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**EXTENSION OF PRESIDENTIAL TERM LIMITS AND IT'S CONSEQUENCES
FOR POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN ZAMBIA: AN ANALYSIS OF PUBLIC
PERCEPTIONS IN LUSAKA DISTRICT**

BY

CHANSA CHANSA

718000154

**Dissertation submitted to the University of Zambia in partial fulfilment of the
requirement for the award of the Master of Science in peace, leadership and conflict
resolution**

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my parents Mr. and Mrs. Chansa, my son Mwenya Chansa, brothers and sisters for their unwavering support and love, encouragement and financial support and for all season of change members for sharing with me the joys and pains in my quest to pursue this study. I love you all.

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DECLARATION

I, CHANSA CHANSA, do hereby declare that “Extension of presidential term limits and its consequences for political leadership: An analysis of public perception in Lusaka District” is my own original work and has not been previously submitted to this University or indeed any other institution for similar purposes. I further declare that all the works of other people used and quoted in this dissertation have been duly acknowledged by means of complete references.

Signature: Date:

APPROVAL

This dissertation of Chansa Chansa has been approved as partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of Master of Science in Peace, leadership and Conflict resolution (MSPL) by the University of Zambia.

Examiners' signatures:

Signature: Date:

Signature: Date:

Signature: Date:

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the study was to establish the extension of presidential term limits and its consequences for political leadership in Zambia's Lusaka district. The objectives of the study were to investigate the root cause of extension of presidential term limits in Zambia's political space since 1964, to establish the perceptions of Zambians on the extension of presidential term limits in Lusaka District and to describe how to enhance positive public perceptions in politics in the light of the usual attempts to extend presidential term limits in Zambia.

The research employed a qualitative approach. Data was gathered using semi-structured interviews and documentary/content analysis. A case study design was used. The target population included: members of political party groups such as Patriotic Front, United Party for National Development, National Democratic Party, Democratic Party as well as secretary generals of the same political parties, political scientists, lecturers in political science from the university of Zambia and civil society organizations such as Non-Governmental Organization Coordinating Committee, Young African Leaders Initiative and Alliance for Change, a sample of 20 people was used in the study. Purposive sampling techniques was used to select the participants. The research employed semi-structured interviews and document analysis. Data was analyzed thematically.

The study found the following findings: causes of the extension of presidential term limits in Zambia's political space since 1964 was linked to selfishness of the politicians; People were not happy about the extension of presidential term limits and current status quo should stand where a president serves only two terms in office should stand; Zambians don't want the extension of presidential term limits because the political space is already polarized where the ruling polity yields enormous power to manipulate the electoral process as this would keep them in power perpetually.

The study concluded by recommending that Current status quo should stand where a president serves only two terms in office should stand; Zambian citizens should be educated and well informed on the constitution of the country. People's participation in politics should be enhanced and there should be a consensus agreement between people and the government.

Keywords: *Extension, Presidential term, limits, Consequence, political leadership, Zambia, Lusaka district*

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

2.1 Overview of the Study

This chapter introduces the study titled the Extension of Presidential Term Limits and its Consequences for Political Leadership in Zambia: An Analysis of Public Perceptions in Lusaka District. The chapter briefly discusses the background of the extension of presidential term limits in Zambia and the perception of the public in Lusaka District. The chapter will also discuss the statement of the problem, purpose of the study, research questions, significance of the study and delimitation and limitations of the study. Definition of key terms used in the study, conceptual framework and theoretical framework will also be discussed.

1.1 Introduction and Background of the Study

Term limits have a long history. Ancient Athens and Ancient Rome, two early classic republics, had term limits imposed on their elected offices as did the city-state of Venice. In ancient Athenian democracy, only offices selected by satiation were subject to term limits (one term for each office, except members of the council where impossible to serve two year terms, non-consecutively) Elected offices were all subject to possible re-election, although they were minoritarian, these positions were more prestigious and those requiring the most experience, such as military generals and the superintendent of springs.

Many modern presidential republics employ term limits for their highest offices. Countries that operate a parliamentary system of government are less likely to employ term limits on their leaders. This is because such leaders rarely have a set term. The incumbent serve as long as they have the confidence of the parliament, a period which could potentially last for life. Many parliaments can be dissolved for snap elections which means some parliaments can last for a few months while others can continue until their expiration dates. Nevertheless, such countries may impose term limits on the holders of other offices in republics, for example, a ceremonial presidency may have a term limit, especially if the office holds reserve powers.

Africa has become a key landscape for presidential tenure reform over the past twenty years with more than fifty attempted or successful changes to presidential term limits (to introduce or tighten them or to remove or relax them) in African Union (AU) member states. Until now, much of the literature has concentrated on the virtues of presidential term limits and argued for their existence or even for an obligation to impose them. This position has been followed to a large extent by the African Union and especially the AU Commission which has argued

for a continent-wide adoption of limits on the number of terms a president may serve. Even more emphatically, in 2015, Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Heads of State formally debated but did not reach an agreement on a proposal to adopt a regional obligation to adopt term limits. Nonetheless, there has been considerable resistance to attempts to impose or tighten term limits. Moreover, even when term limit changes pose threats to peace, there is an apparent institutional reluctance to interfere too vigorously. Like other international organizations, the AU is sensitive to the need for the broad support of its members and to arguments that it should not interfere in domestic matters. By far, the most common application of term limits today is on the office of president. Globally, nearly three quarters (73 percent) of all presidential regimes employed some form of tenure limitations on the office of president at the end of 2009 (Dulani, 2014).

The issue of presidential term limits is increasingly fraught across Africa. More Africans support term limits, even those in countries without them. Since the early 1990s, when a breeze of democracy swept across the continent, at least 34 of Africa's 53 countries (54 since South Sudan was recognized in 2011) have put term limits on their presidents, usually giving them a maximum of two five-year tenures. Some have stuck to the rules. Zambia's Frederick Chiluba in 2002, Malawi's Bakili Muluzi in 2004 and Nigeria's Olusegun Obasanjo in 2007 stepped down only after trying in vain to wangle extensions. In 2014 mass protests prevented Burkina Faso's Blaise Compaoré from hanging on. He was forced to flee. At least half a dozen presidents have cajoled their legislatures, by foul means or fair, into ditching the limits. Uganda's Yoweri Museveni, once confined to ten more years in office by the constitution of 1995, and has now served 29 years in all. Paul Biya has presided over Cameroon since 1982. In 2015 Togo's Faure Gnassingbé was re-elected to a third term, extending his family's unbroken tenure to 48 years. Denis Sassou-Nguesso in Congo-Brazzaville, who has ruled for most of the past 31 years, has stretched his terms in defiance of the constitution. Joseph Kabila in the Democratic Republic of Congo, who was set to retire in 2016, had plans to amend the constitution.

Some leaders seek craftily to retain a coating of constitutional propriety even while flouting its spirit. Analysts on Rwanda talk of a Putin-Medvedev scenario with regard to President Paul Kagame that would let him stay merrily in power after 2017. In Ethiopia the presidency is limited to two six-year terms, but Meles Zenawi stayed in office for 17 years as prime

minister with no hint of cutting short his rule until his death in 2012. Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe who also held power as prime minister and president since 1980, signed a new constitution in 2013 that limits the head of state to two terms but only from that date until he was overthrown On 19 November, 2017. Mugabe did not resign, so on 21 November 2017 a joint session of Parliament met for his impeachment. It is clear from the examples here that extensions of presidential term limits are common in Africa hence the need to embark on this study on the extension of presidential term limits.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Presidential term limits have spread very widely but the challenge is that of enforcement. Many democracies have faced challenges of incumbent presidents either amending their constitutions to acquire the status of life president on the incumbent temporarily elongating their tenures. Leadership change through presidential term limitations have generated unrest and violence across the African continent. It has been argued that two-term limits foster checks and balances and promote political stability by enabling a change of guards and serving as a deterrent to presidential abuse of power (Kiwuwa, 2013). From decolonization in the early 1960s through the 1980s, most African rulers left office through a coup, assassination, or some other form of violent overthrow. The removal of presidential term limits has become common while slogans as third term have become popular political concepts in many African democracies including Zambia since 1964(Posner & Young, 2006). Good governance often encourages development. To have the economy perform at its optimum level, there is a need for an enabling political environment which is compounded by a happy, healthy society. Democracy and governance often thrive if there is respect for the rule of law from the executive trickling down. Any constitutional republic has its soul in the supreme law of the land the constitution. Respect and upholding the constitution is critical for the healthy functioning of any democratic nation. It is thus detrimental to development and governance of any country to tamper with the supreme law of the nation for the unprincipled benefit of an individual or one section of the population.

Some African presidents have now made it a habit to subvert and or manipulate through legal channels or otherwise the constitution. It is due to the above mentioned that it is important for the current study to investigate the consequences of the extension of presidential term limits for the political leadership in Zambia. This will be achieved through an analysis of public perceptions in Lusaka.

1.3 Purpose of the study

The research aimed at investigating the extension of presidential term limits and its consequences for political leadership in Zambia's political space.

1.4. Objectives of the study

1.4.0 General objective

To investigate the extension of presidential term limits and its consequences for political leadership in Zambia's Lusaka district.

1.4.1 Objectives of the study

1.4.2 Specific objectives.

1. To investigate the root cause of extension of presidential term limits in Zambia's political space since 1964.
2. To establish the perceptions of Zambians on the extension of presidential term limits in Lusaka District.
3. To describe how to enhance positive public perceptions in politics in the light of the usual attempts to extend presidential term limits in Zambia.

Research questions

1. What could be the causes of the extension of presidential term limits in Zambia's political space since 1964?
2. What are the perceptions of Zambians on the extension of presidential term limits in Lusaka District?
3. How can positive public perception be enhanced in politics in the light of the usual attempts of the presidential term limits in Zambia?

1.6 Significance of the study

The significance of this study to the body of knowledge was to investigate the root causes of the extension of presidential term and its consequences for political leadership in Zambia. The study will also help to establish the perceptions of Zambians on the extension of

presidential term limits in Lusaka District and lastly this study will help describe how to enhance positive public perceptions in politics in the light of the usual attempts to extend presidential term limits in Zambia.

1.7 Theoretical frame work.

Combo and tromp 2006 defines theoretical frame work as interrelated ideas based on theories and they add up that it is also a set of propositions which are derived from and supported by data or evidence. Theoretical frame work explains or backs up the phenomenon being investigated due to the nature information being scouted. This research will use the teleological consequential ethical theory which is an assessment of a respective outcome. The name itself “teleology” has originated from a Greek name “telos” which means “an end”. Thus, an action itself cannot be good or bad; however, an outcome or an impact of this action upon involved parties can be either positive or negative. All teleological ethical theories locate moral goodness in the consequences of our actions. According to teleological (or consequentialist) moral theory, all rational human actions are teleological in the sense that we reason about the means of achieving certain ends. Moral behavior, therefore, is goal goal-directed. So, from the teleological point of view, human actions are neither right nor wrong in and of themselves. What matters is what happens as a consequence of those actions. Thus, it is the consequences that make actions, good or bad, right or wrong.

From a teleological standpoint, stealing, for example, would be deemed right or wrong depending on the consequences. Suppose I was contemplating stealing a loaf of bread from the neighborhood grocery store. My motive alone would have nothing to do with the rightness or wrongness of the act. What really matters lies in the potential short-term and long-term consequences. If my children were starving, and if stealing a loaf of bread would immediately prevent them from starving, then I might seriously consider stealing. But I’d have to know if the consequences would significantly harm the grocery store? What would be the odds of getting caught? If I got caught, what would happen to me? Would I go to jail? Get fined? If I went to jail, who would take care of my children? Therefore, even if my motive (preventing my children from starving) was praiseworthy, the act of stealing might still be wrong because other actions might be more cost-effective in bringing about the desired consequences. Perhaps I’d be better signing up for food stamps or asking the storeowner to give me day-old bread. On the other hand, suppose that there were no other options and that I invented a foolproof system for stealing bread. Would I be wrong for doing it?

The teleological consequential ethical theory is essential to this study in that it provides a background for examining whether constitutional term limit extensions by both the political class and the citizens are driven by mutual consensus, self-preservation. Further, this will theory help in examining whether citizen approval term limit extensions are a delusion of the public, and whether, public participation in constitutional changes is significant or merely tokenism that helps to advance the wishes and desires of the ruling political class.

