



**THE ROLE OF THE YOUTH IN ZAMBIA'S DEMOCRATIC DISPENSATION: A  
CASE OF SELECTED TOWNSHIPS OF LUSAKA DISTRICT.**

**BY**

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A Dissertation Submitted to the University of Zambia in collaboration with Zimbabwe Open University in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the award of the Degree of Masters of Science in Peace Leadership and Conflict Studies.

**The University of Zambia in collaboration with Zimbabwe Open University**

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## **DECLARATION**

I declare that **THE ROLE OF THE YOUTH IN ZAMBIA'S DEMOCRATIC DISPENSATION: A CASE OF SELECTED TOWNSHIPS OF LUSAKA DISTRICT** is my own work and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete reference.

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## **DEDICATION**

To my family, friends and relatives for always being with me. It has been a long journey but through thick and thin you have been with me each and every step of the way. For all you have done, may God continue to richly bless you and may His grace and favour continue to follow you all the rest of your days.

## **APPROVAL**

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

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## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

First and foremost, to God is the glory. I would not have managed in my own strength to complete this project if it were not for His mercy and grace which is always sufficient, I thank God through His son Jesus for being with me.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
AU	African Union
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
EISA	Electoral Institute of Southern Africa
IDEA	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union
LSE	London School of Economics
MINDS	Mandela Institute for Development Studies
MMD	Movement for Multi-Party Democracy
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
SIDA	Swedish International Development Co-operation Agency
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNIP	United National Independent Party

## **ABSTRACT**

This research was based on the role of the youth in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation in selected townships of Lusaka district. Its main purpose was to establish the role of the youth in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation and also suggest possible ways to enhance proper youth participation. The study was guided by the following main research question 'What is the role of the youth in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation?' This question formed the main basis for the achievement of the study's overarching purpose outlined above. A qualitative methodology was used to gather data for this research. Data was gathered using semi-structured interviews and focus group interviews/discussion. The research participants included: political party youth leaders, community youth leaders and youths from selected townships of Lusaka district.

The following findings resulted from the study: Youths have been marginalised in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation, they have been used as tools of violence, participating in negative vices such as riots and political party fights as political cadres, their image has been destroyed and they cannot be trusted; Youths should stand as councilors and members of parliament representing their community, they should also engage in educating community members on national political matters; Youth participation enhances Democracy through the various activities that the youth take part in such as voting, discussions and debates on television and radio; Youths encounter a number of challenges such as unemployment, lack of practical skills, lack of funds, marginalization and all these hinder effective youth participation; A number of strategies can be suggested to enhance effective youth participation in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation such as providing youth with necessary practical skills, creating employment and provide funds for entrepreneurial ventures.

The main conclusion of the study was that youths have been greatly marginalised in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation and their image has been destroyed over the years. The leaders in power choose to use the youths as tools of violence, playing the role of political cadres and pushing political agendas. Youths could play more formidable roles such councilors, members of parliament, engaging in national discussions on policy issues and also sensitising community members on important national matters. This is all because youth participation enhances democracy through the above stated activities. The Youth encounter challenges that hinder and block their effective participation in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation and as such efforts should be made to address such challenges. One of the main Recommendations pointed out by the study is that more youths should be appointed to leadership positions and that employment

and funds should be provided to the youth in order to enable them stand on their own as well as enhance their effective participation in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation.

**Key terms:** Democracy; Dispensation; Youth; Politics; Violence; Strategies; Identity; Participation, Challenge; Enhance

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# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.0. Overview

This chapter contains various components which give a broad outline of the research topic itself. The chapter opens by giving the background information on youth participation in Zambia's democratic dispensation with regards to the past and present situations. Afterwards focus is shifted to a discussion of the purpose of the study. The statement of the problem will also be stated in this chapter before focus is shifted to the objectives of the study, the research questions, as well as the significance of the study. The limitations and delimitations of the study will also be outlined in this chapter, the chapter will also close with a summary.

### 1.1. Background of the study

Youth involvement in issues of democracy has been a worldwide call among most Western and African countries. Meyer (2015) states that the topic of the role and participation of the youths in democracy and politics has found its place on the global agenda and young people being key to effective decision making especially for the growth of democracy. Most Western countries uphold the idea and belief that the youth should fully and actively play a role in democracy by participating through various means. However, in Africa and Zambia in particular, succeeding governments and political leaders since independence (1964) have been unable to fully uphold this belief and idea.

The youth in Zambia have been over looked in the political arena since independence (1964). According to Minds (2016:66), "Zambia has a long history of youth political activism, including during the time of the movement for independence from colonial rule by Britain. However, the youth are generally under-represented both in the government and in political parties since independence". Before independence, the youth were the ones mostly involved in the liberation struggle and it was this generation of youths that took over leadership from the colonial masters to usher in a new nation state and democracy (Burns, 2008:59). In the first republic after independence, the generation of young leaders who took over from the colonial masters, did not do much in nurturing and creating an enabling environment for the much younger generation to play their role in the new democratic country. As years progressed, most political leaders were no longer youths and had stayed too long in power, most were in confrontation with one another, over the leadership positions leaving the youths to only play a role in their leadership battles and

this in itself did not help democracy to grow in Zambia (Burns, 2008:58). Morgan (2010:66) also explains that, the leaders of the new Zambia, were not so accommodative of the youths, with leadership positions going around amongst themselves with Kaunda's cabinet comprising no young individuals, leaving youths with no role to play in the new democratic Zambia except that of following instructions of political party leaders. The introduction of a one-party system, in the second republic (1972), saw democracy being shutout and to a greater extent hindering the youths from taking part and playing a role in Zambia's democratic dispensation .

Towards the end of the 1980s before the inception of democracy, Fredrick Chiluba worked with youths of different backgrounds from university students to the uneducated youths, all these played a huge role in the re-introduction of the multi-party system. Youths took a leading role in demonstrations and protests and as a result, these actions coupled with many other efforts of individuals, democracy was ushered back into Zambia in 1991 and Fredrick Chiluba became the president. According to Mahuku and Mbanje (2013:9), "Students and human rights activists championed the democratisation agenda and called for an end to Kenneth Kaunda's one party system. Real political change was now sweeping across Zambia's political landscape". Despite the active participation of the youths in ushering democracy back to Zambia's governance, the chance at playing full roles in this new democracy for most youths was shattered, as had been in the past. Ministerial positions and the ruling party itself had become infiltrated with older members, some of whom were from the former ruling party, leaving certain positions to be occupied by a few selected youths (Nkoya, 2009:78).

Youths also played a huge role in the 2011 elections, leading to the change demanded by most Zambians yet the youth were not fully incorporated and accommodated by the new government. According to Nyimbili (2012:19), "The cabinet contains no youth representation in parliament is minimal translating to only 5% while the judiciary has no representation of young people, other levels such as Deputy Minister and Permanent Secretary claim less than 1% and 0% youth representation". Phiri (2008:1) further argues that continuing from 1991 to the present times, the youth's role in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation has only been 'seasonal' in times of major country events such as struggles and elections at political party as well as national level. The youth have not been fully incorporated and accommodated in democratic dispensation and in most instances their involvement has been in political violence leading to their image being destroyed and also not playing a positive role in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation. This raises a question as to what is the actual role of the youth in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation? It is

against this background that this research was conducted to investigate the role of the youth in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation.

## **1.2. Statement of the Problem**

Since Zambia's independence (1964) and the inception of democracy in 1991 to date, Zambian political leaders have again and again pointed at the youth as the future leaders of Zambia. Zambia is a youthful country with approximately 74% of its 14 million total population under the age of 30, 28% are 15 to 29 years old (Policy Monitoring and Research Center, 2015:5). The national youth policy has been formulated in recent years, according to Nyimbili (2012:13), "National youth policy advocates for youth participation at all levels of public and private sector planning in political organisations". Despite such measures, Phiri (2008:1) states that, youths in Zambia keep being side-lined in Zambia's political arena, this is evidenced in the appointment of veteran politicians in ministerial jobs, political administrative offices, ambassadorial postings and generally senior party positions. Most of these positions are of particular importance as they would enable the youth to play a role in decision making and policy formulation as a way of promoting Zambia's Democratic Dispensation. This state of affairs raises a question as to what is the actual role of the youth in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation? and as such this research was carried out to provide valuable information on the role of the youths in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation.

## **1.3. Research Objectives and Questions**

### **1.3.1. General Research Objective**

The General Objective of this study was to establish the role of the youth in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation

### **1.3.2. Specific Research Objectives**

1. To establish whether Zambian youth participate in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation.
2. To establish how youth participation in Zambian politics enhances Zambia's Democratic Dispensation.
3. To find out the challenges faced by the youth in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation.

4. To provide strategies to enhance proper youth participation in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation.

### **1.3.3. General Research Question**

What is the role of the youth in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation ?

### **1.3.4. Specific Research Questions**

1. How do Zambian youth participate in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation?
2. How does youth participation in Zambian politics enhance Zambia's Democratic Dispensation?
3. What challenges do the youths encounter/face in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation?
4. What strategies can be suggested for the enhancement of proper youth participation in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation?

### **1.4. Significance of the Study**

The study would provide information/knowledge on the actual role of the youths in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation in the light of the current prevailing issues with focus on youth participation. Giving information on how the youth should participate in the current political system in Zambia.

The study would further contribute to existing literature on youth democracy and civic responsibility with focus on their role and participation in Zambia's current political system, more literature would be added to what is there, also as a means of checking their progress and as a means of reference now and in future.

The study would widen the scope of the investigation by providing information on youth enhancement of Zambia's Democratic Dispensation, this is to make aware and inform the large audience that the participation of the youth is very vital for the promotion and growth of democracy; that without them participating effectively, Zambia's democratic political system will not grow and flourish.

The study would further provide extensive information on the challenges youth encounter in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation, this is to make government and other political stakeholders

aware and bring to light some of the factors that handicap the youth from participating effectively in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation.

It would also assist political parties and the government as they plan and look towards the future of Zambian politics so as to make sure that the youth are not disadvantaged in any manner and for Zambian democracy to grow and flourish.

Suggestions on how the youth can participate in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation would also be provided, this is to make sure that what needs to change and what needs to be put in place is worked on, such that the youth would participate properly for the promotion of Zambia's democracy.

It is also hoped that the finding of the study would help government, political leaders, the youth and other stakeholders of Zambia's democracy to come up with agreed policies and recommendations that would help in creating an enabling environment for youths to participate more and fully in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation.

## **1.5. Limitations and Delimitations of the Study**

### **1.5.1. Limitations of the study**

It is a well-known fact that no study is free from limitation. As noted by Yun (2000) that there is no perfect research design and every research process has trade-offs. Time and finances were the major limiting factors in this research. The research was conducted in selected townships of Lusaka district, it was limited in representation since it focused on a few units, that is, just one district, hence only limited valid generalisation was on the population from which the units are drawn.

### **1.5.2. Delimitations of the Study**

The study focused on youths, political party youth leaders and community youth leaders. The reason for this was that this study was purely qualitative in nature to be conducted through interviews and focus group discussion. As a result this approach was capable of generating detailed information/data from the stated pool of individuals and organisations in Lusaka District, forming the representative sample.

## **1.6. Operational Definitions**

**Democracy:** government by the people, a form of government in which the supreme power is vested in the people and exercised directly by them or by their elected agents under a free electoral system.

**Dispensation:** a political or religious system controlling a country at a particular time.

**Participatory Democracy:** individual participation by citizen in political decision and policy making that affect their lives.

**Youth:** The Zambian national policy defines a youth as a male or female person aged 15 and 35.

## **1.7. Conceptual and Theoretical Framework**

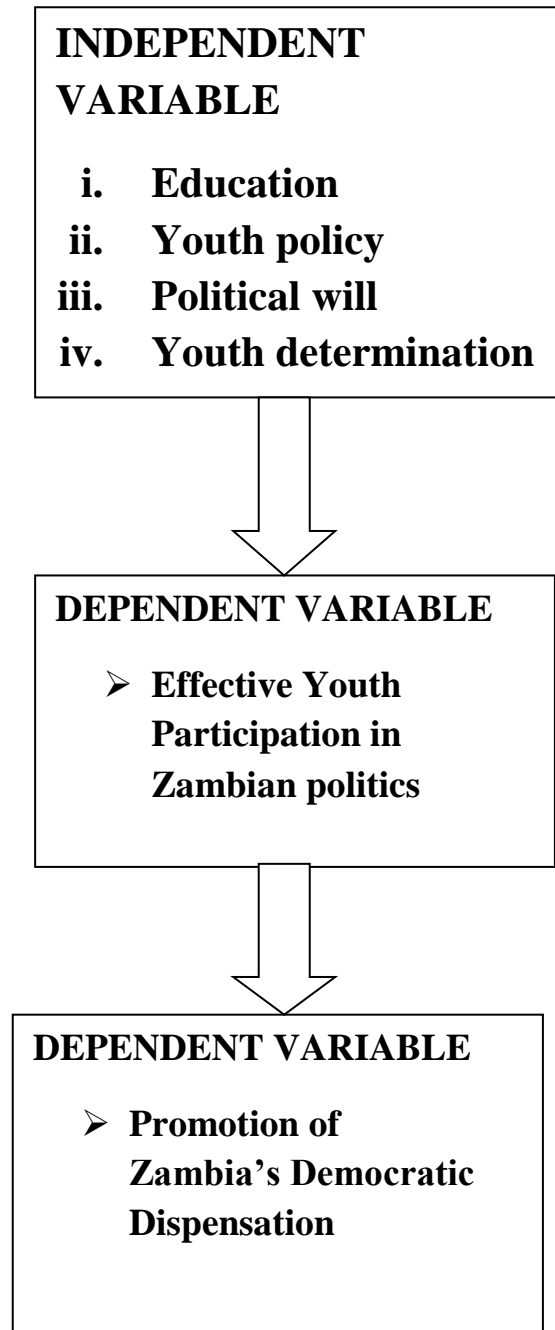
### **1.7.1. Conceptual Framework**

According to Kumar (2005), Conceptual frameworks are a type of intermediate theory that attempts to connect to all aspects of inquiry for example problem definition, purpose, literature review, methodology, data collection and analysis. Conceptual frameworks could also act like maps that give coherence to empirical inquiry. Given that conceptual frameworks are potentially so close to empirical inquiry, they take diverse structures depending upon the research question or problem under study.

This conceptual framework was developed to conduct the study and reach the objectives mentioned above. It was created in such a way that it would completely support the building of this study. In this model the independent variables are chosen as those important and necessary for effective youth participation in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation. Education was stated among the independent variables. In any country the education of the citizens especially the youth is very important for them to be able to articulate issues and contribute to society by giving valuable knowledge and information through participation. For a nation's youth to participating and contributing properly to society, it is important that a national youth policy is in place, laying out their role and also stating their importance. Political will is also another important aspect that needs to be shown by those already in leadership. It is important that those who are already in leadership show that they are willing to nature the youths who are the future leaders by making participate in many different ways. The determination of the youth is another aspect that is important for effective youth participation and for Zambia's Democratic Dispensation to bear fruit. The youths themselves must be determined enough to want to participate in all political

activities at all levels as well as other important national activities. From all the independent variables stated above, the result is effective youth participation in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation and eventually the promotion of Zambia's Democratic Dispensation.

