pragmatists, for example, believe philosophically in using procedures that "work" for a particular research problem under study and that you should use many methods when understanding a research problem. Public Participation was well explored in this manner as the researcher applied different methods in understanding the problem. The tradition equally gave the researcher room to be able to dig deep into the reality of his reasoning and that of the informants in constructing knowledge.

Using this tradition, the study interpreted findings shaped by the respondent's social, political and historical experiences. The researcher then made sense from the views of others. The nature of this research was interpretive and the researcher relied much on the views collected and transforms those into themes that make sense. People see public participation from different angles of life based on their historical, political, economic and social fortunes.

### **3.2 Research Design**

This research adopted mixed methods design and in a more specific way using an embedded mixed method design. A mixed methods research design is a procedure for collecting, analyzing, and “mixing” both quantitative and qualitative methods in a single study or a series of studies to understand a research problem (Creswell & Clark, 2011; Masaiti, 2013). The purpose of the embedded design is to collect quantitative and qualitative data simultaneously or sequentially, but to have one form of data play a supportive role to the other form of data. An embed design therefore is where the quantitative methods of data collection and procedures as well qualitative methods are employed either at the same time or one after another in answering the research problem. Creswell (2012), the basic assumption is that, the uses of both quantitative and qualitative methods, in combination, provide a better understanding of the research problem and question than either method by itself. In so doing, this research focused on both the quantitative as the primary data and qualitative methods as the supportive data. In as such a set of questionnaire was used in form of closed ended statements that subjected students to weighing their thought about their level of agreement or disagreement to the statements using a five-point likert scale. In the vein to explore perceptions of students on public participation on national governance in Zambia, a systematic approach was considered. In the first phase, the researcher piloted the research instruments to test the quality of questionnaires in terms of clearness of questions. Phase two included editing and perfecting the research questionnaire. The third phase was purely data collection and in the fourth phase, data analysis and interpretation was done.

### **3.3 Sample and Sampling procedures**

The study sampled 220 students from University of Zambia, and 2 students' UNZASU leaders and 6 Students Association Presidents (UNZABECA, UNZAAGRIC, UNZASEDA, UNZAPOPSA,

UNZAMA, UNZAESA) were also interviewed. In this research, convenient sampling and maximum variation purposive sampling techniques were used. Convenient Sampling was used on locating 220 respondents and maximum variation purposive sampling was used in selecting the UNZASU leaders and Association leaders with at least one from each school within the University. A common definition of convenience sampling is researching those elements of the population that are easily available to the researcher (Saumure & Lisa, 2008, in Leiner, 2014). The term “convenience sample” describes neither a systematic sampling method nor a specific sample structure. It rather is a convenient way of putting a label on some weakly defined group of respondents. Consequently, there is little literature on convenience samples or how to make the best use of them. Since the research was not biased towards any class of students, convenient sampling was sought fit in selecting respondents as this did not matter as long as the people approached were students at the university of Zambia. Most profound, the researcher paid critical attention to verifying with the students before administering questionnaires of the year of study, and the school to which one belongs. These two aspects were critical as they allowed the researcher to have a represented sample from all schools within the university and across the years of study, this made the research sample well representative and richer.

As a matter of convenience, the researcher met students at the Goma fields, lecture theaters, student rooms and approached some of the members of staffs (lecturers) to administer questionnaires during their lesson time. This gave the researcher easy access to respondents given the nature of the workload students had at the time of data collection.

### **3.4 Data Collection Procedures**

This was considered in two ways, primary data and secondary data.

#### **3.4.1 Primary data**

Beck (2000) sees primary data as a type of information that is obtained directly from first-hand sources by means of surveys, observation, focus groups, in-depth interviews or experimentation. It is data that has not been previously published and is derived from a new or original research study and collected at the source. Primary data is collected specifically to address the problem in question. The primary data of this research consisted of views collected through questionnaires from the students

who were conveniently selected to participate in this research and unstructured interviews were used on Student Union leaders and Association Leaders. The researcher used a self administered questionnaire (Appendix 2) which had four sections A, B C and D. the students were to rate the statement based on what they thought is true. To achieve that, 52 related statements were prepared based on a **5-point** Likert scale ranging from 1 to 5, with 5 representing the extreme positive perception and 1 representing the extreme negative perception. Respondents were availed with the questionnaire for rating to determine each one's level of agreement with the statement. The rankings were categorized as follows: **1=Strongly Disagree, 2=Disagree, 3=Neutral (Somewhat Agree/Disagree), 4=Agree and 5=Strongly Agree.**

The interviews where unstructured and as such the interviewer asked question based on how respondents answered and what issues they brought on board. Were the researcher wanted more clarity or more information, the researcher asked more questions on the subject being explained by respondents. This form of data provided the raw information never used by anyone in any study. The views were carefully analyzed and compared as a basis for arguments in the research. Themes were constructed

### **3.4.2 Secondary Data**

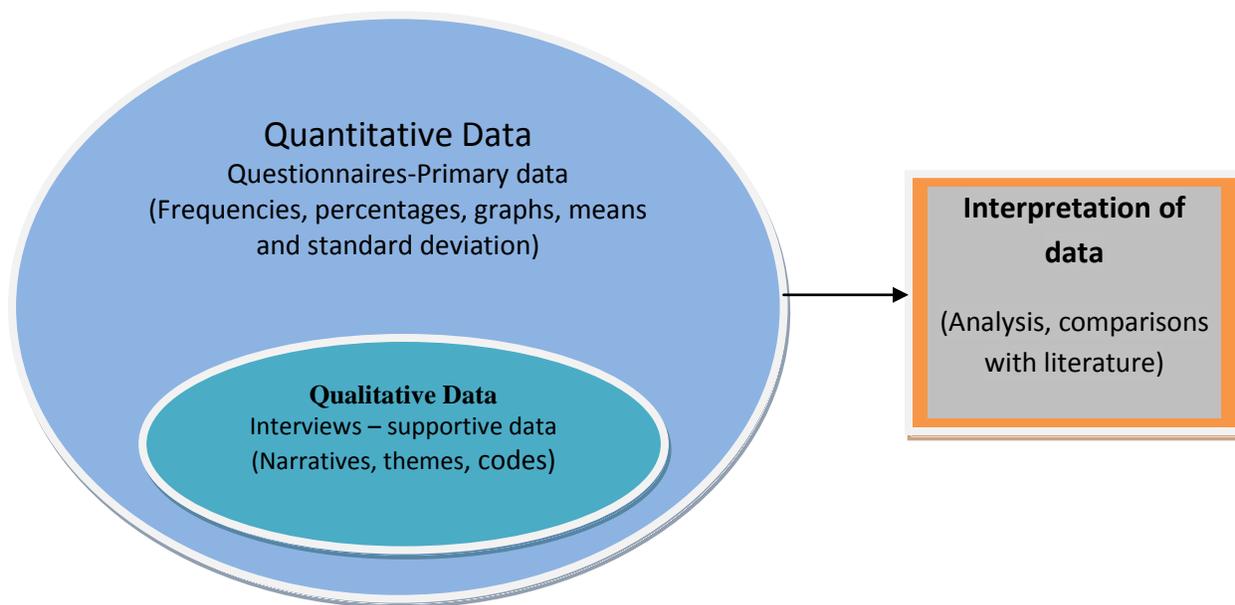
The secondary data comprised of literature collected from scholarly works on public participation and governance from the World Bank, UNESCAP, USAID, UNDP and other relevant individual research works, books and dissertations. In the analysis of Sleeper (2001), secondary data is information that has already been collected and is usually available in published or electronic form. Secondary data has often been collected, analyzed, and organized with a specific purpose in mind. Such data published by agencies and governments is usually for free. The research therefore relied on such data as a part of the secondary sources. Which helped check for inconsistencies, overemphasized or exaggerated views.

### **3.5 Data Analysis**

This study used an embedded analysis of data. The quantitative data was the major data source which was complimented by the qualitative data embedded within the quantitative data. The use of the two

methods gave the research a rich approach in understanding the problem. Data in this research was simultaneously collected. The following was the sketched procedure.

Figure 3.1: Analysis of Embedded Design of Mixed Methods



(Adopted from Creswell, 2012)

### 3.5.1 Quantitative Data Analysis

This study analyzed data using the embedded mixed method design in which qualitative data was subject to a narrative analysis and quantitative data to Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS). However, for accuracy's sake, data was exported to STATA 11 for the purpose of collapsing a 5 point scale to a three point scale: Disagree, Neutral and Disagree. Response 1 and 2 were combined to represent Disagree, 3 represented a Neutral point while response 4 and 5 were combined to represent Agree. This was then later re-exported to SPSS for analysis. SPSS was used to generate descriptive statistics in form of percentages, frequencies, means and standard deviations, graphs and tables. A likert scale was used as a way of analysing the levels of perceptions of the students in an attempt to establish the state of Public Participation on National Governance in Zambia.

Objective 1, 2, 3 and 4 were subjected to percentages presented in graphs in establishing the levels of response in determining which of the issues outlined, were much pressing than the others. Objective

number 5 was however analysed using the Means as a form of classification of which elements were considered with high priority as solutions to the problem of governance. As such, elements with high Mean were considered as elements that are given high priority.

### **3.5.2 Qualitative Data Analysis**

Being a study that partly relied much on the stories of events about the things detected in students' lives, this study used narrative analysis in shaping the nature their perceptions and encounters of events from interviews data. Alan (2004: 413) states that Narrative analysis then is an approach to the analysis of qualitative data that emphasizes the stories that people employ to account for events. This method of analysis can be applied to data that has been collected through semi-structured and unstructured interviews. The data processing operations in this study involved among other things editing thus a process of examining the collected raw data to detect errors and omissions and to correct them wherever possible; classification thus arranging data in themes or classes on the basis of common characteristics in descriptive form, and thus summarising raw data and displaying the same in compact form for further analysis. Qualitative data from unstructured interviews was collected, transcribed and coded into themes and sub-themes that emerged through narrative analysis. This was done by carefully listening to the recorded conversations in order to interpret, reduce and code key responses into major and sub-themes that emerged for later discussion. This was done in the light of the research questions at hand. Some responses were also isolated to be used as original quotes for verbatim to highlight important findings of the study.

### **3.6 Data Validation and Reliability**

Data validity and reliability are becoming of high concern in research. Ensuring validity in qualitative research is something all researchers should strive for, yet it is not always clear how this actually proceeds in data analysis. Validation as defined by Kvale (1989: 74) "*pertains to the extent that a method investigates what it is intended to investigate*". Validity is therefore epitomized by the question: are we measuring what we think we are measuring? In so doing, the study employed method triangulation as method of data validation. Methodological triangulation involves the use of multiple qualitative and/or quantitative methods to study the program. In such a Between Methods triangulation was employed. The researcher used interviews, questionnaires and document analysis to assess the changes and similarities in the data analysed and if the results appear to be the same, the

data collected is valid and trustworthy. A pilot study was also undertaken as one form of data validity mechanisms. This helped check for the length of sentences, errors in questions, and usage of words for reliability. Respondents were asked to comment on the questionnaires for corrections.