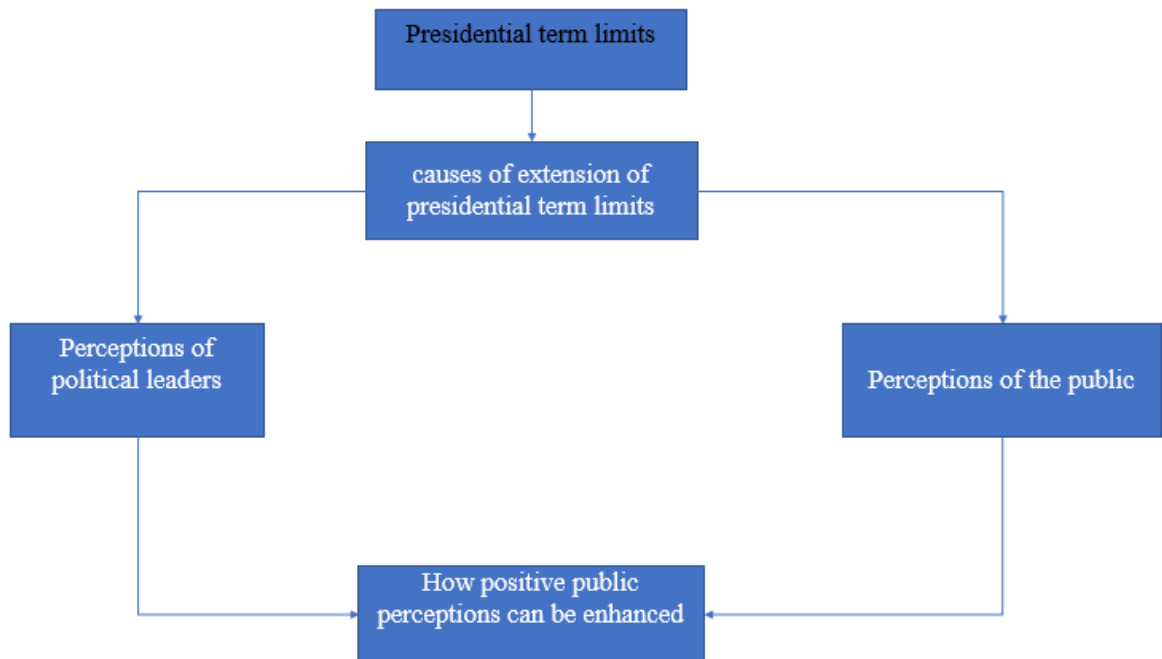
1.8 Conceptual frame work.

The concept is an idea expressed as a symbol or word (Croswell2003) and according to Chalmers 1982, a conceptual frame work contributes to research because it identifies research valuables and clarifies relationships amongst its valuables it is also valuable in that it sets the stage for presentation of research questions that drive the study. In this study conceptual frame work will help with the analysis of research findings and guide the presentation and discussion of the findings. A concept is an idea expressed as a symbol or word (Creswell, 2003), and according to Chalmers (1982), a conceptual framework contributes to research because it identifies research variables, and clarifies relationships among variables. It is also valuable in that it sets the stage for presentation of research questions that drive the study. In this study, the conceptual framework will help in the analysis of research findings and guide the presentation and discussion of the findings.

The conceptualization of this research will be based on the extension of presidential term limits and its consequences for political leadership in Zambia: An analysis of public perceptions in Lusaka district. This study will examine and employ the perception of the public on presidential term limits in Zambia. The conceptualization will involve the exploration of different aspects that will direct this whole research from the beginning to the end.

In this study, the conceptual frame work will be based on the perceptions of the public on the extension of presidential term limits which has been widely practiced in Zambia and worldwide.

Below is a diagram representation of the conceptual framework:



1.9 Delimitation of the study.

The study was conducted amongst the people of Lusaka district in Lusaka province. The extension of presidential term limits and its consequences for political leadership in Zambia an analysis of public perception has affected most people in Zambia but our main target in this research was part of the people of Lusaka district.

1.10 Limitation of the study.

Limitations are hindrances or problems which the researcher foresees which may incur or be a detriment to the research study (Ng'andu 2013). This research will use qualitative method of data collection and analyze the extension of presidential term limits and its consequences for political leadership in Zambia: an analysis of public perception in Lusaka district. The research also tried to unveil some of the thoughts that people have concerning the same research study.

1.11 Chapter summary

This chapter presented the background of the study, the statement of the problem, and the research questions the study seeks to answer. The significance of the study was also provided. Chapter one introduced the background of the study, problem statement, and research objectives and research questions, theoretical framework adopted for the study as well as conceptual framework.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a review of the literature by various scholars on the extension of presidential term limits and its consequences for political leadership.

2.2 What are Presidential Term Limits?

Presidential term limits are a vital medium to check presidential power but they concern the requirement to leave office after a number of terms (Crane Burgh, 2011, p. 446). For instance, under Ghana's, Egypt's, and Nigeria's constitutions a president is eligible to serve a maximum of two four-year terms in office. In Burundi, Sierra Leone, Kenya, South Africa, Tunisia, and Tanzania an incumbent is allowed to serve a maximum of two five-year terms, while in Liberia and Ethiopia presidents are mandated under their constitutions to serve a maximum two six-year terms. Presidential term limits are a core element of democratic government and are essential to checking presidential power (Bamfo 2005; Kiwuwa, 2013).

According to Maltz (2007, p. 129) presidential term limits have become one of the defining features of democracy. Presidential term limits, however, are not a guarantee of democracy, but a core principle of good governance. The implementation of mandated presidential term limits was never completely addressed in Africa until the 1990s. In the 1990s a second wave of democracy ushered in term limits to prevent one-party systems and to introduce multi-party elections across the continent. Throughout Africa, the trend of mandated presidential term limits became important following events in Burundi, Rwanda, and elsewhere where leaders succeeded in manipulating limitations when pursuing additional terms in office.

Presidential term limits benefit the cornerstone of democratic principles. On the one hand, they encourage the transfer of power away from incumbents, significantly support policy and structural changes, and advance the chances of political-party changes in the power structure of a country. On the other hand, a long term in office could lead to a power buildup and more arrogance along with the propensity to exploit it (Bamfo, 2005; Kiwuwa, 2013; Maltz, 2007; Prempeh, 2008).

There are five reasons why African leaders are able to cling to power (particularly, President Nkurunziza). These are (a) a lack of checks and balances (b) weak government institutions (c) electoral malpractice (d) greed and corruption and (e) fear of punishment. While term limits date back to classical Greece and Rome, they are a relatively recent innovation in Africa (Dulani, 2011). Term limits may be divided into two broad categories consecutive and lifetime. With consecutive term limits, an officeholder is limited to serving a particular number of terms in that particular office. Upon reaching the limit in one office, an officeholder may not run for the same office again though he or she may run for any other elective office. After a set period of time usually one term, the clock resets on the limit, and the officeholder may run for election to his or her original office and serve up to the limit again. With lifetime limits, once an officeholder has served up to the limit, he or she may never again run for election to that office. Lifetime limits are much more restrictive than consecutive limits.

An examination of 98 presidential-system constitutions enacted in Africa from independence until 1990 shows that only six namely, South Africa (1961), Comoros (1978), Tanzania (1984), Liberia (1986), Tunisia (1988), and Comoros (1989)) included presidential term-limit clauses. However, the democratic transitions of the 1990s resulted in the popularization and adoption of presidential term limits across the African continent. Out of 64 constitutions adopted or amended between 1990 and 2010 more than three-quarters (49) incorporated tenure limitations. All but one set a maximum of two terms, while Seychelles' set a three-term limit. Despite the widespread adoption of term limits in the early 1990s, both new and old generations of African leaders continue to seek ways to drop these rules or to identify loopholes that would enable them to remain in power.

Across the continent, almost 30 African countries have contemplated the removal of presidential term limits since 1998 (Dulani, 2011). In Eritrea, constitutional term-limit clauses have simply been ignored and President Isaias Afwerki remains in power after more than 22 years. An attempt by West African leaders in May 2015 to adopt a common position in favor of a maximum of two terms for all presidents in the region failed following disputations from the presidents of Togo (which abolished term limits in 2002) and the Gambia. A frequent claim by African leaders seeking to abolish term limits is that their campaigns reflect popular demand (Baker, 2002). The fact that all incumbents who have removed presidential term limits have gone on to win subsequent elections is presented as post-facto evidence of citizens' preference for the stability that comes with leadership continuity rather than rotation

(Blunt & Jones, 1997). Yet rarely are ordinary African citizens allowed formal space to make their voices heard in these debates. Instead, term-limit advocates fight for space, often in the streets and sometimes at great risk to their lives.

2.3 The Implications or Effects of Presidential Term Limits for Political Leadership

The idea of imposing term limits has been controversial since its inception. An analysis of the effectiveness of the mechanism in Africa can only be completed by an objective assessment of the cost of its applicability on the continent. Term limiting as a constraint to democratic choice democracy should enable free selection of leaders. Term limits are seen as constraining the choices of voters where people ought to be free to vote for whoever they want even if the candidate has already exhausted the constitutional tenures (Bamfo 2005; Kiwuwa, 2013). People are the foundations of power and should not be constrained by legal instruments which are only meant to express their aspirations. This view is illustrated by the fact that almost all incumbents who have removed term limits have won the subsequent elections. The credibility of such elections is a subject of independent investigation. It is notable that African countries support imposition of term limits but that support does not translate into rejection of those who stand for further terms. This raises a presumption of the existence of intervening factors which could constitute a subject of independent investigation. The aforementioned argument also highlights a possible clash between choice and change as qualities of a democratic polity.

It is argued that leadership continuity contributes to the stability of a nation. Term limits have not successfully tamed rivalry over power succession in Africa. Instead, they predetermine a prospective leadership vacuum, irrespective of the circumstances that may prevail in the country at that time. The phraseology of term limit provisions is rigid and does not include exceptions. Any modifications are arguably derogatory. This has been a recipe for disaster. The loss of lives characterizing conflicts over term limits taking place between governments and the citizenry have led to a rebuttable argument that the concept is a liability to the African continent. Further, rebellion against government and military coups have occurred even in countries with restrictions on presidential tenures (Dulani, 2011). Forceful changes of governments have been registered in the Central African Republic (5 March 2003), São Tomé and Príncipe (17 July 2003), Guinea-Bissau (14 September 2003), Togo (5 February 2005), Mauritania (twice, on 3 August 2005, and 6 August 2008,), Guinea-Conakry (23 December 2008), Madagascar (17 March 2009), and Burkina Faso (30 October 2014) among others. However, a critical analysis of the conflicts reveals that other opportunistic factors occasion conflicts other than term limits themselves. Several unconstitutional changes of government

are instigated by governance deficiencies such as the refusal of the incumbents to step down after exhausting their terms and manipulation and review of constitutions to serve narrow interests.

Amendment or revision of constitutional term limit provisions and legal instruments is a common assault on term limits that has caused turmoil. These effects cannot fairly speak to the credibility of term limits themselves. Conflict has arisen from the maneuvers of a democratic principle in an undemocratic political environment. The Addis Charter has classified such amendments as unconstitutional changes of government if they amount to an infringement of the principles of democratic change of government (Blunt & Jones, 1997). Although the lack of definition of principles of democratic change of government in the Charter makes the provision ambiguous, it makes a clear statement as to the illegitimacy of these amendments. Term limits have been criticized for depriving the people of the opportunity to keep performing leaders as well as interrupting government programmes. Government programmes are not successive in character and often change according to the manifesto of the incoming government. The definitive nature of limited presidential tenures may terminate their implementation.

The aforementioned argument has been challenged with the view that a good legacy finds its own way. A former head of state with a good track record that maximizes his/her tenure to create a conducive environment can still contribute to the advancement of his/her country and also promote the continuity of potent programmes. Notable examples are Nelson Mandela of South Africa who formed part of the elders commanding respect both in his home country and abroad to the extent that his persuasive pronouncements on the status of global politics found broad international purchase. Creating such a conducive environment is arguably a more legitimate and beneficial objective than distorting the constitutional framework to sustain a regime. Many of the leaders that distorted term limits are those that would have stayed in power for a long time. This may however give rise to a rebuttable presumption that long-standing leaders take longer to complete their plans because they have no incentive to deliver.

2.4 Public Perceptions on the Extension of Presidential Term Limits

In Zambia the response to Chiluba's quest for an unconstitutional third term was strong church leaders, the legal fraternity, civil society, opposition political parties, dissidents

within the MMD, traditional leaders, students, the independent media, and ordinary citizens who came together in a broad-based movement to oppose constitutional reforms that would allow him to extend his term beyond the constitutionally established two terms.

The Law Association of Zambia (LAZ), the statutory body of legal practitioners, convened an emergency meeting of its Council which agreed that the association had a duty to block Chiluba's attempt to manipulate the constitution. In doing so, the association invoked Section 4(b) of the LAZ Act which provided that one of the objectives of the LAZ was to provide a forum through which all lawyers can participate together fully and effectively in the development of society and its institutions(emphasis). On January 19, 2001, the Chairman of LAZ, Christopher Mundia, held a press briefing during which he stated that the Constitution was clear on the fact that the current president does not qualify for re-election. Congress of Trade Unions, once led by Chiluba during the one-party state (1973–1991), was also strongly opposed, with its General Secretary, Derrick Chaala stating that history had taught us that the continued stay of presidents in office had built them into dictators and that dictators often survived by resorting to large scale abuse.

In response to the public statements by the District Administrators demanding changes to the MMD and republican constitutions to allow for a third term in January 2001, the Law Association of Zambia (LAZ) which is the statutory body of legal practitioners, convened an emergency meeting of its Council which agreed that the LAZ had a duty to block Chiluba's attempt to manipulate the constitution, (Carter Center, Kabemba, 2002: 11). In doing so, the association invoked Section 4(b) of the LAZ Act which stipulates that one of the objectives of the LAZ is to provide a forum through which all lawyers can participate together fully and effectively in the development of society and its institutions (emphasis). On January 19, 2001, the Chairman of LAZ, Christopher Mundia held a press briefing during which he stated that the constitution was clear on the fact that the incumbent president then did not qualify for re-election.