**Figure 1**



### **1.7.2. Theoretical Framework**

The Participatory theory of Democracy as postulated by Pateman (1970) served as the theoretical framework for the study. The participatory model of democracy put the greatest emphasis on citizen political engagement. With respect to citizen participation, participatory democracy involves extensive and active engagement of citizens in the governing process; it means government not just for but by and of the people. Political participation is characterized by direct and immediate involvement in the process of decision making by the individuals concerned. In relation to this study, this theory states that, the citizens, who are the youth in this case and also the majority have to be fully engaged in governance processes in every political system that is based on democracy (Dayican, 2010:37).

The theory as postulated by Pateman (1970) also stated that participation in elections is therefore a necessary but far from sufficient precondition for a democracy to blossom. Citizens should also be involved in the decision-making process through raising demands, suggesting solutions, and even taking the decisions. The second point characterizing participatory democracy is the formation of a collective will. Since democratic politics are controlled by the collective will of the demos and its purpose ought to be the pursuit of common goods (Dayican, 2010:38).

In this case the participatory model is one where maximum input (participation) is required and where output includes not just policies (decisions) but also the development of the social and political capacities of each individual, so that there is 'feedback' from output to input. Thus Pateman (1970) stated that the participatory model of democracy depends on citizen participation, and increases in citizen participation would mean in this case the promotion of the democratic dispensation. This model of democracy generally views elections only as too weak in the function of transmitting information from citizens to the political system. Thus, political participation beyond electoral activity is supposed to make the system more responsive to citizens' (in this case the youth) needs and preferences. Political participation is also believed to contribute to the development of citizens. Thus, the participatory theory viewed political participation not only as a means of arriving at decisions, but also as a means of developing the democratic personality of the youth especially. The participatory theory also sees the development of political competences as a consequence (or as a goal) of political participation (Dayican, 2010:38)

As pointed out above the participatory theory of democratic does not define democracy in a narrow sense but in a broad sense. The main focus of this study was to establish the role of the youth in democracy and that in line with this theory the youths should be more engaged in the

process of governance in democratic political system. The focus of this theory is not only on free and fair elections and on citizens voting their representatives at regular intervals who are subsequently mandated to take decisions in the name of citizens, the main concern here is the terms of participation relating to citizen who are the youths in this case being fully involved not only at the period of elections or ‘struggles’ so to say. As pointed out by participatory models of democracy and by theories foregrounding the importance of civic cultures, democratic participation is about more than the duty to vote every 4 or 5 years (Dayican, 2010:15). As such, a broader conception of democratic participation stresses the value of citizens’ in this case youth participation in civil society organisations and social movements, student participation in the governance of schools and universities, youth participation in professional contexts, as well as democratic participation in the family.

As Pateman (1970: 42) explains, a civic or democratic culture of participation needs to go beyond the formal political process in order to sustain the legitimacy of democracy. The non-engagement and most times non-existence of the youth in institutions at national level is not sufficient for democracy, for maximum participation by all the people,( the youth in this case) at that socialization level, or social training, democracy must take place in other spheres in order that the necessary individual attitudes and psychological qualities can be developed. Thus, the participatory theory views political participation not only as a means of arriving at decisions, but also as a means of developing the democratic personality .This development takes place through the process of participation itself. In this study, we adopted a broad conception of participation which goes beyond voting without disregarding the importance of voting as well as engagement of the youth in important issues as a democratic practice.

## **1.8. Summary**

This chapter described the nature of the problem under investigation, the significance of the investigation, the possible delimitations and limitations of the investigation and the possible contribution that the researcher hopes to make in the study area. In short, the aim of this chapter was to put the whole research project into perspective. The next chapter focuses on the reviewed literature and related studies pertaining to youth participation in Democratic Dispensation.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.0. Overview**

This chapter reveals related literature on youth participation in politics, specifically their role in the Democratic Dispensation. The chapter reveals literature on Democracy and participation of youths. This is done from a global perspective and an African perspective. The chapter also outlines the challenges that youth encounter in participating in Democratic Dispensation, strategies to enhance effective youth participated are also outlined in this chapter. The chapter also identifies the research gap to be filled by this study and closes with a summary.

#### **2.1. Democracy and the Youth**

##### **2.1.1. What is Democracy ?**

The term “democracy” is derived from two Greek words –demos (or people) and kratos (rule). In simple terms, then, democracy is the rule of the people, by the people, for the people. Simple as this definition might appear to be, societies and groups within society have historically fought over who exactly “the people” are. In the Greek City states, which are innocently presented by modern political theorists as prototypes of democracies, women and slaves had no citizenship rights. They were not “people.” In the 19th century in many of today’s liberal democracies, only a tiny fraction of property-owning males (usually above 30) were “the people” with recognizable human rights, as will be indicated shortly (Daunton,2010:47). Today, however, there seems to be broad agreement that democracy is a system of governance where power and civic responsibility are, ideally, exercised directly by all citizens. Unfortunately, the practice is different. The “people” typically exercise their power indirectly through elected representatives.

Democracy has become a universal phenomenon, most especially after the end of the cold war. As Ake (2010:288) noted, at the end of the cold war, democracy appears to be triumphant and unassailable, its universalization is only a matter of time. As it were, democracy has become the unifying discourse which is supposed to tame national and international politics and to foster peaceful coexistence in a world set at odds by the ideological struggles of the cold war. Democracy has its origin in the ancient Greek city state and by its operationalisation and practice, during this period, the definition is uncharacteristically precise. It means popular of power, which connotes a solemn recognition that power belongs to the people. This original

understanding of democracy was exemplified by the former American president, Abraham Lincoln who defined democracy as the government of the people by the people and for the people. This implies that even representative democracy which has become a corollary to accommodate the complexities of modern state is based on the understanding that by electing public offices to represent them, the people are actively involved in the process of governance.

According to Schmitter (2010:76), modern democracy “is a system of governance in which rulers are held accountable for their actions in the public realm by citizens, acting indirectly through the competition and cooperation of the elected representatives”. For Karl (2010:25), it is the responsiveness of government to the preferences of its citizens (who are, in theory, “political equals” of the rulers), that is the key characteristic of democracy. Such responsiveness requires that citizens have opportunities to formulate their preferences, articulate them and have them considered in the conduct of the business of government.

These credentials of democracy according to Karl (2010:25) are in turn, dependent on the following institutional guarantees that are central to the proverbial “Western” liberal democracies.

- ❖ Freedom of expression;
- ❖ The right to alternative sources of information, guaranteed, among other things, by a free press that is unencumbered by restrictive state legislation;
- ❖ Right to vote or be voted into public office;
- ❖ Regular, free and fair elections;
- ❖ The right to private property;
- ❖ Freedom to form and join organizations (such as political parties);
- ❖ Rule of law, in which the laws and procedures apply equally to all citizens;
- ❖ Protection of the human rights of all citizens.

More recently, Anderson (2008:77) added that, the list has been expanded to include the “right” to good governance. The right to good democratic governance is guaranteed by the separation of powers between the five arms of the modern state – the executive, the legislature, the judiciary, the civil service and the military. The doctrine of separation of powers is designed to build institutions that guard against arbitrary rule via a system of checks and balances. The biggest danger to the separation of powers is usually the executive. The “famous” maxim of King Louis IV –L’etat c’est moi! (I am the state!) – is inadvertently operationalised by modern executives who compromise the independence of the judiciary (via, for example, “stuffing the courts” with

“politically correct” judges). Theorists such as John Locke, Jean-Jacque Rousseau and Montesquieu, mainstream political scientists argue that the state has three arms – the executive, the legislature and the judiciary and these should be able to operate on their own but unfortunately in modern countries, this, we like to contend, is not so, as modern state fail to practice the principle of separation of powers. Modern executives stuff legislatures with loyalists, politicize the civil service, or even weaken the party system by sponsoring and/or bribing selected leaders of the opposition to support the ruling party. Yet, in democratic theory, political parties are voluntary organizations that are supposed to promote democracy. Whereas the judiciary, the legislature and the judiciary promote horizontal accountability, vertical accountability is promoted by political parties, which link the people and government.

Another key factor in democratic politics Eisa (2016:22) added, is that citizens become accustomed to participating in political processes through political institutions, civil society, political parties, the act of voting, expression of opinion between and during elections, making regular contact with elected representatives, etc. The design of democracy by the elite is not enough if citizens only engage with the diverse processes of democracy periodically. Unless citizens, especially young people, have faith in democratic institutions and unless they engage in large numbers with the various processes of self-governance, democracy might end up being no more than an empty shell, devoid of substance and merely providing a veneer of democracy for dictators and authoritarian regimes.

UNDP (2002:34) also posited that, parties organize campaigns, recruit candidates and mobilize the political community to participate in the selection of office bearers. The goal of party activism is to build institutions and shape public politics, policies and laws that impact the rights and welfare of the political community. In competitive multi-party politics, the party that is elected to form government seeks to enact into law a number of policies and programs (oftentimes consistent with their election manifesto). Opposition parties are free to criticize the ruling party’s policies, ideas and programs and offer alternatives. Democratic parties recognize and respect the authority of the elected government even when their party leaders are not in power. This is possible because democratic societies are committed to the values of tolerance, cooperation and compromise.

UNDP (2002:34) further stated that, Democracies recognize that consensus building requires compromise and tolerance. As Mahatma Gandhi famously argued, “intolerance is itself a form of violence and an obstacle to the growth of a true democratic spirit”. The notion of a loyal

opposition is central to any democracy. It means that all sides in the political debate, however deep their differences, share the fundamental democratic values of freedom of speech, the rule of law and equal protection under the law. Parties that lose elections become the opposition. The opposition, then, is essentially a “government-in the-waiting.” For a culture of democracy to take hold, opposition parties need to have the confidence that the political system will guarantee their right to organize, speak, dissent and/or criticize the party in power. Opposition parties also need to be assured that in due course, they will have a chance to campaign and re-seek the peoples mandate in and through regular, free and fair elections. It follows, therefore, that the culture of democracy rests on the principle of majority rule, coupled with tolerance of dissenting views.

UNDP (2002:35) went on to argue that, Democracy also calls for the zealous protection of the fundamental rights of individuals, disadvantaged groups and minorities, even when they disagree with the ideology, policies and programs of the ruling party. This suggests that non-majoritarian governance is possible or even desirable. By “non-majoritarian” governance is meant a system of rule that strikes an acceptable balance between the rights of the majority (expressed through free and fair elections) and the duty of the polity to accommodate the rights of minorities and marginalized social groups (such as women and the “differently abled” people). Non-majoritarian governance is critical of the “winner-takes it-all” ideology of Western liberal democracy. It is driven by the logic of inclusive politics and sharing power among rival claimants to scarce public resources such as power or official jobs.

Participation is an integral part of a democracy’s foundation. Without an active citizenry, democracy would crumble. Participation is a loaded term as it can mean many different things. There is a plethora of methods by which people can act and influence politics and governance. Print (2007:55), layed out three categories of ‘engagement indicators’ within democracy: civic indicators, electoral indicators and political engagement indicators. Civic forms of participation include group membership, volunteering with civil service organizations, and working towards solving community problems. Electoral indicators include voting in elections, donating to political candidates/parties, and campaigning alongside political candidates/issues during an electoral cycle. Meanwhile, political engagement indicators include somewhat unconventional means by which to participate that include protests, boycotts, reaching out to the media or candidates regarding issues, and utilizing the internet to create political change Of all the forms listed above electoral methods of participation are most commonly used by citizens of a democracy.

Of all the forms listed above electoral methods of participation are most commonly used by citizens of a democracy. Print (2007:55) wrote, "Voting is argued to be the least problematic, requiring the least resources and what is potentially the most powerful for most people." Perhaps many people are more inclined to vote than to join a civic organization or protest because voting arguably requires less commitment and energy.

Nevertheless, all of these forms of participation are used, at least from time to time, in a thriving democratic state. A healthy democracy requires, or at least invokes, every citizen to play a crucial role in maintaining and preserving democratic principles through these methods of participation. Liebenberg (2010:79) agreed when he writes, "Although there is disagreement as to what the optimum level of participation should be to guarantee a functional democracy, the key dictum remains, participation by citizens at various levels is essential to make democratic society work."

Political participation is also differently explained by Guaba (2013:45) as the active involvement of citizens in matters of political interest which include formation and implementation of public policies, voting, contesting for political office, campaigning for a political party, contributing to community projects, lobbying for government projects, organizing demonstrations and expressing grievances even through violence. Therefore, there are two dominant ways that youths can participate or contribute to the political advancement of their society. It can be through rational or acceptable means such as voting, contesting and expressing group opinion; or it can take unconventional (non-rational) means such as violent demonstration. The way and manner which people choose to participate in politics is the function of the nature and orientation of the political system.

The European Charter (2012:30) pointed out that, "Participation and active citizenship is about having the right, the means, the space and the opportunity and where necessary the support to participate in and influence decisions and engage in actions and activities so as to contribute to building a better society". This definition encompasses two ways of participating: engagement in the decision making process in a system of representative institutions at local, national and international level; and engagement in actions and activities in civil society, like cultural or social action or activities in the field of non-formal education and information. Similarly one can talk about modern or established and current forms of participation (representative participation and direct participation with all their current variants, such as NGO-based structures, co-management, youth parliaments, school councils, youth hearings or demonstrations) and about

post-modern or emergent and future forms of participation, like the various types of expressive, emotional, aesthetic, cultural and digital participation.

The cornerstone of democratic governance is inclusive participation in political processes. IPU (2014:66) asserted that, it determines the dynamics of the structure and distribution of political power and the consequent nature of political and economic institutions that shape the political and economic trajectory of the society. Thus youth participation can take many forms, ranging from participating in elections through voting or vying for leadership positions. Under party politics, it can be seen in terms of attending public meetings, drafting policies and effectively mobilizing and advocating their implementation, attending campaigns, campaigning for preferred candidates etc. Second, when a significant segment of society is not included in political debates and decision-making, their policy interests may be overlooked, advertently or inadvertently and the sources they may bring to politics may be lost, to the detriment of all. The participation of young people can be crucial to prevent the ills affecting them in particular and for enhancing democracy and placing new issues on the political agenda.

SIDA (2013:12) in their study found that, the Zambian experience illustrates that among other things, political participation embraces a wide range of citizen behaviours from registering to vote, actually voting in various types of elections, attending community meetings and elections rallies, campaigning, lobbying and representatives and officials, writing letters and signing petitions and when all else fails, assembling for demonstrations. Factor analysis done on political participation in Zambia by Bratton, Alderfer and Simutanyi in 1997 reveals that in Zambia, participation has three dimensions namely-voting “contacting” and “communing” and these are in a good part consistent with patterns of participation elsewhere in the world .

This study also showed that community based action (communing) and face to face interactions with political representatives (contacting) is what Zambians regard to be more important about democracy as compared to voting. The analysis further shows that there are mainly three determinants of political participation: socio-economic, attitudinal and institutional. According to the above study, socio-economic factors include age, gender, and residential location and education factors influence citizens’ active participation in democracy. In addition political attitudes shape citizen's interest in politics and a citizen's assessment of the performance of the local government councillor influences the ability and willingness to participate in processes that have an impact on governance (SIDA, 2013:13).