### **3.7 Ethical Consideration during the research**

The Deontological philosophy was greatly considered with high value in this research. According to Skinner, Ferrell, and Dubinsky (1988: 213), “deontological philosophies focus on the *factors* or *means* used to arrive at an ethical decision. These philosophies emphasize moral obligations or commitments that should be binding or necessary for proper conduct”. To put it quite simply, a deontological approach means that I should *not* harm participants in any way, no matter what the potential benefit. Hence, as a matter of morality, permission was sought before an interview as one of the ethical demands of any research in order to avoid coerciveness. Anonymity and confidentiality of participation was also considered and assurance was given to all the interviewees for any information given, as it was used for nothing else other than academic purposes.

### **3.8 Chapter Summary**

This chapter explored the methodological procedures used in the study. The chapter discussed the embedded design of mixed method and gave the procedure to its application. As a new form of approach in research, the chapter has given detailed steps taken from the research design through data collection, analysis, sampling and sample size, to the ethical consideration and data validation methods.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### PRESENTATION OF RESULTS

#### 4.0 Overview

This chapter presents the results of the research. The views were collected from students and their union and association leaders at the University of Zambia. The views presented, hence, reflect only the opinions of the students from the University of Zambia and only those that participated in this research. Using the embedded design of mixed methods (quantitative and qualitative); the researcher relied heavily on quantitative analysis of data. It was supplemented by qualitative data. The results are presented using a thematic approach following research questions. Below are the research questions which guided this study:

- i. What were the University of Zambia students' perspectives on public participation in national governance in Zambia?
- ii. What was the extent to which political rights guaranteed in the face of public participation and good governance?
- iii. Were students considering media and access to information as ingredients to participation and national governance?
- iv. What were the students understanding of the relationship between the police and the public relations towards public participation?
- v. What were some of the alternative measures that could be used to enhance public participation on national governance in Zambia?

The chapter begins by presenting the demographic information of the respondents and then later present in details the results from views collected quantitatively using a self-administered questionnaire with four sections, A, B, C and D. Section A addressed demographic aspects, Section B addressed attitudes and factors that affect participation, Section C dealt with barriers and section D with mearsures. The question was designed in a likert scale format using a five point scale: 1 Strongly Disagree, 2 Disagree, 3 Somewhat Agree/Disagree, 4 Agree and 5 strongly agree. The midpoint (neutral) was 3 Somewhat Agree/Disagree. Qualitative data was, however, collected using unstructured interviews.

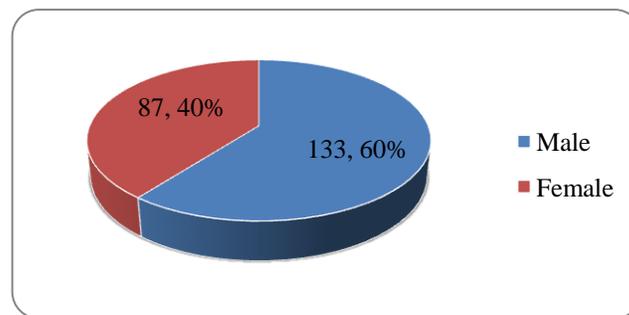
## 4.1 Demographic Statistics

This section presents the background information of the participants in the research. The distribution of gender, age and major courses of students are presented separately and the remaining is presented in a separate table using frequencies. The importance of this section is to show the type of student population captured and its distribution.

### 4.1.1: Gender Distribution

This presents the respondents information found after data collection. The total number of males is represented by 133 respondents, equivalent to 60 per cent while females were eighty-seven giving a cumulative 40 per cent of all total respondents. The respondent's gender distribution was as indicated in Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1: Gender Distribution

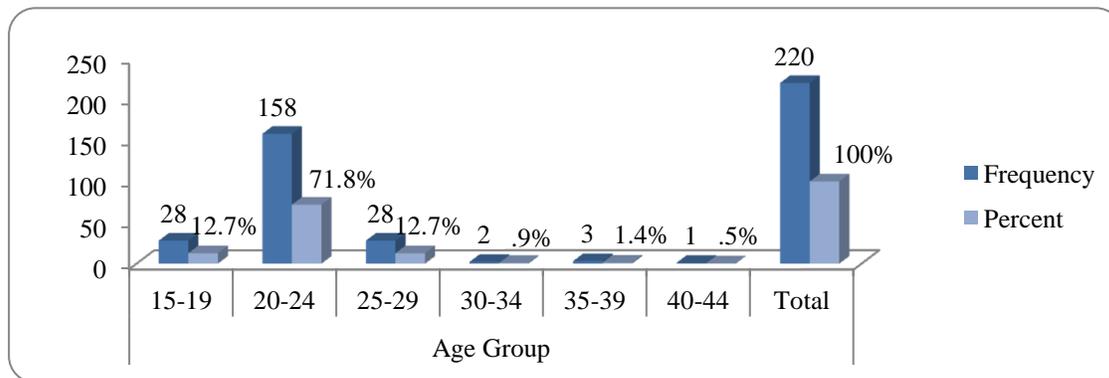


Source: Field data 2015

### 4.1.2 Age Distribution

Out of the 220 respondents, those falling within the age range 15- 19 years were twenty-eight (12.7%), those within the age range of 20 – 24 were 158 (71.8%), representing the largest age group of the participants in the research. The age range of 25 – 29 was twenty-eight (12.7%), the value significantly equal to the age range of 15 - 19 years. Only two (0.9%) of the participants were in the age range 30 – 34 years, while those in the age range 35 – 39 were three (1.4%) and one participant was recorded in the age range 40 – 44 representing 0.5 per cent of the total participants. The mean age was 22.21years. The frequencies are presented in Figure 4.2.

Figure 4.2: Age Distribution



Source: Field data 2015

### 4.1.3 Other Student Background Information

This includes the following information, year of study, level of study, school and classification of residence and economic status of family. The frequencies are presented in the Table 4.2.

Table 4.1: Other Student Background information

<b>Categorisation</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Year of Study</b>		
First Year	104	47.3
Second Year	31	14.1
Third Year	66	30.0
Fourth Year	18	8.2
Fifth Year	1	.5
<b>Level of study</b>		
Undergraduate	219	99.5
Masters Degree	1	.5
<b>School</b>		
Education	173	78.6
Humanities and Social Sciences	30	13.6
Science Based	17	7.7
<b>Residence</b>		
High Density	79	35.9
Low Density	141	64.1
<b>Economic Status</b>		
Upper Class	10	4.5
Middle Class	171	77.7
Lower Class	39	17.7

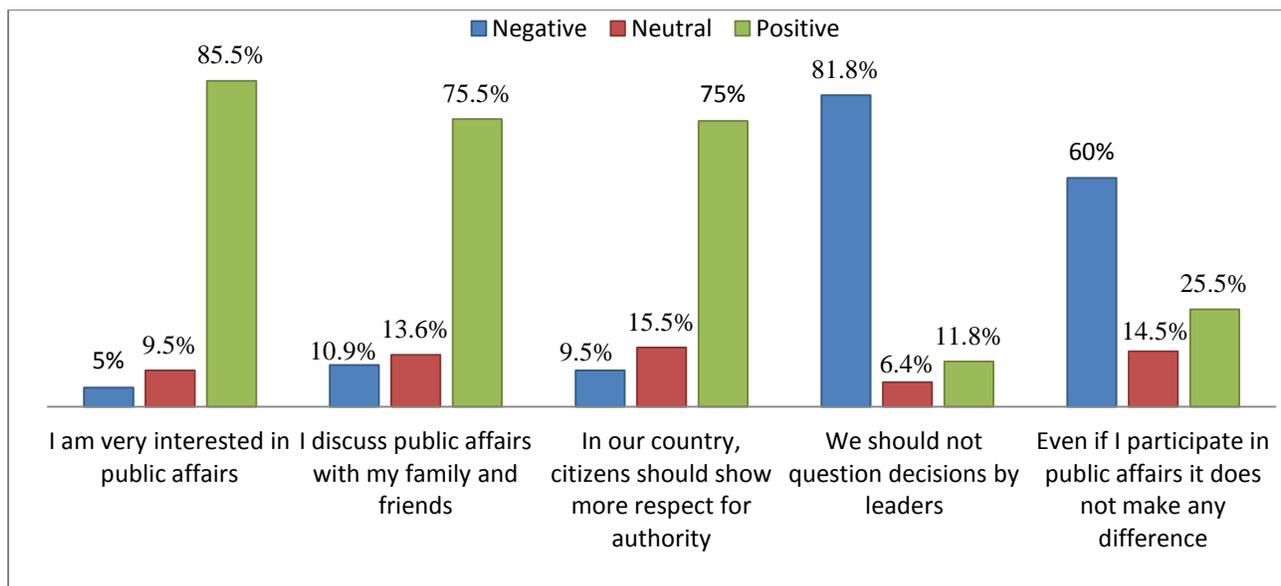
Source: Field data 2015

Table 4.1 shows other students demographic information. The study population was represented by 104 (47.3%) of first years, thirty-one (14.1%) of second years, sixty (30%) of thirds years, eighteen (8.2%) of fourth years and one (0.5%) fifth year student. Out of this sampled population, 173 (78.6%) were from the School of Education, thirty (13.6%) from the School of Humanities and seventeen (7.7%) from science based schools. The economic status of the respondents is highly concentrated on the middle class with 171 (77.7%) from middle class, ten (4.5%) from upper class and thirty-nine (17.7%) from the lower class.

#### 4.2 Students' Attitude towards Public Participation

Using a five point scale: 1 strongly disagree, 2 disagree, 3 somewhat disagree/agree, 4 agree and 5 strongly agree. Students selected which scale point best suits their opinion about their attitudes towards public participation. However, responses were combined in order to create negative attitudes and positive attitudes from the given responses. In this regard, responses 1 and 2 were regarded as negative response and response 3 was neutral, while 4 and 5 were regarded as positive response. The presentation of the responses is shown in Figure 4.3.

