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**INSTITUTE OF DISTANCE EDUCATION**

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**Youth involvement in political violence during the 2015 and 2016 elections in Munali constituency.**

**By**

**TONGA JULIUS JEREMIAH**

A Dissertation Submitted to The University of Zambia in Collaboration with The Zimbabwe Open University in Partial Fulfillment of the requirements for the award of Master of Science in Peace, Leadership and Conflict Resolution Studies.

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## DECLARATION

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I, Tonga Julius Jeremiah, hereby declare that, this submission is my own work towards an award of Master of Science in peace, leadership and conflict Studies. and that, to the best of my knowledge, it contains no material previously published by another person nor material which has been accepted for award of any other degree of the University, except where due acknowledgement has been made in the text.

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## **DEDICATION**

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To my dear wife Petronella, you shared with me all the challenges of being in school at mature age. You understood my absence when I could not be available for you due to the study programmes. May God continue blessing you and may His grace and favor continue to lead you in all days of your life.

## APPROVAL

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This dissertation of Julius Jeremiah Tonga is hereby approved as fulfilling the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in Peace, Leadership and Conflict and Conflict Resolution by the University of Zambia in collaboration with the Zimbabwe Open University.

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

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A number of people have contributed their efforts and time towards the success of this research study of which I am greatly humbled. In this same vain let me take this opportunity to express my heartfelt appreciation to my course coordinator Dr. Gistered. Muleya. To my supervisor Professor Austin Cheyeka, for his input in the formulating this topic, without his guidance I could not have successfully come up with an acceptable topic. I am also grateful to all those who have helped directly and indirectly in the production of this research paper. I also render my special thanks to Dr Farrelli Hambulo for his assistance in my search for literature relating to this topic.

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

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ACLED	Armed Conflict Location and Event Dataset
ARI	Africa Research Institute
FDD	Forum for Democracy and Development
FGDs	Focus Group Discussions
FODEP	Foundation for Democracy and Development
IFES	International Foundation for Electoral System
ILO	International Labour Organization
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
NYPA	National Youth Policy Analysis
PF	Patriotic Front
SACCORD	Southern African Centre for Constructive Resolution of Disputes
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UPND	United Party National Development
YALI	Young African Leaders Initiative
ZANU PF	Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front
ZIPAR	Zambia Institute for Policy Analysis and Research

## **ABSTRACT**

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This research investigated youth involvement in political violence during the 2015 and 2016 elections in Munali constituency. The objectives of the study were to; (1) to establish the factors that prompt youth's involvement in political violence; (2) to examine the nature of violence perpetrated by the youths during elections; (3) to establish how youths can be helped to stop or avoid involving themselves in political violence. The study employed a case study design to collect qualitative data from a total sample of 47 participants using in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. The findings show that all the participants had an understanding of what constitutes political violence. The assumption of the research was that if the participants were able to differentiate political violence with other forms of violence perpetrated by the youths. In this study, political violence was understood to be the kind of violence that is politically motivated and that it is a common occurrence during elections. According to the findings, many youths get involved in political violence because they are unemployed and lack educational opportunities. The findings also show that political leaders were to be blamed for making youths support them during elections by means of violence. The findings established that youths get involved in political violence due to influence of alcohol and drugs. The findings also show that youths get involved in political violence because of peer pressure and patronage related issues.

The findings established that there were several violent clashes during the 2015-2016 campaign period between the ruling party cadres (PF) and those from the main opposition party (UPND), and the youths were at the center of this violence. The findings also revealed that youths were involved in beating, brutalizing, verbally assaulting and extremely victimizing people thus creating an environment that was conducive to hold a free and fair election. Furthermore, the study established that riots broke out in Munali constituency instigated by the youths as there was a delay to in the opening of polling stations and that police had to fire tear gas and warning shots to disperse the rioters, these riots were being perpetrated by the youths. Furthermore, a number of strategies were outlined and suggested as those that can help stop or avoid the involvement of youths in political violence. One of the strategies is to make funds



available to all youths to enable them venture into entrepreneurship activities and employment opportunities should also be created in both private and public sector. The other strategy is to reform the education system needs to equip the youths with necessary skills. There is also need for political dialog to focus on encouraging political leaders to nurture and prepare youths for future leadership roles. Political leaders should also be encouraged to work towards conducting peaceful elections.

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## CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

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### 1.0 Background

In contemporary democracies, elections are an acceptable means of electing leaders, an important process that strengthens democratic institutions and facilitate peaceful transition of power (Ugiagbe, 2010). In Zambia however, like many other African countries, most elections are characterized by widespread violence. The objective of political violence is to influence the electoral process with the sole aim to win political competition or power through violence or subverting the ends of the electoral and democratic process through intimidation and disempowerment of political opponents. According to the International Foundation for Electoral System, political violence is any act or threat of physical or psychological harm to a person or damage to property, directed at anyone directly involved in an electoral process (voters, candidates, party officers, election workers, election monitors, journalists, etc.) which may disrupt or attempt to disrupt any aspect of the electoral process (Fischer, 2002). Usman (2009) identified five major common grounds of political violence; these are during registration, during political campaigns, on Election Day, when results are announced, winner takes all syndrome. In most instances, the perpetrators of political violence are the youths.

A leading theorist on the role of youth in political violence, Jack Goldstone, argues that youths have played a prominent role in political violence from the English Revolution to date (Goldstone, 2002). Young people get involved in violence for diverse reasons. In Africa, Unemployment, insufficient educational opportunities, poor governance and social marginalization lead to the deep disaffection of youth in society, increasing the likelihood of them resorting to anti-social activity and engagement in violence. Laakso (2007) contends that party youth groups across the African continent play destructive roles with their respective political mobilizations and related matters, both associated with incumbents and opposition. Further, it is difficult for many to resist resorting to violence when their country's elections aren't fair, are poorly run or are not transparent.

Zambia's electoral history has been peaceful compared to many other African countries (Strauss & Taylor, 2012), however, the presidential elections in 2015 and 2016 marked

a shift in this trend, with violence increasing. In 2016 the PF campaigns and the UPND campaigns were strongly linked to incidences of violence. Commonwealth stakeholders (2016) indicated that there had been a significant increase in the frequency and intensity of politically-motivated violence ahead of the 2016 elections in Zambia. This violence was mostly blamed on the youths who are faced with multiple challenges, including limited education opportunities and lack of livelihood options, among many other issues.

Although there has been an increase in research on this important topic in Zambia, it has not yet adequately captured the complexities of youth's involvement in violence, such that we don't yet have a clear grasp on how young people are impacted by their experiences with political violence. It is against this background that this study will investigate youth involvement in political violence during the 2015 and 2016 elections in Lusaka's Munali constituency.

## **1.2 Statement of the problem**

Political violence is seen as an emerging issue with a number of cases recorded. The Commonwealth report (2016) show that the youths are mostly involved in political violence throughout Zambia. The lethal potential of Zambia's so-called "youth cadres" was illustrated during the 2015-2016 elections in Lusaka's Munali constituency. In circumstances that were unclear, Commonwealth stakeholders (2016) indicated that there had been a significant increase in the frequency and intensity of politically-motivated violence ahead of the 2015 and 2016 elections in Zambia. Several violent clashes, mainly between the ruling party's cadres (PF) and those of the UPND were reported. Although explanations for why individuals engage in political violence have been well documented, attention to youth has been lacking. Therefore, the youth's violent character needs to be examined through research so as to best tackle the problem.

## **1.3. Purpose of study**

The purpose of this study was to investigate the youth involvement in political violence during the 2015 and 2016 elections in Munali constituency.

## **1.4 Objectives**

The objectives of the study were to;

1. To establish the factors that prompt youth's involvement in political violence.
2. To examine the nature of violence perpetrated by the youths during elections.
3. To establish how youths can be helped to stop or avoid involving themselves in political violence?

## **1.5 Research Questions**

1. What factors prompt youths to get involved in political violence?
2. What is the nature of the violence perpetrated by the youths during elections?
3. How can youths be helped to stop or avoid involving themselves in political violence?

## **1.6 Significance of the study**

This study had both theoretical and practical significance. Theoretically, the study has the potential of contributing greatly to existing body of literature on youth involvement in political violence. This work provided the student of Science in peace, leadership and conflict resolution process, the needed framework for tackling the issues of political violence in future elections. Practically, this research work may be of interest to the Zambian government, especially electoral commission of Zambia and other electoral wings.

The findings of this study may also provide valuable information in articulating potential policies that may help address the problems of political and electoral violence perpetrated by youths. To the readers and researchers, this would make useful contributions to any study on the same topic or any related topic on youth's involvement in political violence.

Finally, this study will accord the researcher to obtain the award of Master of Science in peace, leadership and conflict Studies, and equip the researcher with knowledge required for tackling political violence perpetrated by the youths in future elections.



## **1.7 Limitations**

Limitations that had affected the results of the study need to be considered. Some of the limitations for this study were; (1) the sample size was relatively small thus the findings were not generalized to all the youths in the country; (2) time and financial constraints did not allow the researcher to fairly judge the socio-economic status of the respondents. Therefore, there was a reliance on observation of their environment and descriptions provided by youth in the discussions that were carried out; (3) some of the respondents were illiterate, translating from English into the local languages was a challenge which may have affected the meaning of some questions.

## **1.8 Delimitations of the Study**

The study only focused on the youths who were from various political parties, Police Officers In charge of police stations/posts in the selected wards within Munali constituency, prominent political party Chairpersons (PF, UPND and FDD) in the constituency and 2 representatives/officials from prominent election Civil Society Organizations FODEP and SACCORD who were directly involved with the observation of elections.