SIDA (2013:13) further went on arguing that, institutional arrangement is another important determination of citizen's political participation. In Zambia, two political institutions constitute platforms to active citizenship, that is, voter registration and political party membership. Beginning with voter registration up-to the time of vote casting, this platform provides different avenues that influence activity engagement of citizens in the overall democratic process. For example, the above study established that voting increased the likelihood that individuals would discuss politics, attend community meetings, and contact a national political leader. In addition, citizens belonging to political parties and are dully registered with the party are more likely to vote in elections, and engage in contacting and communing behaviours.

### **2.1.2 What is Meant by The Term Youth?**

The term can generally be used to refer to young people between 18-35, although the 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, endeavour to realise who they are, their, their potentialities and contributory efforts to development. Youths with in member states should organise programmes on youth issues and run them on national TV and radio stations. National government should integrate youth policies and programmes and strengthen channels of communication etc. 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 of can contribute greatly to enhance the economy of our respective nations.

In Zambia, the national youth policy also prioritises 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 participate in all political social and economic development being cognisant that youth encounter a number of challenges and that they should 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 mobilised 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.

## **2.2. Youth Participation in Zambian Politics: Historical Perspective**

The role of the youth in the political development of the modern Zambia dates back to the pre-independence era. The arrow heads of the nationalist movements in colonial Africa were youth in their teens and early twenties, who were mostly students of higher institutions of learning both at home and abroad, Boldwin (1999:45) stated, “Before the emergence of multiparty democracy in the southern African region, the nationalist/democratic movements fighting for the liberation of citizens relied on the mobilisation of young people as a vital source of resistance against colonial or white minority regimes”. Boldwin (1999:47) further stated that, young people were used as the foot soldiers of the liberation forces and accorded a great degree of opportunity for participation in the periods leading to political liberalisation in the region.

Subsequently after many years of struggle to attain sovereignty and independence, on 24<sup>th</sup> October in 1964, Zambia was officially declared an independent state after many years of British colonial rule and the name changed from Northern Rhodesia to Zambia. The new state was under the leadership of Kenneth Kaunda as the head of state, one of the major young leaders during the liberation struggle who headed the United National Independent Party (UNIP). Many other young individuals of this generation such as Simone Mwansa Kapwepwe, Mainza Chona all took up leadership positions in the new independent state.

However, many years after independence into modern Zambia, the opportunities and mechanisms for effective participation remained and still remain out of reach for young people, as conscious, active citizens who should be participating in political processes. The years that followed in the independence era most political leaders had stayed in power for too long, most were in confrontation with one another over leadership positions and the youths at this point were only involved in the political battles of the older leaders, Young people were being over looked in the new political Dispensation of Zambia. The generation of young leaders who took over from the colonial masters failed to mentor, nurture and create an enabling environment for the growing younger generation to take over leadership but instead side-lined them. Burns (2008:58) stated that, in the first republic after independence, the generation of young leaders who took over from the colonial masters did not do much in nurturing and creating an enabling environment for the much younger generation to play their role in the new democratic country.

Geward (1995:9) also recorded, “The failure of this generation of leaders was their inability to develop a platform through which the youth could be trained to participate in political development process”. Morgan (2010:66) further explained that, the leaders of the new Zambia, where not so accommodative of the youths, with leadership positions going around amongst themselves.

In 1972 Zambia become was to become a one party state and in 1973 Kenneth Kaunda was re-elected as republican president. There were no young people in the new cabinet as old leaders such as Mainza Chona and Grey Zulu were put back in key leadership positions. Morgan (2010:66) wrote that, Kaunda’s cabinet comprised no young individuals, leaving youths with no role to play in the new democratic Zambia except that of following instructions of political party leaders. It was in this political period that democracy was replaced with a new political system, the one-party state system. In the new political system only one political party was to legally operate, there was not so much of freedom of speech and assembly and this became a huge blow on/to the youth, eventually leaving the youth with no opportunities effective and full role to play in new state political system. According to MINDS (2015:55), “The first generation leaders had failed to create an environment for youth to play a role in democracy and this problem became compounded by the many years of military and dictatorship rule where double strategy of co-optation and suppression was carefully employed to silence dissenting youth who wanted participation in the political process.”

Towards the end of the 1980s pressure was mounting on Kaunda to admit and accept democracy and democratic institutions that would allow the participation of all citizens and this became a critical factor in legitimising democratic governance. It is very important to also mention here that youths were again engaged in mounting the very pressure and ultimately the reintroduction of democracy back in Zambia in 1991. Fredrick Chiluba a trade union leader from the Copper belt worked with and relied on youths from different backgrounds starting from university students to the uneducated youths. Mahuku and Mbanje (2013:9) stated, “Students and human rights activist championed the democratisation agenda and called for an end to Kenneth Kaunda’s one party system. Real political change was now sweeping across Zambia’s political land scape”. Geward (1995:12) also wrote that, the one-party rule in Zambia, which had officially begun in 1972-73, was ended when the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD), led by trade unionist Frederick Chiluba, was swept to power in the first multi-party elections after nearly twenty years.

Despite the active participation of the youths in ushering democracy back into Zambia governance, Nkoya (2009:78) recorded that, the chance at playing the full roles in this new democracy for most youths was shattered, as had been in the past. Ministerial positions and the ruling party itself had become infiltrated with older members some of whom were from the former ruling party, leaving certain positions to be occupied by a few selected youths.

MINDS (2016:68) wrote that, youths also played a huge role in the 2011 elections, being at the forefront and ushering in of the new government led by Patriotic Front Leader Michael Sata, leading to the change demanded by most Zambians. Mulima Nyambe Mubanga, a National Investigator for Afrobarometer and a consultant at RuralNet Associates Ltd., described the 2011 elections as a “wind of change” that brought about high levels of political engagement among youth in particular. Restless Development (2014:39) also recorded, “ Despite their feelings of marginalization, young people were seen as critical to the outcome of the 2011 general election—displaying the high impact potential of young people on the political system.

Yet again despite their role in the change of government in 2011, the youths were not fully incorporated and accommodated by the new government, according to Nyimbili (2012:19), the cabinet contains few youths, representation in parliament is minimal translating to only 5% while the judiciary has no representation of young people, other levels such as deputy minister and permanent secretary claim less than 1% and 0% youth representation. Phiri (2008:5) argued that Continuing from 1991 to the present times, the youth’s role in Zambia’s democratic dispensation has only been ‘seasonal’ in times of major country events such as struggles and elections at political party as well as national level. The youths have not been fully incorporated and accommodated in democratic dispensation and in most instances their involvement has been in political violence leading to the image of the youth being destroyed and them not playing a positive role in Zambia’s democratic dispensation.

MINDS (2016:68) added that, much of government policy has a direct or indirect impact on the daily lives of young people nevertheless, they play only a minor role in Zambia’s decision making arenas. Youth participants frequently mentioned that they felt excluded from the political process, as many political leaders are over 50 years old. Even those who are seen to “represent” young people are over 40—leaving leaders out of touch with youth issues and disinterested in authentically engaging the youth. Young people are social actors with skills and capacities to bring about constructive solutions to their own problems, but more often than not, government fails to recognise the legitimacy of young people’s contribution to programmes, policies and

decision-making. Youths are seldom consulted or considered in the decisions that affect their present and future well-being. Reference should be made to the role youths exhibit during times of struggle and in other important national matters within and outside politics. Young people should be encouraged to build their capacity in promoting democratic ideals based on political tolerance, co-existence, and the rule of law, fair and equal justice.

Youth Map Zambia (2014:34) further added that, representation of young people in decision-making positions has not been a focus of governments past and present, what has been more emphasised is the gender perspective, through the Southern African Development Community (SADC) declaration that there should be at least 30% representation of women in decision making positions. It can be argued clearly that when it comes to opportunities to give young people a chance to move the wheels of equity and justice, those that are charged with the power to facilitate this process completely ignore the young people. For example, sections of society have argued that youth empowerment and participation for the large part is unfulfilled and is seen as mere rhetoric. The reality appears that the engagement of young people lies in mainly in times of struggle and social activities while the existing forms of participation prohibits young people's opinions and desires from entering the public sphere, where they may gain recognition. By virtue of being young people, they are holders of knowledge that adults do not possess. The absence of the youth perspective means that adults really do not know what young people think or even if they want to participate or the way they would like such participation to occur. It is through dialogue that young people can bring their expertise to the table, be recognised and inform policy.

In terms of civic participation, Minds (2016:69) argued that, young people are civically engaged in their communities, primarily through religious activities, sports but less of volunteering and other important civil activities such as marches, protests and demonstrations. Although young people are positively involved in their communities through sports and religious activities, they have limited leadership roles. Young people are not able to take up the challenge of involving themselves in taking up any role in the communities, especially speaking out on what is not right, as such, decision making in the communities remains a preserve of the elderly. Young people are not consulted and are not given chance to take part in planning for their communities as well as the nation at large. As indicated, in an interview at one of the Council meetings, in which the person in charge of public relations commented that the issues that are discussed in the chambers are critical issues, legislation, personal issues, which can only be discussed by the elderly these are sensitive issues.

National Youth Policy (2015:5), advocates for youth participation at all levels of public and private sector planning in political decision making bodies through close cooperation between government and non-governmental organisations. This policy shows that Youth participation in decision making of any nation is critical for meaningful development. Young people in Zambia have the chance of standing as Councilors and Members of Parliament and to basically contribute in any way possible in their communities. It can conclusively be argued that, young people are not represented enough and as a result they don't play the role they are expected to, despite their active engagement and participation in very important national political affairs.

### **2.3. Youth Participation in Politics: A Contemporary Global Perspective**

Youth in general are considered as key in society in the sense that they are energetic and viewed as future leaders in all contemporary societies. They are said to be increasingly disengaging from politics and feel alienated from political institutions and leaders. The youth fail to directly or indirectly participate in politics even party politics that establish the government of the day. Despite the involvement of youth and students in politics during the colonial era, contemporary Africa and the world over are confronted with a new challenge of low level of youth participation in the new political dispensation. Ntsabane (2013:8) stated, "This is serious as the strength, depth and sustainability of democratization gains are dependent on the extent of citizen participation especially among the youth as they are not only in the present but are in the future". This suggests that the sustenance of democracy in the world is contingent on the participation of young people in party politics and democracy as a whole.

Despite the low levels of youth participation in democratic dispensation, it's important that youth are actively engaged and enabled to participate through establishing deliberate policies as this will encourage them to play an active role in democratic political system and eventually enhance democratic dispensation, Danna (2011:14) wrote that, political engagement by the youth in particular will encourage young people to be more involved and become democratic citizens as it will foster an interest in growing democracy from the grass roots. If youths are engaged in social and civic activities, it will make them part of the process rather than making them feel excluded. Writing on the youths world over, Keulder (2010:7) shares the same sentiments that, the youth are the elite and the marginalized of tomorrow, but should be encouraged to play an active role in political activities of their country. To overcome future marginalisation requires engagement not disengagement from the youth. In this regard, Keulder (2007:9) further claimed that, political participation can be regarded as a corner stone of democracy and its definition

could differ from person to person since, naturally, democracy is encouraged by higher level of industrial development which creates pressure for wider participation in politics. It is through political participation that citizens are granted the right to elect or vote leaders of their choice and be elected into office. This can only be a reality if it is valued by its beneficiaries which in this case are mostly the youth who are future leaders and the majority of the population world over and especially in Africa.

UNDP (2011:20) in their report stated that, the international community has recognized the importance of youth participating in political systems as they known to contribute immensely to the development and growth democracy world over, and as such organisations such as the United Nations has its commitment to youth empowerment through several international conventions and UN resolutions . In line with these commitments, UNDP views youth as a positive force for transformative social change, and aims to help enhance youth political participation. This guide summarizes some good practices to consider for UNDP, other development practitioners and electoral stakeholders in working towards that goal.

In the current world and throughout history, youths are known to push for change in their various societies and communities through their political participation which has eventually lead to the enhancement of democracy and establishment of societies and communities based on democratic principles. There are many examples of powerful youth-led protest movements. Youth tend to get involved in civic, service-oriented activities, such as volunteering for a social cause and such active role by the youth helps societies and enhances democracy. Reference can be made on Istanbul in Turkey where youth participation through volunteering is fostering youth development and enhancing democracy. According to UNDP (2012:25), “The Young Volunteer Organization from Istanbul was able to develop its organizational capacities with funding from external partners, including the European Union. Its success in bring youths together and taking part in political party and other political institutions voluntarily shows that the youth can have a positive impact on their community, and that youth have the agency to create spaces and instruments for their own participation. Among other accomplishments, it created a people’s assembly to discuss neighborhood issues and take steps to work on them and established free preparatory courses for high school and university entrance exams for children and youth who cannot afford to pay for private courses”.

UNDP (2012:25) also found that, Youth-led CSOs have the potential to find new answers to problems. The youth-founded Tribal Liaison Office in Afghanistan bridges gaps between tribal

leaders, and formal government authorities and donors, Youth volunteers make tremendous contributions to their communities every day. For many young people, volunteering in a youth-led CSO or other community project is a first step in a career of civic and political engagement. Further evidence suggested that, youth are more inclined to participate in informal political processes. Activism, protests and campaigns are common avenues; youth are often driving forces behind reform movements.

Youth playing an active role in democracy is vital as in countries such as Canada and Nicaragua they are a channel that political parties use to reach out to all youths especially university students and in this context both male and female to foster good governance, political parties have also used youth quotas to increase participation in leadership positions and as candidates. According to UNDP (2012:25) ,“ In Nicaragua, the Partido Liberal Constitucionalista has a combined 40 percent quota for women and youth; the Hungarian Socialist Party has a 20 percent quota for youth. Canada’s Liberal Party had a high youth quota for party convention delegates, 4 out of every 12 delegates had to be youth, and in addition, each campus and accredited youth club had 4 delegates. As a result, youth (under 26) made up over 40 percent of voting delegates at any party convention, making them a strong force within the party when it came to leadership selection, policy development and executive positions”.

UNDP (2012:25) further stated that, Youth wings that have been established in countries such as Canada and Hungary generally serve several functions, all of which enhance democracy , one of the functions of youth wings is to enable youth participation overall, the second is to train members. They organize skill-building workshops, mentoring programmes and policy development activities. A third function of youth wings can be to influence party policy development and leadership selection. Young members and youth wings can provide fresh and innovative inputs and challenge outdated policies. Finally, youth wings can extend outreach to young voters and make parties more credible to them. For election and recruiting campaigns, youth wings will likely know what language is most effective with their peers and what kinds of activities are attractive to youth. The efforts of older party leaders to appeal to youth often fall short.

Many years after African countries gained independence, political participation especially by the youth remains a vital aspect of democracy and political culture. African scholars such as Ntsabane also state that youth political wings contribute greatly to democracy in many African countries. Political youth wings Ntsabane argued, can help to decrease political violence such as

in conflict affected and post conflict countries and reference is made to Ghana. According to Ntsabane (2013:10), “Youth wings in Ghana of the four political parties issued a joint statement in 2006 calling on the President and ex-President to resolve their differences and rebuild a constructive relationship”. Ntsabane (2013:10) further writes that youth participation in elections can help empower the youth to build the community and is a remedy to a range of social problems as most democratic governments in Africa, routinely and publicly declare their commitment to consultation and grant young people opportunities to have real say and choices about policies and services that directly affect them and the future of the nation.