On February 21, 2001, the main church bodies, the LAZ and civil society groups convened a public meeting at the Oasis Restaurant in Lusaka to mobilize public opinion against alteration of the Constitution to allow Chiluba re-contest the republican presidency after the end of his second and final term. This resulted in the establishment of an alliance known as the Oasis Forum. The meeting adopted a strongly worded statement which became known as the Oasis Declaration. The declaration proclaimed that

The Law Association of Zambia in conjunction with the Church, that is to say, the Zambia Episcopal Conference (ZEC), the Christian Council of Zambia (CCZ), the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia (EFZ) and the Non-Governmental Organizations Coordinating Committee (NGOCC) and the People gathered here, having deemed it necessary, expedient, imperative and desirable to promote and conduct a debate in relation to the intimation by the ruling party, the MMD to amend the Republican Constitution to provide a third term of office in order to facilitate the eligibility of the incumbent President FTJ Chiluba in the forthcoming Presidential and Parliamentary Elections and whereas the Constitution of Zambia as amended in 1996 declares that, “notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in this Constitution or any other Law, no person who has been twice elected as President shall be eligible for re-election to that office”. Now this Forum declares as follows that the Forum calls upon the incumbent Republican President to exercise statesmanship by unambiguously pledging to uphold, protect and defend the Constitution of Zambia and not contest the 2001 Presidential Elections.

The Forum further called upon the women, men and the youth in the nation to close ranks and resist ever again from being used and abused in any political process for selfish ends that may threaten the country’s peace and security. It also called upon traditional leaders as custodians of national heritage to continue upholding cultural values and not to be used as instruments for manipulation.

There was an extraordinary public response to this call. In the months that followed, many Zambians donned green No Third Term ribbons that were distributed by the NGOCC. Every Friday at 17:00 hours the streets in Lusaka and the Copperbelt Province resounded with the honking of car horns as motorists expressed their solidarity with the No Third Term Campaign. In addition, the Forum organized mass meetings in every provincial capital. It soon became evident that most Zambians were against amendment of the Constitution to allow Chiluba to stand for another term in office. According to Gould, the Oasis Forum catalyzed, organized, and gave focus to a nationwide social movement that challenged the abuse of executive discretion.

Within Chiluba’s own party, there was mounting tension between those in support of and those opposed to a third term. Toward the end of March 2001, fourteen members of the party’s National Executive Committee issued a joint statement in opposition to the third

term. On April 10, 2001 at a prayer meeting for Members of Parliament held at the Cathedral of the Holy Cross in Lusaka, the three main church organizations in the country, some nongovernmental organizations and representatives of political parties issued a declaration stating that they were categorically opposed to any attempts to confer a third term of office on Chiluba. The fifty-nine signatories, who were all Members of Parliament and included the Republican Vice-President, Tembo, and forty-two other members of the MMD undertook to use the mandate given to them by the people to do all things possible within the law to ensure that the Constitution of Zambia was upheld for the benefit of future generations.

The “Cathedral Declaration” increased the pressure on Chiluba and seriously undermined his chances of amending the Republican Constitution to allow for a third term in office. At the time, the National Assembly consisted of 150 elected and eight nominated members. Amendments to the Constitution required at least 106 votes in favour. Thus, the fifty-nine parliamentarians who signed the Cathedral Declaration could block any proposed change to the Constitution irrespective of the decision of the MMD’s extraordinary convention, (Neo Simutanyi, March 2013).

On April 21, 2001, the church, LAZ, and other civil society groups organized a public rally in Lusaka against the third term. The rally was attended by about 15,000 people, all the major opposition parties including the United National Independent Party (UNIP), the United Party for National Development (UPND), the Zambia Alliance for Progress (ZAP) and the Zambian Republican Party (ZRP), as well as senior Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) officials including Vice-President, General Christone Tembo and foreign diplomats. Police attempts to stop the rally from proceeding were overturned by the High Court which ordered that the police should ensure that organizers of the rally were protected against intimidation and violence from supporters of the third term. At the rally, Tembo called upon Chiluba to save the country by ensuring that the constitution was respected. He underlined that there was no need for the constitution to be amended at that moment because politics like football has rules that ought to be respected by all the players. He stated that, “You don’t go into a football match and start changing rules.”

On May 3, 2001 more than sixty-five members of parliament mostly from the MMD and including all of those who had been expelled from the party by the pro-Chiluba faction

moved a motion in the National Assembly to have Chiluba impeached for alleged gross misconduct. The number of those in support of the motion was sufficient to compel the Speaker of the National Assembly to convene the Assembly to hear charges of gross misconduct against Chiluba. The impeachment motion outlined several offenses of gross violation of the Constitution by Chiluba. The motion alleged that the president had grossly misconducted himself by failing to perform with dignity and leadership the functions of president in that he had initiated and orchestrated the third term debate through bribes applied to the members as well as other citizens for selfish rather than national interest.

Under sustained domestic and international pressure and confronted with the prospect of an embarrassing defeat in a parliament dominated by his own party, Chiluba capitulated and declared that he would not be seeking a third term of office. On May 5, 2001 he announced that he would leave office at the end of his second term stating, "Let's take national interests into consideration. This is in the best interest of the nation." (Dulani, 2011).

On August 23, the MMD's National Executive Committee announced that Levy Mwanawasa, the former Republican Vice-President during Chiluba's first term, would be its presidential candidate for the 2001 elections. On May 30, the Speaker of the National Assembly postponed the debate on the impeachment motion ostensibly to allow time for the judicial determination of a dispute over the expulsion of the twenty-two parliamentarians from the MMD since their case in the High Court was related to the impeachment motion. This decision was met with some dismay by many observers including the LAZ which argued that the Speaker had erred by refusing to convene the National Assembly within twenty-one days of receiving the motion as required by law. The postponement of the debate on the impeachment motion allowed Chiluba to serve out the remainder of his term.

In Burundi the crisis began on April 25, 2015 as a result of President Pierre Nkurunziza's desire to pursue a third term despite the maximum two-term limitation in that country's constitution. President Nkurunziza came to power in 2005 when he was chosen by parliament to serve as president after the end of the twelve-year ethnic civil war (1993-2005) which claimed an estimated 300,000 lives. President Nkurunziza and his supporters, including members of the Imbonerakure youth militia, trained and armed by the governing National Council for Defense of Democracy, forces for the Defense of Democracy (CNDD-FDD), maintain that he was elected by Parliament in 2005 as part of the Arusha Agreement and not

by direct universal suffrage. Hence, they argue, Nkurunziza's third term should count as a second term (Armed Conflict Location & Event Dataset, 2016; Ahluwalia, 2016; Human Rights Watch, 2014; Siegle, 2015, Thomas-Greenfield, 2015; Vandeginste, 2015).

Along with some members of President Pierre Nkurunziza's own CNDD-FDD, the opposition National Council for the Restoration of Arusha Agreement and Rule of Law (CNARED) argued that President Nkurunziza's decision to extend his rule past the maximum allowable two terms was in direct violation of Article 96 of Burundi's Constitution and out of compliance with the Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement, also known as the Arusha Agreement. The Arusha Agreement was established in 2000 after prolonged dialogues that were spearheaded by former presidents of Tanzania, Julius Nyerere and South Africa, Nelson Mandela.

Opponents of President Nkurunziza further contended that the Arusha Agreement should trump Burundi's Constitution or that the Constitution should clarify the Arusha Agreement (Ahluwalia, 2016; Nantulya, 2015). The Agreement is the framework that ended the civil war and a series of violent conflicts. Its purpose was to usher in a power-sharing government, to provide checks on presidential power, and to promote political stability. Secondly, the Agreement was implemented to ensure that no specific ethnic group could comprise more than 50% of military and security services. Both the Agreement and the Constitution also prevented any ethnic group from occupying more than 60% representation in cabinet positions and in diplomatic and consular assignments.

Thirdly, the Arusha Agreement was a coalition building and a conflict resolution mechanism. Lastly, the Agreement integrated former combatants into new, cohesive, and representative security forces. That is, the new national defense force would include 60% officers from the former government army and 40% who were former combatants (Armed Conflict Location & Event Dataset, 2016; Ahluwalia, 2016; Daley, 2006; Hatungimana *et al.*, 2007; Nindorera, 2012; Russell, 2015; Siegle, 2015; Greenfield, 2015; Vandeginste, 2015). While the conflict in Burundi centers around term limit manipulation, issues of identity seem to be dominant. Given that country's history of conflict, Burundians are concerned that the conflict could reignite the already fragile ethnic division between Hutus and Tutsis, the country's two major ethnic groups. Additionally, acts of violence such as sexual harassment, rape, and torture are common in the current conflict. Human Rights Watch (2017a) and Amnesty International

(2017a) have reported violence directed against women by government forces, the Imbonerakure Youth Militia, and armed opposition groups increased since the conflict began in April, 2015.

The report further noted that some security forces and Imbonerakure Youth Militia raped women in front of their families while arresting a male family member. Much of the violence appeared to have been directed at family members of alleged government opponents. President Nkurunziza's decision to manipulate the Constitution, violating the Arusha Agreement, triggered unprecedented demonstrations by opposition parties and civil society groups to challenge his third term bid. In response, government forces and the feared CNDD-FDD Imbonerakure Youth Militia coordinated a campaign of repression and intimidation against opponents of President Nkurunziza's third-term bid. The group was accused of political violence that targeted opposition members and members of civil society groups. The repression and intimidation spiraled into violence following a failed military *coup d'état* in May, 2015.

After the failed coup, the crisis escalated, with security forces and armed opposition perpetrating more violence. Despite pleas from regional organizations and the international community to postpone the July, 2015 election until the crisis was mediated and peace and stability returned, President Nkurunziza and his CNDD-FDD party held an election. The election was boycotted by opposition parties, the United Nations (UN), the African Union (AU), the European Union (EU), and the United States of America (USA), all of whom rejected the election results due to their lack of credibility. This crisis led to the deaths of an estimated 1,155 people between April 26, 2015 and April 25, 2016. It also led to the displacement of over 300,000 refugees fleeing abduction, violence, and torture (Armed Conflict Location and Event Dataset, 2016; Ahluwalia, 2016; Siegle, 2015; UNHCR, 2016; Vircoulon, 2015).

In addition to circumventing Burundi's Constitution and the Arusha Agreement, opposition parties and civil society groups feared that President Nkurunziza was preparing to eliminate constitutional presidential term limits completely, allowing him to contest a fourth term in 2020. For instance, the National Commission of the Inter Burundian Dialogue (CNDI), a body tasked with finding solutions to the deep political crisis, revealed that a majority of Burundians who were consulted supported the suppression of the presidential term limits and

stood for the amendment of the constitution (Uwimana, 2017), and President Nkurunziza suggested that the will of the people was above the judiciary (Fraser, 2017).

The majority of CNDD-FDD hardliners welcomed this report as most of them supported eliminating presidential term limits. In juxtaposition, Jérémie Ngenda Kumana, spokesman for CNARED, contended that, “Burundians are not calm and not ready for the amendment. They are gripped by fear following the murders observed on a daily basis, kidnapping cases, forced disappearances, and arbitrary arrests” (Uwimana, 2017, p. 2). In recent developments, President Pierre Nkurunziza and CNDD-FDD party loyalists sought constitutional amendments that would allow Nkurunziza to rule Burundi until 2034. The May 2018 referendum, it was feared, could trigger further deadly violence (Kaneza, 2018). Recommended amendments in the referendum included a change of the current constitutional limitation on presidential terms to two durations of seven years each, a change that would allow President Nkurunziza to stay in power for two additional seven-year terms (Johnson, 2017). Any attempt by President Nkurunziza to eliminate presidential term limits could create another intractable conflict, destabilizing the Greater Lakes Region.

2.5 Review of Related Studies

2.5.1 (Global Level) Russia

Russia’s new world of Siloviki domination commenced with the appointment of Putin as the second president of the Russian Federation. After serving in the presidential staff and working as the director of the Federal Security Service (FSB; the KGB’s successor), Putin somewhat unexpectedly took the throne following an early resignation of Yeltsin in 1999. Heavily supported by Yeltsin, the Russian population and some of the most influential oligarchs (including Berezovsky), Putin as Silovik himself easily won the elections in 2000 which are often labeled as the first democratic and peaceful transfer of power in Russian history (Rutland 2000, p.313). Despite a lack of political experience, Putin and his administration immediately knocked down the turbulent democratic experience of 1990s and constructed a system with increased authoritarianism.

Russian President Vladimir Putin revealed his tightly guarded political plan and supported a constitutional amendment that would allow him to seek reelection in 2024 by restarting the term count. The constitutional change would pave the way for the 67-year-old Putin to stay in office until 2036, if he desires. A lawmaker who is revered in Russia as the first woman to

fly in space proposed either scrapping Russia's two-term limit for presidents or stopping the clock so the law wouldn't apply to Putin's time in office. As it was constitutionally ineligible to rule another term, Putin gave way to one of his greatest confidants, Dmitry Medvedev, to succeed him in May 2008. Although Putin officially served as prime minister during Medvedev's first and only presidential term (2008-2012), their actual two-headed rule is often labeled as "tandemocracy" (Hale 2009). This duumvirate proved Putin's ambitions not to leave the political scene and to prepare for another presidential era, but this time his victories during both the parliamentary (2011) and presidential elections (2012) were disturbed by mass protests. Tens of thousands of people took to the streets after fraud-filled elections in 2011, causing the greatest protest movement since the collapse of the Soviet Union. After another series of protests following the 2012 presidential elections, Putin's seemingly unassailable position was suddenly put under considerable pressure. Putin's second consecutive six-year term ends in 2024.