## **1.9 Operational Definitions**

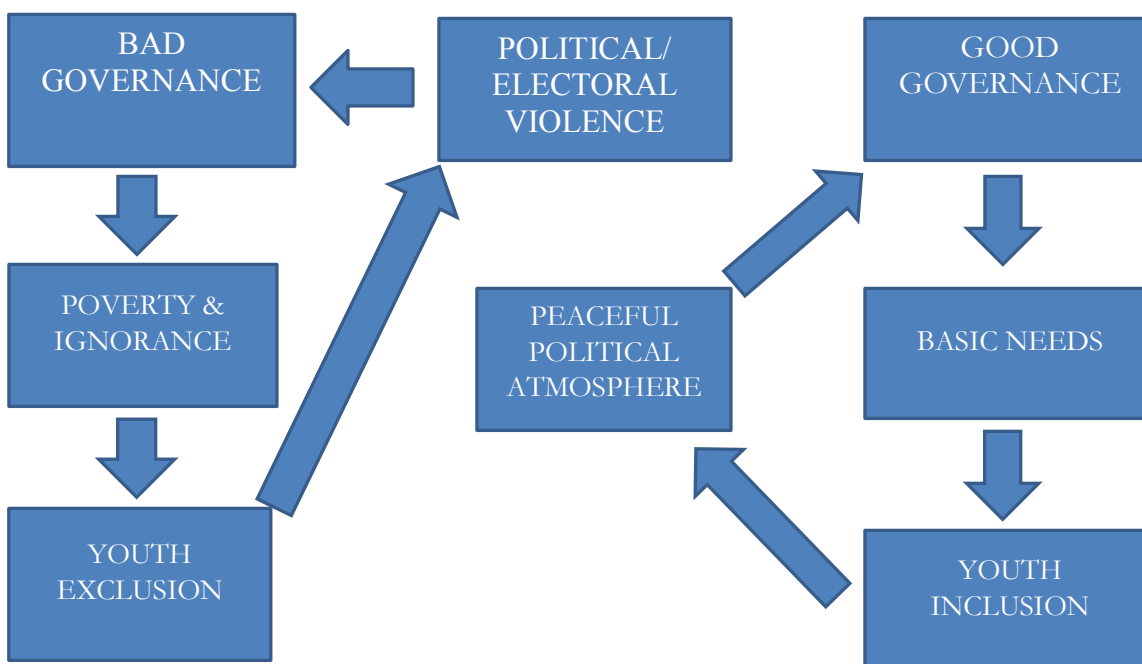
**Political Violence:** the use of threats and physical force to injure somebody or damage something in relations to politics.

**Participation:** taking part in an event or activity.

**Youth:** the period of human development between childhood and maturity, a time when one is in his/ her teens.

**Election:** An election is a process in which people vote to choose a person or group of people to hold an official position.

## 1.10 Conceptual framework



*Figure 1: Conceptual framework*

The key term in this conceptual framework is governance. The researcher assumed that there is a correlation between youth involvement in political violence and the governance type of the country. It is assumed that bad governance will lead to poverty, ignorance as well as youth exclusion then to political violence. On the other hand, good governance ensures that people's basic needs are met, youths are included in governance which also results to a peaceful political atmosphere.

Generally, governance refers to the exercise of authority over a defined population. Authority is the capability to make decision binding on the population by reason of affective loyalty, habituation to the legal order. Moreover, the exercise of authority or governance involves the allocation of materials, social and values goals to institutions, groups and individuals in a state or nation. This clearly shows that governance is associated with government with the exercise of power by politicians. However, it is important to point out that governance does not only point to government as the

relevant actor in the exercise of authority but encompasses all actors outside the stream vein of the government therefore, governance is used in various field such as politics, economy and so on and forth and can result to good or bad governance.

Good governance ensures that political, social and economic targets are based on consensus; the poor and vulnerable in society are represented in decision making and allocation of resources for development. It assures that corruption is minimized, the views of minorities are taken into account and that the voices of the most vulnerable in society are heard in decision-making. In addition good governance also ensures that human rights are observed and followed. In describing good governance the United Nation came up with characteristics that help to define good governance and these are participation, consensus orientation, rule of law, transparency, accountability, responsiveness, effectiveness and efficiency, equity and inclusiveness. These characteristics have come to be the mirror that reflects good governance and they are widely seen as the key factors to ensure social, economic and national development.

Good governance, therefore, ensures that people have basic needs. While there is no single universally accepted definition of 'basic needs', or of what a development effort aimed at meeting basic needs would comprise nor is there a uniform vocabulary to describe the various elements. There is, instead, a wide spectrum of meanings ranging from, at one end, a minimal list of those things which are required by human beings for bare survival, for example, food, shelter, and clothing to, at the other end, an emphasis that human needs are not only physical but also psychological, not absolute but relative to what is enjoyed by other people in society, not finite but expanding as the satisfaction of one need gives rise to another. At this inclusive end, basic needs include not only commodities but also public services such as clean water and transportation, employment, education, participation in decision-making, leisure, human rights, democracy, an egalitarian society, self-reliance, and more besides. There is also considerable diversity of opinion as to what constitute the 'ends' which are desired as valuable in themselves and what are the 'means' which are inescapable if those ends are to be achieved.

Good governance also ensures active participation in decision making. Participation in the formal political system often does not provide an outlet for youth to express their needs, aspirations and grievances. In many cases, young people grow up in countries with rigid, conservative power structures, patronage networks and intergenerational hierarchies, which exclude them from decision-making and do not meet their needs (Africa Research Institute, 2012). Where youth feel existing power structures marginalize them, violence can provide an opportunity to have a voice, lead and make an impact.

According to Grindle (2004), the relevance of getting good governance comes precisely from its relationship with the development of a country and the reduction of poverty. In practice, it is often unequal access to basic needs that can become a source for tension, which may lead to rebellions, conflict and violence. A society's wellbeing depends on ensuring that all its members feel that they have a stake in it and do not feel excluded from the mainstream of society. This requires all groups, but particularly the most vulnerable, have opportunities to improve or maintain their wellbeing.

## **CHAPTER TWO: Literature review**

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### **2.0 Overview**

This section of the research paper looks at other studies that have been conducted on youth involvement in political violence. Ridley (2008, p. 1) suggests that literature review is where reference to related research and theory in ones field of study is made in order to position yourself and your research among other sources. It helps to increase knowledge on the research field, identifies what could have been left out in previous studies and hence prevents duplication of work since the researcher would have seen other pieces of work.

For the sake of simplification and better organization, this chapter was arranged into four parts: definition of political violence, description of the term youth, reviews on youth's involvement in political violence in Africa and youth involvement in political violence in Zambia.

### **2.1 Political violence**

Roberts and Obioha (2005: 398) defined violence as the unlawful use or threat of force. It could be perceived as the exercise of physical force to inflict injury or cause damage to a person's property. Implicit in these definitions of violence are two basic issues – the use of force and the abuse of another person's fundamental rights (Albert, 1994). Again, violence could take different forms of manifestation: it could be socio-economical, psychological, sectarian, and even political. This research focused on political violence.

In contemporary democracies, elections are acceptable means of electing leaders, an important process that strengthens democratic institutions and facilitate peaceful transition of power (Ugiagbe, 2010). Political violence according to the International Foundation for Electoral System (IFES) is any act or threat of physical or psychological harm to a person or damage to property, directed at anyone directly involved in an electoral process (voters, candidates, party officers, election workers, election monitors, journalists, etcetera.) which may disrupt or attempt to disrupt any aspect of the electoral process (Fischer, 2002). Political violence could therefore be described as a pre-

meditated act that intends to influence the electoral process using foul language, verbal intimidation, blackmail, dangerous weapons, arson and assassination (Bamfo, 2008).

According to Armed Conflict Location and Event Dataset (ACLED), an Institute concerned with comprehensive public collection of political violence and protest data for developing states, “political violence is the use of force by a group with a political purpose or motivation” (ACLED, 2015). And that an incidence is regarded as politically violent when in an altercation, force is used by one or more groups to a political end.

Dumouchel (2012) gives a similar definition of political violence, as violence committed in the light of political conflict, or influenced by political matters. He adds that political violence unites and divides as well. The division comes when enemies and targets are identified, whilst unity emerges among members in one camp with a common foe to fight against.

At the receiving end of political violence are human beings, place or thing or data. Ugiagbe (2010) submits that acts associated with electoral violence include physical harm, (homicide, torture, assault), threats (physical, verbal, intimidation; destruction of property), arson, damage from dangerous objects, forced displacement and ballot box snatching. Usman (2009) identified five major common grounds of electoral violence; these; are during registration, during political campaigns, on Election Day, when results are announced, winner takes all syndrome.

Ugbaigbe (2010) opines that electoral violence do manifest in the three electoral stages namely, pre-election, during election and post-election stages. The objective of electoral violence is to influence the electoral process with the sole aim to win political competition or power through violence or subverting the ends of the electoral and democratic process through intimidation and disempowerment of political opponents.

According to ACLED (2015), violence of political character includes, but not limited to, violence and assaults against civilians or political rivals and rioting (violent demonstrations/protests). This atmosphere usually heightens around elections, especially in Africa, where high stakes are placed on elections and consequent political power (Bob-Milliar, 2014). ACLED points out some active politically violent actors,

including rebels, militias, and organized political groups who interact over issues of political power (that is, territorial control, government control and access to resources).

From the few definitions above, it is suggestive how destructive incidents of violence are to the democratic advancement of polities, and especially the emerging democracies in Africa. Evidently, party affiliated youths are active provocateurs of political violence in the region, leading to rising tensions among political parties which is a torn in the democratization trajectory.

Usman (2009) reported that electoral violence is paid for by godfathers and politicians. Without any doubt, electoral violence has negative impact on the individual, family, the polity and the nation as a whole. Salvetti (2009) opines that development cannot take place where there is no peace while to Obateru (2008), violence leads to loss of lives, loss of property and displacement of people.