Bessant (2012:38) claims that, youth participation enhances democracy and citizenship while tackling social, economic, religious and political problems. The youth of every given community in one way or the other gradually contribute to social changes, and it is through them that one can try to understand the future of a country’s political status. Youths are the inheritors of the fundamental values of society and they can contribute to its development and future initiatives if they are knowledgeable of their roles and responsibilities as youth. Bessant (2012:38), further asserted, “Youth participation is critical for maintaining democratic values of which elections is one thereof, the challenge is to enlist the enthusiasm of youth for commonwealth in the new century”. Youth participation in this context is important in maintaining and enhancing democratic values such as freedom, peace and justice. It is believed that society should be guided by social norms and values, and these should start with the youths since they are better positioned in society as the generation of the future.

Youths activities should be deliberately designed with the understanding of getting them involved in order to feel included. According to Bessant (2012:39), “The British commonwealth’s youth participation in Africa mainly entails social, culture and leisure activities which are clear indicators of a healthy transition towards independence and evidence of social integration”. It helps give youths a better understanding of their civic responsibility and equally role to play in the contemporary society.

Democracy helps shape political social structures, conditions of political culture and participation that could guide youth participation in political activities. Most constitutions in Africa, like that of Zambia, commit itself to a multiparty system which is an important exercise in pluralism and an essential element in democracy and which strengthens political culture and participation in particular. Friedrich-Ebert-Shifting (2010:9) stated that, “An electoral process and democracy cannot be separated from the empowerment of the people, observance of human

rights, and the promotion of equality, mutual security and respect for human dignity”. Therefore, for political culture to be meaningful and successful, it should be legal and fully owned by the citizens, especially the youths who should be the driving force of the process since it is assumed that they understand civic responsibility and the future of the country is vested in them.

In Africa Zolberg (2013:20) stated that, many young people from various walks of life such as, entrepreneurs, politicians, civil servants, farmers, traders and university students are now emerging to get their demands heard. Youths who are the young generation and the majority are intolerant to bad governance, lack of transparency, corruption and is driven by the desire for social and political change and as a result democratic societies are enhanced and created by the youths. Zolberg (2013:20) viewed political socialization as, one of the several requisite functions of the political system through which youths are subject to a process of induction into the political culture. The various activities that the youth carry out in society can enhance and contribute to heightened levels of civic participation. This will help them give meaning to the existence of democracy through political participation in a democratic society. In doing so, youths get educated on their civic responsibilities from childhood.

Most recently as attested in the North Africa and Middle East revolution Youth have been at the center point on the struggle for democracy and good governance. IPU (2014:17) stated that, recent events have shown that youth are critical in bringing about social and political transformation in Africa. From the Jasmine Revolution in Tunisia in 2011 to the ‘Y’en a Marre!’ (‘Enough is enough!’) and ‘Ma Carte d’Electeur, Mon Arme’ (‘My voting card, my weapon’) campaigns in Senegal in 2011–12 and the third-term revolution in Burkina Faso in 2014, young people remain at the forefront of democratic struggles on the continent. When young people engage in democracy, authoritarian regimes may fall and countries’ political trajectories may shift

IPU (2014:18) also stated that, the health of democracy depends on the active engagement of youth in decision making. As communities strengthen the role of youth, they are learning that young people can be bold civic innovators. Likewise, as youth develop social and political understanding and decision making skills, they contribute to community organizations and future outcomes. Youth who are active community participants are likely to extend their activities to adulthood. IPU(2014:18) further went on to argue that, the inclusion of youths in parliaments and other elected assemblies plays an important symbolic role in motivating other younger citizens to become more politically involved, by demonstrating that politics is open to their

participation and by providing potential role models. At a time when many young people are expressing a dwindling interest in formal political activity, youth participation promotes active citizenship and offers new opportunities for civic engagement, education, and learning about government, thereby strengthening young people's social responsibility. A broader goal should be to promote youth-led advocacy in civil society, thereby contributing to further democratization and fostering a more positive image of youth and politics.

In Sub Saharan African countries like in South Africa, youth were crucial in the fight against the apartheid regime and even today youths have been at the center of democratic struggle. Wagner (2015:42) in his research found that, young people are engaging in non-electoral forms of participation, the new generation of young South Africans participate widely in political and socio-political affairs, providing more evidence of political interest and engagement. Their activities range from volunteer community work, to protest action to get jobs allocated to members of the local community. They are avid followers of political events. They obtain information from both traditional sources and the new(s) or social media.

Young South Africans are also offered a particular mode of participation through political parties and in this area too democracy can be and is enhanced, Wagner (2015:42) further stated that, it is tied into electoral and institutionalized politics. As such, the motivations and objectives of participants are distinctive. A case in point arises from one of the interviews conducted on a young South African politician. He highlights that promoting the participation of young people in democratic life is the main concern of this young politician in South Africa to day, in fact, the youth organisation of his party appears to be a structure that follows its logics, priorities and aims; Our aim is to enlarge the mobilisation of young people, to work to the benefit of our elected leaders and our elders eventually helping to grow democracy and its principles. This method of viewing youths who join youth wings of a party as a means of spreading democracy and party ideology, has become crucial in enhancing the fortunes of the party and democracy as a whole in South Africa.

Furthermore, Wagner (2015:43) wrote that, youth engagement in formulating tomorrow's politics is crucial because inclusive participation is a fundamental political and democratic right. However, actively promoting the inclusion of youth in political processes is not only about norms, values and rights, but also about practical politics. Younger cohorts find themselves in a different situation and their political and socioeconomic priorities differ from those of their older counterparts, having grown up in a period of transformation related to the increased use of

information and communications technologies, young people bring new visions and ideas to the political sphere. They are, therefore, key democratic stakeholders, a sentiment expressed in the African Youth Charter Africa's greatest resource is its youthful population and through their active and full participation, Africans can surmount the difficulties that lie ahead.

In Zambia, youths have been participation in the politics since the pre independence era and since the establishment of democracy, youths have greatly contributed to its enhancement. Phiri (2008:1) made reference to the youth who protested against the one party state system under Kaunda and eventually the multi- party system was reintroduced back into Zambia during the 1980s, during the Chiluba rule youths also marched to state house in the 1990s demanding for a constitution to be given to the country. Still in the 1990s youths protested against Chiluba's third term proposition to enable him stay in power for another five years and this brought positive results to Zambia's democracy. In all these major, national and historic events, it is right to argue that youths have been involved in enhancing Zambia's democratic political system since its established.

Restless development (2012:23) also stated that, youths were seen as critical to the outcome of the 2011 general election, displaying the high impact potential of young people on the political system, young people were at the forefront of ushering in of the new government led by Patriotic Front Leader Michael Sata. The role of the youths in this election was felt in the change they managed to bring about.

MINDS (2016:70) stated that, young people have demonstrated the potential to build bridges across communities, working together, helping to manage conflict and promote peace. Young people are vital stakeholders in conflict and in peace-building, and can be agents of change and provide a foundation for rebuilding lives and communities, contributing to a more just and peaceful society. Youths are supposed to be leaders of tomorrow but they have to start exercising leadership today. Youths should be encouraged to claim their genuine political space in the electoral process. They should refuse to be used as mere tools of violence by politicians. Youths should also be taught to accept and tolerate divergent views.

Furthermore Minds (2016:70) stated that, through active youth contributions, democratic values can come to life, paving the way for the overcoming of authoritarian practices. Youth participation in decision making enables governance institutions to make informed decisions regarding the needs of young people. It contributes to building the overall capacity of the institutions, strengthens political commitment and presents a positive image. Youth participation

in decision making turns around the culture of a people, community and organization. It can increase youth friendliness and result in structures, policies and procedures that are demand driven to address the needs and rights of young people. Many of the countries discussed in this section have undergone significant political changes in recent years. These include revolutions in Egypt, Tunisia and Burkina Faso, as well as highly competitive elections in Kenya, Tanzania, Nigeria, Malawi and Zambia. Research has found that in many countries, youth were at the center of political change, from orchestrating protests and demonstrations to debating on social media, educating voters, monitoring polls and rallying behind candidates

#### **2.4. Challenges Faced by Youths in Politics: A Global Perspective**

Unemployment is a formidable challenge that confronts all African countries regardless of their different socio-economic development. In Africa, the youth accounted for 60% of total unemployed and three in five of Africa's unemployed are youth. According to a study by the International Labour Organization (2010:58), youth unemployment rate in North Africa amounted to 23.7% in 2009 and it is estimated to have remained at around the same level in 2010. This is twice as high as in Sub-Saharan Africa, where the youth and Youth unemployment remains a security issue for Africa driving youth for violence and crime. In such instance, as youth are instruments of democratization youth can be instrument of violence and vulnerable to become involved in armed conflict as child soldiers like the case in Central Africa, Liberia, Sudan, Uganda, Sierra Leone, DRC, and other Africa countries.

ILO (2010:58) further attested that, where young people are prominent in the adult population and the economy is weak and poor governance, the country is more likely to experience an outbreak of rioting and internal armed conflict. One in two young people who join a rebel movement cites unemployment as the main reason for doing so. High unemployment rate was the powerful catalyst contributed to revolution in North Africa, which led to the overthrow of governments in Tunisia, Libya, and Egypt. Youth unemployment stands at 31% for Tunisia and 34% for Egypt.

Ellis (2010:90) stated that, due to economic and social decline in the most African countries, young people are marked by a decline in support for major political parties, a failure to be inspired by idealism, and a tendency to respond by accepting simple but extreme solution to economic problems. Nevertheless, a similar study was conducted in some Namibian cities of

which Perception of Human Rights and rights-related issues among Namibian Youths: Results from focus group discussion, indicate that youth surveyed expressed little interest in political matters, and if they engaged in political activities this was typically in a passive form such as, watching party political broadcast or discussing politics with their parents. The low youth participation in elections should remain a concern to all parties, especially in democratic societies where civic responsibility is advocated continuously.

Illiteracy is another major challenge confronting the youths. UNDP (2011:34) stated that, this implies the inability to read and write by an individual. It is a state of absolute lack of education. Though mostly refers to lack of formal education, the concept denotes inability to read and write or to obtain western and/or other form of education. Education, on the other hand, embodied the entire process through which members of the society acquire necessary norms, values and skills which conform to societal standard or which make them fit to the society. In modern African society, education is systematic and organised and characterised by the existence of organised structures and personnel, as well as, accorded criteria for grading of status or certificates in a school system. Against this backdrop, the bulk of African youths are illiterate and this has disadvantaged most youths. UNDP Human Development Report (2010:34) stated, “The chunk of Nigerians is grossly illiterate, the number of youths dropping out of school and graduate lacking skills has been on the increase”. This has been a major setback to the ability of the youths to support and sustain genuine democratic processes. A considerable number of youths are brainwashed and indoctrinated by the politicians to see their role in the democratic growth as thugs or political gangsters, popularly known as, ‘Yanbanga’ and ‘Yankuge’. Their illiteracy status is been exploited by desperate politicians at the detriment of the youths and the young state. Worse still, the senseless and reckless educational policies, at all levels of governments, have prevented most youths, access to meaningful and sound education.

Youths also Lack Formidable and Genuine Youth Organization and Leadership, IPU (2014:77) wrote that, the youths do not have vibrant youth organisations that can pursue youth development policies and support the bid to substantive and sustainable democracy. Where there are so called youth organizations, they are spear headed by elders in the disguise of youth. Thus, this can be proven by the fact that most of the heads of youth organizations are persons aged above 40 or sometimes even 60 plus. This situation has been affecting the roles of youths in supporting and sustaining democracy. For example the present youth leader of Nasarawa State Peoples Democratic Party (P.D.P.) in Nigeria, Alhaji Abdullahi Baba Sale to mention but a few, are all example of youth leaders above 40 years of age. Thus, they may not necessarily give

youth development programmes much priority or effectively pioneer the crusade for youth positive participation and contribution in Nasarawa State and the democratization process.

Weak infrastructure is yet another challenge .IPU (2014:77) argued that, in many countries young people lack direct access to information, institutional systems and structures within governments, the media and private and civil society sectors. This severely impedes their ability to advocate for their rights. In the rare cases where young people have been able to influence or make decisions, barriers within complicated infrastructure have tended to limit implementation. This destroys young people's confidence and trust in such mechanisms. On the organizational level, youth-led groups frequently face hindrances to economic and other resources, and have limited organizational know-how. Among formal political organizations, such as parties and parliaments, internal mechanisms, rules and procedures do not favour the inclusion of youth. They are not considered for leadership positions; engagement does not lead to visible results. These bodies may lack processes for which youth have an affinity, or use technologies and language that are off-putting to youth.

United Nation (2012:40) affirmed that, young candidates also counter challenges such as patronage networks and a lack of financial resources as obstacles if they were interested in running for elected office. Well-resourced candidates and political parties in a number of countries were described as buying support through giving away cash and gifts, such as motorbikes. Age limits in electoral law. A number of countries had age limits in their electoral laws, which prevented candidates under the age of 35 or 40 from contesting national elections. Inter-generational differences, in some African countries, youth were discouraged from running for elected office because of perceptions that leadership is a dirty game and should be reserved for older people.

The challenge of the crisis of value and corruption also hinders youth from playing their role in Democratic Dispensation MINDS (2015:78) argued that, the crisis of value in our society has assumed a frightening dimension in the past 15 years. The old time tested values of hard work, integrity, self-discipline and apprenticeship has been largely replaced by indolence, sharp practices, unbridled passion for leisure and get rich quick syndrome. A great percentage of the youth in most African countries are not ready to pay any price in order to achieve success. Even student wants to ride in the best of cars and dress in the most expensive way possible. This orientation makes the youth an easy target for politicians who have the where withal in terms of finance to mobilize them for undemocratic purposes. Student unionism on campuses are

currently in limbo. However, where, they even exist, cases of corruption, embezzlement of union money and bribery from authorities to compromise popular demand has been the order of the day. This way, it will be difficult for the youth to play any meaningful role in our quest for democratization.

MINDS (2015:79) also stated that, there are dictatorial tendencies in African political space that hinder effective youth participation. The Youth of most African nation demonstrate outstanding courage and passion during the struggles. Many students lose their lives and many are sent to prison. Nevertheless, dictatorial tendencies of African governments has weakened youth inherent disposition to agitate change. University administrators too, are not spared of this dictatorial tendencies as they have little room for toleration of opposing views and opinions. This explain why as of today over 60% of the campuses in the majority of university in southern and west Africa, are without vibrant Student Union Governments, through which leadership qualities could be cultivated and nurtured for the betterment of the society in the future. To underscore their resolve to keep the students permanently subservient, docile and subjugated, many campuses now have police posts near the gate to make it easy for the authorities to draft in the police at the least sign of demonstration. Where lies the future of democracy in a country where the students who are the future leaders are not allowed to freely express themselves.