Figure 4.3: Students Attitude towards Participation in National Governance



Source: Field data 2015

Figure 4.3, shows that students are keen about participating in national affairs with 85.5 per cent of total respondents indicating a positive attitude towards being interested in public affairs, 9.5 per cent were neutral and 5 per cent negative. 75.5 per cent of the respondents also discuss public affairs with their family and friends with only 13.6 per cent neutral and 10.9 per cent negative responses. It is also clear that respondents regard respect to authority with great esteem giving a 75 per cent positive attitude, 15.5 per cent and 9.5 per cent negative response. Questioned if respondents believe decisions by leaders must not be questioned, the negative response of 81.8 per cent implies that respondents favour having decisions by leaders in national affairs questioned. Only 11.8 per cent was of the view of not questioning decisions made by leaders and 6.4 per cent were neutral on the matter. There is a significant recognition among respondents that participating in public affairs can make a difference. A total of 60 per cent are in favour of making a difference through participation, while 25.5 per cent feel their participation cannot impact or change anything, with a total of 14.5 per cent standing on neutral grounds.

However, from 80 per cent of the respondents interviewed, it was observed that students were of the view that they must be allowed to participate in national governance as their contribution could result into constructive decisions being made, though most often they were stopped and not given attention when making demands about public matters. For example, one respondent observed;

The university has the responsibility to perform community service... the university must take active role and find a way to influence the direction of public affairs. The government, however, must come to the people from all institutions and must be inclusive in their decisions.

There is a considerable impression by the university students that the university could add value to the decisions made by the government, as indicated by one union leader:

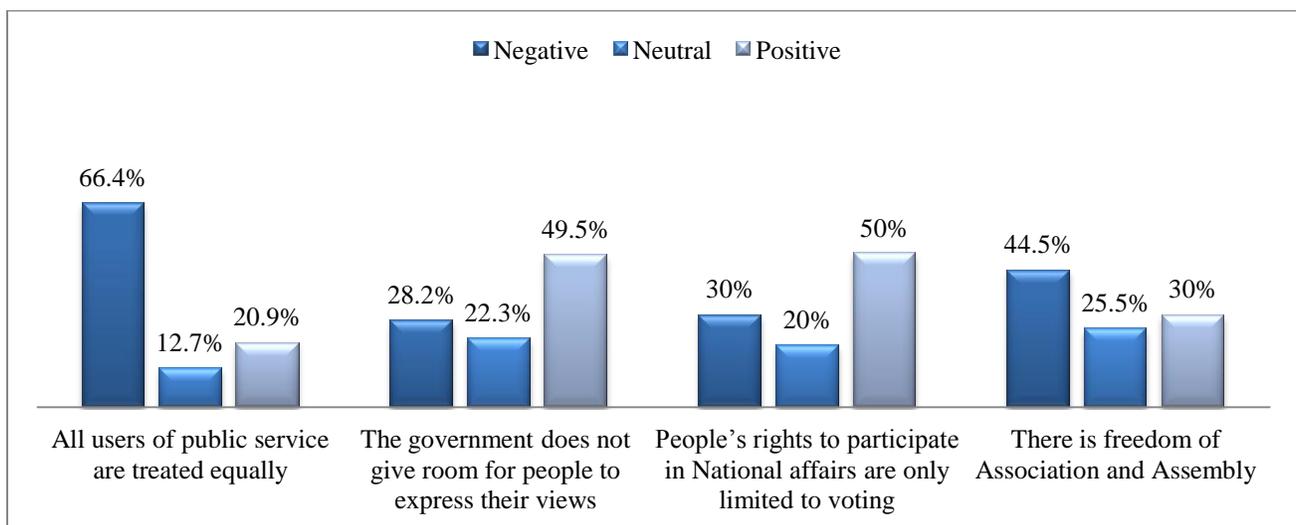
The government must come to consult lecturers and students when making policies, we have people here who can take time to debate and make informed decisions. They can come and hold discussions and students can present there critically thought views. Also lecturers can offer expert knowledge in different fields of government concerns but I think we are sidelined and undermined by our government (Interview, March 2015).

The two data sets appear to be in agreement. Students' attitude seen from both data collected indicates a strong desire to engage in public affairs. There is 80 per cent on average agreement between the views in qualitative data and quantitative data. Students do not want to be excluded from the main stream of decision making processes.

### 4.3 Guarantee of Political Rights towards Public Participation

Figure 4.4 shows the tabulation of the responses on selected political rights in form of percentages.

Figure 4.4: State of Political Rights



Source: Field data 2015

The results show that there was unequal treatment in the manner people access public services with 66.4 per cent negative responses to the aspect of equality, 12.7 per cent neutral and 20.9 per cent positive. Students equally saw the government as a unit that did not give its people enough room to express their views, 49.5 per cent of the total respondents were in support of the statement with 22.3 per cent neutral and 28.2 per cent negative on the matter. People's rights from the presented result reveal that they were only limited to voting, with 50 per cent positive responses, 20 per cent neutral and 30 per cent negative. Equally, it is observed that 44.5 per cent of respondents indicated negative response to the statement 'there is freedom of assembly and association in Zambia', while 25.5 per cent were neutral and 30 per cent were positive. This implies that the respondents were of the view that there was lack of freedom of assembly and association in Zambia.

About 80 per cent of the interviewed respondents indicated that rights to participate in Zambia were not being respected as expected, particularly Zambia being a democratic country. They gave examples of harassments that take place among those who try to be vocal and critical of the government policies. One participant stated that *'Peoples' rights are only respected when it's time to vote and it is the only time when politicians kneel and citizens become bosses'*. There seems to be a disjointed approach to human rights in Zambia. As observed by another respondent *'when we oppose the government, we are seen as bad citizens wanting to incite violence and not regarded as Zambians, they send the police to brutalise us, and they refuse to dialogue with us'* (Interview with Association Leader, March 2015).

In another illustration, a respondent lamented:

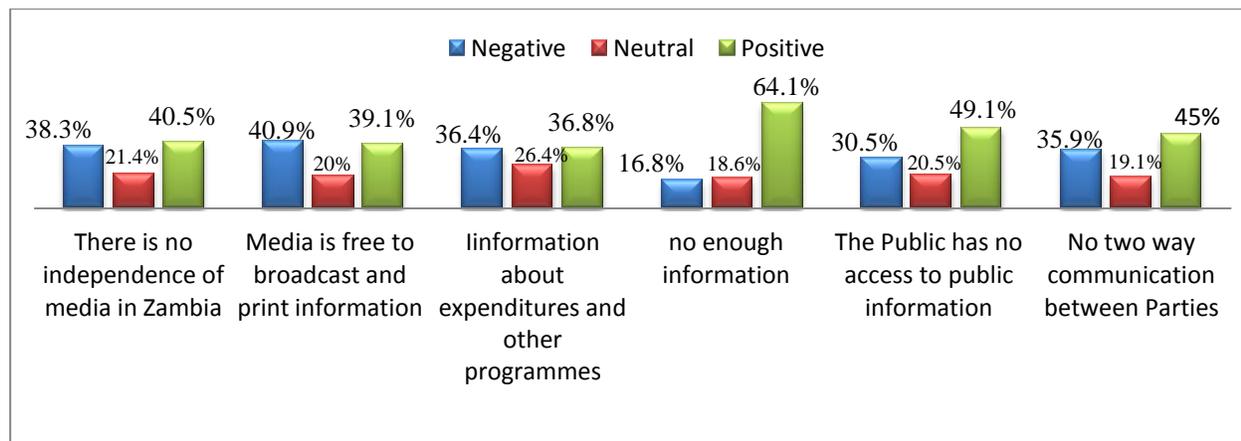
As long as education is not given a priority to the masses, there will always be uninformed citizens who know literally nothing about their rights and if the government does not change, citizenry will never be aware of its rights to participate and people will only be participating where they can benefit (Interview with Association Leader, March 2015).

In both the qualitative and quantitative data, there is agreement in the findings, both data sets point to a bad state of human rights. About 60 per cent on average shows that political rights in Zambia are not protected and promoted. The major issue coming out prominently between the data sets is the aspect of rights being reduced to voting.

#### **4.4 Media and Access to Information**

The following are the findings on the aspect of media and access to information in Zambia. The findings are illustrated in Figure 4.5.

Figure 4.5: Media and Access to Information



Source: Field data 2015

It is deduced from Figure 4.5 that the media and access to information was not favourable for public participation to take place. The key elements that create the needed environment as observed in the table were lacking. Although with little margins between responses, there were considerable differences between the responses. On the issue of independence of media, 40.5 per cent were positive, 21.4 per cent were neutral, while 38.8 per cent were negative. This implies that, to a lesser extent, the independence of the media was perceived as lacking. There was evidence of mixed view on the issues of media and access to information on government expenditure on projects and other programmes of government interests, with 36.4 per cent negative responses and 36.8 per cent positive responses with a fraction of 26.4 per cent of neutral responses. The students' responses show that there was seemingly lack of information that could be used to actively participate, with 64.1 per cent in support of this deficit in information while 16.8 per cent was negative and 18.6 per cent was neutral on the matter.

About 90 per cent of interviewed respondents indicated that access to information in Zambia still faces a challenge. It is observed by some respondents that *'In terms of dissemination, the effective way is through radio programmes since radios are now on phones and citizens can listen to information.'*

Another respondent in line with the issue of information provision expressed that:

Zambia is growing as a country and so is the delivery of information to ordinary citizens. In terms of dissemination, the effective way I see is through radio programmes and radios are now on phones, so citizens can listen to information easily. However, it matters what kind of information is being given. The information should be that which someone can understand. If information is complex, most Zambians wouldn't understand what is said. For example, topics of Gross Domestic Products and inflation may be a bit complex to comprehend if not well simplified. There is, hence need to sieve the information and allow for programmes on television and radio that can motivate people to participate with regard to information on management of national affairs (Interview with Association Leader: March 2015).