Electoral violence also impacts negatively on human development; destroys social relationships, scares away investors and retards all ramifications of development in the country (Muhammed 2010). Ugbaigbe (2010) affirms that electoral violence leads to political instability, insecurity and a cycle of violence while Usman (2009) concludes that electoral violence affects the credibility of the democratic system, erodes the credibility of the rule of law and threatens the continued existence of a nation.

In view of the negative consequences of electoral violence and the increase in the involvement of youth, it therefore becomes imperative to identify the various factors that predispose Zambian youths to electoral violence

## **2.2 Youth**

First of all I explain the meaning of youth so as to make clear what my concern is. The term youth can generally be used to refer to people aged 18-35 years, although it varies from culture to culture. These groups of people have certain qualities which make them stand out in the population of any society. They are more critical of their society than other age grades. As Resnick and Casale (2011) observed, no society can effectively develop socially, economically and politically without harnessing and utilizing its youths.

The African Youth Charter (2006:2), “The youth phase of life is an interesting and important phase of the development of any human society”. It is clearly stated from the two documents that youth play the major role in any given society and in this case Zambia. The African Youth Charter (2006:9) further went on to outline the responsibilities of the youth and their governments to them, endeavor to realize who they are, their potentialities and contributory effects to development. Youths within member states should organize programmes on youth policies and programmes and strengthen channels of communication. African Youth Charter (2006:10) also stated that, young people in Africa are a quintessence of energy, initiative and creativity, because they are young they contribute greatly to enhance the economy of our respective nations.

In Zambia, the national youth policy also prioritizes youth participation in sectors of the nation. National Youth Policy (2015), defined a youth as a male or female person aged between 15 and 35 years. The youth policy advocates for youth participation in all political social and economic development being cognizant that youth encounter a number of challenges and that they should be empowered with skills and funds. Youth have rendered valuable contributions to national development, they can constitute a reservoir of energy and dynamism for any national struggle and campaign and if correctly guided, properly mobilized and fully integrated into the scenario fabric of the nation it would result to national development. They may also constitute a threat to national survival and stability if they are allowed to drift, no nation can therefore afford to ignore and become a major social problem.

## **2.3 Youths and political violence**

### **2.3.1 Youth involvement in political violence In Africa**

Political violence is a global phenomenon although its dynamics differs from one nation to another. A renowned theorist on the role of youth in political violence, Goldstone, argues that youth have been key actors in political violence right from the English Revolution to the Revolutions of 1848, and that the existence of uneducated or unemployed youth may likely be easily co-opted into political violence such as “youth bulge” has historically been associated with a lot of political crisis (Goldstone, 2002).



In many parts of the world, political parties and other social movements use young people to intimidate rivals, destabilize opponents, and fill campaign coffers. This is often the only form of political participation open to young people, particularly those with little education or few personal connections. The recent debate on youth participation in violence has tended to center on economic motivations. These are important, but it is critical to recognize that young people are drawn to political violence for a very complex set of reasons.

Typically, young people inject enormous energy into supporting individual politicians to win elections and massively mobilize to provide this support. In return, these youths expect political elites to provide political opportunities such as jobs and contracts as personal and monetary rewards for their contributions (Badejo and Stephens, 2012). Unemployment is an important component of the risk associated with this age group. Young people often participate in violence because it provides immediate economic benefits, because violence itself offers opportunities for economic gain through direct payment or looting, or because conflict promises to open up longer term economic options, for example, through patronage if "their" ethnic or religious group captures power. Several studies of the Balkans, for example, show that the chance to earn an income through theft, smuggling, and banditry was often a more important motivation for the young men who joined militia groups than appeals to ethnic solidarity (Mueller, 2000).

One of the most pressing questions challenging Africa is how to hold peaceful elections (Lindberg, 2006). This is important because African elections have frequently triggered conflict. At least 80% of Africa elections are associated with a serious violent incident that has resulted in loss of lives. Fierce competitions between rival leaders or political parties during elections has been implicated in outbreak of civil unrest in such places as Burundi, Cote d'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Kenya, Nigeria, Rwanda, South Africa, Togo, Uganda, Zanzibar, CAR, and South Sudan (Kristine *et al.*, 2014).

In most African nations, certain violence which had claimed lives and properties have emanated from long time grievances over political situation in the country in question. In

some places like CAR, Marley, Senegal, Somalia, Libya, Guinea Bissau, Lesotho and Egypt; political violence have surfaced under the smoke screen of ethnic rivalry, religious domination, quest for change of overdue government and assumed corrupt government (Kristine, Keith , Jose, & Simrin, 2014). These entire incidences were having political undertones. Of paramount importance here is that whether violence before, during or after election, the quick and available machinery for the execution of these agenda, are the youth.

While elections (the attribute of the democracy) have generally been more peaceable mechanisms for contesting power, politically motivated violence have occurred in about 60% of African elections in 1990-2008 (Scott, 2012). Electoral violence is orchestrated by political elites to intimidate voters. Youth wings or party task forces are prominent exponents. In Zimbabwe, victory for the opposition (MDC) in the 2008 parliamentary election triggered off immediate and brutal response from the ruling party (ZANU-PF). A campaign of beatings and targeted assassinations of MDC officials and supporters forced the party leader, Morgan Tsvangirai; to withdraw from the presidential run-off vote (Africa Research Institute, 2012).

In Nigeria, Malu (2008) explains that Nigerians seems to have acquired a culture of political violence. Violence has become part of the political culture such that all elections since independence (Nigeria has conducted six general elections since independence in 1960. The elections were held in 1964, 1979, 1983, 1993, 1999, 2003 and 2007) are virtually violence ridden. All of these elections were substantially marred by various types of electoral violence or violence associated with party politics and conduct of elections. Thus, one of the major challenges of managing the electoral systems in Nigeria is how to prevent pre, during and post-election violence.

Malu (2008) states that there have been very few instances where these goals are fulfilled in Nigeria, yet election is one of the most significant features of democracy and the provision that citizens should decide for themselves who will govern them and represent their interests. Though the processes of selecting representatives and those who will govern have varied across times and societies, modern states have come to focus on elections as one of the most critical elements in the selection of leaders.

Beyond this, elections are also considered a significant feature of democracies, for without them, competition for power would be much more chaotic.

Malu (2008) further explains that one of the most significant functions of elections is to legitimize a political system, ensure the accountability of leaders, and reinforce people's participation in the political system. More often, elections are battlegrounds where youths are used in political violence that occurs because of electoral frauds that mar the legitimacy and erode the stability of the political system.

Elections can exacerbate existing tensions. A recurrence of factional clashes in Northern Nigeria followed Good Luck Jonathan's victory in 2011 presidential election. More than 800 people killed in the fighting. Perceived consolidation of power by politicians from the predominantly Christian south, and enduring economic disparity between Northern and southern states, fueled the unrest. Clashes in Kenya's Rift Valley following the 2007 elections reflected grievances among Kalenjin and Maasai over traditional lands allocated to Kikuyu in the 1970s by president Jomo Kenyatta. According to empirical study across a diverse African nations, willingness to use violence, and support for political violence were found to be prevalent among the youth. These were more surfaced in the countries with the history of political instabilities, ethnic and racial bigotries such as Uganda, South Africa, Tanzania, Sierra Leone, Kenya, Liberia etc.

Political violence is seen as one of the hallmark of African political landscape. More so, the youth involvement in such activities makes it more worrisome as, they are seen as leaders of tomorrow. No political violence has ever taken place in Africa without its facilitation on the ground by the youth. This appears in form of political thuggery which had been seen as criminalization of politics (Njoku, 2012). The political demagogues in fermenting the trouble (political violence) tend to operate from behind the scene as commanders, for the youth to execute orders which are to their own detriment. Though in some cases political thugs are paid and operate with relatively their consents, many youth are hoodwinked into political violence through the umbrella of ethnic membership, party membership and religious sentiments. By implication, a large chunk of youth involvement in political violence is attributable to ignorance as studies have revealed

that unemployment, corruption and bad governance contribute little in explaining youth involvement in political violence in long run (Kristine, Keith , Jose, & Simrin, 2014).

Where there are educated youth in a political party, ethnic group or some religious groups, they become the unit of intelligence and operators of command post in order to execute violence for group interests. Where there are employed youth in some cases, they are compelled to provide for financial and other logistics for the execution of violence in the interest of their groups. Also, where the government is relatively doing well, the opposition members resort to twisting the minds of the youth against the party in power so as to champion their interests. All these and more reveal vulnerability of the youth to interest of some senseless politicians whose interest can only be achieved through violence.

### **2.3.2 Factors contributing to youth involvement in political violence in Africa**

Indeed, the continued resurfacing of political violence are hinged on certain factors both within and from outside Africa. Among other things what makes youths vulnerable to the acceptance of violent activities, include phenomenon of god fatherism in African politics, desperate attitude towards politics by the party leaders and members, money politics, foreign manipulation of political activities in Africa etc.

Group of gangs of all the political parties and in some cases ethnic groups seeking for political domination in Africa, is made up of thugs and thuggish who are disorganized drug addicts, aggressive, rough and dangerous youth who are either school dropouts, boys and girls from broken homes or societal outcast who are willing and able to cause trouble and spill blood (Mbaya, 2013). By implication, youth who are socially downcast and from broken homes become the cheap articles for politicians who are looking for who to sing their own songs. This in furtherance now makes it possible for political violence to continue as long as such categories of youth continue to be available. Of course, where there are no youth who are willing to ferment trouble for the politicians, the reserved option will be bitterness expressed through the available media channels.

God fatherism though not absolutely in all parts of Africa, engenders political violence and encourage political thuggery of which the youth are tools of realizing them.