There is lack of national spread among the youths in many countries especially in Africa today. MINDS (2016:82) stated that, unlike the pre-independence era when organizations like the African youth Movement (AYM), had membership across the country, many youths and youth organizations today are restricted to their geo-political areas and as a result there is no unity among the youths. Worse still, the youth in the rural areas who, due to lack of exposure and organizational skills cannot organize themselves, are left unintegrated into the urban based youth organizations. Even the National Association of Nigerian Students was polarized at a time due to the activities of the filth columnists.

Youths are also prone to encounter health related problems. Youth map (2014:34) wrote that, youths are susceptible to disease. Young people ages 15-24 have the highest infection rates from HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases. The youths face a myriad of health related problems, including widespread malaria, malnutrition, HIV/AIDS and Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs), drug and substance abuse as well as poor access to health services. The HIV/AIDS pandemic is more prevalent among the youths under 30 years of age. Available statistics show that the youths make up 33% of Kenyans infected with Aids and teenage

pregnancy are unique to the female youths. Some of the consequences of these are dropping out of school and risks to life through unsafe abortions

## **2.5. Worldwide Strategies to Enhance Youth Participation in Democratic Politics**

Being cognisant of the above challenges, efforts should be made at international, regional, and country level to address the plights of youth in Africa. AU (2012:44) stated that, at global level, the United Nations programme of Action for Youth seeks to assist governments in 15 priority areas, which has clear relevance for youth agenda in Africa. At continental level, the African Union could adopt and enter into force the African Youth Charter. The charter provides a framework for developing and implementing more tangible youth policies and programmes for young people in a number of areas that include employment, sustainable livelihoods, education, health, youth participation, peace and security and law enforcement among others. It also calls on government to guarantee participation by young people in parliament and other national decision making bodies at national and regional level. Other key developments with regard to youth in the continent include the approval of a plan of action for accelerating the ratification and implementation of the African Youth Charter, the declaration of the period 2009-2018 as a decade of youth development, and the approval of a plan of action to implement the priority activities identified during the youth decade as well as the establishment of youth networks including the Pan African Youth Union to serve as a channel for youth engagement and platform for conveying youth perspectives .

Youth Map (2014:87) asserted that, African government should adopt and promote youth employment schemes including education systems and curricula reforms, to ensure that youth are endowed with basic business skills and resources to minimize their economic marginalization and to building peaceful and democratic societies. African governments should also increase youth participation in governance at all levels including considering affirmative action for young people in governance structures like the parliament and the executive.

MINDS (2016:72) also added that, African governments must ensure the unleashing of youth development 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 the 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. Although the key

motive is profit making, private sector can also intervene in a number of areas to contribute towards promoting youth employment. The private sector can facilitate school-to-work transition, supporting programmes of technical and vocational and on-the-job trainings.

Youth Map (2014:87) stated that, inter-generational leadership change is highly desirable and necessary in Africa. There should be inter-generational leadership dialogue with a view to ensuring that young people take over the leadership of each African country. Youth leadership need to create a new culture of national and regional solidarity in which the drive towards African citizenship devoid of the divisiveness of ethnicity, religion, race, color, and sectarian identities are emphasized.

IPU (2014:79) wrote that, African governments also need to ensure the expansion of the social and economic infrastructure necessary for coping with the rise in youth population in most African countries this should include quality, affordable and skills based education, health care services, recreation facilities and promoting labor market information. Labor market information is a key factor for better youth employment programs. The coverage of labor force surveys and evaluations of labor market programs in Africa is very low compared to other regions. As a result, policymakers and program designers have little evidence to go on and many programs show few results.

IPU (2014:78) further argued that, governments and development partners should focus on filling information gap labor markets. Once information gaps are identified and filled, all stakeholders, the government, development partners, civil society, and the private sector should come together at national and regional levels for consultations that critically address the issue of youth unemployment through formulation of youth employment strategies.

MINDS (2015:80) asserted that, Genuine/Realistic youth Organisations, the youths should form realistic youth organisations under their control and leadership. The leadership should be ready to pursue the interest of the youths at all times as well as assist in building solid and responsible democratic conduct and practices in the state. Similarly, the youths should strengthen and expand the historic links which have existed with other democratically inclined groups and other Human Right Organisations for positive interventions in national politics and policies for effective advocacy and defense of popular causes and aspiration. They should assign priority to rebuilding all the political bridges that have been weakened or destroyed by the reckless politics. MINDS (2015:80) went on to write that, Nationalism and Patriotism are need for the youths and their organisations to shun parochialism, divisions, and forge nationalist and pan-African

alliances. They must strive hard to transcend the ethno-regional divides of the ruling class so as to be firm and united in fighting the course of democratic development.

Discipline and Transparency also needs to be applied if youths are to play an effective role Democratic Dispensation. MINDS (2015:80) wrote that, the youths must struggle to get the country rid of indiscipline and corruption. While they must fight all sorts of indiscipline and corruption within them squarely, they should assist in the anti-corruption crusade in the state and the nation as well. No stone should be left untouched in the desire to clean the state from indiscipline, corruption, misappropriation and greed. African youths must learn to be transparent and accountable in all their official and non-official transactions in order to facilitate the redistribution of resources in the state; thus, helping the country to nurture and sustain democracy and good governance.

Youth Map (2014:88) also suggested that, channels of experiential leadership training and learning opportunities within public sector offices and civil society organizations should be created (e.g. mentorships, model UN-like system, internships within companies and organizations with leaders) .Promote the benefits of volunteerism to young people by installing compulsory volunteer programs within schools and colleges. Programs should be youth led to identify service opportunities, rally resources, and execution, while receiving guidance from staff.

Furthermore Youth Map (2014:88) noted that efforts should also be made to increase the number of and access to tertiary institutions and skills training centers for young people as well as forming youth groups to advocate for the rights of young people at the national level. Provide more recreation facilities for young people, such as sport facilities and youth centers, so that young people have positive outlets and are less likely to engage in risky behaviors such as underage sex and drinking.

Integrating mobile phone applications (e.g., SMS and social media) as a cost-effective way to facilitate political and civic participation. MINDS (2016:69) noted that, Mobile technologies could be used to disseminate information on opportunities and key political issues, allowing for rapid real-time deployment of information that can help foster immediate interest and consistent demand from young people to be aware of issues and policies that affect their lives.

MINDS (2016:69) also noted that, when training CSOs, ensure the inclusion of youth associations as well as youth-serving, youth-led, and youth-advocacy groups that might be

organizationally less mature and too often Over looked. To the extent possible, equips CSO to positively harness the energy of youth in their advocacy efforts, including youth participation in the design of campaigns and messages. The solution to include youth in political processes cannot lie in the capacities of individual youth alone. The socio-political environment, organizations and youth all have to change in order to move closer together.

MINDS (2016:71) further went on to state that, since youth are generally under-represented both in the government and in political parties. Strategies for increasing youth participation in future included increasing civic and voter education, broadening youth consultation and more youth representation at political party and government level. Challenging perceptions about the inability of youth and women to occupy leadership positions. Supporting effective, independent electoral commissions. Changing age limits for candidates running for electing office. Creating platforms for sustained youth engagement. Building networks between youth movements across the country.

## **2.6. Review of Related Studies on Youth Participation in politics**

### **2.6.1. Youth Participation in Politics: Global Perspective**

A number of scholars have carried out studies on youth and democracy in various countries. In Australia Bessant (2010), conducted a research with the title *Mixed Messages: Youth Participation and Democratic Life*. She argues that youth participation has once more become a popular part of contemporary political talk. She further states that the problem is there is much enthusiasm, talk and emphasis about youth participation in democratic life and yet the core issues still hang. The three main issues being that, despite the enthusiasm for youth participation the environment is not conducive for participation, effective policy is not in place and where participation hinges on democratic practices and these being the three main issues being addressed in the study . Bessant (2010:3) points out that the recent government enthusiasm for youth participation is problematic for three reasons. First, it fails to recognise the significant obstacles that young people currently experience when trying to participate socially, economically and politically. Second, there is a failure to think through what democratic practice requires. Third, both the conceptualisation and operationalisation of official youth participation policies reveal an agenda that is seriously at odds with the rhetoric of democratic participation. This raises questions about whose voice is actually being heard and to what effect.

A study conducted by Bessant (2010) revealed that, the policies and practices that constitute the policy theme of ‘youth participation’ fails to either acknowledge or address the daunting array of discriminatory practices that thwart or preempt the capacity of young people to act as citizens, some of them being unemployment, poverty, no youth wage and also police power used against young people. Bessant’s (2010) study further reveals that, “An analysis of the official youth participation agenda reveals there is considerable talk about democratic practice, but a failure to acknowledge the existing barriers to young people. It also reveals a will to extend governance of young people under the guise of participation, as well as a failure to establish participatory mechanisms that give material effect to young peoples’ voices. Democratic practice requires a commitment to practices and conventions that constitute representative democracy including universal suffrage and rights such as freedom of speech”. Furthermore Bessant’s (2010) study revealed that, “Despite the official talk about participation and use of metaphors like Roundtable, no statutory commitment or legislative requirements are forthcoming as measures that ensure practical effect is given to the voice of youth participants”.

The London school of Economics (2013) also conducted a study in England on ‘Youth Participation in Democratic Life’ in different European countries. The London school of Economics identified that there was a drop in youth participation from electoral participation to party membership in the last four decades. London school of Economics (2013) stated that, political participation – from electoral turnout to party membership – has significantly declined over the past 40 years both in Europe and beyond, particular care needs to be taken that young Europeans get the best possible opportunity to engage with their political systems. It provides unprecedented empirical evidence on the exact strengths and weaknesses of the participation of young people in Europe across their social and national diversity and systematically assesses their causes. Perhaps even more importantly, however, in a context of changing political structures and technological opportunities, it studies ways to enhance the participation of young Europeans, not only quantitatively (that is, by making young Europeans ‘participate more’) but also qualitatively (enabling young people to ‘make the most’ of democratic participation and be better represented and more influential in national and international democratic systems), hence the need to assess the nature and extent of youth participation and provide suggestions as to how it can be enhanced.

London school of Economics’s (2013) study revealed that, young citizens are not bored with electoral politics but are instead frustrated by the mismatch between the hopes they have about playing their part in elections and the way they are being addressed and in their view little

considered by politicians. The London school of Economics's (2013) study further revealed that the role of voting at the heart of political participation is as crucial to the hearts and minds of young people today as it was for generations who lived decades ago. Not only do young citizens use voting as a key channel of participation in practice, but they also value it, desire it and enjoy it more than any other participatory mode, and they stress that if the participation of young people is to be improved, then voting will need to be at the heart of it. The electoral participation of young people is thus both at the heart of the problem and at the heart of the solution of today's political participation crisis.

### **2.6.2. Youth Participation in Politics: African Perspective**

Resnick and Casale (2011) carried out a study in various African countries on 'Political Participation of Africa's youth: Turnout, Partisanship and Protest'. Resnick and Casale (2011) stated that, the youth have long represented an important constituency for electoral mobilization in Africa. Today, as the region faces a growing "youth bulge" that is disproportionately burdened by un- and underemployment, capturing the votes of this demographic is becoming more important than ever before. Yet, despite their numerical importance and the historical relevance of generational identities within the region, very little is really known about the political participation of Africa's youth in relation to the older citizens.

Resnick and Casale's (2011) study revealed that, Africa's youth, particularly those residing in urban areas, operate in broadly similar ways to their counterparts in other regions of the world. In comparison with their older compatriots, the youth vote less and are more likely to demonstrate no partisanship or an attachment to opposition parties rather than any affinity to incumbent parties. Yet, the likelihood of their involvement in protests is not significantly different from that of their older counterparts. This suggests that while they are less engaged in elections and party politics, they are not necessarily channeling their discontent into extra-institutional modes of participation in large proportions. Resnick and Casale's (2011) study further revealed that, the youth, unlike older voters, tend to vote less the longer an incumbent party has been in office. In addition, poor incumbent performance on job creation, compared with other socio-economic issues, increases the likelihood of the youth to express either no partisanship or an affinity to the opposition. In terms of protest activity, higher levels of education and economic deprivation, as well as a lack of satisfaction with democracy, increase the likelihood that the youth will protest while demonstrating a null impact on their older cohorts' protest activities.

Evaristus 2015 carried out a study in Windhoek on Democracy Building and Civic Responsibility: An Analysis Of Tertiary Students` Participation in the 2009 National Elections Focusing on Windhoek. Evaristus (2015) stated that, the major problem was student participation in elections continued to drop when students are considered the future of the country, whilst the electoral commission conducted election campaigns to encourage them to register in order to vote.

Evaristus's (2015) study revealed that, the reasons why the youth participate in elections, is mainly because they are part of the decision making group and while the contrary as to why they do not participate is cited as lack of understanding, influence, incentives and motivation, they don't see the party that they belong to taking them serious and their issues are not being given adequate priority. While some feel that they are excluded from the political frontline. There is lack of interest in elections by students and this has been mainly caused by empty promises made by the politicians, such that the youth have felt isolated. The way the youth see things is different from the way political parties run things. The political parties programmes do not cater for the youth interests as a result this pushes them away. Evaristus's (2015) study further revealed that, students are ignorant of their democratic rights and civic responsibilities. Most of the students are not even aware of the way the current democracy system is working. The fact that they do not know simply means that they are not satisfied.

### **2.6.3. Identified Gap**

In this current study focus is also on the youth but with particular attention on the role the youth should play in a Democratic Dispensation. The main problem being that the youth are engaged to participate more especially during times of elections and conflicts in political parties and yet they are left out when it comes to the actual participation in important national issues. Looking at related reviewed studies and the current study a knowledge gap was identified that needed to be filled. The knowledge gap identified was lack generalisation of findings because of different context, focus and findings. The previous studies focused on low youth voting and turn out in elections, Evaristus (2015), Resnick and Casale (2011) and the London School of Economics (2013), while Bessant (2010), focused on conduciveness of the environment for youth participation in democracy Dispensation and also that these studies were conducted outside Zambia and outside Africa, while this study focused on the role of the youth in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation, hence the study intended to fill the knowledge gap which showed that little had been done on the role of the youth in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation.

## **2.7. Summary**

This chapter revealed related literature on youth participation in politics, specifically their role in the Democratic Dispensation .The chapter revealed literature on Democracy and participation of youths. This was done from a global perspective and an African perspective. The chapter also outlined the challenges that youth encounter in participating in Democratic Dispensation, strategies to enhance effective youth participated were also outlined in this chapter. The chapter also identified the research gap to be filled by this study and closed with a summary. The next chapter will focus on the methodology used in this study.

## CHAPTER THREE

### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

#### 3.0. Overview

This chapter describes the methods which were used in collecting data and how the data was analysed. It also describes the research design which were employed, the target population, sample size and sampling method. This chapter also outlines data collection procedure, the data collection techniques, the data analysis as well as the instruments that were used. The chapter then closes with a summary.

#### 3.1. Research Design

From the onset, it is important to begin by providing an exposition of what 'research' is. According to Tuchman (1978:1), research is "An examination, investigation or an exploration of any given phenomena". Kothari (2008:2) added that, research can also be understood as "A systematic attempt to provide answers to questions". From the above, it is clear that there can be no research without a problem or question. In line with the aforementioned, it can be stated that central to any research activity are the aspects of examination, investigation and exploration of a given phenomenon in order to address the problems and challenges associated with it. This is because the solutions of problems associated with the phenomena being investigated must be arrived at or discovered through research. It is because of this aspect that Kothari (2008:2) argued that, "Research is a process of arriving at dependable solutions to problems through planned systematic collection, analysis and interpretation of data". To ensure the validity of research results, the researcher needs to see to it that every component of the research project, at any level is clearly spelt out as well as pursued.