A nationwide vote on the amendments was scheduled, Putin has been in power for more than 20 years, and he is Russia's longest-serving leader since Soviet dictator, Josef Stalin. After serving two presidential terms in 2000-2008, he shifted to the Russian prime minister's office while protege Dmitry Medvedev served as a placeholder president.

After the length of a presidential term was extended to six years under Medvedev, Putin reclaimed the presidency in 2012 and won another term in 2018. Observers had speculated that to retain the presidency, Putin could use constitutional amendments he unveiled in January to scrap term limits; move into the prime minister's seat with strengthened powers; or continue calling the shots as the head of the State Council. However, Putin had dismissed those suggestions and what option he might use to keep power. The Russian leader finally revealed his cards after Tereshkova, a legendary figure glorified for her pioneering 1963 space flight, offered her ideas. "I propose to either lift the presidential term limit or add a clause that after the revised constitution enters force, the incumbent president, just like any other citizen, has the right to seek the presidency," she said to raucous applause in the State Duma.

After Tereshkova unveiled her proposal in an apparently choreographed move, Putin quickly arrived in parliament to address lawmakers. He said he was aware of public calls for him to stay on as president and emphasized that Russia needed stability above all. "The president is a guarantor of security of our state, its internal stability and evolutionary development. We

have had enough revolutions”. Putin said. However, he added that since the constitution is a long-term document, scrapping the term limit wasn't a good idea.

“In the long-term perspective, society must have guarantees of regular government rotation,” he said. “We need to think about future generations”. Only then did Putin drop the bombshell, saying he positively viewed Tereshkova's alternate proposal to restart the term count when the revamped constitution enters into force. “As for the proposal to lift restrictions for any person, any citizen, including the incumbent president, to allow running in future elections ... this option is possible,” Putin said.

He added that the Constitutional Court would need to judge if the move would be legal, although the court's assent was all but guaranteed. At the same time, Putin quashed speculation that the Kremlin might call an early parliamentary election for the fall, saying he considered it unnecessary. Moments later, the Duma's speaker could be heard directing his deputy to ask the lawmaker who proposed holding the early vote to withdraw his motion. Putin's statement came as lawmakers were considering the amendments in a crucial second reading when changes in the document were made.

The Kremlin-controlled lower house, the State Duma, quickly endorsed the proposed amendments by a 382-0 vote with 44 abstentions. A vote on a third reading would be a quick formality. A nationwide vote on the proposed amendments was set for April 22, 2021. Andrei Klishas, a senior lawmaker who co-chaired a Kremlin working group on the constitutional reform, told the Associated Press that the amendment allowing Putin to run again would be welcomed by many Russians who "worry they would lose certain things, including social security, after Putin steps down as president.”

Russia's leading opposition figure, Alexei Navalny, mocked the proposed change. “Putin has been in power for 20 years, and yet he is going to run for the first time,” Navalny tweeted. A group of opposition activists called for a March 21 protest rally in Moscow where they expected up to 50,000 people to attend. "The country where the government doesn't change for 20 years has no future," the activists said in a statement

The Ruble's sharp drop this, caused by a steep fall in global oil prices in the wake of the collapse of OPEC's agreement with Russia to control crude output, could herald deeper economic problems and hurt Putin's popularity. It looks like this crisis situation had made

Putin drop his mask and do something he had originally planned, and to do it quickly," said Abbas Gallyamov, an independent political analyst.

2.5.2 United States of America

On November 5, 1940, President Franklin D. Roosevelt won a third term in office, an unprecedented act that would be barred by a constitutional amendment a decade later.

Roosevelt's decision to break the precedent set by George Washington was made in July 1940 as the United States neared its entry into World War II. The third-term decision dominated his election campaign against the Republican contender, Wendell Willkie. In the end, Roosevelt won the election by a wide margin and he was able to win a fourth election in 1944.

But the popular fallout about the concept of a long-term president led to the ratification of the 22nd Amendment in 1951. "No person shall be elected to the office of the President more than twice, and no person who has held the office of President, or acted as President, for more than two years of a term to which some other person was elected President shall be elected to the office of the President more than once," the amendment read, in a clear reference to Roosevelt.

Franklin Roosevelt wasn't even the first Roosevelt to seek a third term in the White House. His distant cousin, Theodore Roosevelt, ran unsuccessfully as a third-party candidate in 1912 after declining to run in 1908. President Ulysses S. Grant also sought a third term in 1880 but he lacked enough party support to get a nomination. The first president, Washington, set the two-term precedent in 1796 when he decided to pass on a third term, setting up a scramble between John Adams and Thomas Jefferson in the fall race. In 1799, a friend urged Washington to come out of retirement to run for a third term. Washington made his thoughts quite clear especially when it came to new phenomena of political parties.

That message wasn't lost on Theodore Roosevelt who considered running in 1908 despite his public pledges to the contrary. Instead, he backed William Howard Taft as a surrogate candidate but the urge to control his own political party drove Roosevelt back to the campaign trail in 1912. In 1940, Franklin Roosevelt decided to break the Washington precedent after World War II broke out in Europe and Nazi Germany overran France. The move caused some key Roosevelt supporters within the Democratic Party to leave the Roosevelt campaign.

The Republicans campaigned heavily against a third-term president and the Democrats countered with claims that Wilkie was a “third-rate” candidate. Later in the campaign, Roosevelt insisted that he was in the race to keep America out of the war in Europe thus he easily defeated Wilkie on Election Day. But talk about a presidential term-limits amendment started in 1944 when Republican candidate Thomas Dewey said a potential 16-year term for Roosevelt was a threat to democracy. In a speech in Buffalo on October 31, 1944 Dewey said, "Four terms or sixteen years is the most dangerous threat to our freedom ever proposed. That is one reason why I believe that two terms must be established as the limit by constitutional amendment."

In March 1947, a Republican-controlled Congress approved the 22nd Amendment with an exception that would exclude a president in office from term limits during the ratification process. It took until February 1951 to get enough states to ratify the amendment and President Harry Truman decided to opt against running for a third term. Since then, some members of Congress have introduced efforts to repeal the 22nd Amendment, but they haven't made it out of committee.

2.6 Review of Latest Studies in Africa

2.6.1 Uganda

In Uganda for instance, President Museveni has been in power for more than 32 years aided by constitutional amendments that allowed him to abolish term limit extension (Issaka, 2016). After independence, Uganda had experienced multiple autocratic regimes with violent power transitions. For instance, the Milton Obote and Idi Amin governments were very autocratic with no room for political competition or independent institutional development (Moehler, 2006). Museveni led a rebel group called the National Resistance Movement (NRM) that enabled him get into power in 1986. Museveni was regarded a liberator, a hero who had emancipated Uganda from the chains of oppression and dictatorship by Obote and Id Amin. Museveni was keenly aware that the challenge with Uganda was poor leadership and leaders who overstayed their mandate. It should be noted that in Uganda provisions to repeal presidential term limits is provided for in article 137 (1) of 1995.

The Constitutional Court is the only body with such jurisdiction. However, this was not the case. Parliament usurped the constitutional courts mandate to change the rules in Museveni's favor (Asiimwe and Muhozi, 2005). True to the arguments by Roddick, Versteeg and

Ginsburg, and Ake that the shortcoming with liberal democracy in Africa is that the incumbency determines and defines what democracy means, or what term limits mean, and who determines those terms (Roddick, 2016; Versteeg & Ginsburg, 2017; Ake, 2002). Alex Gitta's assertions were evidenced on September 30, 2015, when the Ugandan parliament voted to repeal Article 105 (2) that accorded Museveni a maximum of two-five-year terms. Parliament voted to repeal this article because Museveni wanted it repealed. A maximum of two-terms did not serve Museveni's interest in power in Uganda (Barkan, 2015). To ensure the parliamentarians played ball, Museveni parliamentarians were paid \$ 2,000 each to influence their voting (Moehler, 2006). In the latest term limit extension in 2017, Museveni again paid parliamentarians \$8,000 to pass the bill repealing presidential age limit (Gitta, 2017).

Liberal democracy proponents from the west did not castigate Museveni during the term limit amendments. According to Cheeseman (2010), the international communities were willing to let Museveni go through with the amendments as a compromise to the stability of the region. It seems the case that international community and agencies placed much premium on Museveni's contribution to Uganda's stability than on regression of liberal democratic space (Roddick, 2016). To this end, Barkan noted as follows in regard to term limit extension in Uganda,

In 2005, when Museveni first made an attempt to change the constitution to scrap term limits, he made it so shrewd that even opponents found it difficult to oppose. Following the revelation of plans to abolish age limit to allow Museveni to run indefinitely, public demonstrations against the removal of the age limit took place mostly in Kampala. Students from Makerere University were on the forefront against the amendment. The demonstrations were dubbed "*K'ogikwatako*", meaning, 'don't dare touch it' in Luganda language. There were significant protests in parliament in equal measure resulting in physical fights and altercations between opposition members and NRM party members resulting (Ngala, 2017). Opposition members were thrown out of parliament; the amendment passed with NRM majority vote.

2.6.2 Rwandan Case

President Paul Kagame has been in power for more than 18 years. In 2017, Kagame led a constitutional referendum to allow for the extension of presidential term limits that could

allow him to stay in power until 2034 (Guardian, 2017). Just like Museveni, Kagame is Rwandan liberation hero. During the 1994 genocide that killed more than one million Tutsi and moderate Hutus, Kagame (Commander of a rebel group Rwanda Patriotic Front, RPF) led an attack against a genocidal government driving the government forces out of Rwanda and decisively ending the genocide (Stubbs, 2016). It is precisely this event that came to define how President Kagame is viewed by supporters in the Western capitals and at home: “The man who ended unimaginable terror and horror” (Guardian, 2010: para 6).

However, in pushing for the extension of third term limits, some scholars argue that Kagame has debased the ethos that elevated him so highly among his fellow African Presidents who are only concerned with personalization of state power (Stubbs, 2016; Dulani, 2010; Ngala, 2017). The liberation dividend granted Kagame the freedom and leeway to rebuild Rwanda, a job he has done specifically well. The economy has rebound growing at 8% per annum for the last ten years, infrastructure, schools, hospitals, and security. As such, Kagame’s continuous leadership has been a necessity for the prosperity of Rwanda. Despite the accolades attributed to Kagame, many accuse him of taking advantage of liberation dividend for personal power aggrandizement. Kagame has made it difficult for anyone to challenge him or stand against him. For instance, many political parties in Rwanda have been abolished with their leaders being incarcerated, killed, or exiled. Only a few parties do survive in Rwanda particularly those allowed to operate. Case in point, Bernard Ntaganda, the leader of Rwanda’s Socialist Party was allowed to campaign against Kagame in 2016 but a few months later he was arrested for holding an illegal gathering and planning to kill a political rival. By the time the elections were held, the party had no leader (Barkan, 2015).

Additionally, Visathan (2015) argues that Kagame has established himself as the only sober voice for Rwanda. Any opposition to his leadership should be dealt with ruthlessly. For instance, in June 2010 an exiled former RPF general, Faustin Kayumba was shot in a botched assassination attempt in Pretoria South Africa. Similarly, Leonard Rugambage, an editor of a banned Umuvugizi paper was murdered outside his home in Kigali while investigating general Kayumba’s shooting in South Africa (Guardian, 2010). The body of Rwanda’s Democratic Green Party vice-president Andre Kagwa Rwisereka was found decapitated and thrown in Butare River. In 2016, Mr. Nshimiyimana, a resident of Rwamagana district handed to parliament a lone petition of disapproval of any constitutional amendment that would grant Kagame a third term. In as much as his petition received a mention in parliament, his actions

of daring to stand up against Kagame were not forgotten. Months later, he was arrested, tortured and almost strangled to death (Mupenda, 2016).

Therefore, relying on his icon figure, and heroism statute across Rwanda, Kagame has cultivated a ruthless image that most dare not to cross (Barkan, 2015). Based on the previous history of what had befallen previous opponents of Kagame, no one dares to oppose the presidential term limit extension. Even opposition parties such as the Socialist Democratic Party, and the Rwanda Green Democratic Party all supported term limit extension. As such, the success of term limit extensions in Rwanda is by large precipitated and championed by Kagame's desire to remain in power and using his liberation heroism.

2.6.3 Zambian Case

Fredrick Chiluba embarked on his own campaign to remove the term-limit provision from the country's constitution. The introduction of presidential term limits in Zambia was part of major constitutional changes in 1991 which marked a major break from one-party authoritarian rule and the introduction of competitive multi-party politics. The inclusion of a term-limit provision in the new constitution was motivated in large part by Zambia's long history with authoritarian rule: from independence in 1964, Zambia had had only one president, Kenneth Kaunda. It was only after the adoption of the new constitution in 1991 which lifted a long-time ban on opposition parties that Kaunda was forced to leave office after losing to Chiluba in the first competitive elections since Zambia's independence in 1964.