Historically, the phenomenon of god fatherism can be traced to orthodox churches, especially the Roman Catholic Church. After baptism according to the doctrinal injunction after catechisms and other teaching processes, the new convert was expected to have a guarantor, appropriately referred to as the godfather. The godfather was expected to oversee, supervise and guide the actions of the convert now appropriately referred to as godson or the goddaughter (Njoku, 2012). In the context of most African politics, the godfather is the man or woman who has enormous goodwill and respect of the people, so much that his belief system represents those of his people. Godfathers maintain army of thugs who intimidate political opponents, snatch ballot boxes during elections and play other key roles in manipulation of election result in accordance with the wishes of the godfather. God fatherism as a factor in perpetuation of political violence manifest in the way they provide money for more youth to be lured into violence during election in order to make sure their interests are secured. Of course their interest is to make sure the godsons or daughters win elections at all costs for their investment in politics to yield profits (Wolpe & Mc Donald , 2008).

Another factor which reinforces violence in African politics is the desperate attitude towards politics among African politicians. The desperation among some African politicians to win elections and occupy political offices by all means is a major cause of prevalence of political violence in the body politics of the continent. In some cases, it is the incumbent leaders who want to remain in power by all means, maintaining the army of Thuggery both on the side of government security body and other illegitimate youth who may have been useful to them while contesting election earlier, and have been absolved as personal assistant and special body guards (Bamfo, 2008).

In other cases, it is the contestants who are aspiring to come into political power, who maintain a large army of thugs that work in various capacities to actualize the purpose of the politicians. Whichever way, where two elephants are fighting, it is the grass that bears the grunt. It is simply the youth who are at the middle of these desperate fellows, being used against each other and even the innocent civilians during electioneering campaign (Njoku, 2012). The money politics which have become the order of the day

across African nations cannot be left out in the explanation of the factors responsible for continued spread of political violence.

The level of poverty in the continent is such intimidating that the most innocent youth may give it thought if circumstances brought the opportunity of participating in violence his way. The politician horde the wealth of the African nations only to release them during the electioneering campaign in form of gifts to the poor especially the rural dwellers so as to win their consent not only to vote, but to justify their thugs, who will be on the ground during election to carry the ballot boxes. Specifically, the youth are targeted as the instrument of perpetuating violence and, they are vulnerable to money and other gifts which can make them participate irrespective of the dangers involved in executing such mission (Africa Research Institute, 2012).

It takes different forms in different parts of the continent to lure the youth into political violence either as hired thugs or mere party members. It may come as gifts to the youth wing of a political party or ethnic group from the desperate politicians; it may come in form of direct contract from the politicians to the group of youth who are capable of causing violence and using violence to execute certain missions. Also, in some cases, it may surface in form of indirect donation from a wealthy politician usually to the youth wing of the party or the ethnic group or even the mere youth wing of a local community. This now will become a motivating factor to them during election, to do anything possible in securing the interest of the donor. Cash or favours for votes constitute a more immediate and tangible reward than promises to deliver goods or reform policy. In Zambia, opposition leader Michael Sata resourcefully adopted “Don’t Kubeba” – “Don’t tell” – as his campaign slogan for the 2011 presidential election, encouraging people to accept gifts from politicians (Africa Research Institute, 2012).

Other factors that induce youth involvement in political violence include unemployment, inadequate public service, illiteracy and drug abuse. In a study conducted by Torque Mude (2014) to analyze the sociopolitical consequences of urban youth unemployment in Zimbabwe, the findings indicate that one of the major effects of urban youth unemployment in Zimbabwe is political violence. High rate of urban youth unemployment in Zimbabwe has had serious political implications in the past decade.

Youths out of employment have been the agents of political violence in the country. Unemployed youths are often recruited by political parties such as Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) and others to operate as youth militia members. They have been and are responsible for torturing, intimidating and killing civilians who do not share their political affiliations (Mude, 2014).

Fischer (2002) stated that inadequate public services, especially education, also play a role inciting violence. Many groups espousing violent ideologies have reached out to young people by providing access to education and other key services. More important, they have provided young people with a sense of community and purpose in a setting where these are scarce commodities. In places as diverse as Nigeria and Pakistan, failing school systems have allowed radical groups to reach poor, marginalized young (Fischer, 2002).

In their study, Badejo and Stephens (2012) investigated the predisposing factors to youth involvement in electoral violence in Lagos metropolis in Nigeria. The findings indicated that illiteracy, unemployment, influence of drugs, sharing of national cake, youths as tools in the hand of politicians, lack of information on politics, lack of transparency, lack of self-worth, peer group influence, exposure to violence in the mass media, quality of life, proliferation of arms, ethnic militia, religious affiliation and corruption in the body polity were predisposing factors of youths involvement in electoral violence. Badejo and Stephen' s (2012) study employed a descriptive survey research design and a sample of one hundred and fifty male and female youth of Alimosho Local Government Area of Lagos State, Nigeria who were randomly selected.

## **2.4 Youths and political violence in Zambia**

### **2.4.1 Challenges faced by Youths in Zambia**

Zambian Youth, like many young people in developing countries, face challenges such as high unemployment rates, poor quality of education and educational opportunities, limited civic engagement opportunities, high HIV prevalence rates, teenage pregnancy, and early marriage (Youth Map, 2014).

In Zambia, young people make up a significant proportion of the available labor force, yet unemployment rates for 20- to 24-year-olds have been estimated to be as much as five times greater than for older adults (ZIPAR, 2013:1). The Youth Map assessment found that while many employers are hiring youth, key constraints prevent young people from finding work. These factors include a misalignment of education and labor market needs, lack of experience, nepotism and corruption in the labor market, and a lack of skills and entrepreneurship training (Youth Map, 2014). Gender plays a major role in youth employment: certain sectors are considered to be available only for men or women, and young women are more likely to report lower pay or not being paid at all for their work.

In the last decade, Zambia has made important strides towards improving access to basic education. According to the 2013 Millennium Development Goal (MDG) Report, “steady progress” has been made on reaching the target of 100 percent net enrollment in primary education (UNDP, 2013:23). The government aims to guarantee universal access to basic education through the Educating Our Future policy. Despite these gains, concerns remain regarding the quality of the education, given large class sizes as well as limited resources for pupils. High dropout rates at the secondary level, particularly for young women, continue to be a challenge. Additionally, access to tertiary education is limited, especially for rural youth. Assessment findings showed that education matters when securing employment: more highly educated youth reported greater confidence in their preparedness and higher incomes. Employers often stated they hire youth with a minimum of secondary school completion (Youth Map, 2014).

The study conducted by Youth Map (2014) shows that although young people make up a significant proportion of the population, most Youth Map participants were disengaged from the political process and felt excluded and marginalized. Only 43 percent of young men and 23 percent of young women reported that they participate politically. With few leaders under 40, as well as few opportunities to positively participate in politics or become leaders, many youth have no interest in politics. However, sentiments may be changing; 84 percent of assessment participants stated they plan to vote in the next election.



#### **2.4.2 Youth involvement in political violence**

Namakando (2016) explains that Zambia is one of the most peaceful countries in Africa. Historically, Zambia has not been plagued by the violence that has hit other countries in the region, but in 2015 and 2016 the PF campaigns and the UPND campaigns were strongly linked to incidences of violence. This violence has mostly been blamed on the youths. Youth violence, particularly the use of youth in political violence has a long history in Zambia. Violence has been used as a tool for major political, social, involvement and transitions; in which youth are both actors and victims.

Commonwealth stakeholders (2016) indicated that there had been a significant increase in the frequency and intensity of politically-motivated violence ahead of the 2015 and 2016 elections in Zambia. Several violent clashes, mainly between the ruling party's cadres (PF) and those of the UPND were reported. Clashes reportedly involved the use of machetes, clubs and other weapons, with frequent reports alleging that the parties were recruiting and training militia. The leaders of these parties often traded accusations at each other for systematically orchestrating, sponsoring and instigating violence. Some other political parties also reported violent attacks on their members by the ruling party's cadres.

It is heartbreaking to see youths being used to perpetrate violence during elections instead of exercising their rights to vote and participate positively in the elections (NYPA, 2015). It is evident that poverty is one of the main drivers of political violence. Poverty levels in many African countries like Zambia are quite high and this gives room for the unemployed majority mostly youths to be manipulated to perpetuate all forms of electoral violence (ARI, 2012). Poverty is a condition where people's basic needs for food, clothing, and shelter are not being met. An individual exposed to these hardships is more likely to engage in electoral violence than a rich person in society. When the economic hardships become too unbearable, the propensity for violence increases. Unemployed youths then become tools for electoral violence (Simengwa, 2015).

As in a number of other countries included in this study, unemployment was identified as a top priority among Zambian youth, and a contributing factor to economic and social exclusion. Nyambe Mubanga (2016) linked frustration with unemployment levels to

youth marginalization and even to election-related violence. An economic downturn, including drops in copper prices, had further exacerbated this pressure.

Simengwa (2015) states that some political parties in Zambia vying for political offices had seemingly perfected the art of wringing emotions of the youths during elections. They had manipulated the impressionable young people to attack opponents, mostly during campaigns, in what was referred to as 'youths for hire'. In recent years, it has not been unusual to see some parties ferrying their members, mainly young people, from different parts of the country to areas where elections were taking place. This was a gimmick to both bolster their numbers and to derail their opponents' campaigns through physical and verbal attacks.

Simengwa (2015) further revealed that President Edgar Lungu revealed that the United Party for National Development (UPND) was transporting its members from Lusaka to Lubansenshi, in Luwingu, and Solwezi West to intimate voters ahead of the September 24 parliamentary by-elections. The Young African Leaders Initiative (YALI) held a Non-Violence Political Youth Caucus in Lusaka, where the involvement of young people in political violence was discussed. Such were the initiatives applauded as they help to uphold Zambia's record as a peaceful country. Acting British High Commissioner to Zambia Sean Melbourne, during the YALI forum, urged youths not to be used as tools of violence by political parties. Mr Melbourne said the youth should instead be exposed to issue-based politics, and be given a platform to exercise their rights to vote.