A Research design can be explained as the planning of any scientific research from the first to the last step. According to Kombo and Tromp (2013), a research design is the structure of the research. It is referred to as the 'glue' that holds the entire research process together. Orodino (2009) on the other hand explained that a research design is the scheme; outline or rather the plan of the research that enhances the generation of answers to the research questions or problems. Research design refers to the structure of an enquiry, it is a logical matter rather than a logistical one (Yin, 1989). The function of a research design is to ensure that the evidence obtained enables us to answer the initial question as unambiguously as possible.

Another important aspect that needs to be discussed is the research methodology being used in this study. This study will employ the qualitative method of research, this is because qualitative research tends to follow the exploratory mode of the scientific method. Bolarinwa (2006) observed that, qualitative research verbally describes or tells what is done or what has been done. It tells the story around events, occurrences and practices. Qualitative methods are more interpretive, historic, and ethnographic than are quantitative approaches. There are many methods of qualitative research design, in this research, a case study design was used because the variables contained in this study had to be discussed in detail and described precisely. A case study is defined as “A holistic research method that uses multiple sources of evidence to analyse or evaluate specific phenomenon or instance” (Anderson, 1998:152). The case study was chosen just as Kombo and Tromp (2013) argued that, a case study seeks to describe a unit in detail, in context and holistically. In a case design a great deal can be learned from few examples. It gives an opportunity for one problem to be studied in some depth within a limited time frame. Case studies focus on processes rather than outcomes. Finally, they contribute to large scale research projects and serve as a preliminary to qualitative research.

### **3.2. Target Population**

In the context of research James and Akuta, (2010:88), “Target population” has been defined as all members of any well-defined class of people, events, or objects who have been designated as being the focus of an investigation. It is also known as universe or a special universe. It is called special universe in order to distinguish it from the general universe or population to which the study’s findings can be generalised. In this study the target population included the youths (i.e. political party youth leaders, youth organisation leaders and other youths) from the following sites Kabwata constituency, Munali constituency and Lusaka Central constituency of Lusaka District of Lusaka Province of Zambia. The researcher conducted semi-structured interviews with 3 political party youth leaders, 1 from each political party in Lusaka Central constituency and 3 youth organisation leaders, 1 from each youth organisation and 2 focus group discussions with the youth each comprising 15 respondents (8 male and 7 female) were conducted separately, from Munali constituency and the other in Kabwata constituency.

#### **3.2.1 Break down of target population**

##### Semi-Structured interviews

- a) 3 Political Party Youth Leaders, 1 from each of the 3 target Political Parties in Lusaka

Constituency

3 Community Youth Leaders, 1 from each of the 3 target Youth Organisation in Lusaka

b) Focus-group interview/discussions

2 focused group interviews/discussions each consisting 15 repondents and comprising 8 males and 7 females were conducted separately in Munali and Kabwata constituencies

### **3.3. Sample Size and Sampling Techniques**

The word sample refers to a set of elements which are ideally representative of the entire population whereas sampling is the process of selecting a subset or sample from the entire population so that generalization of the results can be made to the population from which the elements were chosen. Thus a sample is a finite part of statistical population whose properties are studied to gain information about the whole (Webster, 1985). According to Strydom, Fouche and Delport (2005), sampling simply means taking any portion of a population or universe as representative of that population. The major reason for sampling is feasibility. A complete coverage of the total population is seldom possible and all the members of a population of interest cannot possibly be reached and as a result in this study purposive sampling as a technique was used, this was determined by the researcher's specific needs. The power and logic of purposive sampling was that a few cases studied in depth yield many insights into the topic. In this study, our sample size comprised of thirty-six (36) respondents who were picked from the following sites Kabwata constituency, Munali constituency and Lusaka central constituency of Lusaka District of Lusaka Province of Zambia. fifteen (15) respondents were picked from Munali, six (6) respondents came from Lusaka Central and fifteen (15) other respondents from Kabwata. These were information key informants and were knowledgeable and informative on the topic of this study.

### **3.4. Data Collection Methods and Instruments**

In research, research methods are the techniques or practices employed to collect the data or information in accordance with the main purpose of the study (Msabila and Nalaila, 2013:26). There are two types of data collection methods. These are primary and secondary data collection methods. "Interviewing and focus group discussion fall under primary data collection methods" (Msabila and Nalaila, 2013:41).

According to Chilisa and Preece (2005), interview refers to a conversation or interaction between the researcher and a respondent. Bolarinwa (2006:45) also stated that, an interview is a conversation with a purpose. Interviews can simply be defined as face to face talks with respondents (Musingafi,2012). Interviews can be highly structured, semi structured or unstructured. Semi-structured interviews were used in this study involving a series of open ended questions based on the topic areas the researcher wants to cover. In a semi-structured interview the interviewer has the freedom to probe the interviewee to elaborate on the original response (Haralambos and Holborn, 1991:734).

The focus group is another interview style data collection method. Focus group are guided or unguided interviews and discussions designed to address particular issues or topics of significance and relevance to the group and researcher. The researcher puts participants in groups and encourages the the groups to follow some specific questions of discourse (Berg, 2001:34). According to Bangura (2007:55), overall advantage of employing the focus group is its ability to enable the researcher to capture real life data in a social environment.

In this study, in order to collect qualitative information, data was collected from the field through interviews using semi-structured questions with respondents and key informants respectively, the interviews included three political party youth leaders and three youth organisation leaders. The researcher also conducted two (2) focus group discussions on site. These instruments and methods were chosen because they provided detailed or insightful information suitable for this kind of study.

### **3.5 Data analysis**

According to Strydom, Fouche and Delpont (2005), data analysis means the categorization, ordering, manipulating and summarizing data to obtain answers to research questions. In this study, the collected data was analysed qualitatively. The analysis was also based on research questions. Thus the content analysis of the responses was done under various themes. Themes salient across all cases were kept as well as those that were extremely different. For this qualitative study, the researcher merged findings and similar themes were grouped together. According to Stake (2006), the researcher whose priority was to merge the findings across cases would use this particular method. This method also allows the researcher to make generalizations about the cases.

### **3.6 Ethical Considerations**

According to Chilisa and Preece (2005) ethics in research is basically a set of standards that, guide researchers on how best they should interact with research and how research problems can be tackled. Kombo and Tromp (2011) elucidated that, the entire research process should maintain high levels of integrity particularly in data collection process and statistical skills to problems where private interests of respondents may inappropriately affect the development or application of statistical knowledge.

Therefore ethical concerns were taken into consideration from the start of the investigation to the final report. The researcher accepted individual responsibility for the conduct of the research and ensured that informed consent from respondents in the study was obtained in order to make sure that all respondents participated freely and voluntarily.

The respondents were informed that they are not forced to participate or to divulge information they felt was confidential and for their own knowledge in view of the sensitivity of the topic. The concerned people were also informed that the research was purely for academic purposes.

Additionally an introductory letter from the university and subsequent local authority was obtained before engaging any respondent in the research process. Thus an ethical consent was sought through a form of an informed consent form and assuring confidentiality privacy and anonymity of any information shared during the interview, before embarking on data collection from respondents and respondents were asked to append their signature on a consent form as sign of agreement.

The researcher was also obliged to stop the interview in the case that it injured the respondent in any way and respondents were free to withdraw from the research process should they feel uncomfortable.

### **3.7. Summary**

The Chapter focused on the research design that has been used to carry out the research. The population, sample size, data collection methods and instruments, data analysis and ethical considerations were also looked at in this chapter. The next chapter focuses on the presentation of findings of the study.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

#### 4.0. Overview

This study focuses on establishing the role of the youth in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation. The study sought to identify the role the youth play in Zambia's Democracy and finally recommend areas which need to be enhanced and perfected for effective youth participation. This chapter focuses on presenting the data collected for the purpose of the study. The results presented in this study were obtained through interviews from Political party youth leaders and youth organization leaders as well as from focus group discussions with the youths. A number of themes emerged from the data collected and will be used to present the findings of the study. The study was conducted in three constituencies of Lusaka province. The study comprised of 3 political party youth leaders, 3 youth organization leaders as well as 16 male and 14 female youths. The chapter will close with a summary.

Demographics of the respondents are given in the tables below.

#### 4.1. Demographics of the Respondents

**Table 4.1. Showing the frequency distribution of Youth leaders in selected townships of Lusaka district.**

Group: Youth Leaders	Gender		
	Male	Female	Total
Political Party Youth Leaders	3	0	3
Community Youth Leaders	3	0	3
Total	6	0	6

The gender distribution of youth leaders was as displayed in Table 4.1. All respondents setting as youth leaders were male. 3 political party youth leaders and 3 Youth Community Organisation

**Table 4.1.1. Showing the frequency distribution of Youths in selected townships of Lusaka district.**

Group: Youths	Gender		
	Male	Female	Total
Students	8	7	15
Community Organisation Youths	8	7	15
Total	16	14	30

Gender of all respondents was taken note of by the researcher before they were engaged in the focus group discussion. The gender distribution of youths was as displayed in Table 4.2. Out of the sample of 15 students, 8 were male and 7 were female. Out of 15 Community Organisation Youths, 8 were male and 7 were female.

#### **4.1. Presentation of Research Findings (Semi-Structured Interviews)**

The results presented in this section were obtained through interviews from six (6) participants. As stated above a number of themes emerged from the data collected and these have been used to present the findings of the study. It is also important to state that the research instruments used in this study, used similar questions in both interviews and focus group discussion to obtain relevant data and as a result the data obtained from both respondents from interviews and focus group discussion were similar. This enabled the researcher to identify themes that related to the research objectives through answers that were obtained from the respondents. The identified themes were;

1. The participation of the youth in Zambia’s Democratic Dispensation
2. How youth can participate in Zambia’s democratic dispensation
3. The role of the youth in enhancing Zambia’s Democratic Dispensation
4. Challenges blocking the youth from participating in Zambia’s Democratic Dispensation
5. Measures/ Strategies to enhance effective youth Participation in Zambia’s Democratic Dispensation

The findings are presented in a narrative form.

#### **4.1.1. The Participation of the Youth in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation**

The first research question of this study aimed at finding out how the youth currently participate in political activities, decision making as well as civic activities in Zambia's democratic dispensation. The understanding behind the formulation of this question was that the youth in any given society should actively participate in all these key areas of a democratic society and as such it becomes important to inquire on how they are faring in all those key areas currently. The respondents held the view that the youths do not have a good image as at the moment, they have been identified with alcoholism and that they are irresponsible and as such they cannot be trusted. Respondents also stated that youths are marginalized when it comes to full participation both at national and party level. Respondents also stated that the environment is not conducive for youth participation. Most youth want to take part in the running of the country and make a progressive change, but they lack representation. Below are some of the responses as stated by some respondents to support the above findings;

##### **Response from youth leaders**

A youth leader stated that: *it is very difficult for the young people of Zambia to constructively and productively participate in the political dispensation because they do not have an image, the status quo of the youth right now is that they do not have an identity.*

Another youth leader stated that: *The young people have been identified with negativity, when you talk of alcoholism, hooliganism and all other bad things have been damped on them. The youth cannot constructively and productively participate in politics with such a name. The youth are also marginalised, they don't have much space in the political dispensation.*

#### **4.1.2. How youths can/should participate in Zambia's democratic dispensation**

The researcher asked a follow up question, which aimed at establishing how the youth should participate in Zambia's democratic dispensation following the answers from the respondents about how youths are currently participating. The researcher asked the question, to all participants; Political party youth leaders and youth organization leaders. The respondents stated that youths should stand as councilors in the communities and impact positive change through sensitization to community members on policy and other global issues. It was also felt that youths should occupy important positions in political parties as this would enable them to

become accustomed to political process and build on effective leadership as a team. It was also stated that youths should be members of parliament and also occupy ministerial positions where they can contribute effectively to democracy and national development through policy formulation and reforms. Below are some responses as stated by respondents supporting the above findings;

### **Responses from youth leaders**

One youth leaders stated that: *They should get involved in political party activities such as campaigns, formulating party policies.*

Another youth stated that: *standing as leaders during elections, because they have the fresh ideas and knowledge to transform Zambia.*

The other also stated that: *To speak out on matters of the nation without fear or favor, their voices in this country should be heard.*

### **4.1.3. The Role of The Youth in Enhancing Zambia's Democratic Dispensation**

On the second research question, the researcher sought to establish how youth participation enhances Zambia's Democratic Dispensation. The formulation of this question was based on the belief that youth participation can/does enhance Democratic Dispensation in any country. Respondents where were asked to state if they believe youth participation enhances democracy and how such participation can enhance democracy. Respondents stated that youth participation does actually enhance democracy because of the various activities that the youth take part in, but the main concern is that youths are not given opportunities and a platform to participate. It was stated that the youth are at the forefront of enhancing democracy by speaking out and making their voice heard in issues concerning the nation and political parties. Respondents also state that youths enhance democracy through campaigning and voting. Reference was also made at the role youths played in the 2011 elections as an example of how democracy is enhance by the youths. Below are responses supporting the above findings;

## **Responses from youth leaders**

One of the youth leaders stated that: *Youth participation does enhance democracy, but few young people have been given that opportunity and responsibility in very important positions from the party level to the national level and that is why our democracy is in stagnation because the youth have been marginalized and left out.*

Another youth leader stated that: *When the youths are on the streets campaigning for a political party or individual that enhances democracy.*

The other youth leader also stated that: *Youths make statements on radio, newspapers and T.V, that has brought changes and reforms in political parties and the country, showing that their participation enhances democracy.*

### **4.1.4. Challenges Blocking the Youth from Participating in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation**

Research question three aimed to establish the challenges faced/encountered by the youth in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation. The reason behind the question was that the effective participation of the youth is faced with a number of challenges in them contributing to and enhancing Zambia's Democratic Dispensation and as a result that requires redress. The responses from respondents are many and varied; findings indicate that the current/ older politicians in power pose a great challenge. Respondents stated that political leaders had advantage of the youth using as tools of violence because of greed, further stating that youths are used to destroy any thing that comes in the way of the political leaders. It was also stated that older politicians keep on saying that youths have no experience any there is a lot of recycled change in the current political system and as such hindering the youth Below are responses supporting the above findings;

A youth leader stated that: *political leaders have taken advantage of the vulnerability of the young people and have propelled them to get involved in negative vices out of greed, greed brings out all the negative one can talk about.*

Another youth leader stated that: *Youths are used to destroy any thing that stands in the way for those politicians who want to be in power all the time , it's evident with political violence, it is the youths who are involved and the planning is done by the old folks and they give the plans to*

*the youth to execute. There is an also emphasis from the older politicians that youths have no experience and yet they won't let the youth participate.*

*The other youth leader stated that: Recycled change is what has blocked new change. Some politicians want to hold on to power, they don't know the principle of not changing everything but only contributing to change, you can't change everything in this world you can only contribute to change and the least we contribute makes a difference.*

#### **4.1.5. Measures/ Strategies to enhance effective youth Participation in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation**

Research question four sought to establish the strategies /measures that should be implemented to enhance effective youth participation in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation. The understanding behind the question is that there are strategies that could be suggested that would create an enabling environment for effective youth participation in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation. Respondents indicated that there is need for policy formulation and also create awareness to the youths on their rights, roles and responsibilities and that funds for the youth to venture into entrepreneurship should be made available. Below are some of the responses supporting the above findings;

*A youth leader stated that: There must be a deliberate move/policy that when the president is going to the AU, he should at least go with 5 or 10 youths for exposure.*

*Another youth leader also stated that: Youths should be encouraged to be selfless and not want to be paid every time, they should learn to volunteer freely and sacrifice as a way of learning and exposure and eventually contributing to democracy and national development, so that when they become leaders it will be easy for them to perform.*

*Another youth leader stated that: Government needs make funds available to all youth to enable to start businesses. Employment opportunities should also be created in both private and public sector.*

#### **4.2. Presentation of Research Findings (Focus Group Discussion)**

The results presented in this section were obtained through focus group discussion from thirty (30) participants. A number of themes emerged from the data collected and these have been used to present the findings of the study. It is also important to state that the research instruments used in this study, used similar questions in both interviews and focus group discussion to obtain

relevant data and as a result the data obtained from both respondents from interviews and focus group discussion were similar. This enabled the researcher to identify themes that related to the research objectives through answers that were obtained from the respondents. The identified themes were:

1. The participation of the youth in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation
2. How youth can participate in Zambia's democratic dispensation
3. The role of the youth in enhancing Zambia's Democratic Dispensation
4. Challenges blocking the youth from participating in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation
5. Measures/Strategies to enhance effective youth Participation in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation

The findings are presented in a narrative form.