Although Chiluba and his party, the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD), were among the leading advocates of presidential term limits, he and his supporters in the MMD had completely reversed positions when the president's time to step down loomed close. As in the Namibian case, the bid to remove presidential term limits in Zambia generated intense political debate. While Chiluba remained non-committal about his true position on the debate, his supporters mounted a very aggressive and sometimes violent campaign for the removal of term limits (Moomba, 1999). However, although the MMD had a very strong legislative majority (131 of 150 National Assembly seats), the proposal to remove term limits caused a major split within the MMD ranks. Several cabinet ministers led by Vice President Christon Tembo and several MMD Members of Parliament (MPs), joined hands with opposition parties, civil society, trade unions, student groups, and church leaders to mount a well-coordinated campaign against the proposal. They pointed at Kenneth Kaunda's twenty-seven-year rule as an example of what could happen in the absence of limits on presidential office

(Hambulo, 2016, Catholic Secondary Education and Identity Reformation in Zambia's Southern Province. Unpublished PhD Thesis. University of South Africa.)

Although Chiluba and his supporters persisted by bulldozing the MMD's convention in early 2001 to adopt the proposal to remove term limits as a ruling-party position, the strong opposition within the MMD and wider society increased the likelihood that the bill would not pass through parliament. Faced with the prospect of defeat in a Parliament dominated by his own party, Chiluba was forced to concede defeat and declare that he would be stepping down on the eve of the bill's tabling in Parliament on May 7, 2001. The bill was subsequently withdrawn and the MMD hastily chose Levi Mwanawasa to lead the party in the December 2001 elections. With ten opposition candidates splitting the opposition vote, Mwanawasa managed to squeak through to victory with 29 percent of the presidential vote (Africa Elections Database).

Zambia's Constitutional Court on December 7 also ruled that President Edgar Lungu of the ruling Patriotic Front (PF) could contest the 2021 elections to seek a third term as president. The court ruling was highly likely to strengthen President Edgar Lungu's prospects of remaining the Patriotic Front (PF)'s prime candidate to stand for re-election in 2021. In response to mounting criticisms from the opposition United Party for National Development (UPND) and civil society organizations.

According to the unanimous ruling from the seven-member bench, President Edgar Lungu's first tenure from January 2015 to August 2016 did not constitute a full term, making him eligible to stand for a substantive second term in 2021. President Lungu, a former minister of defence and justice, was elected president following the death of President Michael Sata (in office from September 2011 to October 2014) and the ineligibility of then Vice-President Guy Scott, as both his parents were non-Zambian. Lungu subsequently won the August 2016 elections and indicated his intention to stand again in 2021 despite opposition criticism from the United Party for National Development (UPND) and others that this was unconstitutional. Although Zambia's 2016 constitution stipulates a limit of two full five-year terms, an additional provision states that the term of office of a replacement president, if less than three years, does not constitute a full term. However, four opposition parties including the UPND and the influential civil society group, the Law Association of Zambia (LAZ), petitioned the Constitutional Court in January 2018 opposing Lungu's eligibility in 2021.

2.7 Chapter Summary

Chapter two outlined the literature deemed relevant to the study. The chapter focused on the extension of presidential term limits and its consequences for political leadership as perceived by several scholars. Also in this chapter was the review of related studies to the current study, and this was done at three levels namely; global such as Russia and the United States of America, African such as from Uganda and Rwanda respectively. On the Zambian perspective, a review of write ups that other scholars have done was conducted.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0: Overview

This chapter explained the methodology involved in the collection and analysis of data. According to Kothari 1985, research methodology is a way of systematically solving a research problem it can also be understood as a science of studying how research is done in a scientific way. Through the use of research methodology, various steps were generally adopted by a researcher in studying his research problem along with logic behind them. This chapter was organized under the following headings: Research approach and design, Population, sampling techniques, Research instruments, Data collection processing and analysis.

3.1 Research Approach

The research approach is a plan and procedure that consists of the steps of broad assumptions to detailed methods of data collection, analysis, and interpretation. It is, therefore, based on the nature of the research problem being addressed, the approach of data analysis or reasoning. Creswell (2007). Creswell (2007) asserted the importance of illustrating the research approach as an effective strategy to increase the validity of social research. The major part of this chapter was the presentation of the research approach. The research adopted qualitative research. Qualitative research is a form of social action that stresses on the way of people interpret, and make sense of their experiences to understand the social reality of individuals. It makes the use of interviews, diaries, journals, classroom observations and immersions; and open-ended questionnaires to obtain, analyze, and interpret the data content analysis of visual and textual materials, and oral history (Zohrabi, 2013).

It is exploratory, and seeks to explain ‘how’ and ‘why’ a particular social phenomenon, or program, operates as it does in a particular context. It tries to help us to understand the social world in which we live, and why things are the way they are (Polkinghorne, 2005). Qualitative research comprises of the following methods: logic, ethnography, discourse analysis, case study, open-ended interview, participant observation, counseling, therapy, grounded theory, biography, comparative method, introspection, casuistry, focus group, literary criticism, meditation practice, historical research, etc. (Cibangu, 2012).

3.2 Research Methodology

According to Combo and tromp 2006, research design is used glue that holds all research project elements together, it is used to structure the research and to show how all major parts of the research projects are structured together to address the central question in research. Kothari 1985 adds that research design is the arrangement of conditions for collection and analysis of data in a manner that aims to combine relevance to the research purpose with economy in procedure. In this research, case study was used, case study design is a strategy of acquiring or inquiring which a researcher explores in-depth a program, event, activity, process or one on one interactions with individuals.

A case study is a research methodology that has commonly been used in social sciences. A case study is a research strategy and an empirical inquiry that investigates a phenomenon within its real-life context. A case study was useful in this study in that case studies are based on an in-depth investigation of a single individual, group or event to explore the causes of underlying principles (Creswell 2009), adds that case studies focus on one or just two instances of a particular phenomenon with a view to providing an in-depth account of events, relationships, experiences or processes occurring in that particular instance.

3.2.1. Population

Creswell 2012 describes the population as a collection of objects, events or individuals having some common characteristics that the researcher is interested in studying. The population can in other ways be described as all possible elements that could be included in the research. In this case the population that was involved in this case study was different stakeholders such as members of political party groups such as Patriotic Front, United Party for National Development ,National Democratic Party ,Democratic Party as well as secretary generals of the same political parties, political scientists, lecturers in political science from the university of Zambia and civil society organizations such as Non-Governmental Organization Coordinating Committee ,Young African Leaders Initiative and Alliance for Change.

3.2.2 Sampling techniques

Combo and tromp (2006) defines sampling techniques as a procedure where a researcher uses people, places or things to conduct a study. It is a process of selecting a number of individuals or objects from a population such that the selected group contains elements or representatives

of the characteristics found in the entire group. In this research sample individuals were selected from Lusaka District. Samples are always subsets of all small parts of the total population that could be studied.

3.3.1. Purposive sampling

Purposive sampling is a type of sampling method that represents a group of different non-probability sampling techniques (Combo and Tromp 2006). Also known as judgmental, selective or subjective sampling, purposive sampling relies on the judgement of the researcher when it comes to selecting the units (e.g., people, cases/organizations, events, pieces of data) that are to be studied. Usually, the sample being investigated is quite small, especially when compared with probability sampling techniques.

In this case purposive sampling was employed to select only participants with information relevant to the research. In purposive sampling, the researcher purpose it against a group of people believed to be reliable for the study (Combo and Tromp 2006). In this research the following was expected to participate. Eighteen to hundred people from political parties, from nongovernmental organizations, political scientists or analysts and lecturers from the University of Zambia and non-partisan members. Interview questions was also used to collect data in the research.

3.2. Data Collection Instruments

Data collection refers to gathering of information aims at proving or refuting some facts (Combo and Tromp 2006) assesses that data collection involves explaining how one is going to carry out data collection process which instruments were used and why. In this case study semi structured interviews and document analysis were used in order to collect data. Semi-structured interviews are a method of research used most often in the social sciences. While a structured interview has a rigorous set of questions which does not allow one to divert, a semi-structured interview is open, allowing new ideas to be brought up during the interview as a result of what the interviewee says. The interviewer in a semi-structured interview generally has a framework of themes to be explored.

Semi-structured interviews are widely used in qualitative research; for example in household research, such as couple interviews. A semi-structured interview involving, for example, two spouses can result in "the production of rich data, including observational data."

Document analysis is a form of qualitative research in which documents are interpreted by the researcher to give voice and meaning around an assessment topic (Bowen, 2009). Analyzing documents incorporates coding content into themes similar to how focus group or interview transcripts are analyzed (Bowen, 2009). A rubric can also be used to grade or score document. There are three primary types of documents (O’Leary, 2014): Public Records: The official, ongoing records of an organization’s activities. Examples include student transcripts, mission statements, annual reports, policy manuals, student handbooks, strategic plans, and syllabi. Personal Documents: First-person accounts of an individual’s actions, experiences, and beliefs. Examples include calendars, e-mails, scrapbooks, blogs, Facebook posts, duty logs, incident reports, reflections/journals, and newspapers. Physical Evidence: Physical objects found within the study setting (often called artifacts). Examples include flyers, posters, agendas, handbooks, and training materials.

3.3 Data collection procedure

The procedure to collect data depends on the type of data that was needed; data was divided into two types which are secondary and primary data. The primary data are those which were collected afresh and for the first time and thus happen to be original in character. The secondary data on the other hand are those which have been collected by someone else and which have been passed through the statistical process (Kothari 1996). Since this research is a descriptive one there was need for fresh and original data in which the researcher obtained primary data through semi structured interviews and document analysis.

3.4 Credibility and Trustworthiness

Credibility in qualitative research is the first aspect, or criterion, that must be established. It is seen as the most important aspect or criterion in establishing trustworthiness. This is because credibility essentially asks the researcher to clearly link the research study’s findings with reality in order to demonstrate the truth of the research study’s findings. Trustworthiness or rigor of a study refers to the degree of confidence in data, interpretation, and methods used to ensure the quality of a study (Pilot & Beck, 2014). In each study, researchers should establish the protocols and procedures necessary for a study to be considered worthy of consideration by readers (Amankwah, 2016). Although most experts agree trustworthiness is necessary, debates have been waged in the literature as to what constitutes trustworthiness (Leung, 2015). To be accepted as trustworthy, qualitative researchers must demonstrate that

data analysis has been conducted in a precise, consistent, and exhaustive manner through recording, systematizing, and disclosing the methods of analysis with enough detail to enable the reader to determine whether the process is credible.

Triangulating instruments and participants help the researcher to ensure that the instruments tested and all the information was backed by pictures and verbatim of respondents, the researchers therefore trust that the findings were valid because the responses from the two research instruments were scrutinized to come up with findings which are valid.

3.5 Data analysis methods

Data analysis method is the systematic examination of raw or secondary data for emerging themes, facts, observations that are used to answer research questions (Saunders et al., 2009). Secondary data analysis method was used to review and analyze data from secondary literature sources. (Combo and tromp 2006) also define data analysis as the process by which data is processed and converted into meaningful statement. They further went on to referring data analysis to examining what was collected in a surveyor experiment and making deductions and inferences, it involves uncovering underlying structures, extracting important valuables, dictating any anomalies and testing any underlying assumptions it involves scrutinizing the acquired information and making references. Since the study was qualitative the data that was gathered from the interviews and focus group discussions was categorized into themes and arranged accordingly to key concepts which corresponded with research questions an analysis was presented in a narrative manner.

3.6 Ethical Considerations

In every research study, ethical implications exist, such as participants' safety, confidentiality, potential benefits, biases, and prejudices. Thus, the researcher assumed responsibility for ensuring that all relationships and materials investigated are respected at all times. Berg (2009), and Guillemin and Gillam (2004) defined ethics in research as following guidelines of acceptable and unacceptable conduct in research, which includes matters of privacy, the safety, and the confidentiality of data. Guillemin and Gillam (2004) described reflexivity as a tool for understanding data and its collection and for understanding the type of ethics in qualitative research methods and the ways that ethical practice in research is accomplished. Research comprising human participants begins from an understanding of ethical tension

(Guillemin & Gillam, 2004). It is incumbent upon the researcher to uphold participants' rights to confidentiality and privacy and right to be free from physical and mental harm during and after the study. As part of the ethics protocol, the researcher conducted the research within the guidelines and conceptual frameworks of ethical practice in research. Another ethical issue of concern was the researcher's personal biases on this topic which was that researchers should be aware of their own feelings, motives, and biases and identify possible preconceptions before these impacts their studies.

3.7 Chapter summary

The above chapter discussed methodologies that were applied in the research, under methodology issues such as research design and population were discussed while research design made known how part of the research was linked and glued to each other, population analyzed places and people that were involved in the research. The actual people who would take part in the research were discussed under target population while those that were selected were analyzed under sampling and sampling techniques which were purposive sampling. The chapter also discussed how data for research was collected and how to ascertain the validity of the data collected which was through triangulation lastly the chapter also dealt with ethical matters which were adhered to in this research. Semi structured interviews were used in order to collect information from both men and women from the public and get their views on the presidential term limits in Zambia. Document analysis was used to collect data to review what others had written about the same topic.

CHAPTER FOUR: PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This Chapter presents the findings of the study which investigated the extension of presidential term limits and its consequences for political leadership in Zambia's political space.

This chapter is divided into the following sub- headings; the root cause of extension of presidential term limits in Zambia's political space since 1964; the perceptions of Zambians on the extension of presidential term limits in Lusaka District and how to enhance positive public perceptions in politics in the light of the usual attempts to extend presidential term limits in Zambia.