Zambia Daily Mail (2016) reported that there are deliberate attempts by some people to trigger violence at every opportunity. Reasons for wanting to do so may not be clear, but they seem to believe that violence will serve their purposes better than the peace Zambia has been enjoying for decades. How else would one explain the brazen disparaging of political rivals and right in front of them? This is the worst order of provocation.

## **2.5 Summary**

Although there has been an increase in research in Zambia on this important topic, it has not yet adequately captured the complexities of youth's involvement in violence, such that we do not have a clear grasp on how young people are impacted by their

experiences with political violence. It is against this background that this study will investigate the prevalence of youth involvement in political violence during the 2015 and 2016 elections in Lusaka. Unlike previous studies, this study specifically focused on the events that occurred during the 2015 and 2016 electoral periods therefore approaching the research problem in a natural. This approach enabled the researcher to dig deep into the underlying factors contributing to youth involvement in political violence and examined the nature of violence perpetrated by the youths during elections. The researcher was also able to identify the barriers to effective and meaningful political participation amongst the youths in Zambia.

## CHAPTER THREE: Methodology

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### 3.0 Overview

This section discusses the way in which the research was carried out; the design, target population, sample, sampling procedure, instruments and measures, and data analysis.

### 3.2 Design

A research design gives guidance on how the study was undertaken. Parahoo (1997, p.142) describes a research design as “a plan that describes how, when and where data are to be collected and analyzed”

In this study a case study design will be used. A case study investigates a specific instance or phenomenon and generalizes to the rest of the population (Cohen *et al.*, 2007, p. 256). Cohen explains that case studies give analytical rather than statistical generalizations and that because normally they involve smaller samples, they are able to provide in-depth information on a particular situation (Cohen *et al.*, 2007, p. 256). The case study approach will be used to allow for collection of in depth information regarding youth involvement in political violence.

### 3.3 Target population

The study targeted: male and female youths; police officers; political party chairmen; and electoral organizations. The target population had participated or observed the 2015 and 2016 general elections in Munali constituency. Munali constituency is situated in Lusaka district and borders with Mandevu, Lusaka Central and Chongwe constituencies. The constituency has five wards namely Chainda, Mtendere, Kalingalinga, Munali ward 33 and Chakunkula. Munali constituency has 109,009 registered voters (ECZ, 2015).

Figure 2: Boundaries of Manal constituency



Source: Munali Constituency Office (2018)

### 3.4 Sample

The study sample included 47 participants. These comprised 5 youths belonging to different political parties in each ward, 5 police officers in charge of police stations in each ward, 3 chairperson belonging to prominent political parties (PF, UPND and FDD) in the constituency and 2 representatives from FODEP and SACCORD who were directly involved with the observation of elections. However, only those who participated or witnessed political violence in 2014 and 2016 general elections were recruited for the study.

Table 1: Study sample

	Youths	Police officers	chairperson	FODEP	SACCORD	Total
Chainda	5	1	3			9
Mtendere	5	1	3			9
Kalingalinga	5	1	3			9
Munali ward 33	5	1	3			9
Chakunkula	5	1	3			9
Electoral organizations				1	1	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>47</b>

### 3.4.1 Demographic characteristics of the respondents

#### 3.4.2 Sex

Table 2 below shows the distribution of the respondents by their sex. The table shows that 64 percent of the respondents were male while 36 percent of the respondents were female. The selection of the respondents was based on purposive sampling with no bias towards any sex. The sex of the respondents were recorded upon recruitment for the study.

*Table 2: Distribution of respondents by sex*

	Male	Female	Total
Youths	15	10	25
Police officers	4	1	5
chairpersons	9	6	15
FODEP	1		1
SACCORD	1		1
<b>Total</b>	<b>30 (64 %)</b>	<b>17 (36%)</b>	<b>47</b>

Source: Field data (2018)

#### 3.4.3 Age

Table 3 below shows the distribution of respondents by age. The table shows that 30 percent (majority) of the respondents were in the age groups 25-29 and 35-39 respectively. These age groups included; the youths, police officers, chairpersons and electoral organizations. The ages of the respondents were recorded upon recruitment for the study.

*Table 3: Distribution of respondents by age (Field data, 2018)*

	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44
Youths	10	14	1		
Police officers				5	
chair persons			5	7	3
FODEP				1	
SACCORD				1	
<b>Total</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>3</b>

### **3.5 Sampling Procedure**

Sampling involved selection of participants in the study area. All the study participants were purposely selected. Purposive sampling also known as judgement, selective or subjective sampling is a sampling technique in which researcher relies on his or her own judgment when choosing members of population to participate in the study. In purposive sampling personal judgement needs to be used to choose cases that help answer research questions or achieve research objectives. In this study, extreme case sampling was used which derives its sample from cases that are perceived as unusual or rare. (Leedy & Ormrod, 2001). This method was therefore, very appropriate in this research since only those individuals who had participated or witnessed political violence were selected.

### **3.6 Instruments and measures**

To achieve the aim and objectives of this study, the researcher used an interview guide. An interview guide, or aide memoire, is a list of topics, themes, or areas to be covered in a semi-structured interview. Under this format, the researcher prepares an interview guide, but also allows the conversation to flow naturally, meaning that questions do not necessarily have to be asked in order. Additionally, there is an opportunity for the researcher to go “off-script” and ask additional questions of the participant to gain greater detail in their responses.

Since this study was purely qualitative in nature, the Interview Guide was used to conduct Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) with the youths, then in-depth interviews with the other study participants. FGDs and In-depth interviews are valuable tools for collecting qualitative data. As the purpose of the research interview is to obtain research-relevant information from the interviewee, it is centred on the evidence to be generated for achieving the research objectives of describing, predicting or explaining the phenomenon (Cohen & Manion, 2007). As compared to other techniques of data collection, for example, questionnaire, observation, etcetera, FGDs and In-depth interviews may serve as a rich source for exploring people’s inner feelings and attitudes.

### **3.7 Data Analysis**

Data analysis is when the non-standardized and complex data that is collected needs to be condensed, summarized, grouped or categorized or restructured in order to become meaningful information (Saunders et al., 2007). Data analysis is the process of bringing order, structure and meaning to the mass of data that is collected in the field (Mouton, 2004). In this study, qualitative data obtained through FGDs and In-depth interviews was transcribed and then manually analyzed using themes.

### **3.8 Ethical Considerations**

Research ethics refers to the appropriateness of the researcher's behaviour in relation to the rights of the subjects of the research or how they are affected by it. In this study, ethical clearance was sought from the University Ethics Committee. A written consent was also sought from the study participants by signing the consent form to grant the researcher permission to interview them. This was done to ensure that persons interviewed were fully aware of the aims of the research, and that confidentiality was maintained and assured, and that information solicited was treated anonymously (Bowling, 2002). This consent also gives participants information about their freedom to withdraw at any time if they feel so. This approach is included to ensure freedom of participants to choose to participate in the research or not, and also safeguard against possible future legal liabilities (*Ibid*, 2002).

### **3.9 Summary**

This chapter described and justified the methodology for the study. The study employed a case study design approach to collect qualitative data relating to youth involvement in political violence. FDGs and interviews were used to capture data from 47 participants who were purposively sampled. Thereafter, data analysis was performed using content analysis.



## **CHAPTER FOUR: Presentation of findings**

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### **4.0 Overview**

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section begins by giving background information of the respondents while the second part is a presentation of the research findings in relation to the three research objectives of the study and the third part gives a summary of the chapter. The findings have been systematically presented according to the headings that have been derived from the research questions. The results presented in this study were obtained through FGDs with the youths and from in-depth interviews with political party chairpersons, police officers in charge of the selected wards as well as representatives from electoral organizations. The findings of the study are presented based on the themes that emerged from the data collected.

### **4.1 Presentation of the research findings (FGDs)**

The results presented in this section were obtained through focus group discussions from 25 participants (youths). The researcher posed a series of questions to groups consisting of 5 youths each in 5 wards to investigate youth involvement in political violence during the 2015 and 2016 elections in Lusaka. The responses obtained from the FGDs were put in themes and those standing out have been presented based on the following questions;

1. What is Political Violence
2. What factors prompt youths to get involved in political violence?
3. What is the nature of the violence perpetrated by the youths during the 2015 and 2016 elections?
4. How can youths be helped to stop or avoid involving themselves in political violence?

#### **4.2.1 Political violence defined**

The researcher posed the question “What is political violence?” to the youths in order to ascertain if they understood the topic that was being discussed. This question was also meant to set the platform in which the topic could be discussed.

The findings revealed that all the youths knew what political violence meant, although there were small variances in the way youths understood political violence. The common understanding of political violence was that “it was fighting among carders during the election period”. Some youths argued that political violence includes criminal activities perpetuated by carders from the ruling and opposing parties in an effort to intimidate each other.

One the youths stated that *political violence is perpetrated by cadres who in most instances are youths and the fighting is usually between the ruling party and the main opposition party. They fight to show dominance of a certain zone/area.*

Another youth argued that *political violence is a common occurrence in strong holds of certain political parties and it involves serious fighting between the ruling party and opposition parties which may also affect the voting process. In some instances, carders and innocent civilians end up losing their lives in the process.*

From the responses given by the participants, it can be deduced that political violence was a common occurrence in areas were these youths stayed. This can be observed from the youth’s emphasis on “fighting during election”, “cadres from the ruling party and opposition parties fighting to intimidate each other” and ascertaining dominance of a certain area/party strong hold. In one of the responses, the participant introduced the term “youth” when he stated that “political violence is perpetrated by carders who in most instances are youths”. But what are the main reasons these youths involve themselves in political violence? The question is therefore addressed in the following section.

#### **4.2.2 Factors that prompt youths to get involved in political violence**

Before discussing the factors that prompt youths to get involved in political violence, the researcher asked that youths their position in the participation in political violence. Figure 2 below shows the percentage distribution of youth involvement in political violence. The findings show that 16 participants had only observed political violence from a distance while 9 participants had been directly involved in political violence.