#### **4.2.1. The Participation of the Youth in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation**

The first research question of this study aimed at finding out how the youth currently participate in political activities, decision making as well as civic activities in Zambia's democratic dispensation. The understanding behind the formulation of this question was that the youth in any given society should actively participate in all these key areas of a democratic society and as such it becomes important to inquire on how they are faring in all those key areas currently. They stated that the youth are not appointed to leadership positions that would enable them to make decisions and also formulate policy. Respondents also stated that youth are political cadres, who are involved in riots and politically motivated fights, other respondents stated that young people are not living as young people should in a democratic environment, they are just suffering and laboring. Below are some of the responses supporting the above findings;

A youth stated that: *Youth participate in riots and also as political cadres.*

Another youth leader stated that: *so young people are just laboring and suffering, they are not living but just existing, the youths are not participating but they are being used and most old politicians are more comfortable seeing youths not participating.*

Another youth also stated that: *Youths are left out in governance and decision making and are only used towards elections.*

#### **4.2.2. How Youths can/should Participate in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation**

The researcher asked a follow up question, which aimed at establishing how the youth should participate in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation following the answers from the respondents about how youths are currently participating. Respondents stated that youths are supposed to criticize policies, get involved in national debates in important national matters. It was stated that youth can be formulating policy and decision making at all levels. Respondents also stated that youths should be taking change to their communities and also mobilizing other youths and formulate policies in their political parties. Below are some of the responses supporting the above findings;

A youth stated that: *Youth are supposed to criticize policies, attend debates also attend council meetings.*

Another youth stated that: *Youths should be engaged in policy making and decision making and also taking and making change in their communities.*

Another youth also stated that: *Youths should participate by mobilizing other youths and come up with policies through their parties.*

#### **4.2.3. The Role of the Youth in Enhancing Zambia's Democratic Dispensation**

On the second research question, the researcher sought to establish how youth participate enhances Zambia's Democratic Dispensation. The formulation of this question was based on the belief that youth participation can/does enhance Zambia's Democratic Dispensation. Respondents were asked to state if they believe youth participation enhances democracy and how through that participation democracy is enhanced. Respondents stated that youths promote peace in the way they speak about issues of tribalism and violence in the country, youths have the energy and ideas needed for the country to progress. Respondents further stated that youths can be involved in debates and dialogue in issues of democracy and issues of national development, youth also enhance democracy by motivating other youths and citizens to participate in democratic activities. Below are some of the responses supporting the above findings;

A youth stated: *Youths have the energy it takes for a human being to work and make progress, young people have great ideas, they relate well with the modern and current happenings and they always bring change and that is how they enhance democracy. Youths also promote peace and carry the flag of love and peace.*

Another youth stated: *of late Youths have been speaking out against issues of tribalism, hate speech and political violence.*

Another youth also stated that: *Youths also debate and dialogue on aspects of democracy and national economic, social and religious issues. For example youths have spoken out on the issue of gay rights and how the economy should be diversified and entrepreneurship to be encouraged and promoted and as such these activities have enabled the youth to contribute to and enhance democracy.*

#### **4.2.4. Challenges Blocking the Youth from Participating in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation**

Research question three aimed to establish the challenges faced/encountered by the youth in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation. The reason behind the question was that the effective participation of the youth is faced with a number of challenges in them contributing to and enhancing Zambia's Democratic Dispensation and as a result that requires redress. The responses from respondents are many and varied; findings indicate that youths lack funding/resources to venture into entrepreneurship, respondents also stated that there is lack of a good education that offers proper and necessary skills, youth also face brutality from police, university and college administrators. Below are some of the responses supporting the above findings;

A youth stated that: *Empowerment in terms of sustenance, youths need jobs and resources so that they can stand on their own and negotiate, the youth cannot negotiate on an empty stomach, that always back fire on the negotiator.*

Another youth stated that: *Very few young people have access to good quality education, in terms of going to university and college as well as skills training centers, the majority of youths have less access to education that offers proper skills in this country.*

Another youth also stated that: *There is a lot police brutality towards those stand out to protest and demonstrate and even those who speak out against the ills in this country.*

#### **4.2.5. Measures/Strategies to Enhance Proper youth Participation in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation**

Research question four sought to establish the strategies /measures that should be implemented to enhance effective youth participation in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation. The understanding behind the question is that there are strategies that could be suggested that would

create an enabling environment for effective youth participation in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation. Respondents indicated that there is need for the creation of an academy as a way of experimental leadership to prepare the youths for future leadership roles, with different skills from the current political environment. Respondents also stated that the education system needs to be reformed and begin to offer necessary skills to the youth. It was also stated that retired political leaders should not be brought back to power once retired so that young take up more leadership positions. Below are some of the responses supporting the above findings;

A youth stated that: *We need an academy to break the vicious cycle of old ways, systems and old knowledge, because the way politics was run in 1964, is the same way its run today.*

Another youth stated that: *The education system needs to be reformed to offer practical solutions for the young people Youths need to be equipped with the right skill to make them stand on their own.*

Another youth also stated: *Retired leaders should not be brought back into leadership positions, a policy on retirement age for politicians should be made to stop the trend. Youth councils/Parliament should be active and allow for all youths from different political parties to exchange ideas and formulate policies that will be taken serious and eventually contribute positively to Zambia's democratic dispensation.*

### **4.3. Summary**

This chapter focused on presenting the data collected for the purpose of the study. The results presented in this study were obtained through interviews from Political party youth leaders, youth organization leaders and from focus group discussions with the youths. A number of themes emerged from the data collected and they were used to present the findings of the study. The next chapter focuses on the discussion of findings of the study.

## CHAPTER 5

### DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

#### 5.0. Overview

In this chapter the findings are discussed using the themes that emerged from the collected data and the knowledge contained in the literature about youth participation in Democratic Dispensation. The themes that emerged from the collected data include; The participation of the youth in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation, How youth can participate in Zambia's democratic, The role of the youth in enhancing Zambia's Democratic Dispensation Challenges blocking the youth from participating in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation and Measures/ Strategies to enhance effective youth Participation in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation. The chapter closes with a summary.

#### 5.1. The Participation of The Youth in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation

The findings in 4.1.1 and 4.2.1 revealed that, the youth have been participating in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation, but their participation has been in times of political struggle and also during election. The findings also revealed that the youth are used as tools of violence and pushing the agendas of those in power, they are not engaged in political and national decision making process but instead they are greatly marginalised for such processes and the leadership positions that come with them. More findings here showed that the image and identity has been destroyed and because of that they cannot be trusted, the youth want to participate effectively but they are lacking the platform to do so. The findings are in line with the writings of Phiri (2008:5) who argues that, Continuing from 1991 to the present times, the youth's role in Zambia's democratic dispensation has only been 'seasonal' in times of major country events such as struggles and elections at political party as well as national level. The youths have not been fully incorporated and accommodated in democratic dispensation and in most instances their involvement has been in political violence leading to the image of the youth being destroyed and them not playing a positive role in Zambia's democratic dispensation. In the above argument Phiri (2008), brings out an important point on the image of the youth being destroyed and that this eventually leads to the youths not playing a positive and effective role in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation.

The above findings having a meeting point with the finding of Youth Map Zambia (2014:34) that, representation of young people in decision-making positions has not been a focus of

governments past and present, It can be argued clearly that when it comes to opportunities to give young people a chance to move the wheels of equity and justice, those that are charged with the power to facilitate this process completely ignore the young people. For example, sections of society have argued that youth empowerment and participation for the large part is unfulfilled and is seen as mere rhetoric. The reality appears that the engagement of young people lies in mainly in times of struggle and social activities while the existing forms of participation prohibits young people's opinions and desires from entering the public sphere, where they may gain recognition. Minds (2016:69) further argues that, young people are not consulted and are not given chance to take part in planning for their communities as well as the nation at large. As indicated, in an interview at one of the Council meetings, in which the person in charge of public relations commented that the issues that are discussed in the chambers are critical issues, legislation, personal issues, which can only be discussed by the elderly, these are sensitive issues. MINDS (2016:68) adds that, much of government policy has a direct or indirect impact on the daily lives of young people nevertheless, they play only a minor role in Zambia's decision making arenas. Youth participants frequently mentioned that they felt excluded from the political process, as many political leaders are over 50 years old. Even those who are seen to "represent" young people are over 40, leaving leaders out of touch with youth issues and disinterested in authentically engaging the youth.

## **5.2. How Youth Can Participate In Zambia's Democratic Dispensation**

According to the findings indicated in 4.1.2 and 4.2.2, respondents outlined a number of ways and means that the youth can participate in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation. Findings indicated that, youths should stand as members of parliament in their constituencies and also as councilors in their community, as this would enable them contribute to democracy and also take change to their communities by engaging with the ordinary citizens. Findings also showed that, youths should also speak out without fear or favour in critical national matters, including policies. More findings revealed that, youths should also participate by engaging in policy formulation and decision making at political party and also at national level. In line with the stated findings scholars such as Bessant (2012:38) asserts, "Youth participation is critical for maintaining democratic values of which elections is one thereof". IPU (2014:18) further goes on to argue that, the inclusion of youths in parliaments and other elected assemblies plays an important symbolic role in motivating other younger citizens to become more politically involved, by demonstrating that politics is open to their participation and by providing potential role models at a time when many young people are expressing a dwindling interest in formal

political activity, youth participation promotes active citizenship and offers new opportunities for civic engagement, education, and learning about government. Wagner (2015:42) in his research found that, young people are engaging in non-electoral forms of participation, the new generation of young South Africans participate widely in political and socio-political affairs, providing more evidence of political interest. Their activities range from volunteer community work, to protest action to get jobs allocated to members of the local community. They are avid followers of political events. They obtain information from both traditional sources and the new(s) or social media.

Furthermore, Wagner (2015:43) writes that, youth engagement in formulating tomorrow's politics is crucial because inclusive participation is a fundamental political and democratic right. However, actively promoting the inclusion of youth in political processes is not only about norms, values and rights, but also about practical politics. Minds (2016:70) stated that, youth participation in decision making turns around the culture of a people, community and organization. It can increase youth friendliness and result in structures, policies and procedures that are demand driven to address the needs and rights of young people. Many of the countries discussed in this section have undergone significant political changes in recent years. These include revolutions in Egypt, Tunisia and Burkina Faso.

### **5.3. The Role of the Youth in Enhancing Zambia's Democratic Dispensation**

The findings in 4.1.3 and 4.2.3 revealed that youth participation does actually enhance Zambia's democracy. The youths through the various formidable and positive activities that they take part in make a lot of contribution to democracy. The youth enhance democracy by speaking against certain issues be it at party level or national level, youths are positively engaged in political party activities, the youth continuously ponder on maintaining democratic principles and upholding the rule of law. Findings further revealed that, youths are energetic and bring a lot of ideals on policies, youth are also believed to mobilise other youth and also motivating other citizens to participate. More findings revealed that, youth bring change economically and socially as they have the answers to the current problems and most of all they carry the flag of peace as they refrain from taking part in tribal politics as is the case currently, but the important issue still remains that the youth are marginalised.

The findings stated above are in line with the arguments stated by some scholars UNDP (2012:25) that, youth wings can extend outreach to young voters and make parties more credible to them. For election and recruiting campaigns, youth wings will likely know what language is most effective with their peers and what kinds of activities are attractive to youth. The efforts of older party leaders to appeal to youth often fall short. UNDP (2012) also added that, the youth playing an active role in democracy is vital as in countries such as Canada and Nicaragua they are a channel that political parties use to reach out to all youths especially university students and in this context both male and female to foster good governance, political parties have also used youth quotas to increase participation in leadership positions and as candidates.

UNDP (2012:25) also recorded that, the youth-founded Tribal Liaison Office in Afghanistan bridges gaps between tribal leaders, and formal government authorities and donors. Ntsabane (2013:10) also recorded that, In Ghana, youth wings of the four political parties issued a joint statement in 2006 calling on the President and ex-President to resolve their differences and rebuild a constructive relationship. MINDS (2016:70) also stated that, young people have demonstrated the potential to build bridges across communities, working together, helping to manage conflict and promote peace. Young people are vital stakeholders in conflict and in peace-building, and can be agents of change and provide a foundation for rebuilding lives and communities, contributing to a more just and peaceful society.

In line with the stated findings Bessant (2012:38) claimed that, youth participation enhances democracy and citizenship while tackling social, economic, religious and political problems. The youth of every given community in one way or the other gradually contribute to social changes, and it is through them that one can try to understand the future of a country's political status. IPU (2014:18) also affirmed that, the inclusion of youths in parliaments and other elected assemblies plays an important symbolic role in motivating other younger citizens to become more politically involved, by demonstrating that politics is open to their participation and by providing potential role models. At a time when many young people are expressing a dwindling interest in formal political activity, youth participation promotes active citizenship and offers new opportunities for civic engagement, education, and learning about government, thereby strengthening young people's social responsibility. The outlined findings echo the views of Minds (2016:70) argued that, through active youth contributions, democratic values can come to life, paving the way for the overcoming of authoritarian practices. Youth participation in decision making enables governance institutions to make informed decisions regarding the needs of young people. IPU

(2014:18) also stated that the health of democracy depends on the active engagement of youth in decision making.