The responses were based on the research questions through interview guide and document analysis which were correlated to the study at hand.

4.2 The causes of the extension of presidential term limits in Zambia's political space since 1964

The researcher asked the participants using semi structured interviews to share their views on what causes of the extension of presidential term limits in Zambia's political space since 1964. The issue on the causes of the extension of presidential term limits in Zambia's political space since 1964, resulted into a variety of responses such as things to do with the constitution, selfishness of the politician. All the respondents' views of the extension of presidential term limits in Zambia's political space since 1964 was linked to selfishness of the politicians. Therefore, the overarching theme which emerged from the participants' views is the selfishness of the politician.

The following are verbatim quotations from the responses of the participants to support the findings above:

4.2.1 Selfishness

The respondents observed that selfish was the root cause of the extension of presidential term limits in Zambia's political space since 1964. The third-term seekers appear to be motivated by a desire to utilize the office of president to accumulate wealth. This suggests that only

when Africa gets a new generation of political leaders that are keen to put the interests of the people above their own will the rules aimed at undercutting personal rule be safe. The attraction of office can also be minimized by the availability of post-presidential career opportunities. Other presidents meanwhile seek to remove term limits in a bid to avoid the threat of prosecution once they leave office. Removing term limits in this regard is motivated by a desire to avoid being held accountable. Of course, this can be read to mean that presidents who seek to prolong their tenure often have something to hide by staying in office. Perhaps removing rules that place super powers on the presidency while simultaneously introducing other rules that make it possible to prosecute leaders while they are still in office would have the double effect of reducing super presidentialism and making incumbency less attractive as a hideaway strategy.

4.2.1.1 Respondent one: Male

“Article 106-3 of the constitution of Zambia which allows that anything less than 3 years is not a term and a president can run for another term. A president can extend their presidential term limit due to greed for power especially in Africa and Zambia as a whole as the usual saying that power is sweet. There are no entry and exit mechanisms from politics when someone becomes president (no mechanisms of power). Most presidents become lonely and detached from reality after their term comes to an end and have nowhere to go. Most African states don't have the mechanisms of the United States of America where presidents are given the opportunity to decide on what to do after leaving their terms of office. The mentality of the African way of doing things even when you have a multiparty system of government. Politicians become so acrimonious and full of hatred that when you serve as president even those in opposition are after your blood and threats of being dealt with after leaving power and also fear of being prosecuted after leaving office”.

4.2.1.2 Respondent two: Male:

“Selfish political ambition (fear to leave office). The political elite would always want to protect themselves. Corruption (the polity will recruit surrogates for political parties which they will pay more to advance their political Agenda and corrupt political deals to perpetuate power. To accomplish developmental agenda and most of them feel if their term comes to an end, they won't accomplish their developmental agenda. Dictatorship traits where the ruling

polity will just want to stay in power at all costs and this is done through manipulation of presidential term limits and they would give good reasons when their motives”.

4.2.2.3 Respondent Four Male

“They want to have access and control to personal resources for the country for their own benefit. To perpetuate holding on to power within the political party. Selfish and interior motive”.

4.2.2.4 Respondent Five Male

“Because of stealing and plundering natural resources they fear that when they leave office they will be jailed and hence opt to stay long in office. When people have violated the constitution in a way or another and violation of the constitution is criminal, they would rather stay longer in office. Trying to get back at political opponents were they when they see that their opponents are a threat, they make sure they block them. External influence due to global connectivity where they have regional or international connection. Other countries can be used for dirty /political, economic and social crimes by the powerful individuals at a fee and they would return the favor to be in power so that crimes are perpetuated for example Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe who when he left power so many crimes were unearthed. When people ascend to power easily, they see how sweet power is and they don't want to lose it e.g., Muammar Ghaddafi of Libya he used an orthodox mans to stay in power and vowed never to leave e.g., Paul Kagame of Rwanda where he violated the rules and regulations of the African union and East African Community. They want to advance family and friend's agenda like tribalism, nepotism and favoritism so they would rather remain and continue in office e.g., Mobutu Seseseko who was called and they would do anything and no one would anything about it. Some people ascend to power democratically but it is called situational leaders e.g., Edgar Lungu and since such leaders will get a sympathetic vote from the people and whilst there, they discover themselves that they don't have what it takes to be a leader and they want to stay”.

4.2.2.5 Respondent Seven

“Because of political assumptions that you are too popular, Greed and Lawlessness. They don't want to forgo some benefits. No source of income and alternative source. Different

interpretation of the law and the constitutional court ruling which is not very clear and of Lack of transitional provisions of the law”.

4.2.2.6 Respondent Thirteen

“A president can extend their presidential term limit due to greed for power especially in Africa and Zambia as a whole as the usual saying that power is sweet. There are no entry and exit mechanisms from politics when someone becomes president (no mechanisms of power). Most presidents become lonely and detached from reality after their term comes to an end and have nowhere to go”.

4.3 The perceptions of Zambians on the extension of presidential term limits in Lusaka District

In order to confirm the perceptions of Zambians on the extension of presidential term limits in Lusaka District, the researcher needed to know the views of the participants on this matter. The researcher therefore deemed it necessary to elicit the views of the participants on perceptions of Zambians on the extension of presidential term limits.

Therefore, the overarching themes originating from the data analysis concerning the matter at hand was that: (a) People were not happy about the extension of presidential term limits (b) Current status quo should stand where a president serves only two terms in office should stand. The two themes are critically examined below.

4.3.1 People not happy

Respondent one:

“Zambia is a model in terms of democracy which is why most Zambians wouldn’t want the extension of presidential term limits. Term limits should be determined by what is legally accepted not what the public says and article 100-106 of the Zambian constitution defines what a term limit is and when somebody can leave office”.

4.3.1.1 Respondent two:

“Zambians don’t want the extension of presidential term limits because the political space is already polarized were the ruling polity yields enormous power to manipulate the electoral process as this would keep them in power perpetually. No political party should stay in power

for the sake of developmental agenda. Tribalism where Zambians don't want one tribal system to remain in power. It breeds dictatorship at a time when Zambians are debating reducing presidential power"

4.3.1.2 Respondent nine:

"The people are not for the idea of extending term limits in Zambia e.g there has been a hot debate on the incumbent's eligibility. People tend to suffer because of being ruled by the same people with the same vision".

4.3.1.3 Respondent ten:

"The majority of Zambians are not happy and they feel they should not be allowed because it is a violation of the constitution and an act of blockage for those who want to aspire, the perception is negative of course those that are eating feel the extension is a good thing and continue to benefit from the cake of those in power and they are the minority".

4.3 .2 Current status quo should stand

4.3.2.1 Respondent three:

"The current status call should stand and not change anything. Presidents should only be allowed to rule the country for two terms only".

4.3.2.2 Respondent eight:

"The majority of Zambians are not happy and they feel they should not be allowed because it is a violation of the constitution and an act of blockage for those who want to aspire, the perception is negative of course those that are eating feel the extension is a good thing and continue to benefit from the cake of those in power and they are the minority".

4.3.2.3 Respondent Nine:

"Presidential term limit is written in the Constitution that no president should rule more than two terms. That sentence is enough. And, also, you know, ruling is about law. What is written everybody considered what is written in the Constitution to be the law".

4.4 How positive public perception could be enhanced in politics in the light of the usual attempts of the presidential term limits in Zambia

It was also deemed necessary, for the purposes of the study, to elicit participants' views on how positive public perception could enhance in politics in the light of the usual attempts of the presidential term limits in Zambia.

Therefore, regarding the matter at hand, the overarching theme which emerged from the participants' views is that Zambians don't want the extension of presidential term limits because the political space is already polarized where the ruling polity yields enormous power to manipulate the electoral process as this would keep them in power perpetually. This theme included three sub-categories which were (a) we should have an informed citizenry so that informed decisions could be made, (b) there should be strictly adhere to the constitution, and (c) Zambian people should be encouraged to participate in politics. A critical examination of the three sub-categories is what follows below.

4.4.1 Informed citizenry

4.4.1.2 Respondent one:

"Adequately well-informed Citizenry. The concept of presidential term limits has been misunderstood and if confidence is to be enhanced there must be citizenry who are educated and well informed and there should be more knowledge passed on. The debate has been polarized (people have taken political sides) it is about which camp you belong to were the ruling party or the opposition party. The law must be consistent and you cannot rape the constitution because of politicians. Article 52 of the constitution which is on the basis that there should be sanity in our electoral system which states that every candidate to public office should be challenged".

4.4.1.3 Respondent two:

"Greater encouragement and education on the benefits of presidential term limits removal. There is need to explain on removing term limits and how it impacts on developing term limits and it impacts on development administration in Zambia at the same time protecting civil liberties and rights. No matter how much good a president is do not remove term limits e.g., Paul Kagame and Idi Amin, a term limit is enough to control the electoral process"

4.4.1.4 Respondent five:

“Flow of information is from the political elites to the people as there are a lot of plural politics. People who may lack the platform to speak may speak through NGOs or the political party they belong to and these people are supposed to enlighten the people on issues of governance. On mass communication there is usage of radio, television and mostly restricted to urban areas and also people who are able to read and write. There is need to tell people in a language they are able to understand through mass sensitization in both rural and urban areas through interest groups and rallies”.

4.4.2 Adhere to the constitution

4.4.2.1 Respondent six:

“To properly adhere to the constitution and what is required is in allowing only two terms to stay in office. There should be a talking ground for everyone for example the Catholics have a systematic way of making their agenda known”.

4.4.2.1.2 Respondent seven:

“Enhancing the rule of law and independence of the three arms of government where confidence should be built and their politics can be enhanced and all these issues can be enhanced”.

4.4.2.1.3 Respondent nine:

“Adhering to the constitution which states that a president should go for two terms only”

Respondent twelve: *“Enhancing the rule of law and independence of the three arms of government where confidence should be built and their politics can be enhanced and all these issues can be enhanced”.*

4.4.3 People’s participation in politics

4.4.3.1 Respondent three:

“Enhancing people’s participation in politics because term limits is not a bad thing and there should be a consensus and agreement between people by also going for a referendum and be able to understand governance and constitutionalism”.

4.4.3.2 Respondent thirteen:

“Enhancing people’s participation in politics because term limits is not a bad thing and there should be a consensus and agreement between people by also going for a referendum and be able to understand governance and constitutionalism”

4.5 Summary of Findings from Semi-Structured Interviews

This section presented and analysed findings from semi-structured interviews with thirteen (13) respondents. A number of themes emerged from the data analysis. All the themes helped to explain causes of the extension of presidential term limits in Zambia’s political space since 1964

It can therefore be observed that causes of the extension of presidential term limits in Zambia’s political space since 1964 have been to selfishness of the people who ascend to power. When political leaders are elected to power, they would want to be president until death.

The findings showed that research participants indicated that people have not been happy about this kind of politics where presidents want to stay in power forever. It was also revealed that the current status quo should stand and that the constitution should not be changed anyhow.

Findings of the study showed that positive public perception be enhanced in politics in the light of the usual attempts of the presidential term limits in Zambia such that the people of the country should be well informed on the constitution so that they know exactly what should be done. Furthermore, it was also revealed that there should be strict adherence to the constitution of the country.

4.6 Document Analysis and Findings

This section presents analyses and interprets findings obtained from documentary analysis of extension of presidential term limits and its consequences for political leadership. The documentary analysis was done in order to establish three things. Firstly, it was done to establish the causes of the extension of presidential term limits in Zambia’s political space since 1964. Secondly, it was done to establish the perceptions of Zambians on the extension of presidential term limits in Lusaka District and thirdly it was done to find out the positive

public perception be enhanced in politics in the light of the usual attempts of the presidential term limits in Zambia

The following section provides an exposition of research findings from documentary analysis. The findings are reported in accordance with the themes which originated from the data.

4.6.1 The causes of the extension of presidential term limits in Zambia's political space since 1964

The initial focus in documentary analysis focused on the causes of the extension of presidential term limits in Zambia's political space since 1964. The overarching theme which emerged from the data analysis was the third term campaign involving president Chiluba's campaign to remove term limits in 2001. This theme is discussed below.

4.6.1.1 Third term campaign

A close examination of the third term campaign point to the conflicts surrounding the extension of presidential term limits in Zambia's political space. The extent to which unity and coordination of effort among pro- democracy groups helped to stymie the campaign to remove term limits was demonstrated most vividly in Zambia during president Chiluba's campaign to remove term limits in 2001. As the government pushed its agenda of removing the presidential term limit provision from Zambia's 1991 constitution, the very coalition of civic actors that had been at the forefront in fighting against authoritarian rule re- emerged to mount a strong campaign defending the retention of term limits. The group of actors included among others the Law Association of Zambia, University of Zambia Students Union, human rights and governance NGOs, the mainstream Churches and Trade Unions, all of whom had been at the forefront of the political struggles that resulted in the transition to multiparty rule in 1991. These groups came together and formed the 'Oasis Forum', which served as the platform for the groups that were opposed to the removal of presidential term limits in the country.

4.6.2 The perceptions of Zambians on the extension of presidential term limits in Lusaka District

In the documentary analysis attention was also granted to the perceptions of Zambians on the extension of presidential term limits in Lusaka District. The overarching theme emerging from the documentary analysis Zambians rejection of Chiluba's third term bid. This theme included three (3) sub-categories which were (a) Hundred's protest against Chiluba's third

term (b) The Anti-Third Term Campaign and, (c) Surviving on Borrowed Power. The following is a discussion of the three sub-categories above.