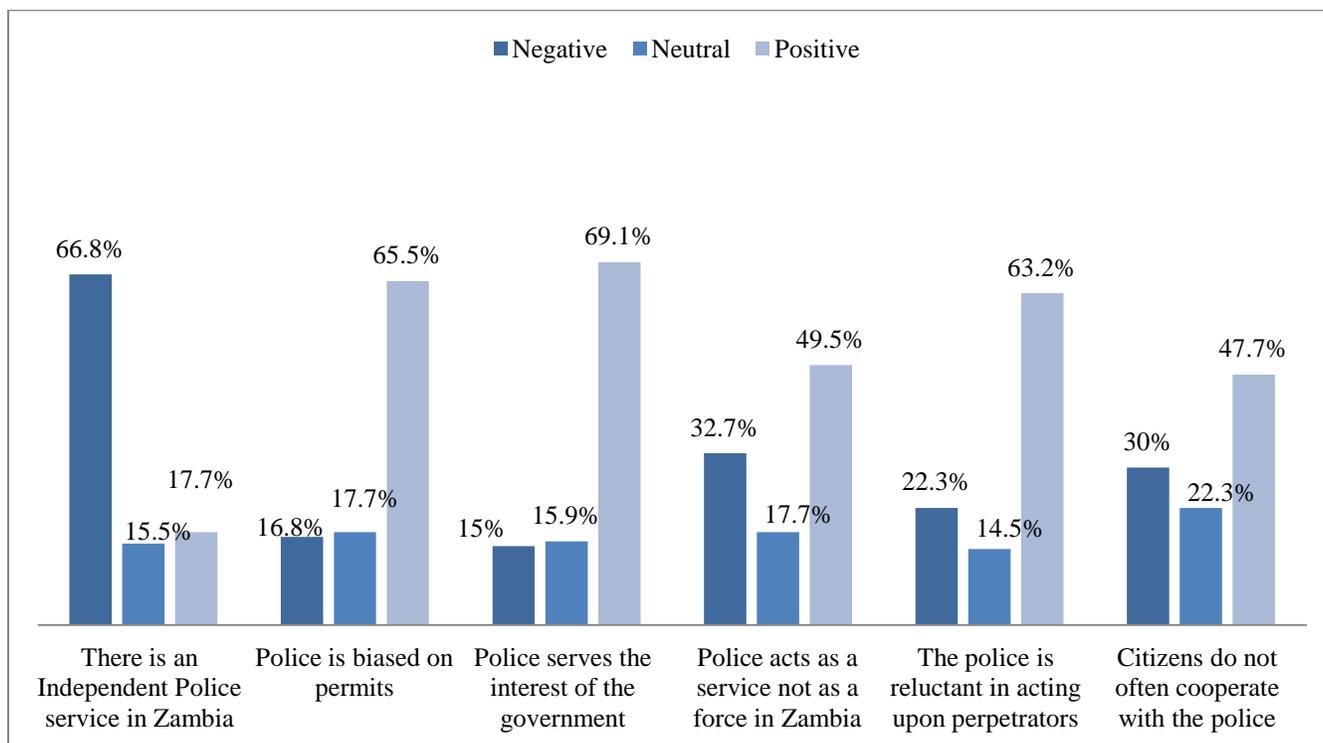
It was also observed by an association leader who stated that the government tends to overpower media operations in Zambia. The respondent stated by giving a specific example in which he noted that, *'the University of Zambia radio station suffered threats to have its frequency of coverage reduced to a certain geographical area due to the feeling that it was becoming too critical of the government'*.

The results found in qualitative data are not far from those from quantitative findings. There is a clear correlation on the issue, media and access to information. The results tend to meet well on the issue, independence of the media. It was noted that the government takes full control of media operations.

#### **4.5 Relationship between the Police and the Public**

The relationship between the police and the public was lacking due to various reasons as seen from the results. Among the major ones was the perceived view of students in which the government heavily used the police to its advantage in advancing its agenda. This compromised the independence of the police and 66.8 per cent of the respondents disputed that there is an independent police in Zambia. The results also show that the police were biased from the respondent's point of view in giving opposition parties and civil society organisations permission to assemble. In a more unique dimension, there was an ironic view that some citizens also did not often cooperate with the police. Figure 4.6 displays the results in form of percentages.

Figure 4.6: Relationship of the Police and the Public



Source: Field data 2015

From the interviews, a respondent observed that ‘*the police in Zambia was feared and used as a tool for the government to oppress people of different views.*’ One association leader stated:

When we talk about public participation, there are a number of ways, this includes through a vote or through demonstration. But in Zambia, the police look at demonstration as a riot and the demonstration part is not working in Zambia because the police disperse people. So when you look at the police and the way they relate with people, I think here in Africa a police is feared and in most African countries police is something regarded as not part of the public (Interview, March 2015).

He continued by stating that:

In other countries, you feel safe and secure seeing the police. Here in Zambia, when you assemble, they think you are rioting. One of the tenets of democracy is freedom to assemble and it is a right. The Public Order Act is not enforced properly in Zambia. People can’t participate through demonstrations and if you cannot demonstrate, it means one way is being killed and you remain with limited alternatives through a vote which comes after years.

About 70 per cent of the respondents indicated that the police affects a lot when it comes to public participation. It instils an aspect of fear in people, which at times limits one to exercise the right to protest, gather and boycotts. As citizens, we have the right to do that but the police intimidate and do not act as a service but a force used by government. They are not independent and do not protect the people. They act on orders from the government. This not any different from the results presented in Figure 4.6 where about 69.1 per cent indicated that the government serves the interest of the people.

In an interview, it was noted that the political appointments for the police top positions compromises the standards of police operations. As aptly put by a participant who elucidated that '*the Inspector General (IG) of police is appointed by the president and the IG is the overall boss of police*'.

The respondent went on by giving an example and stated;

If you are a politician and you appoint me as IG, if you see that anyone is going to do something that may disturb your operations, you can still command me to stop such a person and I will do as you say because you are my boss, this is how compromised the police is (Interview with association leader, February, 2015).

It is observed that all the quantitative and qualitative data took slightly different questions and shape. The two data sets both point to a negative relationship between the police and society. Most prominent from the interviews was the Public Order Act as a major cause of this sort of relationship.

#### **4.6 Barriers that affect Public Participation**

This section reveals the levels of agreement of students to the suggested barriers to public participation in national governance. A likert scale between 1 and 5 was used but the data was coded in grouped format in which 1 and 2 (strongly disagree and disagree) were combined to represent disagree as they both mean the negative. 3 was left as neutral as it represented somewhat disagree/agree, a doubtful answer. 4 and 5 were combined to form agree, which indicated a positive response. The responses are presented in terms of means. In the following results, the mode is 2 and any mean close to 2 represents the highest score of response and in this regard, such a score means that the element with highest response is given high priority as a barrier to public participation in national governance in Zambia. Table 4.2 shows the results about barriers to public participation.

Table 4.2: Barriers to Public Participation in National Governance in Zambia

<b>Mode is 2, any mean close to 2 indicates highest positivity responses</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>SD</b>
High levels of corruption by government officials tend to demoralise the public to actively engage in public affairs	1.75	0.568
The illiteracy levels prevent people from being active citizens	1.71	0.639
Lack of civic education among citizens	1.69	0.66
There is no enough information to allow citizens undertake their roles for more public participation in national issues	1.63	0.687
Weak political representativeness and political intolerance	1.6	0.684
There is lack of economic resources on the citizens to actively engage in certain national activities	1.55	0.729
Lack of facilities to effectively disseminate government policies	1.5	0.762
Human rights are not well promoted and protected to give the public morale to engage in national affairs	1.47	0.761
The constitution is not well tailored to support public participation	1.29	0.82

Source: Field data 2015

The results in Table 4.2 show the barriers to public participation in Zambia. It was deduced that corruption was one major barrier to effective public participation as it demoralises people to actively engage in national affairs and this scored the highest mean of 1.75. It was also observed that illiteracy levels prevent people from being active citizens with a mean of 1.71. Lack of civic education was also seen as a major barrier to citizens' participation in the national governance process with a mean score of 1.69. Among other results presented but at the bottom of the list in Table 4.2 as barriers to public participation were the issues of human rights promotion and protection which had a score of 1.47 and the issue on the constitution not being tailored to promote participation scored 1.29.

The barriers to public participation can be broad in nature in the context of Zambia. However, one respondent extrapolates that:

Lack of public participation often begins with the government, and when they are campaigning they make a lot of promises but when they go into office they fail to accommodate the people who voted for them. Quiet okay, they cannot accommodate everyone individually but they should find a way to accommodate all. When the members of parliament come into power, they forget the people around (Interview with association leader: February 2015).

In an interview with another the association president, he stated that:

It's like the government politics are more like promises and it ends there. People till the land, plant maize, harvest and sale the maize but they do not receive the money. So it is important that people are engaged in the communities they stay in and they discuss the needs with the local government, and it must be pushed and in such, people may appreciate the way society is going (Interview, March 2015).

With the agreement level of about 60 per cent from those interviewed, corruption by government leaders on most national programmes also discourages people from taking part in most programmes. For example, one respondent lamented that corruption makes people feel not worth to contribute because even if they do, their contribution would not possibly add value. Quantitative data has also shown corruption is one element that has hindered meaningful citizen participation.

In a long narrative, one association leader narrated two barriers to public participation in national governance. The following was the lamentation and I quote:

I think I will point out two elements that I think hinder people from participating in national governance. The first is poverty, people do not actively engage because some of them do not have the means to participate in certain proceedings due to lack of money or incentives, for example, radio phone in programmes, reading newspapers, or going to public gatherings due to distance.

Secondly, is the issue of the constitution making process, stated the respondent. I think the ground work has not been done that much. The procedure is not well set for people to follow up queries. We are not informed and the fact that you don't keep me posted after submitting my views may make me think I am left out, thereby avoiding it next time (Interview, March, 2015).

In another complex thought, a regular dimension was given by an association president who stated that:

Being a civil servant is a barrier, no matter how brilliant ideas you have that can call for a noble cause, and as long as that cause is against the government, if they hear you have participated, then you are out of employment. For example, if you are a teacher, and you want to stand as a member of parliament, you cannot stand unless first you resign, but what if you lose an election after you resign, does it mean that

you were not be employed? Therefore, certain jobs are barriers to active participation (Interview, March 2015).

#### 4.7 Measures to enhance Public Participation

This section reviews the levels of agreement of students to the suggested elements presented to them. A likert scale between 1 and 5 was used but the data was coded in grouped format in which 1 and 2 (strongly disagree and disagree) were combined to represent disagree as they both mean the negative. 3 was left as neutral as it represented somewhat disagree/agree, a doubtful answer. 4 and 5 were combined to form agree, which indicated a positive response. The responses are presented in terms of means. In the following results, the mode is 2 and any mean close to 2 represents the highest score of response and in this regard, such a score means that the element with highest response is given high priority as a mechanism to use in enhancing public participation in Zambia. Table 4.3 shows the results on measures to use to enhance participation in Zambia;

Table 4.3: Measures to enhance Public Participation

ITEM	MEAN	SD
Identifying and voicing the needs of citizens, including the poor	1.93	0.317
Delivering civic education and raising citizens' awareness about rights and responsibilities	1.90	0.388
Feeding back research results and informing debates	1.83	0.472
Providing training to public service providers	1.83	0.521
Carrying out investigation (e.g. monitoring and evaluating government programmes)	1.80	0.514
Increase capacity of civil society monitoring of human rights violation	1.79	0.525
Subject all citizens to civic education training	1.79	0.534
Use of referendums to allow massive citizen participation	1.73	0.603
There must be a renewed constitution that favours the public and gives powers to the public	1.73	0.611
Reduce retirement age to allow more young people to come on board in politics	1.70	0.650
Introduce electronic mechanisms to participation	1.64	0.679
Introduce local parliaments	1.61	0.722
Applying sanctions where the state is found to be lacking	1.26	0.846
To Introduce federal systems to allow provinces to govern themselves as a form of power decentralisation	1.14	0.881

Source: Field data 2015

Results in Table 4.3 show students' suggested solutions that would help in ensuring that there is effective public participation in national governance in Zambia. Among all responses from the means presented, *identifying and voicing the needs of citizens including the poor* with a mean of 1.93 indicated the strongest of all responses and *delivering civic education and raising citizens awareness* about national policies and their rights and responsibilities received the highest means of 1.90. The lowest response being the issue of *applying sanctions where the state was found to be lacking* with a mean of 1.26 and also *introduction of federal system* with a mean of 1.14, the weakest of all the responses. Other responses as shown in Table 4.3 could also be utilised in the realisation of effective participation in national governance in Zambia.