#### **5.4. Challenges Blocking the Youth from Participating in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation.**

As stated by the respondents in this research, there are a number of challenges that youths encounter that hinder and block them from fully participating in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation. The findings revealed that, there is lack of unemployment and lack of resources to enable youths participate effectively, the respondents stated that empowerment in terms of sustenance is needed, youths need jobs and resources so that they can stand on their own and negotiate, the youth cannot negotiate on an empty stomach, that always back fires on the negotiation. The International Labour Organisation (2010:58) stated that, Unemployment is a formidable challenge that confronts all African countries regardless of their different socio-economic development. In Africa, the youth accounted for 60% of total unemployed and three in five of Africa's unemployed are youth. United Nation (2012:40) further affirmed that, young candidates also counter challenges such as patronage networks and a lack of financial resources as obstacles if they were interested in running for elected office. Well-resourced candidates and political parties in a number of countries were described as buying support through giving away cash and gifts, such as motorbikes.

Findings also revealed that, very few youths have had access to good education, some are illiterate while others lack proper skills training. Findings also showed that, the older generation of current leaders has taken advantage of the youth because of their illiteracy and lack of employment, using them as tools of violence and using them to pushing their propagandas while marginalizing them from taking part in formidable activities and also few youths are found in important and prominent leadership positions. In line with the stated findings, UNDP (2011:34) affirmed that, illiteracy mostly refers to lack of formal education, the concept denotes inability to read and write or to obtain western and/or other form of education. Against this backdrop, the bulk of African youths are illiterate and this has disadvantaged most youths from participating in political systems of their countries as in the case of Nigeria. IPU (2014:77) supported the outlined sentiments by writing that among formal political organizations, such as parties and parliaments, internal mechanisms, rules and procedures do not favour the inclusion of youth. They are not considered for leadership positions; engagement does not lead to visible results. UNDP Human Development Report (2010:34) also observed that, a considerable number of

youths are brainwashed and indoctrinated by the politicians to see their role in the democratic growth as thugs or political gangsters, popularly known as, ‘Yanbanga’ and ‘Yankuge’. Their illiteracy status is been exploited by desperate politicians at the detriment of the youths and the young state. Worse still, the senseless and reckless educational policies, at all levels of governments, have prevented most youths, access to meaningful and sound education.

Findings also revealed that leaders in power at times employ dictatorial tendency in dealing with the youth, this can be seen in the police brutality used towards the youth and other citizens when the youth speak out on important nation issues. University and college premises are usually monitored by state police and student union bodies’ freedom of speech is curtailed. Agreeing with the stated findings MINDS (2015:79) stated that, dictatorial tendencies of African governments has weakened youth inherent disposition to agitate change. University administrators too, are not spared of these dictatorial tendencies as they have little room for toleration of opposing views and opinions. This explains why as of today over 60% of the campuses in the majority of university in southern and west Africa are without vibrant Student Union Governments, through which leadership qualities could be cultivated and nurtured for the betterment of the society in the future. To underscore their resolve to keep the students permanently subservient, docile and subjugated, many campuses now have police posts near the gate to make it easy for the authorities to draft in the police at the least sign of demonstration.

Findings also indicated that, youths are vulnerable to diseases and sadly very few take issues of their health seriously and as a result, youths who would have made great contributions to Zambia’s democracy have died with their great knowledge, energy and ideals. Youth map (2014:34) also wrote that, youths are susceptible to disease. Young people aged between 15 and 24 have the highest infection rates from HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases. The youths face a myriad of health related problems, including widespread malaria, malnutrition, HIV/AIDS and Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs), drug and substance abuse as well as poor access to health services. The HIV/AIDS pandemic is more prevalent among the youths under 30 years.

#### **5.5. Measures/ Strategies to Enhance Effective Youth Participation in Zambia’s Democratic Dispensation.**

From the research findings indicated in 4.1.5 and 4.2.5, a number of strategies/measures have been outlined and suggested as those that can be put in place to enhance effective youth participation in Zambia’s Democratic Dispensation. Findings revealed that, funds should be

made available to all youth to enable them venture into entrepreneurial activities and employment opportunities should also be created in both private and public sector. Findings also revealed that the education system needs to be reformed to equip the youth necessary skills. In line with stated findings, Youth Map (2014:87) asserted that, African government should adopt and promote youth employment schemes including education systems and curricula reforms, to ensure that youth are endowed with basic business skills and resources to minimize their economic marginalization and to building peaceful and democratic societies. MINDS (2016:72) also added that African governments must ensure the unleashing of youth development 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 the 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.

Findings indicated that an academy is needed for youths to be nurtured and prepared for future leadership roles ,more findings revealed youth councils/Parliament should be active and allow for all youths from different political parties to exchange ideas and formulate policies that will be taken serious and eventually contribute positively to Zambia's democratic dispensation. In support of the findings, Youth Map (2014:88) also stated that channels of experiential leadership training and learning opportunities within public sector offices and civil society organizations should be created (e.g. mentorships, model UN-like system, internships within companies and organizations with leaders). Promote the benefits of volunteerism to young people by installing compulsory volunteer programs within schools and colleges. Programs should be youth led to identify service opportunities, rally resources, and execution, while receiving guidance from staff, and top leaders.

More findings further indicated that, the youths need to be educated on politics, because most of them have been brain washed to see it as a dirty game. They need to be educated to know the real meaning of politics. Findings also revealed that the electoral system needs to be improved through reforms to create an environment for fair political participation. Youths should to learn their rights and be bold enough to speak out on issues affecting them. In agreement MINDS (2016:71) writes that Strategies for increasing youth participation in future included increasing civic and voter education, broadening youth consultation and more youth representation at political party and government level. Challenging perceptions about the inability of youth and

women to occupy leadership positions. Supporting effective, independent electoral commissions. Changing age limits for candidates running for electing office. Creating platforms for sustained youth engagement. Building networks between youth movements across the country.

## **5.6. Summary**

This chapter focused on the discussion of findings obtained from the research study. In this chapter the findings of the study were discussed using the themes that emerged from the collected data and the knowledge contained in the literature about youth participation in Democratic. The themes that emerged from the collected data include; The participation of the youth in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation, How youth can participate in Zambia's democratic, The role of the youth in enhancing Zambia's Democratic Dispensation Challenges blocking the youth from participating in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation and Measures/ Strategies to enhance effective youth Participation in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation. The next chapter focuses on the conclusions and recommendations of the study.

## CHAPTER SIX

### CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 6.0. Overview

In this chapter the conclusion has been made in relation to the objectives which were set in Chapter one of the study. The following objectives were set, to establish whether Zambian youth participate in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation, to establish how youth participation in Zambian politics enhances Zambia's Democratic Dispensation, to find out the challenges faced by the youth in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation, to provide strategies to enhance effective youth participation in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation. The stated objectives will be used to conclude and recommendations will also be made in line with the stated objectives. The chapter will close with a summary.

#### 6.1. Conclusions of the study

The aim of the study was to establish the role of the youth in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation. The summary of the main findings are presented below according to the research objectives:

In line with the first objective which aimed at providing information on the participation of the youth in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation and drawing from the findings collected from interviews and focus group discussion, it is clear that the youth have been very active in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation, but are also engaged in the wrong activities and that they are marginalized from participating formidably in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation. The youths are missing in leadership position where they could contribute greatly. It can also be concluded from the findings that the youth are engaged in times of struggle and used as tools of violence, pushing the political agendas of those in power. This has in turn led to their image being destroyed and distorted and that they can't be trusted with power and authority as they cannot be responsible leaders. To conclude further it can be stated that the older political leaders are comfortable with the current state of affairs concerning youth participation in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation and if the situation is not looked into the same political leaders using the youth will find it very difficult to run the country. The conclusion from the findings is that there are many ways and means through which youths can participate positively and formidably in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation, this could be as councilors, mayors, members of parliament, they also be engaged community sensitization activities in important national matters.

In line with the second research objective which sought to establish how youth participation enhances Zambia's Democratic Dispensation and drawing from the findings, it can be concluded from the findings that when the youth participate in this Democratic Dispensation, Democracy is eventually enhanced. It can be concluded from the findings that the youth bring a lot of great ideas as solutions and change to the many political, economic and social problems that Zambia encounters. Youths were singled out as having the energy to mobilize their fellow youths and also engage in educating other citizens on their rights roles and responsibilities in the country. To conclude further the youths were also stated as the ones speaking against the issues of tribalism and the current state of affairs in the country concerning peace and the rule of law, all these activities and many other activities that the youth are engage in are can be concluded and stated as means through which Zambia's Democracy is enhanced by the youth.

In accordance with the third research objective which aimed at outlining the challenges that youths encounter in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation, it can be concluded and stated that youth encounter a number of challenges that block their effective participation in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation, the challenges range from unemployment, lack of proper skills, lack of empowerment funds, illiteracy, the lack of a good image as youths, lack of awareness on what their role is, lack of leadership position and representation and also the fact that political leaders use them as tools of violence and as a result they engage in negative vices and fail to formidably and fully participate.

In accordance with the fourth research objective which sought to suggest measures and strategies that would be implemented to enhance effective youth participation in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation, it can be stated that there are, measures and strategies that can be adopted and applied, these would include appointing youths to influential leadership positions, provide the education with the proper and relevant skills, more accessible funds for the youth to engage in entrepreneurial activities, an academy to help train and nurture the youth for future leadership roles and creation of recreational facilities for youths to channel their energies in productive activities. It can be further concluded that adopting and applying the suggested measures and strategies would greatly enhance and enable effective youth participation in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation.

## **6.2. Recommendations of the study**

In line with findings of this study, the researcher outlines the following recommendations as they can enable effective youth participation in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation:

The government, political parties and other stakeholders should ensure that more youths are engaged to participate formidably in the current political dispensation in all government and party activities.

Government may also formulate policy and let it be statutory through parliament that a certain percentage of youths must be appointed to influential leadership positions, as ministers and ambassadors.

Create an enabling environment and more credible platforms for the youth to participate in the current political dispensation, such an effort may also keep the youth away from violence and negative activities.

Old leaders should not be brought back to power once they retire. This recommendation follows revelation by the study that this poses a challenge to youth participation in the current political dispensation. Deciding not to return the old retired politicians back into active politics may award more opportunities for the youth as leaders and credible decision makers.

Government and other stakeholders should put in measures to provide an education with relevant and necessary skills that may enable youth to stand on their own and not rely on the government for employment. This recommendation follows revelation by the study that most youths lack the relevant practical skills once they complete school to enable stand on their own.

Government should also establish credible institutions that should provide funds and resources to the youth, this is to enable them venture into entrepreneurial activities. This recommendation follows revelation by the study that the youth lack resources and funding in the face of unemployment and as a strategy such a measure would help the youth.

### **6.3. Summary**

The chapters focused on the conclusions of the study, conclusions were made using each research objective of the study. The chapter also outlined the recommendations in line with the research objectives of the study.

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## Appendices

Appendix A: Information letter

THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA AND ZIMBABWE OPEN UNIVERSITY  
POSTGRADUATE PROGRAMMES

Topic

THE ROLE OF THE YOUTH IN ZAMBIA'S DEMOCRATIC DISPENSATION.

Dear respondent

I am a student at the University of Zambia in collaboration with Zimbabwe Open University carrying out a research on The Role of the Youth in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation. Your views and experiences will be extremely useful. Your participation in this survey is strictly voluntary. This study is being conducted as a requirement in partial fulfillment of the award of the degree of Master of Science in Peace, Leadership and Conflict Resolution.

I would like to assure you that this study is purely for academic purposes and that your responses will be treated with utmost confidentiality. In an effort to maintain the confidentiality of each respondent, your name and that of your school is not recorded.

I appreciate your cooperation

Yours

Research Student

## Appendix B

Interview schedules (Political and Community Youth Leaders)

THE ROLE OF THE YOUTH IN ZAMBIA'S DEMOCRATIC DISPENSATION.

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS (POLITICAL AND COMMUNITY YOUTH LEADERS)

Time of interview..... Date of an interview.....

To establish whether the youth Participate in *Zambian's Democratic Dispensation.*

- 1 In your opinion how do you think the youth participation in
  - a) Political activities
  - b) Governance/decision making
  - c) Civil activities
- 2 According you, how are the youth supposed to participate in *Zambia's Democratic Dispensation?*
- 3 What positions do youths hold in political parties?
- 4 Are youths appointed to leadership at community levels? If yes what positions?

To determine if youth participation enhances *Zambia's Democratic Dispensation.*

- 1 According to you, how does the participation of the youth in governance enhance *Zambia's Democracy?*
- 2 In your own view, how has the participation of the youth in civil activities enhanced *Zambia's Democracy?*
- 3 In your own opinion, how has the participation in party politics enhanced *Zambia's Democracy?*

To find out the challenges faced by the youth in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation.

1 According to you, how do politicians hinder/block the youth from fully participating in Zambia's Democracy?

2 In your own view, what other challenges block the youth from fully participating in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation?

To provide suggestions to enhanced effective youth participation in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation.

1 In your own view, what measures should be taken to enhance proper youth Participation in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation?

## Appendix C

Interview schedules (Youths)

THE ROLE OF THE YOUTH IN ZAMBIA'S DEMOCRATIC DISPENSATION.

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION QUESTIONS (YOUTHS)

Time of interview..... Date of an interview.....

- 1 According to you, how do the youth participate in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation?
- 2 In your own opinion, how are the youth supposed to participate in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation?
- 3 From your own observation how does the participation of the youth enhance Zambia's Democratic Dispensation?
- 4 What challenges do the youth encounter in Zambia's Democratic Dispensation?
- 5 What measures should be taken to enhance effective youth participation?

## Appendix D

### WORK PLAN

No	Activities to be Undertaken	Done by	Period	Days
1	Secondary Data collection	Researcher	1st-20th April.,2017	20
2	Preparation of Research Proposal	Researcher	21st April-10 <sup>th</sup> May, 2017	20
3	Formulation of data collection tools	Researcher	11th-15th May, 2017	5
4	Editing proposal and data collection tool	Researcher	16th-31stth May, 2017	15
5	Submission of Final proposal	Researcher	5th June, 2017	1
6	Collection of Data	Researcher	6th-30th June, 2017	25
7	Coding of data and organization	Researcher	1st–12st July, 2017	11
8	Data Analysis and Interpretation	Researcher	13-th 28th July, 2017	15
9	Report Writing	Researcher	29th July-30st August, 2017	31
10	Submission of final report	Researcher	31st August, 2017	1

Expected duration of the study is 144 days

Appendix E

Proposed Budget

Source of Fund: Self

Activity1: Literature Review

Lunch for 2 weeks

K40. per day.....K560

Internet charges.....K150

Subtotal.....K710

Activity 2: Proposal Preparation, Printing of Interview Guide

2 Reams of paper.....K100.

Typing and printing of 65 pages proposal @ K5.....K325.

Per page (2 copies needed)

Typing and printing of interview questions @K5.....K15.

Per copy

5 Pens @ K5.....K25.

2 Pencil @ K3.....K6.

2 Rubber @ K5.....K10.

1 Notebook @ K10.....K10.

Subtotal.....K491.

Activity 3: Data Collection

Lunch @ K40 per day for 25 days.....K1000.

Activity 4: Data Analysis and Final Reporting

Typing and printing of 88 pages Report @ K5.....K440.

Per page (2 copies needed)

Binding.....K100.

Compact Disk (CD).....K10.

Other Activities: Transport.....K500.

Subtotal.....K2050.

Grand Total.....K3,251.