Having participants who had been directly involved in political violence before was beneficial to the study because they provided rich insights based on real experience.

*Table 4: Youth involvement in political violence*

Participants	Frequency
Direct involved	9
Observed from a distance	16
Total	25

Source: Field data (2018)

A number of factors that prompt youths to get involved in political violence were identified during the FGDs with both the youths who had been involved in political violence and those that had only observed from distance. However, the following themes were identified during the FDGs.

1. Youths get involved in political violence due to lack of employment and education opportunities.
2. Youths get involved in political violence due to influence of alcohol and drugs.
3. Youths get involved in political violence because of peer pressure.
4. Youths get involved in political violence due to low education levels.
5. Youths get involved in political violence due to patronage.

According to the youths, lack of employment and education opportunities is one of the main reasons why youths get involved in political violence. They argued that youths are recruited as cadres by political elites to support them during campaigns and in voting with a promise of government jobs once they are voted into office. One of the youths stated that: *youths who engage in violence in violence during elections expect to be given jobs, land and contracts as personal rewards for their contribution.*

The findings also indicate that alcohol and drug abuse were some of the factors that caused youth based political violence. The youths argued that those among them who abused alcohol (especially those who consumed alcohol locally known as *Tujilijili/Junta*) were more likely to engage in violence. They indicated that some political elites

deliberately bought *Tujilijili/Junta* for the youths during electoral campaigns/ elections so that they could misbehave and prevent some possible voters to cast their votes. One of the participants stated that: *political violence itself offered opportunities for the youths to engage in illicit activities such as looting and beating up innocent citizens.*

According to the findings, youth involvement in political violence is also caused by peer pressure. The participants indicated that some youths get involved in political violence because they see their peers participating in such vices. Themes related to peer pressure were common for participants residing in high density areas like Mtendere, Kalingalinga and Chakunkula. One participant narrated that: *some of my friends are culprits of political violence due to their habit of following the actions of their peers. Some of them have even landed themselves in trouble with the law due to the habit of wanting to look cool (group acceptance) in the presence of other peers.*

The study also revealed that low levels of education among the youths contributed to their involvement in political violence. The participants also argued that people with low/no education were more likely to be participant in political violence because they can easily be influenced to engage in such activities without considering the consequences. One participant stated that: *youths with little or no education are easily lied to with unrealistic promises.* Another participant added to this point by narrating that: *some youths in his area (kalingalinga) were promised that they would be given high paying jobs in government if they had supported a certain political elite to win a parliamentary seat even though they only had attended education up to grade seven level. To make matters worse these youths could not even read and write.*

The findings also indicate that some youth cadres get involved in political violence due to patronage. The participants stated that: some youths were involved in political violence because they were promised longer term economic options by their patrons, this was true in the case their ethnic or religious group captures power.

#### **4.2.3 The nature of the violence perpetrated by the youths during the 2015 - 2016 elections.**

The participants were asked to provide their opinion on violence perpetrated by the youths during the 2015-2016 elections. The responses from the participants were varied. However, the most dominant responses were that there were several violent clashes during the 2015-2016 campaign period between the ruling party cadres (PF) and those from the main opposition party (UPND), and the youths were at the center of this violence. One of the participant stated that: *youths (cadres) were moving about armed with machetes, clubs and other weapons which they would use to beat up suspected rivals*. Another youth narrated that: *we were scared to move after 18 hours in Mtendere because of the rumours that militias had been trained and deployed in the area to cause havoc*.

#### **4.2.4. Helping youths stop or avoid being involved in political violence.**

The youths were asked on what interventions should be instituted to curb youth involvement in political violence. The following are some of the major suggestions given by the participants;

1. Create employment opportunities for the youths in the area.
2. Educate the youths not to support political elites proposing political violence.
3. Funds should be available all youths to venture into entrepreneurship.
4. Provide interventions to prevent youths from abusing alcohol and drugs.
5. Encourage political leaders to work towards conducting peaceful elections.

According to the findings, the participants (youths) were willing to do any kinds of jobs if given an opportunity to work. They argued that government should create employment opportunities in the area so that youths desist from engaging in violent behaviour. One of the youths stated that: *we need government to intervene by giving us jobs*. He further stated that *“even the job of collecting garbage bins will be welcomed”*

The participants further stated that there is need to educate youths not to support political elites proposing violence. According to the findings, the participants viewed all political elites to be exploitative and greedy in nature. Therefore, youths need to be

sensitized not to follow these leaders blindly. One of the participants stated that: *youths need to be warned not to accept gifts or fake promises in exchange of support shown through violence.*

The findings also indicate that the youths were willing to venture into entrepreneurship activities but lacked the necessary capital. According to the findings: it was very difficult for the youths to secure funds to start businesses, the government therefore should intervene by empowering youths with funds to enter into entrepreneurship. One of the participants said that: *more youths should be included on the youth empowerment fund in the area.*

According to the findings, the government should come up with recreation activities to prevent youths from abusing alcohol and drugs. The participants argued that youths abuse drugs and alcohol because they do not have any entertainment activities. One participant stated that: *there was need to promote sporting activities in the area to keep the youths occupied.*

The findings also revealed that political leaders were the major culprits in promoting political violence perpetrated by the youths. The participants felt that politicians need to be encouraged to work together to end political violence. One of the participants said that: *a political party found promoting violence should be fined, this will make political leaders to desist from engaging youths in violent activities.*

#### **4.3 Presentation of the research findings (Semi structured interviews)**

The researcher also carried out in-depth interviews using an interview guide with; PF, UPND and FDD chairpersons, Police officers (In-charge) and electoral organization representatives (FODEP and SACCORD). The assumption was that sample was in a better position to provide rich information as they were directly involved in 2015-2016 elections. Outstanding themes have been presented based on the following questions.

1. What is Political Violence
2. What factors prompt youths to get involved in political violence?
3. What is the nature of the violence perpetrated by the youths during the 2015 and 2016 elections?

4. How can youths be helped to stop or avoid involving themselves in political violence?

#### **4.3.1 Political Violence defined**

The understanding of political violence by these participants was not different from that of the youth participants. They believed that political violence is violence perpetrated by people to achieve political goals. One FDD Chairperson stated that: *many groups and individuals believe that their political systems will never respond to their demands and thus believe that violence is not only justified but also necessary in order to achieve their political objectives.*

According to a UPND chairperson:

*Government believes that they need to use violence in order to intimidate their populace into submission.*

A FODEP representative stated that:

*Political violence can be defined as hostile or aggressive acts motivated by a desire to affect change in the government and since elections are a means of affecting change, violence is a common problem.*

One Police Officer stated that:

*Political violence is constitutes of crimes against the public perpetrated by certain individuals during election period.*

According to the findings, no political party was willing to take the blame for the violence that occurred in the 2015-2016 election period in the constituency. All the chairpersons of PF and UPND interviewed blamed the other party for perpetrating violence and vice versa. One UPND chairperson stated that: *the PF had been recruiting and training militia and sending them in all the parts of Zambia to cause confusion so that they intimidate UPND supporters.*

#### **4.3.2 Factors that prompt youths to get involved in political violence**

A number of factors were advanced with regards to the factors that prompt youths to get involved in political violence. According to the findings, youths are at the center of political violence because they are energetic and usually have unfulfilled desires which are exploited by political elites. A representative from SACCORD stated that: “youths get involved in political violence because of lack of employment and education opportunities, as such the promise of these opportunities force youths to indulge in violence”. One PF chairperson stated: “that they are given unrealistic promises by political elites such as jobs and a reduction in the price of talk time which usually make them excited”. One Police Officer stated that: “some youths already have criminal minds so political violence creates an opportunity for them to show their criminality”. According to a UPND chairperson: *youths get involved in political violence because they get tired of the injustices perpetrated by office holders who are supposed to be their representative but instead they use their position to steal tax payer’s money.*

A FODEP representative narrated that:

*It is unfortunate that our youths who are supposed to be our future leaders have been used as tools to incite fighting during elections.*

#### **4.3.3 Nature of the violence perpetrated by the youths during the 2015 and 2016 elections**

According to the findings, Munali is one of the constituencies that was engulfed by violence during the 2015 and 2016 election period. Police Officers in the various locations confirmed that: a number of cases related to political violence were reported during campaigns and on Election Day. Below is a summary of all the cases that were reported in each ward.



Table 5: summary of cases reported to the police

	Assaults	Unruly behaviour	destruction of public property	Total
Chainda	3	6	0	9
Mtendere	15	10	3	28
Kalingalinga	5	13	1	19
Munali Ward 33	0	5	8	13
Chakunkula	1	8	0	9
<b>Total</b>	24	42	12	77

Source: Field data (2018)

Table 5 above shows that a total of 87 cases related to political violence were reported in Munali constituency during the 2015 and 2016 election period of which the majority of cases (30) were in Mtendere ward while the least cases (9) were reported in chakunkula ward. According to the information obtained from the Police Officers, there were a number of instances of violence in Munali constituency. They stated that at some point riots broke out in Mtendere as voters protested over the delays in the opening of polling stations. Police had to fire tear gas and warning shots to disperse the rioters.

One Police Officer stated that:

*the violence was largely related to the increase in suspicions of the electoral process of PF supporters and rumours of electoral fraud.*

According to a UPND chairperson,

*The violence which happened in Munali constituency should be blamed on the PF cadres. He narrated that: the UPND rally scheduled for Mtendere on 10th August 2016 was unsuccessful because the public failed to turn up on account of fear of being attacked. He also said the police took no action despite the matter being reported to the police.*

However, one Police Officer narrated that:

*As police we responded to incidents of violence in a professional and balanced manner and criminal investigations were instituted in statements allegedly inciting violence at rallies.*

Another UPND chairperson stated that:

*The Lusaka High Court nullified the parliamentary election of Minister of Higher Education, Professor Nkandu Luo as Member of Parliament for Munali Constituency following the petition of UPND Parliamentary Candidate for Munali Constituency, Mrs. Doreen Mwamba because we believe lost the elections due to violence.*

According to the findings, a number of incidences in Munali constituency involved beating, brutalizing, verbal assault and extreme victimization of people, thus creating an environment that was not conducive to hold a free and fair election. However, a representative from SACOORD who was directly observing the elections narrated that: there was a lot of tension on Election Day and immediately following polling day when supporters of opposition parties clashed with security agencies and disrupted the process in some parts of the country.