There was correlation between the qualitative and quantitative data with regard to measures that could be used to enhance participation. It was observed from the interviews that respondents' favoured education as a road map to achieving participation. Although only about 60 per cent clearly stated the type of education by pointing to civic education, the respondents expressed numerous ideas to how public participation in national governance could be enhanced. One respondent lamented:

Public participation to me, borders on the relationship between the government, policy makers, and the people affected with the issues at hand. If they come into consensus then we may move forward. In so doing, education is very important each time we need to do something on a particular matter. We have radio stations, television station and different departments in government and these must be used to reach the people (Interview with the Union: March, 2015).

The same trend is also observed in the quantitative data. Education of citizens is still given high priority as a mechanism in which participation can be realised. There is a significant recognition by respondents about the flow of information and the role it plays in public participation, in this light, as observed by one respondent;

The radio must be used to sensitise people regardless of the geographical area. This must be intensified. The radio can also be utilised to also help check on the progress of the leaders through radio programmes. The members of parliament should be made to stay in their constituencies. People have a lot of questions with the way the government operates without anyone giving answers (Interview with association leader, March 2015).

Another participant further noted a more interesting trend and stated;

Government must know how to prioritise things and allowing for full participation. It must be a government that will embrace good governance, respect core values of democracy and embrace its people (Interview with Union Leader, Mach, 2015).

The respondent further stated that;

‘Citizens must be responsible, willing to take part in public affairs. The government needs to fight poverty, and increase levels of awareness and investing in information provision’ (Interview with association leader, March 2015).

Yet another association leader stated; *‘we should have discussions now and then between the MPs and the people. An MP is a servant and they need to listen to their masters, of course they can advise in the way things are supposed to be done or can be done but they need to engage with the people. Be there to share information.’*

The respondent went further by giving an example on why people must be engaged in decision making processes. He stated that *‘if people want a bridge, you can use expert knowledge to tell them why it can be possible on certain grounds, its better you explain yourself unlike being far from them and basing things on promises’* (Interview with association leader, March 2015).

In this regard, a respondent profoundly stated that:

Good governance is having a government that will seat down and receive criticism, and analyse what people are crying for. When we demonstrated as students, I never saw the government coming to hear what we want. It would be better if they come during the protests, we talk and they make us understand their actions. We have mostly demonstrated over bursaries and we mostly do not yield results, the government is rigid and they do not want to resolve matters through dialogue and it is the reason why students protest (Interview with the Union, March 2015).

The respondent further stated that the ‘government does not have a listening ear to the citizens and a good government is one in which the citizens must be heard and the citizens and government should meet at a certain point’.

## **4.8 Chapter Summary**

This chapter has presented the findings of the research and has answered the research objectives. It has revealed that the students favour having public participation in national governance and display a positive perception toward having public participation in the country. It is now clear how they perceive public participation, its barriers and different measures that can be taken to enhance it. In this regard, the next chapter will discuss and explore the implications of the findings of the research.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **DISCUSSION OF RESULTS**

#### **5.0 Overview**

The previous chapter presented the results of this research. This chapter discusses the findings presented in chapter four and their implication to Zambia in relation to the reviewed literature. This is done in themes guided by the objectives of the research in order to realise the purpose of the study.

#### **5.1 Student Attitudes towards Public Participation in National Governance**

As presented in the previous chapter (see Figure 4.3), it is established that students have positive attitudes towards public participation in national governance and they value their participation. They are very keen that their participation will influence change in the way decisions are made in the running of national affairs. Perception and attitudes have a bearing on the way people act and respond to certain issues in society. As expressed by Moore (1993), attitudes and perceptions reflect such widely diverging beliefs about society that no agreement can reasonably be expected.

It is observed by Weiland, Guzman, and O'Meara (2013) that campus environment can be a natural incubator for protests; students are away from home for the first time, living together in close quarters and experimenting with new ideas and ways of being. It is this setting that allows students to freely engage in deep discussions about identity and real-world topics. Often times, their eyes are opened for the first time to cruelty and injustice, and they assume an optimistic 'take on the world' attitude. Students experience the self-discovery that through collective protest they can exact change in society. This is the first step in developing habits that create an engaged citizenship for the future. This study found that students think that their participation in national governance could clearly evoke change in society and operations of government and its institutions. Through exposure and discussions with friends and family, students share brilliant ideas and solutions on most society problems and their participation is due to the perceived views they hold about most society problems.

Omari and Mihyo (1991), also state that many students naturally assume that they will be the future leaders of their country. They, therefore, want to communicate their views through the mass media, books and in student groupings. Yet the political systems have censored and controlled much of the mass media. It has banned most student publications in universities. However, from the interviews conducted, students felt their voices were not being heard. The government was not receptive and propose that the government must highly consider consulting the University of Zambia community before making decisions of public magnitude.

As postulated in the social contract theory, citizens must be given opportunities to decide ways in which they should be governed. The students act in the manner they do because they feel they should have a direct say in matters that govern them. As such, there is need to enhance communication, which is a form or mechanism of effective participation as proposed by the direct democracy theory. Two strands can be realised if citizens participate. Firstly, by involving individuals more directly in decisions that affect their lives, participation is seen as a way of strengthening the legitimacy and accountability of democratic institutions (Creasy, 2007). Secondly, there is a belief that involving people in local decision making processes and bringing them together around a common cause or interest could empower communities and help build social cohesion (Foot, 2009). Most protests in Zambia were as a result of lack of consultation on major decisions by government. For example, in 2013, the government removed subsidies on maize and fuel without consulting the public. This was received with negative sentiments by the students' populace and as such they protested and other sectors of the civil society petitioned government as a form of displeasure.

Both the data collected quantitatively and qualitatively strongly and clearly shows positive students' attitude towards participating in national governance. There was agreement among responses that students engage in the manner they do because they do not want to be left out in the mainstream of public life in the country. As such, they would want to be heard. Objective number one was achieved in that the students' attitude towards public participation had been clearly established.

## **5.2 Political Rights are Less Guaranteed**

The study has clearly shown political rights are less guaranteed in the face of public participation and good governance; there was clear evidence that political rights pose a challenge with regard to participation. The study revealed that political rights in Zambia were limited only to voting. This

finding was similar to that of Brooks (2009), who noted that voting is less meaningful than other political acts in achieving community goals. This study reposes that the government does not give enough room for citizens to express themselves. Freedom of expression is an important aspect in participation (Neuman, 2002). It allows citizens to critique and explore societal problems. This study revealed that the government was not receptive to citizens' ideas or citizens' expression of dissatisfaction on most matters of national interest. This finding was in line with Marie's (2013) findings who concluded that freedom of expression in Zambia was limited through criminal defamation and insults laws. As a political right, freedom of expression is an important element to the freedoms of man in the array of democracy, therefore, its limitation must be limited to allow citizens explore his/her conscience.

The criminal defamation and insults law threatens the practice and realisation of the most cardinal principles of democracy and human rights. In the social contract theory, it is observed that man does not give up all his rights but retains certain rights to himself/herself. The right to protest, demonstrate and be heard are some of the rights that man in a social contract theory does not give up. However, in Zambia, such rights are suppressed for the masses through the criminal defamation and insults laws. For example, the government thwarted the 'Red Card' protest campaign in which participants held up red cards to protest against various government actions by arresting three individuals for disturbing the peace (SACCORD, 2012).

As ironically expressed by Negombwe (2012), *'there is freedom of speech but no freedom after speech as forces of state repression track down student leaders after inciting students to demonstrate'*, those who do so are persecuted. Students interviewed expressed rumours of their fellow students being hunted and beaten, thereby indicating a setback on certain rights. Other political rights that suffer setbacks in Zambia are the right to equality and freedom of assembly and association. Not only do these elements of human rights abuse take place within university campus but also it appears a trend of an oppressive government across the country where people are harassed and victimised when they assemble on certain political issues of their concern.

Human rights issues in Zambia still pose a challenge to public participation. This, however, seems to be much of a historical problem in the country. According to Kabemba (2003), after a successful campaign to win power over UNIP, that ruled Zambia under Kenneth Kaunda for twenty-seven years, Fredrick Chiluba failed to uphold the rule of law and seriously limited public participation.

Threats of serious unrest by a coalition of society had to be used to ensure that he did not stand for the third term contrary to the constitution. Rumour of such political threats and perpetuation still roam the corridors of politics in Zambia, indicating a lack of change of approach to public participation.

Kabemba (2003) further indicates that as voters, it seems that the poor are neglected and as citizens, the poor are ignored by the government. In general, democratic dispensation has not increased by the level of trust of citizens towards leaders. There is an urgent need for a human rights approach to public participation that will be all inclusive and desired by many citizens. Almost all states are formally democratic but current forms of democracy are frail. In principle, everyone has an equal voice but it is a weak voice (Wainwright, 2003). Voting only at election times limits the degree of citizen engagement and influence. In some countries with a long history of democracy, electorates have become disillusioned with representative democracy. Voting figures and the degree of citizen engagement in political affairs have fallen.

Even if the constitution contains human rights for every individual, there is still dissatisfaction in the manner in which human rights are practiced in Zambia. Zambia is a signatory to many International Human Rights Protocols but the ratification and practice process is way over weighed by restrictions of many different home laws such as, Criminal and Insults laws, the public order act etc (Marie, 2013).

An endemic brutalism and storming university campuses by the police in Zambia had been described as a hindrance in the students' form of expressing views. Just as observed by Negombwe (2012) in the case of Zimbabwean students in which the only form and the only way they think they can be heard is through protests, the study found that there was no difference with the situation in Zambia. As aptly put, by most respondents, the government has never listened to them through dialogue; it is for the reason they resort to protests. The study found that there was correlation between quantitative and qualitative data with regard to political rights violation in Zambia. Respondents in both sets of data were clear about how lack of respect for human rights, especially political rights is affecting participation in Zambia.