4.6.2.1 Protest against the third term

Hundreds of people gathered for a conference expected to formally reject the possible presidential move. The conference hall in Lusaka was filled to capacity while scores of other citizens braved the rains and stayed outside the building, chanting anti-third term slogans. Furthermore, the conference participants were drawn from a wide range of non-governmental organizations, religious groups and opposition parties. The church leadership was totally opposed to the incumbent president to go for a third term because it was not only unconstitutional but also undemocratic. Zambia's constitution limits the president to serving two consecutive five-year terms. The protesters said no to third term. The Law Association of Zambia issued a strong statement categorically rejecting calls for a constitutional amendment to allow Chiluba another chance at the ballot box. The one-day conference came up with a declaration against a constitutional amendment allowing a third term.

4.6.2.2 The Anti-Third Term Campaign

In 2001, Zambian President Frederick Chiluba tried to change the country's Constitution to allow him to run for a third term. Chiluba and his supporters used several tactics to drum up public support for the move. For example, an Office of District Administrators was established and staffed with party cadres who were sent out into the districts to make sure no one opposed a third term, even if violence was required to change the minds of opponents. Traditional leaders were lobbied, often gulled into believing they were signing up for an increase in subsidies.

Popular campaigns were aimed at ordinary citizens, who wore green ribbons to show their disapproval of a change in the Constitution, or blew whistles or honked hooters at specified times. This demonstration of people power was effective. Only Chiluba's maneuvers towards a third term were cunningly planned. However, his motives became clear when the DAs began to champion constitutional change to allow Chiluba a third term. What initially seemed a civilized national debate became characterized by violence and insults.

Those identified as being against a third term risked being beaten. Three of the nation's church mother bodies rejected President Chiluba's bid over the third term issue because his

promises could not be trusted. The Zambia Episcopal Conference (ZEC), the Christian Council of Zambia (CCZ) and the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia (EFZ) at a press conference addressed by ZEC Secretary General Father Ignatius Mwebe they could not think of visiting President Chiluba over this national matter as past experiences have proved that promises for national good and harmony die a natural and urged President Chiluba to halt such campaigns if his earlier statements that he would not seek a third term were to be believed.. The struggle for a new Constitution and a constituent assembly forged relationship between individual activists.

Leaders of the three church mother bodies had also come out strongly in opposition to a third term. Its leaders Rev Sampa Bredt (CCZ), Fr Ignatius Mwebe (ZEC) and Bishop Paul Mususu (EFZ) were co-opted. This group developed a broad strategy to defend the Constitution, and this became a simple rallying call for a diverse range of participants. The strategy was designed to prevent a repeat of 1996, when government tampered at will with the Constitution to suit its political agenda.

4.6.2.3 Surviving on Borrowed Power

Countries in Africa that feature a strong civil society are often assumed to have the best prospects for democratic consolidation. Zambia is often held up as an example of the democratic gains that can result from a robust non-state sector capable of checking the power of the government. Indeed, the literature is characterized by a remarkable consensus on the capacity of trade unions and religious organizations to force presidents to compromise, whether under authoritarian or democratic rule. The most significant recent victory is typically said to be the creation of the Oasis Forum, a coalition of civic associations formed to defend term limits against the attempts of the former president Frederick Chiluba to secure an unconstitutional third term in 2001. Drawing on previously unavailable and under-utilized newspaper, archival and oral primary sources. This article argues that the role played by the Oasis Forum was necessary but not sufficient. The erosion of Zambian civil society at that conjuncture made it weak and incapable of shifting Chiluba's position; other forces were therefore required to do the job. Members of parliament from Chiluba's own party and elements of the military emerged to fill this void and deal a decisive blow to his plans. More broadly, I argue that the capacity and the willingness of the unions and the churches to defend democracy have been overstated. The fragmentation of religious organizations has undermined the significance of the churches, while the twin processes of privatization and

the formalization of the labor force have reduced the power of trade unions. Paradoxically, the transition to multi-party politics has gone hand in hand with the weakening rather than strengthening of non-state actors, as it has in many parts of the continent, demonstrating the limits of civil society.

4.6.3 How positive public perception could be enhanced in politics in the light of the usual attempts of the presidential term limits in Zambia

In documentary analysis, attention was also granted to how positive public perception could be enhanced in politics in the light of the usual attempts of the presidential term limits in Zambia. The focus was specifically on how public perception could be enhanced in politics.

The Constitutional Court was seized with an opportunity to deal with an issue of eligibility for elections to the office of the president. This matter arose out of the fact that the 2016 constitutional amendments introduced some notable changes regarding the tenure and term limitation on the office of president. What prompted the applicants to apply to the Constitution Court for interpretation on eligibility against the backdrop of the constitutional changes in 2016, was that in 2014, the office of the president fell vacant following the demise of the Fifth President, Mr. Michael Sata. In accordance with the provisions of the constitution at that time, elections were held, and the then Minister of Home affairs, Mr. Edgar Chagwa Lungu was elected to the office of president and completed the unexpired term of office of the departed president, which began in 2011. It must be understood that at the time when Mr. Lungu assumed the office of the president in January 2015, there was only a year and a few months remaining before the next general elections in 2016. Whilst in office, Mr. Lungu, signed the Constitution Bill into law, which introduced a number of changes that also touched on term limitation for the office of president. The above chronicle of events is what set in motion the court process inviting the Constitutional Court to pronounce itself on the eligibility of Mr. Lungu to stand as president in 2021; whether he could be said to have had already twice held office of president, firstly elected in 2015, and secondly re-elected in 2016. In Zambia, presidential term limitation first became a feature of the Zambian Constitution in 1991. The idea behind a term limit was to prevent a person from becoming a 'life president.' This was after witnessing the damaging effects of personal prolonged rule of the first President, Kenneth Kaunda. Presidential term limit was and still remains a progressive feature of the Constitution, and has since become a fixed star of Zambia's constitutional democracy. In a nutshell, Zambia faces a pernicious third term campaign and the inexorable consequences

thereof. Unlike the failed 2001 third term bid by the late President Chiluba, whose illegality was ‘naked’ to everyone’s eye, the current third term bid is subtle and benign as it comes clad in some misplaced garments of legitimacy provided by the Constitutional Court. Yet, when stripped to its barest, it is simply a third term bid akin to Nkurunziza’s of Burundi. This is a ferocious indictment on the Constitutional Court’s ability to stand tall as the last bastion in defense of the Constitution.

4.6.4 Summary of Findings from Documentary Analysis

This section presented analyzed and interpreted findings from documentary analysis on the causes of the extension of presidential term limits in Zambia’s political space since 1964. As a benefit of triangulation of research data collection instruments, some findings from documentary analysis verified some earlier findings obtained from the semi-structured interviews. For example, document analysis verified that selfishness is the root of the extension of presidential term limits in Zambia as portrayed by among other things. This is in agreement with Patton’s (1999) contention that the use of triangulation or use of different research methods of gathering data helps the researcher to ensure proper verification of data before arriving at conclusions.

A general agreement on the causes of the extension of presidential term limits in Zambia’s political space since 1964. The findings revealed that the causes of the extension of presidential term limits in Zambia’s political space was as a result of political leaders’ selfishness as they want to cling to power the rest of their lives.

Documentary analysis also explored the perceptions of Zambians on the extension of presidential term limits in Lusaka District. On the one hand, it was observed that Hundreds of people gathered for a conference expected to formally reject the possible presidential third term move. Popular campaigns were aimed at ordinary citizens, who wore green ribbons to show their disapproval of a change in the Constitution, or blew whistles or honked hooters at specified times. This demonstration of people power was effective. The most significant recent victory is typically said to be the creation of the Oasis Forum, a coalition of civic associations formed to defend term limits against the attempts of the former president Frederick Chiluba to secure an unconstitutional third term in 2001.

The final area explored during documentary analysis was based on the how positive public perception could be enhanced in politics in the light of the usual attempts of the presidential

term limits in Zambia. Findings from documentary analysis revealed that the Constitutional Court was seized with an opportunity to deal with an issue of eligibility for elections to the office of the president. This matter arose out of the fact that the 2016 constitutional amendments introduced some notable changes regarding the tenure and term limitation on the office of president. In a nutshell, Zambia faces a pernicious third term campaign and the inexorable consequences thereof. Unlike the failed 2001 third term bid by the late President Chiluba, whose illegality was ‘naked’ to everyone’s eye, the current third term bid is subtle and benign as it comes clad in some misplaced garments of legitimacy provided by the Constitutional Court.

CHAPTER FIVE: INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings of the study on the extension of presidential term limits and its consequences for political leadership in Zambia's political space; the root cause of extension of presidential term limits in Zambia's political space since 1964; the perceptions of Zambians on the extension of presidential term limits in Lusaka District and how to enhance positive public perceptions in politics in the light of the usual attempts to extend presidential term limits in Zambia.

In discussing the findings, the chapter draws upon other studies and what was observed to inform the discourse.

5.2 The root cause of extension of presidential term limits in Zambia's political space since 1964

The first research question was to establish the root cause of extension of presidential term limits in Zambia's political space since 1964 according to study findings in chapter four. The study revealed that the majority of the respondents through the semi structured interview guide were of the view that the causes of the extension of presidential term limits in Zambia's political space since 1964 was linked to selfishness of the politician.

Document analysis also indicates that the third term campaign point to the conflicts surrounding the extension of presidential term limits in Zambia's political space. The extent to which unity and coordination of effort among pro- democracy groups helped to stymie the campaign to remove term limits was demonstrated most vividly in Zambia during president Chiluba's campaign to remove term limits in 200.

These findings are similar to a study by Moomba (1999) where it was revealed that Fredrick Chiluba, embarked on his own campaign to remove the term-limit provision from the country's Constitution. The introduction of presidential term limits in Zambia was part of major Constitutional changes in 1991, which marked a major break from one-party authoritarian rule and the introduction of competitive multi-party politics. The inclusion of a term-limit provision in the new Constitution was motivated in large part by Zambia's long history with authoritarian rule: from independence in 1964, Zambia had had only one president, Kenneth Kaunda. It was only after the adoption of the new Constitution in 1991,

which lifted a long-time ban on opposition parties, that Kaunda was forced to leave office after losing to Chiluba in the first competitive elections since Zambia's independence in 1964. Although Chiluba and his party, the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD), were among the leading advocates of presidential term limits, he and his supporters in the MMD had completely reversed positions when the president's time to step down loomed close. As in the Namibian case, the bid to remove presidential term limits in Zambia generated an intense political debate. While Chiluba remained non-committal about his true position on the debate, his supporters mounted a very aggressive, and sometimes violent, campaign for the removal of term limits.

From the teleological consequential ethical theory, what matters is what happens as a consequence of those actions. Thus, it is the consequences that make actions, good or bad, right or wrong. Consequently, the causes of the extension of presidential term limits in Zambia's political space since 1964 was linked to selfishness of the politician. Politicians want to continue in power because of their selfish motives but however, the masses of people may not be in favor of that idea as such conflicts erupt. The people of Zambia have never been for the idea of third term by the sitting presidents. Therefore, the consequence of greed for power will make them push for the extension of their term of office.

It can be deduced therefore, that selfish for power is the main reason why politicians would hang on to power even where their term allocated to them has expired. Fears of being implicated when their term has come to end may also be the root cause of extending their term.

5.3 The perceptions of Zambians on the extension of presidential term limits in Lusaka District

The second research question was to determine the perceptions of Zambians on the extension of presidential term limits in Lusaka District. The study revealed that people have not been happy about this kind of politics where presidents want to stay in power forever. It was also revealed that the current status quo should stand and that the constitution should not be changed anyhow.

According to teleological consequential ethical theory, an action itself cannot be good or bad; however, an outcome or an impact of this action upon involved parties can be either positive or negative. The actions of the politicians who want to continue ruling or go for third term

could make the people of Zambia unhappy. Therefore, as seen from the study the respondents were not happy about the third term bid by the politicians.

5.3.1 People not happy

The findings revealed that Zambians don't want the extension of presidential term limits because the political space is already polarized where the ruling polity yields enormous power to manipulate the electoral process as this would keep them in power perpetually. No political party should stay in power for the sake of developmental agenda. Tribalism where Zambians don't want one tribal system to remain in power. It breeds dictatorship at a time when Zambians are debating reducing presidential power. On the other hand, the findings from document analysis revealed that people were not happy. Hundreds of people gathered for a conference expected to formally reject the possible presidential move. The conference hall in Lusaka was filled to capacity while scores of other citizens braved the rains and stayed outside the building, chanting anti-third term slogans. Furthermore, the conference participants were drawn from a wide range of non-governmental organizations, religious groups and opposition parties.