#### **4.3.4 Helping youths to stop or avoid involving themselves in political violence**

Several strategies to help youths to stop or avoid involving themselves in politically motivated violence. The major strategy identified was to empower youths with livelihood skills that would enable them find employment. A representative from FODEP stated that there is need to reform the education system to include basic business skills that would enable youth to adapt in a country with high unemployment opportunities in the formal sector. On the other hand, a FODEP representative stated that: there is need to create dialog among political leaders which focuses on putting penalties on political leaders how use youth to perpetrate violence.

One Party Chairperson stated that:

*Political leaders need to realize that youths are the future leaders of this country thus they should be nurtured into the political arena and given the necessary support to take up leadership positions within the party unlike initiating them into violent activities.*

According to the findings, there is need to enhance the effectiveness of the youth empowerment fund so that every youth in the constituency is given an opportunity

to have access to the funds for the purposes of setting up entrepreneurship ventures.

One FDD chairperson stated that:

*Youths need to be empowered with funds to enable them start their own businesses.*

## **CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION**

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### **5.0 Overview**

This chapter is the discussion of the findings presented in chapter four. The discussion has been done in line with the research objectives and the themes identified in chapter three.

### **5.1 Political violence**

The first question the researcher asked all the participants in the study was to define political violence. The assumption was that if the participants were able to differentiate political violence with other forms of violence perpetrated by the youths. However, the findings show that all the participants had an understanding of what constitutes political violence. The findings revealed that political violence is the kind of violence that is politically motivated and that it is a common occurrence during elections. This finding is in line with ACLED (2015) who stated that violence of political character includes, but not limited to, violence and assaults against civilians or political rivals and rioting (violent demonstrations/protests). This atmosphere usually heightens around elections, especially in Africa, where high stakes are placed on elections and consequent political power (Bob-Milliar, 2014).

### **5.2 Factors that prompt youths to get involved in political violence**

#### **5.2.1 Unemployment**

According to the findings, many youths get involved in political violence because they are unemployed. This finding is in line with Torque Mude (2014) who analyzed the socio-political consequences of urban youth unemployment in Zimbabwe. The findings indicated that one of the major effects of urban youth unemployment in Zimbabwe is political violence. High rate of urban youth unemployment in Zimbabwe has had serious political implications in the past decade. Youths out of employment have been the agents of political violence in the country. Unemployed youths are often recruited by political parties such as Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) and others to operate as youth militia

members. They have been and are responsible for torturing, intimidating and killing civilians who do not share their political affiliations.

Additionally, Nyambe Mubanga (2016) linked frustration with unemployment levels to youth marginalization and even to election related violence. An economic downturn in Zambia, including drops in copper prices, had further exacerbated this pressure. In Zambia, young people make up a significant proportion of the available labor force, yet unemployment rates for 20- to 24-year-olds have been estimated to be as much as five times greater than for older adults (ZIPAR, 2013:1).

The Youth Map assessment found that while many employers are hiring youth, key constraints prevent young people from finding work. These factors include a misalignment of education and labor market needs, lack of experience, nepotism and corruption in the labor market, and a lack of skills and entrepreneurship training (Youth Map, 2014). The issue of high unemployment levels among youths makes them vulnerable and susceptible to political leaders who use them for their political gain. Every time there are elections in the nation, political violence where youths are involved becomes the talk of the day.

### **5.2.2 Level of education**

According to the findings of this study, people with low/no education were more likely to be participant in political violence because they can easily be influenced to engage in such activities without considering the consequences. It was revealed that youths who engage political violence are though who had attained less or no education at all. Although, the Zambian government aims to guarantee universal access to basic education through the *Educating Our Future policy*, concerns remain regarding the quality of the education, given large class sizes as well as limited resources for pupils. High dropout rates at the secondary level, particularly for young women, continue to be a challenge. Additionally, access to tertiary education is limited, especially for rural youth. The Youth Map assessment findings showed that education matters when securing employment: more highly educated youth reported greater confidence in their preparedness and higher incomes. Employer's often stated they hire youth with a minimum of secondary school completion (Youth Map, 2014).

By implication, a large chunk of youth involvement in political violence is attributable to ignorance as studies have revealed that unemployment, corruption and bad governance contribute little in explaining youth involvement in political violence in long run (Kristine, Keith, Jose, & Simrin, 2014).

However, other findings have shown that where there are educated youth in a political party, ethnic group or some religious groups, they become the unit of intelligence and operators of command post in order to execute violence for group interests (Africa Research Institute, 2012). Where there are employed youth in some cases, they are compelled to provide for financial and other logistics for the execution of violence in the interest of their groups. This finding therefore shows that the role played by youth education level is more complex than it seems.

### **5.2.3 Lack of social amenities**

The findings of this study show that lack of social amenities is one of the causes of youth involvement in political violence. Youths have a lot of expectation from their governments, they need; good schools, hospitals, play parks and employment opportunities. However, facilities are not present in the environment where youths reside. The frustrations experienced by youths due to lack of social amenities make them susceptible to engage in political violence. This finding is in line with Fischer's (2002) argument who stated that inadequate public services, especially education, play a role inciting violence. Many groups espousing violent ideologies have reached out to young people by providing access to education and other key services. More important, they have provided young people with a sense of community and purpose in a setting where these are scarce commodities. In places as diverse as Nigeria and Pakistan, failing school systems have allowed radical groups to reach poor, marginalized young (Fischer, 2002).

### **5.2.4 Alcohol consumption**

The findings show that youths get involved in political violence due to influence of alcohol and drugs. This is in line with Badejo and Stephens (2012) study who investigated the predisposing factors to youth involvement in electoral violence in Lagos metropolis in Nigeria. The findings indicated that illiteracy, unemployment, influence of drugs,

sharing of national cake, youths as tools in the hand of politicians, lack of information on politics, lack of transparency, lack of self-worth, peer group influence, exposure to violence in the mass media, quality of life, proliferation of arms, ethnic militia, religious affiliation and corruption in the body polity were predisposing factors of youths involvement in electoral violence.

The recent trend in Zambia is such that alcohol packaged in small bottles (Known as *Tujilijili/Junta*) has become accessible by almost all youths who wish to consume them due to their affordability. As such, there has been an increase in the consumption of alcohol by youths more especially during events such as campaign period, Election Day or after elections. Due to the feelings of excitement youths get after consuming alcohol, they are able to engage in all sorts of violence.

The findings of this study have revealed that some political elites deliberately bought alcohol (*Tujilijili/Junta*) for the youths during electoral campaigns/elections so that they could misbehave and prevent some possible voters to cast their votes. These findings are in line with Mbaya's (2013) view who argued that group of gangs of all the political parties and in some cases ethnic groups seeking for political domination in Africa, is made up of thugs and thuggish who are disorganized drug addicts, aggressive, rough and dangerous youth who are either school dropouts, boys and girls from broken homes or societal outcast who are willing and able to cause trouble and spill blood. Similarly, Zambian youths under the influence of drugs and alcohol are ready to assault people and destroy public property all in the name of giving support to their political leaders.

#### **5.2.5 Sponsorship**

The findings also show that political leaders were to be blamed for making youths support them during elections by means of violence. The findings revealed that youths engaged in political violence because of the promises given to them by political leaders. It is argued that sponsorship reinforces violence in African politics as it represents a desperate attitude towards politics. The desperation among some African politicians to win elections and occupy political offices by all means is a major cause of prevalence of political violence in the body politics of the continent. In some cases, it is the incumbent leaders who want to remain in power by all means, maintaining the army of Thuggery

both on the side of government security body and other illegitimate youth who may have been useful to them while contesting election earlier, and have been absolved as personal assistant and special body guards (Bamfo, 2008).

The level of poverty in the Africa is such intimidating that the most innocent youth may give it thought if circumstances brought the opportunity of participating in violence his way. The politician amass the wealth of the African nations only to release them during the electioneering campaign in form of gifts to the poor especially the rural dwellers so as to win their consent not only to vote, but to justify their thugs, who will be on the ground during election to carry the ballot boxes. Specifically, the youth are targeted as the instrument of perpetuating violence and, they are vulnerable to money and other gifts which can make them participate irrespective of the dangers involved in executing such mission (Africa Research Institute, 2012).

Badejo and Stephens (2012) stated that typically young people inject enormous energy into supporting individual politicians to win elections and massively mobilize to provide this support. In return, these youths expect political elites to provide political opportunities such as jobs and contracts as personal rewards for their contributions. They argued that political parties and other social movements use young people to intimidate rivals, destabilize opponents, and fill campaign coffers. This is often the only form of political participation open to young people, particularly those with little education or few personal connections.

Political violence is further orchestrated by political elites to intimidate voters. Youth wings or party task forces are prominent exponents. In Zimbabwe, victory for the opposition (MDC) in the 2008 parliamentary election triggered off immediate and brutal response from the ruling party (ZANU-PF). A campaign of beatings and targeted assassinations of MDC officials and supporters forced the party leader, Morgan Tsvangirai; to withdraw from the presidential run-off vote (Africa Research Institute, 2012).

The issue of high unemployment levels among youths also makes them vulnerable and susceptible to political leaders who use them for their political gain. Every time there are elections in the nation, political violence where youths are involved becomes the talk of



the day. Leaders of political parties struggle for power and are forced to use all any other means to get to power one of which is the situation where they use youths in causing violence mostly in other political party's strong holds.