However, the findings in relation to the social contract theory imply that the political contract of social contract theory is at stake. This is due to the fact that citizens are not able to dialogue with their

leaders due to infringement of freedom of expression. The lack of freedom of association and assembly also makes it impossible for meaningful participation or engagement in democracy. The study objective number two has been answered. It was clear that political rights are not well guaranteed in the face of public participation and national governance in Zambia. It was established that the rights were not being well promoted and respected.

### **5.3 The Media and Access to Information**

The study has established that the media and access to information can enhance participation and national governance. The situation in Zambia as perceived by the respondents with regard to public participation was pitiable and much was needed to be done to resolve such inconsistencies in the management of the affairs of the nation. From the results in chapter four, the study found that there was lack of information that could help citizens to actively participate in national governance. As it was observed in the previous chapter, there was perceived lack of access to information. This lack of access to information is due to a heavy control of the media by government.

The Human Rights Watch (1997) seems to be aware of this fact about heavy government control of the media when in its findings it stated:

In its formal statement, the MMD government appears to be committed to freedom of expression and privatisation of the media. In practice, however, the state has kept a tight range on media. The state continues to control television as well as the mainstream newspapers, which constitutes some 90 per cent of print media. They include the two dailies: *The Times of Zambia* and the *Daily Mail*; two Sunday papers, the *Sunday Times of Zambia*; and one weekly paper, *The Financial Mail*. All of these newspapers are posted on the Internet on the Zambian home page, ZAMNET, at government expense.

The media plays an important role in a democracy as it provides the avenue upon which information is delivered. It was also established in this study that e-governance could be utilised as a mechanism in the realisation of effective public participation in national governance. All the eight (8) respondents from qualitative data supported the use of radios and television as mechanisms to share information. There is immediate need that we start using e-government, which espouses two concepts; e-readiness and e-participation. (a) e-readiness, which is the generic capacity or aptitude of

the public sector to use information and communications technology (ICT) for encapsulating in public services and deploying to the public high quality information (explicit knowledge) and effective communication tools that support human development; (b) e-participation, which refers to the willingness, on the part of government, to use ICT to provide high quality information (explicit Knowledge) and effective communication tools for the specific purpose of empowering people to participate in consultations and decision making, both in their capacity as customers of public services and as citizens (UNESCO, 2006). However, even though respondents were of the idea that radios and television be highly used in Zambia, there is already a challenge in the manner the government controls information. As noted by SACCORD (2012), the government exercised considerable influence over ZNBC, *Times of Zambia* and the *Daily Mail*, including reviewing articles prior and publication and censoring individuals responsible for published articles that criticised the government. In certain cases, it was observed by 80 per cent of interviewed respondents that certain medias, especially private medias fear being closed due to heavy government control. For example, the University of Zambia Radio station suffered threats of closure from government.

There was little support for the use of electronic mechanisms as tools for participation in quantitative data in line with its usage towards voting. However, in the qualitative analysis, it was observed that 70 per cent of the respondents were keen to see that electronic mechanisms were utilised well with regard to opening interactions and information flow unlike for other participatory services. Since qualitative data is always deeper and richer in exploring views unlike quantitative, it was observed that the differences in priority for electronic mechanism was limited by this nature of scope to explore perceived views between two collected data sets, although it was supported in both.

#### **5.4 Police and Society Relations towards Public Participation**

It is observed that all the quantitative and qualitative data both point to a negative relationship between the police and society. Most prominently from the interviews, it was established that the Public Order Act of 1996 was a major cause of this poor relationship. When police and the public do not relate well, there is violation of human rights. The independence of the police is a cornerstone to ensuring that human rights are respected. The right to assembly and association, right to freedom of expression and access to information are important to public participation. Mwalimu (n.d.) aptly

states that the mandate for a police force to enforce law and order requires a reasonable exercise of control to ensure peaceful enjoyment of fundamental human rights.

The police-society relationship is a very important aspect of any democracy. Police actions were seen as retrogressive in society relations towards public participation. Mwalimu indicates that a close relationship is revealed between the actions of police and the performance of a government. From the public point of view, police performance mirrors the functions and actions of the government. No other agency of the government influences the development of sound constitutionalism more than the police.

The study established that the police are not acting in the interest of the public but as tools for government to perpetrate its agendas by suppressing certain sections of society. There is total control of the police, making their operations lack independence. Heavy political control caused by political appointments to certain positions of police management is negatively affecting the professionalism of the police service. The findings of this study were in line with other findings by SACCORD (2012) and Marie (2013) with regard to this disparity in which the police was perceived as not an independent entity.

The Zambian Constitution of 1996 in Article 21 clearly provides for freedom of assembly and association. It was, however, found that freedom of assembly was lacking in Zambia and the government has continuously restricted this right in practice. Exercising freedom of association and the right to peaceful assembly is similar to exercising the right to free speech and press. In principle, these rights were adversely affected by the nature of the political system, where those that are critical of government policies are by large prosecuted and jailed for defamation and disturbing the peace.

Although the law does not require a permit to hold a rally (Assemble) as observed by SACCORD (2012), it requires organisers to notify police seven days in advance. Police are empowered to decide when and where rallies are held and who may address participants. The government on occasions used the law's broad mandate to stifle and arbitrarily change the time and dates of rallies, particularly of opposition parties and NGOs, and did so during the general elections including by-elections campaigns in the year 2011 (SACCORD, 2012). Interviewed respondents also noted that at times the police had refused to give them permits to conduct peaceful demonstrations as a student body, even

when they wanted the demonstration to be held within campus; they often have had bad experiences with the police.

The heavy control due to political interference has created negative sentiments between the police and the public. There is a lack of trust that is slowly building in the minds of citizens. However, this is more of a historical problem in Zambia. Since colonial times as Chabatama (2007) put it, the police was seen as a force for colonial masters to instil fear in society. The same legacy was carried on and the situation continued even during the Kaunda era in the second republic of one party rule. The predominance of the one-party state meant that citizens were not allowed freedom of association, let alone assembly. There was a surge of suppression and oppression. Many Zambians felt imprisoned in their own land.

Marx (2001) stated that one element in defining democratic society is a police that is subject to the rule of law, embodying values respectful of human dignity rather than the wishes of a power leader or party; can intervene only under limited and carefully controlled circumstances and; is publicly accountable. The police must act in the interest of the public, service the public and also protect citizens and defend the constitution. Ramsey (2014) quoted one police officer who stated, 'As a law enforcement officer, my fundamental duty is to serve mankind; to safeguard lives and property; to protect the innocent against deception, the weak against oppression or intimidation, the peaceful against violence and disorder; and to protect the constitutional rights of all people to liberty, equality and justice.' However, in Zambia, the situation with regard to the role of the police is different. With its history carried along as a force and not a service, there has been highly unprofessional conduct that goes against the protection of individual rights in most instances. The perception of police in authoritarian societies and countries saddled with colonial history is one of a repressive and brutal state mechanism designed to primarily protect state interests. More specifically, police are primarily responsible for protecting the interests of the state and not those of the people; to control populations instead of keeping them safe (Kadár, 2001). Additionally, police forces in these countries were more interested in eliminating resistance to the government than in crime control and citizen services (Mawby, 2001).

As noted by Marie (2013), there have been numerous examples of public gatherings, demonstrations and rallies being denied or disrupted by the police due to misapplication of the Public Order Act of

1996. The police in Zambia have proven not be independent in their operations. This is due to political influence. In so far as the police and the public relationships were concerned, the police are compromised and the government used the police to its advantage.

It was established in this study through interviews that the Public Order Act was not well applied in Zambia and it was affecting public participation levels. There was a perceived lack of political will on the part of government to address and reshape the way police interacts with the society. Conversely, if people do not trust that the police have their interests at heart and believe there is a wide gap between the values of the two parties-very possibly because they themselves or people they know have been treated unfairly by officers in the past-they may withdraw from engagement and fail to offer assistance. Their actions (or lack of action) then generate a quite different set of role-relationships between police and the public and serve to delegitimise the power relationship. There was agreement between the two results that sometimes the people did not cooperate with the police on certain issues and this has forced the police to act in certain ways but to a lesser extent do the public act indifferent.

The views collected in quantitative and qualitative data all point to a bad state of relationship between the police and the public. From the democratic perspective, it is true, however, that conditions under which the police operate in Zambia and other countries in sub-Saharan Africa are not commensurate with an effective policing system.

### **5.5 Barriers to Public Participation**

It was established that corruption, lack of education and poverty are barriers to public participation. Corruption is one vice that hinders participation in Zambia. The desire to benefit on most government projects by those in power makes it difficult for citizens to have access to information on expenditure and other relevant information on certain projects. High corruption levels kill transparency and accountability in the country leading to bad governance. As aptly put by Transparency Ethiopia (2015), in a political sphere, corruption impedes democracy and the rule of law. In a democratic system, public institutions and offices may lose their legitimacy when they misuse their power for private interest. Corruption may also result in negative consequences such as reducing interest of political participation, political instability, reducing political competition and

reducing the transparency of political decision making, distorting political development and sustaining political activity based on patronage, clientelism and money. Barack Obama, senator of the US in Genyi (2013) stated that ‘... *Corruption erodes the state from the inside out, sickening the justice system until there is no justice to be found, poisoning the police forces until their presence becomes a source of insecurity rather than a source of security. In the end, if the people cannot trust their government to do the job for which it exists, to protect them and to promote their common welfare, all else is lost*’.

This study also established that poverty is another barrier affecting public participation. This barrier can also be born from corruption. Corruption is a vice that leads to increased poverty and a widening gap between the rich and the poor (Transparency Ethiopia, 2015). Corruption during elections, for example, manifests itself in the provisions of basic needs to the people during campaigns in Zambia. The handouts of mealie meal, money, clothes and beer, are all tailored with a goal to buy votes. Because of poverty, people end up engaging in activities that are less meaningful. It was espoused by the respondents that poverty is the greatest enemy to change that one would love to have in this nation and it is the greatest enemy to an individual. In simplest terms, poverty is a hindrance to social, political and economic development. It makes people stop reasoning. This idea posed by respondents was supported by Marie (2013) who equally indicates that poverty in Zambia is a barrier to effective participation. Most citizens as observed by some respondents would rather venture into a money paying activity rather than spend time on some voluntary community project of either building a school or a road.

In another view, lack of education was regarded as a barrier to public participation coupled with lack of civic education. When people do not know how to read and write and when they have no access to information that could guide their action, they shun away from certain activities. From both quantitative and qualitative data, it was observed that illiteracy levels pose a challenge in the realisation of public participation. It was established in this study that ignorance and lack of education was a major vice to weakening public participation levels in Zambia. It is recommended by students that education of the masses must be given a priority and must be intensified because lack of it (be it formal or informal) is impacting negatively on individual livelihood. As lamented by respondents, the illiteracy levels are worrisome in this country and it seems as though the government is reluctant to educate the masses in order to oppress more citizens.