5.3.2 Current status quo should stand

The study revealed that the Presidential term limit is written in the Constitution that no president should rule more than two terms. That sentence is enough. The current status call should stand and not change anything. Presidents should only be allowed to rule the country for two terms only. These findings are

5.4 How positive public perception could be enhanced in politics in the light of the usual attempts of the presidential term limits in Zambia

The final research question was to establish how positive public perception could be enhanced in politics in the light of the usual attempts of the presidential term limits in Zambia. The study revealed that Zambians don't want the extension of presidential term limits because the political space is already polarized where the ruling polity yields enormous power to manipulate the electoral process as this would keep them in power perpetually. These findings are similar to a study by Kiwuka (2013) where it was revealed that the idea of imposing term limits has been controversial since its inception. Term limits are seen as constraining the choices of voters, where people ought to be free to vote for whoever they want even if the candidate has already exhausted the constitutional tenures. This theme included three sub-categories which were (a) we should have an informed citizenry so that informed decisions could be made, (b) there should be strictly adhere to the constitution, and (c) Zambian people should be encouraged to participate in politics.

According to teleological moral theory, all rational human actions are teleological in the sense that we reason about the means of achieving certain ends. Moral behavior, therefore, goal-directed. So, from the teleological point of view, human actions are neither right nor wrong in and of themselves. What matters is what happens as a consequence of those actions. Thus, it is the consequences that make actions, good or bad, right or wrong. Therefore, as revealed from the study, don't want the extension of presidential term limits because the political space is already polarized where the ruling polity yields enormous power to manipulate the electoral process as this would keep them in power perpetually

5.4.1 We should have an informed citizenry

The concept of presidential term limits has been misunderstood and if confidence is to be enhanced there must be citizenry who are educated and well informed and there should be more knowledge passed on. The law must be consistent and you cannot rape the constitution because of politicians. Article 52 of the constitution which is on the basis that there should be sanity in our electoral system which states that every candidate to public office should be challenged.

It can be observed that people need the right information to make the right decisions. Therefore, there is need to tell people in a language they are able to understand through mass sensitization in both rural and urban areas through interest groups and rallies.

5.4.2 There should be strictly adhere to the constitution

The findings revealed that there should be strictly adherence to the constitution and only two terms to stay in office should be allowed. There should be a talking ground for everyone for example the Catholics have a systematic way of making their agenda known. Enhancing the rule of law and independence of the three arms of government where confidence should be built and their politics can be enhanced and all these issues can be enhanced.

The constitution should be the yardstick of the country and should be rightly be interpreted so that people understand it correctly. Therefore, presidents should follow what the constitution says and not what they think is right or what they are advised from other politicians

5.4.3 Zambian people should be encouraged to participate in politics

People's participation in politics should be enhancing because term limits is not a bad thing and there should be a consensus and agreement between people by also going for a referendum and be able to understand governance and constitutionalism.

It is important that people are familiar with politics of the country. It is only this familiarization that they will be to participate infectively and be able to make informed decisions. Therefore, it is imperative that people understand what politics is all about and why politicizations what to ascend to power.

5.5 Summary of chapter five

The study has revealed that the causes of the extension of presidential term limits in Zambia's political space since 1964 was linked to selfishness of the politician. Presidents become greed when they ascend to power and therefore want to in control for as many years as they are alive.

The introduction of presidential term limits in Zambia was part of major Constitutional changes in 1991, which marked a major break from one-party authoritarian rule and the introduction of competitive multi-party politics. The inclusion of a term-limit provision in the new Constitution was motivated in large part by Zambia's long history with authoritarian rule: from independence in 1964, Zambia had had only one president, Kenneth Kaunda. It was only after the adoption of the new Constitution in 1991, which lifted a long-time ban on

opposition parties, that Kaunda was forced to leave office after losing to Chiluba in the first competitive elections since Zambia's independence in 1964.

Although Chiluba and his party, the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD), were among the leading advocates of presidential term limits, he and his supporters in the MMD had completely reversed positions when the president's time to step down loomed close. As in the Namibian case, the bid to remove presidential term limits in Zambia generated an intense political debate. While Chiluba remained non-committal about his true position on the debate, his supporters mounted a very aggressive, and sometimes violent, campaign for the removal of term limits.

With regards to the perceptions of Zambians on the extension of presidential term limits in Lusaka District. The study revealed that people have not been happy about this kind of politics where presidents want to stay in power forever. It was also revealed that the current status quo should stand and that the constitution should not be changed anyhow.

Zambians don't want the extension of presidential term limits because the political space is already polarized where the ruling polity yields enormous power to manipulate the electoral process as this would keep them in power perpetually. No political party should stay in power for the sake of developmental agenda. On the other hand, the findings from document analysis revealed that people were not happy. Hundreds of people gathered for a conference expected to formally reject the possible presidential move. The conference hall in Lusaka was filled to capacity while scores of other citizens braved the rains and stayed outside the building, chanting anti-third term slogans. Furthermore, the conference participants were drawn from a wide range of non-governmental organizations, religious groups and opposition parties. Presidential term limit is written in the Constitution that no president should rule more than two terms. That sentence is enough. The current status quo should stand and not change anything. Presidents should only be allowed to rule the country for two terms only.

The final research question was to establish how positive public perception could be enhanced in politics in the light of the usual attempts of the presidential term limits in Zambia. The study revealed Zambians don't want the extension of presidential term limits because the political space is already polarized where the ruling polity yields enormous power to manipulate the electoral process as this would keep them in power perpetually. Term limits are seen as constraining the choices of voters, where people ought to be free to vote for whoever, they want even if the candidate has already exhausted the constitutional tenures. The concept of presidential term limits has been misunderstood and if confidence is to be enhanced there must be citizenry who are educated and well informed and there should be more knowledge passed on. The law must be consistent and you cannot rape the constitution because of politicians.

Document analysis also indicates that the third term campaign points to the conflicts surrounding the extension of presidential term limits in Zambia's political space. The extent to which unity and coordination of effort among pro- democracy groups helped to stymie the campaign to remove term limits was demonstrated most vividly in Zambia during President Chiluba's campaign to remove term limits in 2000. The introduction of presidential term limits in Zambia was part of major Constitutional changes in 1991, which marked a major break from one-party authoritarian rule and the introduction of competitive multi-party politics. The inclusion of a term-limit provision in the new Constitution was motivated in large part by Zambia's long history with authoritarian rule: from independence in 1964, Zambia had had only one president, Kenneth Kaunda. It was only after the adoption of the new Constitution in 1991, which lifted a long-time ban on opposition parties, that Kaunda was forced to leave office after losing to Chiluba in the first competitive elections since Zambia's independence in 1964.

Although Chiluba and his party, the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD), were among the leading advocates of presidential term limits, he and his supporters in the MMD had completely reversed positions when the president's time to step down loomed close. As in the Namibian case, the bid to remove presidential term limits in Zambia generated an intense political debate. While Chiluba remained non-committal about his true position on the debate, his supporters mounted a very aggressive, and sometimes violent, campaign for the removal of term limits.

The findings also revealed that there should be strict adherence to the constitution and only two terms to stay in office should be allowed. There should be a talking ground for everyone

for example the Catholics have a systematic way of making their agenda known. Enhancing the rule of law and independence of the three arms of government where confidence should be built and their politics can be enhanced and all these issues can be enhanced.

The constitution should be the yardstick of the country and should be rightly be interpreted so that people understand it correctly. Therefore, presidents should follow what the constitution says and not what they think is right or what they are advised from other politicians

People's participation in politics should be enhancing because term limits is not a bad thing and there should be a consensus and agreement between people by also going for a referendum and be able to understand governance and constitutionalism.

It is important that people are familiar with politics of the country. It is only this familiarization that they will be to participate infectively and be able to make informed decisions. Therefore, it is imperative that people understand what politics is all about and why politicizations what to ascend to power.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of this study was the study to investigate the extension of presidential term limits and its consequences for political leadership in Zambia's political space.

The study therefore, intended to fill the gap by finding out; the root cause of extension of presidential term limits in Zambia's political space since 1964; the perceptions of Zambians on the extension of presidential term limits in Lusaka District and how to enhance positive public perceptions in politics in the light of the usual attempts to extend presidential term limits in Zambia. Therefore, it is from this background that this chapter intends to make the conclusion and recommendations of the said study.

6.2 Conclusions of the study

The study has revealed that the causes of the extension of presidential term limits in Zambia's political space since 1964 was linked to selfishness of the politician. Presidents become greedy when they ascend to power and therefore want to in control for as many years as they are alive. The introduction of presidential term limits in Zambia was part of major Constitutional changes in 1991, which marked a major break from one-party authoritarian rule and the introduction of competitive multi-party politics. The inclusion of a term-limit provision in the new Constitution was motivated in large part by Zambia's long history with authoritarian rule: from independence in 1964, Zambia had had only one president, Kenneth Kaunda. It was only after the adoption of the new Constitution in 1991, which lifted a long-time ban on opposition parties, that Kaunda was forced to leave office after losing to Chiluba in the first competitive elections since Zambia's independence in 1964.

With regards to the perceptions of Zambians on the extension of presidential term limits in Lusaka District. The study revealed that people have not been happy about this kind of politics where presidents want to stay in power forever. It was also revealed that the current status quo should stand and that the constitution should not be changed anyhow. Zambians don't want the extension of presidential term limits because the political space is already polarized where the ruling polity yields enormous power to manipulate the electoral process as this would keep them in power perpetually. No political party should stay in power for the sake of developmental agenda. Tribalism where Zambians don't want one tribal system to remain in power. It breeds dictatorship at a time when Zambians are debating reducing presidential power. On the other hand, the findings from document analysis revealed that people were not

happy Hundreds of people gathered for a conference expected to formally reject the possible presidential move. The

conference hall in Lusaka was filled to capacity while scores of other citizens braved the rains and stayed outside the building, chanting anti-third term slogans. Furthermore, the conference participants were drawn from a wide range of non-governmental organizations, religious groups and opposition parties. Presidential term limit is written in the Constitution that no president should rule more than two terms. That sentence is enough. The current status call should stand and not change anything. Presidents should only be allowed to rule the country for two terms only.

Furthermore, on how positive public perception could be enhanced in politics in the light of the usual attempts of the presidential term limits in Zambia, it was revealed that Zambians don't want the extension of presidential term limits because the political space is already polarized where the ruling polity yields enormous power to manipulate the electoral process as this would keep them in power perpetually. Term limits are seen as constraining the choices of voters, where people ought to be free to vote for whoever, they want even if the candidate has already exhausted the constitutional tenures. The concept of presidential term limits has been misunderstood and if confidence is to be enhanced there must be citizenry who are educated and well informed and there should be more knowledge passed on. The law must be consistent and you cannot rape the constitution because of politicians.

6.3 Recommendations of the study

In line with the findings of this study, the researcher makes the following recommendations:

6.3.1 The root cause of extension of presidential term limits in Zambia's political space since 1964

In its endeavor to help resolve the problem on the causes of the extension of presidential term limits in Zambia's political space since 1964, as one of its objectives, this study needed to suggest possible ways in which presidents and those aspiring to be president should follow.

1. The constitution being the highest law of the land should be respected and adhered to. At no time should be amended to suit one's selfish ambition to extend the term of office when it comes to an end. The law should clearly interpret what a presidential term implies.

6.3.2 The perceptions of Zambians are on the extension of presidential term limits in Lusaka District.

1. People not happy about the extension of presidential term limits

Extension of the presidential should not be allowed because it is a violation of the constitution and an act of blockage for those who want to aspire. As the perception of the people of Lusaka is negative on the extension as it only benefits those in power and a few others.

2. Current status quo should stand where a president serves only two terms in office should stand.

The status of the Zambian constitutions is that only two terms are allowed for a president to the country Zambia. Therefore, it's imperative the constitution is upheld and that only two terms are served by the presidents.

6.3.3 How positive public perception could be enhanced in politics in the light of the usual attempts of the presidential term limits in Zambia

1. We should have an informed citizenry

Zambian citizens should be educated and well informed on the constitution of the country and there should be more knowledge passed on. When we have a well-informed citizenry, well informed decisions will be made by the people.

2. Zambian people should be encouraged to participate in politics

People's participation in politics should be enhanced and there should be a consensus agreement between people and the government. Any amendment should be done through referendum.

It is important that people are familiar with politics of the country. It is only this familiarization that they will be to participate infectively and be able to make informed decisions. Therefore, it is imperative that people understand what politics is all about and why politicizations what to ascend to power.

3. Adhere to the constitution

Politicians should adhere to the constitution and that only two terms to stay in office should be allowed. The rule of law and independence of the three arms of government should be respected.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Semi-structured Interview questions for participants

TOPIC: Extension of presidential term limits and its consequences for political leadership in Zambia: An analysis of public perceptions in Lusaka district.

Dear participant,

I am a researcher from the University of Zambia and conducting a research on the topic mentioned above.

You have been selected to be among the participants. Please endeavour to answer the questions as openly as possible. All the information will be treated with utmost confidentiality. The research is purely for academic purposes only.

INSTRUCTIONS

1. Please, each answer will be treated with utmost confidentiality
2. Do **NOT** indicate anything that will identify you, (e.g., name, or NRC).

Thanking you in anticipation of your co-operation.

Personal Data

1. Sex

Male []

Female []

A. Semi structured Interview questions

1. What could be the causes of the extension of presidential term limits in Zambia's political space since 1964?
2. What are the perceptions of Zambians on the extension of presidential term limits in Lusaka District?
3. How can positive public perception be enhanced in politics in the light of the usual attempts of the presidential term limits in Zambia?

Appendix 2

B. Document Analysis

1. To establish the perceptions of Zambians on the extension of presidential term limits in Lusaka District.
2. To investigate the root causes of extension of presidential term limits in Zambia's political space since 1964