Simengwa (2015) states that some political parties in Zambia vying for political offices have seemingly perfected the art of wringing emotions of the youths during elections. They have manipulated the impressionable young people to attack opponents, mostly during campaigns, in what is referred to as 'youths for hire'.

### **5.2.6 Peer Pressure**

The findings also show that youths get involved in political violence because of peer pressure. Peer pressure extends to all groups. A peer group refers to persons that belong to the same age (or about the same age) and/or status. Examples of peer groups include, age peer group, school or educational peer group, social peer group, professional peer group and work peer group.

Individuals in society will usually make friends or have their closest associates from among their peer groups. Therefore, peer associates have a great influence on the lifestyle of their members. In fact peer group association as an agent of socialization, determines to a large extent, what social codes an individual learns (Nsofor, 2013). This implies that youths whose core group members believe in violence will act within norms of this group. Thus, unemployed youths who abuse drugs and alcohol will see violence as normal behavior. Others, joining the social group will also engage in violence because it a group norm so they see it to be normal. As such, when youths see their peers engaging in political violence they are also likely to follow blindly.

### **5.3 Nature of the violence perpetrated by the youths during the 2015 and 2016 elections**

The findings show that they were several violent clashes during the 2015-2016 campaign period between the ruling party cadres (PF) and those from the main opposition party (UPND), and the youths were at the center of this violence. The findings also show that youths were involved in beating, brutalizing, verbally assaulting and extremely victimizing people thus creating an environment that was unconducive to

hold a free and fair election. Furthermore, the study established that riots broke out in Munali constituency as voters protested at delays in the opening of polling stations and that police had to fire tear gas and warning shots to disperse the rioters. This finding is in line with Torque Mude (2014) who stated that youths have been and are responsible for torturing, intimidating and killing civilians who do not share their political affiliations.

Doda (2005) states that in the process of competition for political power and resources, conflict is bound to take place. Conflict involves disagreement and disharmony, which results due to differences in ideology, living standard, and other social factors. It is a universal phenomenon, an ever-present reality, taking place both at micro and macro levels. Conflict involves clash of interest between individuals in a social group like in a family or between groups or societies. It results due to power imbalance, due to unfair distribution of resources. Conflict may be between males and females, youngster and older generation; between different religious, ethnic and, political groups.

The effects of youth involvement in political violence mainly made electorates leave in fear and that makes a good number of them not participating in elections. In the end, victorious leaders may not be the preferred ones.

One other issue raised was the disruption of electoral process when one particular party is seemingly losing. This is done to stop the process to allow maybe rigging or alteration of records in favour of their preferred candidate.

Arising from political violence is gravely the loss of life and property. People are beaten up, killed while destruction and destroying of property is unbearable.

#### **5.4 How to help youths to stop or avoid involving themselves in political violence**

From the findings indicated in chapter four, a number of strategies have been outlined and suggested as those that can help stop or avoid the involvement of youths in political violence. The findings revealed that, funds should be made available to all youths to enable them venture into entrepreneurship activities and employment opportunities should also be created in both private and public sector. The findings also revealed that the education system needs to be reformed to equip the youths with necessary skills. In line with the stated findings, Youth Map (2014, p 87) asserted that, African governments

should adopt and promote youth empowerment schemes including education systems and curricula reforms to ensure that youths are endowed with the basic business skills and resources to minimize their economic marginalization and to build peaceful democratic societies. MINDS (2016. p 72) also added that African governments must ensure the unleashing of the youths potentials through creating greater economic opportunities, incentives and rewarding youth innovation and creativity in the economic sector. The involvement of the private sector in youth employment strategies is critical in this regard as the private sector has resources, expertise and capacity to generate wealth and the capacity needed to create employment opportunities. Governments should seek cooperation with the private sector to provide high quality technical education at both secondary and tertiary levels.

The findings also indicated that political dialog should focus on encouraging political leaders to nurture and prepare youths for future leadership roles. The findings also indicate that political leaders should be encouraged to work towards conducting peaceful elections. Therefore, all stakeholders should hold meetings to discuss how a level playing field could be laid down to the satisfaction of everyone concerned. Whenever elections are forthcoming all political parties should be called for meetings to look at election materials and how the very materials could be handled in a transparent manner. Transparency also calls for political party's agents' access or participation making them understand the electoral process.

The findings also suggest that there is need to put in place the aspect of sensitizing not only the youths but citizenry around the constituencies. The youths should be made to understand what it takes to hold elections, the essence of elections and the need for citizens to freely exercise their voting rights. Education is therefore key as it empowers everyone with knowledge and skills to handle disputes at their disposal. Education helps change behaviour by making citizens more engaged. People with more education tend not only to be more concerned about the political issues, but also to engage in activism that promotes and supports political decisions that protect the citizens. Due to political inequalities, youths who believe that their group has less influence in politics than others are more likely to approve of and engage in political violence while youths who take

action to try to address governance problems are less likely to engage in or be disposed towards political violence (Doda, 2005).

Indeed, there is need for more to be done if the issue of political violence with the involvement of youths is to come to an end. Youths are primary and key in addressing their involvement in political violence. The involvement of civic organizations such as the Anti-Voter Apathy Project, Zambia Civic Education Association, and Non-Governmental Organizations Coordinating Committee would greatly help the scourge. There is always a call for adequate sensitizations to all Zambians and youths inclusive to educate them on the importance and value for peace during elections. The youths are deemed not reasoning when they perpetrate violence beating up even innocent citizens who sometimes end up boycotting their participation in elections- disfranchising them.

## **5.5 Summary**

This chapter discussed the research findings to address the research objectives of the study and the themes identified from Chapter four. The discussion look at political violence in general, factors that prompt youths to participate in violence, the nature of violence perpetrated by the youths in 2015-2016 elections and measures to stop youths from being involved in violence. The following chapter will conclude and make recommendations based on the research findings.

## **CHAPTER SIX: Conclusion and Recommendations**

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### **6.0 Overview**

This chapter is aimed at giving the conclusion and recommendations of the study which forced on investigating the prevalence of youth involvement in political violence during the 2015 and 2016 elections in Lusaka using Munali constituency as a case study.

### **6.1 Conclusion**

This research was intended to make a contribution to the body of knowledge on youth involvement in political violence. The research sought to address a range of questions including, factors that prompt youth to be involved in political violence, nature of violence perpetrated by the youths during the 2015 and 2016 elections. The research also sought to establish strategies that can be used to stop youths from getting involved into political violence.

What has emerged from the research is that youth's involvement in political violence is a complex matter. Viewed from a holistic and developmental perspective, it throws up a range of challenges related to the position of young people in society more generally. What is clear, however, is that youths are victims of social and economic challenges that are prevalent within our society. This research has shown that youths engage in political violence not by choice but because they are forced to engage in political violence with the expectation that they will be rewarded for their contribution. Although, alcohol abuse, peer pressure and patronage are some of the factors that cause youths to engage in political violence. The issue here is that youths no employment or educational opportunities to keep them occupied hence the promise for such are a major predisposing factors for violence.

## **6.2 Recommendations**

The following recommendations were given in this research;

- The government should improve access to secondary and tertiary education, especially for vulnerable youths, and create an integrated curriculum that is responsive to the market place.
- Build public awareness among youths and not allow political leaders buy them on a promise of future employment opportunities, money gains, land or contracts.
- Provide opportunities for young people's positive development, including opportunities to develop their skills and talents, contribute to their communities, and build their self-esteem and personal control over their environments
- Provide tangible leadership opportunities through mentorships and trainings for young people, to empower the next generation of leaders.
- Enhance the effectiveness of the youth empowerment fund to provide all youths in the constituency with a fund to engage in entrepreneurship.
- The Electoral Commission of Zambia should severely reprimand youths found wanting.

## **6.3 Summary**

This chapter has made conclusions and recommendations based on the research findings.

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## **Appendix 1: Interview Questions for the Youth Participants**

Main research question

- What prompted youths to get involvement in political violence during the 2015 and 2016 elections in Lusaka?

Specific research questions

- Please help me better understand what Political Violence is.
- What factors prompt youths to get involved in political violence?
- What is the nature of the violence perpetrated by the youths during the 2015 and 2016 elections?
- How can youths be helped to stop or avoid involving themselves in political violence?

## **Appendix 2: Interview Questions for the Political Party Representatives**

Main research question

- What prompted youths to get involvement in political violence during the 2015 and 2016 elections in Lusaka?

Specific research questions

- Please help me better understand what Political Violence is.
- What factors prompt youths to get involved in political violence?
- What is the nature of the violence perpetrated by the youths during the 2015 and 2016 elections?

- Who did the political parties influence the violence?
- How can youths be helped to stop or avoid involving themselves in political violence?

### **Appendix 3: Interview Questions for the police officers**

Main research question:

- What prompted youths to get involvement in political violence during the 2015 and 2016 elections in Lusaka?

Specific research questions

- Please help me better understand what Political Violence is.
- What factors prompt youths to get involved in political violence?
- What is the nature of the violence perpetrated by the youths during the 2015 and 2016 elections?
- How did you handle incidences of violence during the 2015 and 2016 elections?
- How many cases of politically related violence were reported 2015 and 2016 elections?
- How can youths be helped to stop or avoid involving themselves in political violence?

### **Appendix 4: Interview Questions for the representatives from FODEP and SACCORD**

Main research question

- What prompted youths to get involvement in political violence during the 2015 and 2016 elections in Lusaka?

Specific research questions

- Please help me better understand what Political Violence is.

- What factors prompt youths to get involved in political violence?
- What is the nature of the violence perpetrated by the youths during the 2015 and 2016 elections?
- According to your observations, who did the violence affect the electoral process?
- How can youths be helped to stop or avoid involving themselves in political violence?