In both the quantitative and qualitative data, there was strong agreement of corruption, lack of education and poverty as major barriers to public participation. These elements tend to demoralise people from actively engaging in national affairs.

## **5.6 Measures to Enhance Effective Public Participation**

In the quest to provide solutions to the problem of participation being faced today in Zambia, the study collected views on the best possible measures that can be used to enhance public participation as perceived by the students. Every problem has a preconceived way in which it can be solved. As observed in chapter four, a list of suggested measures were presented to the students in which they were to agree or disagree with elements suggested. Using the 'means' rating, the results showed the best favoured alternatives to participation. For the purpose of this discussion, the results were grouped in themes according to their similarities as indicated below.

### **5.6.1 Education, Civic Education and Research Feedbacks**

As observed in the results, the study found that education and training of citizens must be given priority. As such, there is need to invest in education and training. Citizens must be educated and equipped with knowledge about their rights, duties and responsibilities. Education can provide a good avenue to information flow within society and the masses of the population must be taught how to read and write. This will create a more open society to the usage of print media.

It is recommended by participants in the research that civic education must be intensified. This can help in creating human rights awareness. These ideas are well supported in the GRZ-UNDP governance programme 2011-2015 (UNDP, 2012). The problem seems to come into play on implementation. Civic education has worked in other parts of Africa in preparing citizens to participate in national affairs. UNDP (2015) notes that this method of using civic education worked in Rwanda in 2003 prior to a referendum and in South Africa in 1996 when preparing the public to participate in a Constituency Assembly. There is also need to subject public service providers to training, especially human rights training. One hundred and ninety-six (89.1%) of the total respondents supported this idea of subjecting public service providers to training. This training must be given high priority as it can increase chances of improved interaction in society based on respect and mutual understanding.

In this regard, it is a highly perceived view established in this study that there must be mechanisms in which we are able to give research feedback and inform debates after any investigations of a given problem. This is important as it would improve information levels in society and also increase the chances in which there could be more open and credible decisions.

### **5.6.2 Citizens Voices and Local Parliaments**

In a more unique way, we need to quickly create platforms in identifying the voices of the citizens. A total of 209 (95%) of respondents were in favour of a move towards more citizens' voices in affairs of the nation. These could come in different forms; march protests, boycotts or strikes and demonstrations, especially those peaceful in nature. Other avenues in which voices could be identified are through creating local parliaments and public hall meetings at local government or constituency level. These would give members of parliament (MPs) representing people collect grass root voices and concerns unlike creating issues in their minds that do not represent the people's views. Schumpeter (1976) clearly states that the political representatives must always, therefore, be sensitive to the demands of the electorate. This is because people do not know, in most of the countries, about their MPs. Kalunga and Lungu (2001) found that the majority of local people (90 per cent) find their MPs elusive and greedy people who never visit their constituencies to listen to people's problems. Local parliaments or mandatory public hall meetings can help in localising such MPs.

This is in line with King, Feltey and O'Neil (1998) who propose that effective participation must be based on what he calls Authentic Participation (see Figure 1.2), in which citizens are placed immediately after issues. The authors are of the idea that when citizens participate in policy making, the policies become legitimate. In the social contract theory, legitimacy of the government is very important and it is born from political participation of the citizens (Salisbury, 1979, in Johari, 2009). Kenneth and Laurence (2006), note that democracies are systems of government that are based, directly or indirectly, on the principle of popular control. They attend in differing measures to principles of majority rule and deference to the perspectives of intense interests among the public. They need not necessarily show keen attention to the values of efficiency, effectiveness, or specialised expertise. Among citizens, there are clusters of people who possibly are more qualified and understand issues better than those in power. It is the reason citizens must be given a chance to be heard as they reshape the environment in which they live in.

According to Milimo, Shilito and Brock (2002), poor people, despite often having little formal education, are capable of extremely complex analyses of poverty. Their opinions and understandings can frequently add a great deal to other kinds of information, thereby increasing the accuracy of knowledge about poverty and contributing towards the elaboration of appropriate solutions.

Bevir (2006: 435) states that participatory democracy, also referred to as deliberative democracy, seeks to create opportunities for all members of a society to make meaningful contributions to decision making and strives to widen the range of people who have access to political processes. Identifying the voices of the people will create more open doors to this wide view of participation and among those voices are voices of the students.

### **5.6.3 Introducing Electronic Mechanism to Participation**

As argued earlier, the use of information and communications technology (ICT) can well enhance massive participation, especially among the youths. This can bring on board fresh and relevant ideas on the management of resources at local levels. With a total of 165 (75 per cent) of all participants in favour of electronic mechanism (ICT, youth would have an opportunity to interact with their leaders. Radio programmes and internet platforms can be of good use in such a manner. People can mutually debate and share ideas. The government has the capacity to create such environments if they take greediness off shore. Recently, there has been an issue of digital migration in Zambia; we can as well use the same opportunity to migrate in a way we can easily interact with leaders. Barber (1984) points out that communication is core as it replaces the politics of force and enhances the politics of talk. Well supported by the use of technology, direct and deliberative democracy undergoes a pervasive era among many nations.

### **5.6.4 Renewed Constitution and Use of Referendums**

The roadmap for a constitution in Zambia has been problematic. Different regimes have made attempts to respond to the views of society on a people driven constitution but the situation seems not progressive to its realisation. The constitution of Zambia must be reconstructed to allow for the people to hold political powers in their hands, redefine human rights in Zambia and how to protect them, reduce presidential powers and redefine police operations and the use of referendums on major public policies. A constitution is, therefore, a backbone of any meaningful democracy. Constitutional

lacunas have impeded governance of many African countries. In this regard, with reference to Gyaniyah-Boadi's (2007) recommendations, the first step in offering solutions to these governance problems is through a distinctive separation of powers in the constitution. Students still felt the renewed constitution can be the answer that will allow for more public participation if well handled. The respondents express that the government still has to critically consider this aspect with carefulness and without greediness.

Further, referendum should also be utilised in Zambia as a way to enhance public participation. This could be used in subjecting policies to public scrutiny. The government should be able to avail any policies to the general public before they are passed into law. For example, it is noted by the respondents that the government was supposed to subject the retirement age to public scrutiny before making it into law. As students, 'we protested over that but still our views were not heard and we were suppressed,' a student lamented. As observed in chapter four, 80 per cent of the respondents showed displeasure of the law of retirement age. In this regard, it is clear that the government avoids public engagement in order to push its agenda at the expense of the majority. The use of referendums is supported as a form of direct participation by Ifiok (2007), who states that the use of referendum may go a long way towards legitimising the actions of government.

## **5.7 Chapter Summary**

This chapter discussed the findings of the study and has explored their implications to Zambia. This chapter demonstrated that the objectives of the study were answered. The following chapter will give conclusions and remarks to the major findings, recommendations and suggested future research.

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **6.0 Overview**

In the previous chapters, the study clearly explored different issues in line with the objective of the research. In chapter one, we defined the problem statement. In chapter two, we explored the literature related to the study and defined the methodological approach used in answering the objective in the subsequent chapter. Chapter four presented the findings of the study while chapter five discussed the findings of the research and the implications. In this chapter, the study gives the established conclusions and recommendations.

#### **6.1 Conclusions**

The purpose of the study was to establish student perception on participation in national governance in Zambia. Firstly, it established the attitudes of the students who are the participants in this study on public participation. It then explored the political rights and the extent to which the rights are guaranteed in Zambia as well as the media and access to information. Further, the study explored the relationship between the police and the public in an attempt to establish the power relations and the effects of the relationship towards public participation. Most profoundly, it explored the measures that could be used in addressing public participation in the plight of national governance.

After exploring the findings, the study was of the view that the challenge of participation being faced in Zambia could be solved by reshaping the practices of law, firstly by targeting to reconstruct the way rights and limitations are viewed. Secondly, reducing government influence on media operations to allow for more access to information and amending the Public Order Act could help reconstruct the way peace and security is perceived in the present day Zambia. The following were the major findings of the research:

Students' positive attitude towards public participation justifies the reasons for their continued involvement in matters of national concern. There is a call that the university community should not

be sidelined in the decision making process in national governance as its expertise could contribute positively in the realisation of political, economic and social development.

There is evidence of violation of political rights in Zambia characterised by unequal treatment of citizens, and the majority neglected and excluded from main stream governance. This is negatively affecting participation in national governance process because citizens fear being persecuted due to absence of guaranteed rights and freedoms.

It was also clear from the study that public media and access to information was heavily controlled by government and this compromises the quality of transparency and accountability that is desired in a democratic state like Zambia.

A highly used police force, operating as a tool of the government, has made the public to increase antagonism towards government and frustrated efforts of the masses that are persistently leading to apathy with regard to participation in the nation's management of public affairs.

As it stands, the study established that public participation in national governance in Zambia is in a bad state. This is hampered by corruption, poverty and a lack of education of citizens' rights, implying that bad governance is to a larger extent taking centre stage in Zambia.

## **6.2 Recommendations**

The following were the major recommendations of the study:

- I. There must be radio programmes running in each constituency to allow people to express their views so as to increase the chances of making quality decisions by those in government since this could avail them an opportunity to understand the needs of the public.
- II. Members of Parliament must reside in their constituencies and hold public hall meetings with local people. This would give consent to their decisions and help them legitimise their actions. A law should be passed that if parliament is closed, they should be going back to their constituencies and give reports about proceedings.

- III. Introduce local parliaments in every constituency to allow for interaction between leaders and citizens as a way to provide formal understanding of problems and creating an environment in which citizens' voices are heard and respected.
- IV. There must be an amendment of the Public Order Act of 1996. This would reduce police impunity and their actions checked. Parliament must consistently check laws that put impunity on the police.
- V. Intensify civic education campaigns and subject all citizens to civic education training both in the formal and informal sector of society. This would improve the ability of citizens to engage in participatory programmes of governance.

## **6.2 Suggestions for Further Research**

Issues of public participation and governance are becoming of high concern in many countries and the answers to them are not exhaustive in nature. For a more compelling understanding on the subject matter, especially in Zambia, there is need to have comprehensive research at all levels of society for a more holistic approach in resolving the problem. The researcher recommends the following topics for further investigation:

- I. Governance of Higher learning Institutions: A student perspective of the University of Zambia Management.
- II. Involving the rural population in national governance: Challenges and realities of participation.

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## **LIST OF APPENDICES**

### **APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW GUIDE**

#### **STUDENT'S ASSOCIATION AND UNION INTERVIEW GUIDE**

1. What in your view is the state of public participation in national governance issues in Zambia?
2. In your observations, what are some of the most important issues that amount to public participation in Zambia?
3. What is the involvement and participation of citizens in decision-making?
4. Do you know of any laws and policies that are aimed at promoting good governance in the country? (Identified policies and laws should be listed)?
5. Are stakeholders involved in the design, adoption and implementation of national policies?
6. From your point of view, what would you consider as the weaknesses in the national governance system in Zambia in allowing for more public Participation?
7. From your point of view, what would you consider to be affecting the levels of media and access to information currently prevailing in Zambia?
8. Comment on the police operations in Zambia and how it relates with the public
9. What in your view are key barriers to citizen participation in local and national development projects?
10. What needs to be done to facilitate the improvement of political participation in governance in Zambia?
11. Are you able to outline/highlight some of the Best Practices from Zambia's national governance?
12. Do you have any other views or issues that you feel need to be reflected in this area of study?



## SECTION B:

### B1: Attitudes towards Public Participation

Below is a series of statements about Democratic attitudes towards Public Participation. Read each statement and circle one appropriate number that best suits your attitude about public participation using a five point scale. 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = somewhat disagree, 4 = agree, 5 = Strongly Agree.

<b>Democratic attitudes towards Public Participation</b>	<b>Strongly strongly Disagree Agree</b>				
9. I am very interested in public affairs	1	2	3	4	5
10. I discuss public affairs with my family and friends	1	2	3	4	5
11. In our country, citizens should show more respect for authority	1	2	3	4	5
12. We should not question decisions by leaders	1	2	3	4	5
13. Even if I participate in public affairs it does not make any difference	1	2	3	4	5

### B2: Human Rights

Human rights are basic rights and freedoms that all people are entitled to regardless of nationality, sex, national or ethnic origin, race, religion, language, or other status. Below is a series of statements about human rights practices in Zambia, Which of the following statements are true about Human Rights in Zambia? Read each statement and circle one appropriate number that best suits your opinion about public participation using a five point scale. 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = somewhat disagree, 4 = agree, 5 = Strongly Agree.

<b>Political Rights issues in Zambia</b>	<b>Strongly strongly Disagree Agree</b>				
14. All users of public service are treated equally	1	2	3	4	5
15. The government does not give room for people to express their views due to fear of persecution intimidation and threats	1	2	3	4	5
16. People's rights to participate in National affairs are only limited to voting in Zambia	1	2	3	4	5
17. There is freedom of Association and Assembly	1	2	3	4	5

### B3: Media and Access to Information

Media is a communication channel through which news, entertainment, education, data, or promotional messages are disseminated. The media can be publicly owned or privately owned. Below is a series of statements about the media and access to information in Zambia. Read each statement and circle one appropriate number that best suits your opinion about public participation using a five point scale: 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = somewhat disagree, 4 = agree, 5 = Strongly Agree.

<b>Media and Access to information</b>	<b>Strongly Strongly Disagree Agree</b>				
18. There is no independence of media in Zambia	1	2	3	4	5
19. the media is free to broadcast and print even critical information to the public as they deem fit such information	1	2	3	4	5
20. The public has access to information in Zambia about expenditures on projects and other programmes of public interest	1	2	3	4	5
21. The people have no enough information to use to participate thereby leading to lack of participation	1	2	3	4	5
22. The Public has no access to public information (for example Tax rates, tenders and ministerial budgets)	1	2	3	4	5
23. There is no two way communication between the Citizens and public officials on matters of national interest (e.g. Leaders listening to citizens and citizens accepting certain decisions by leaders)	1	2	3	4	5

#### **B4: The Police and the Public**

The Police and the public refer to the way the two groups relate in bringing about order in society that does not intimidate/instil fear on any of the two parties in carrying out their duties. Below is a series of statements about Police-Society relations in Zambia. Read each statement and circle one appropriate number that best suits your opinion about public participation using a five point scale. 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = somewhat disagree, 4 = Agree, 5 = Strongly Agree.

<b>Relationship between police and the public in Zambia</b>	<b>Strongly Strongly Disagree Agree</b>				
24. There is an Independent Police service in Zambia free from government influence	1	2	3	4	5
25. The Police is biased in giving opposition parties and other Civil Society Organisations permissions to assemble	1	2	3	4	5
26. The police serves the interest of the government at the expense of the public	1	2	3	4	5
27. Police acts as a service not as a force in Zambia	1	2	3	4	5

28. The police is reluctant in acting upon perpetrators who infringe on other people’s right to participate in public affairs (e.g. violence during political campaigns)	1	2	3	4	5
29. Citizens do not often cooperate with the police	1	2	3	4	5

### SECTION C: BARRIERS TO PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

Public participation refers to the practice of involving members of the public in the agenda setting, decision making, and policy forming activities of organisations or institutions responsible for policy development. There are many barriers to public participation but below is a series of statements about some factors that may hinder public participation in national governance in Zambia. Read each statement and circle one appropriate number that best suits your opinion about how the following affect public participation using a five point scale. 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = somewhat disagree, 4 = agree, 5 = Strongly Agree.

<b>Barriers to Public Participation</b>	<b>Strongly Strongly Disagree Agree</b>				
30. The illiteracy levels prevent people from being active citizens?	1	2	3	4	5
31. There is no enough information to allow citizens undertake their roles for more public participation in national issues	1	2	3	4	5
32. Human rights are not well promoted and protected to give the public morale to engage in national affairs	1	2	3	4	5
33. High levels of corruption by government officials tend to demoralise the public to actively engage in public affairs	1	2	3	4	5
34. The constitution is not well tailored to support public participation	1	2	3	4	5
35. lack of facilities to effectively disseminate government policies	1	2	3	4	5
36. Weak political representativeness and political intolerance	1	2	3	4	5
37. There is Lack of economic resources on the citizens to actively engage in certain national activities	1	2	3	4	5
38. Lack of Civic Education among Citizens	1	2	3	4	5

### SECTION D: SOLUTIONS TO PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

Public participation refers to the practice of involving members of the public in the agenda setting, decision making, and policy forming activities of organisations or institutions responsible for policy

development. Below is a series of statements of suggested solutions that may enhance public participation in national governance in Zambia. Read each statement and circle one appropriate number that best suits your opinion about how the following affect public participation using a five point scale. 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = somewhat disagree, 4 = agree, 5 = Strongly Agree.

<b>Solutions to enhancing Public Participation</b>	<b>Strongly Strongly Disagree Agree</b>				
	1	2	3	4	5
39. Providing training to public service providers such as Police, Electoral commissions, Anti Corruption Commission etc.	1	2	3	4	5
40. Delivering civic education and raising citizens' awareness about national policies, and their rights and responsibilities (e.g. voting rights, democratic freedoms)	1	2	3	4	5
41. Use of Referendums to allow massive citizen participation (e.g. when approving public policies)	1	2	3	4	5
42. Carrying out investigation (e.g. monitoring and evaluating government programmes through social audits, citizen report cards or participatory expenditure tracking systems)	1	2	3	4	5
43. Identifying and voicing the needs of citizens, including the poor	1	2	3	4	5
44. Feeding back research results and informing debates (e.g. inequality assessments and poverty and social impact analysis) and social mobilization (e.g. campaigns) as a form of social inclusion	1	2	3	4	5
45. To Introduce Federal systems to allow provinces to govern themselves as a form of power decentralisation	1	2	3	4	5
46. Introduce Local parliaments in which people can share ideas in decision making processes about issues of their concern within their local communities	1	2	3	4	5
47. Applying sanctions where the state is found to be lacking (e.g. Allowing protests, boycotts, strikes or negative publicity)	1	2	3	4	5
48. Reduce retirement age to allow more young people to come on board in politics and other avenues of national governance	1	2	3	4	5
49. Increase capacity civil society monitoring of human rights violation	1	2	3	4	5
50. Introduce electronic mechanism to participation (e.g. electronic voting, submissions of concerns and complaints to carter for people in remote areas.	1	2	3	4	5
51. There must be a renewed constitution that favors the public and gives powers to the public as a cornerstone of National Governance	1	2	3	4	5

52. Subject all citizens to civic education training (e.g. making Civic Education a compulsory subject to all secondary school pupils in schools in both Physical and Pure sciences classes)	1	2	3	4	5
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END OF QUESTIONNAIRE

THANK YOU FOR YOUR ASSISTANCE

### APPENDIX 3: ASSENT AND CONSENT LETTERS

Kaumba Chivunda  
Department of Language and Social Sciences Education  
School of Education, University of Zambia.  
P.O Box 32379,

9<sup>th</sup> January, 2015.

To The Registrar,  
University of Zambia,  
P.O Box 32379.  
Lusaka, Zambia.

Dear Sir/Madam,

**Ref: Application for Permission to conduct Data Collection for a Research at the University of Zambia.**

Refer to the stated subject. I am a Staff Development Fellow (SDF) in the department of Language and Social Sciences Education, in the School of Education, studying a local program (Master of Education in Civic Education) in my second and final year of study about to embark on dissertation writing. To facilitate for my dissertation, I need to collect data on the following topic: *the Perceptions of the University of Zambia students on Public Participation on National Governance in Zambia.*

Your consideration and response will be highly appreciated.

Yours Faithfully,

Kaumba, Chivunda.

**University of Zambia**

**School of Education**

**Postgraduate Studies**

**Student's Consent Letter**

Dear Respondent,

I am an M ED (Civic Education) Student at the University of Zambia carrying out a research entitled: **The Perception of the University of Zambia students' on Public Participation on National Governance in Zambia.**

You have been identified as one of the participants to be interviewed in this study and your participation will valid in this research.

Your participation in this research is voluntary and as a matter of consent, do append your signature as proof of consent.

I thank you in advance for your effort and cooperation

Participant's signature\_\_\_\_\_ Date\_\_\_\_\_

Yours faithfully,

Kaumba, C



# THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA

Telephone: 291777  
Email: registrar@unza.zm  
Tel/Fax +260 1 253952

P.O. BOX 32379  
Lusaka, Zambia

## OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR

12<sup>th</sup> January, 2014

Mr. Kaumba Chivunda (SDF)  
C/o University of Zambia  
School of Education  
Department of Language and Social Sciences Education  
P O Box 32379  
**LUSAKA**

Dear Mr. Chivunda,

**RE: APPLICATION FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT DATA COLLECTION FOR A RESEARCH AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA**

Reference is made to the letter dated 9<sup>th</sup> January, 2015, on the matter captioned above.

This serves to inform you that your request to conduct data collection for a research work on "**The Perceptions of the University of Zambia students on Public Participation on National Governance in Zambia**" at University of Zambia has been granted. This is to enable you complete your Master of Education in Civic Education Programme at this institution.

By copy of this letter, the Dean of Students is hereby notified of the approval.

Dr. K. E. Yambayamba  
**REGISTRAR**

c.c. Vice-Chancellor  
Acting Deputy Vice-Chancellor  
Dean of Students  
Deputy Registrar (Administration)  
Staff Development Officer