

**THE EFFECTIVENESS OF PARLIAMENTARY REFORMS ON CITIZEN
PARTICIPATION IN PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS IN ZAMBIA**

By

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**A dissertation submitted to the University of Zambia in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of Master of Public Administration (MPA).**

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DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

The government of the Republic Zambia introduced parliamentary reforms in order to bring parliament closer to the people and enhance the functions and effectiveness of the National Assembly as a legislative body and agent of development. The reforms were part of the public sector reforms programme (PSRP) embarked on by the Zambian government after 1991 in order to promote efficiency and effectiveness in public institutions such as parliament. This study investigated the effectiveness of parliamentary reforms in enhancing citizen participation in parliamentary affairs. Two objectives guided the study which is; firstly, to examine the strategies used to reform parliament in Zambia. Secondly, to assess the extent to which the objectives of the parliamentary reforms have increased citizens' participation in the legislative functions in Zambia, and to make policy recommendations that would enhance citizen participation in parliamentary affairs in Zambia.

A case study in which 12 Members of Parliament, three directors of civil society organizations, and eight parliamentary support staff, and 30 ordinary citizens were purposely and conveniently sampled, and used in the study. The researcher used interview guide to collect data from Members of Parliament, directors of civil society organizations and parliamentary staff. Focus group discussions on the other hand were used to obtain data from ordinary citizens.

The study revealed that citizens were generally aware of the National Assembly of Zambia and that MPs are elected to represent them. However, this did not translate into understanding and appreciation of the roles of the National Assembly. The study also established that the principal roles of parliament are legislation, representation and oversight. The study established that strategies used to reform parliament were: establishment of parliament radio and TV studios, establishment of constituency offices, construction of committee building/visitors center and formulation of strategic plans. With regard to factors affecting the effective implementation of the parliamentary reforms, it was established that these include, lack of time for MPs to visit their constituencies, inadequate government funding to support reforms, excessive executive powers, lack of political will, lack of monitoring and evaluation of the reforms.

In terms of the levels of awareness and the extent to which citizens participate in parliamentary affairs, the study revealed low levels of both awareness and participation by citizens in

parliamentary affairs in Zambia. Some of the factors contributing to the low levels of awareness and participation in parliamentary affairs include: long distances to constituency offices and parliament, strict security checks at Parliament, unfulfilled promise by MPs, fear of the unknown, language barrier, political and gender violence, lack of rule of law, inappropriate NAZ structures and failure to link constituency offices to ward development committees. Due to these limiting factors the majority of the citizens still have scanty knowledge of these reforms let alone the functions and roles of the National Assembly.

The study concluded that parliamentary reforms to a greater extent have not been effective in promoting citizen participation in parliamentary affairs and as such government, the Members of Parliament, parliamentary staff, and indeed civil society organisations have a mammoth task to disseminate information to members of the public on the importance and benefits of participation in parliamentary reforms and affairs. Therefore, it was recommended among other things that the government should ensure that constituency offices are depoliticized, capacity built, strengthened and effectively used to sensitize the public about the openness of Parliament. Further, the study suggested some of the areas of future research not comprehensively covered in this research.

KEY WORDS

The key words in the study are: parliamentary reforms, effectiveness, strategies, extent, citizen participation, parliamentary affairs, and parliament.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

API	-	African parliamentary index
APSP	-	African parliamentary strengthening programme
CDF	-	Constituency Development Fund
CSO	-	Central Statistics Office
FODEP	-	Foundation for Democratic process
ICT	-	Information Communication Technology
IPU	-	Inter parliamentary Union
JCTR	-	Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection
MPs	-	Members of Parliament
NAZ	-	National Assembly of Zambia
NCOP	-	National Council of Provinces
NGOs	-	Non-Governmental Organisations
NPM	-	New Public Management
PF	-	Patriotic Front
PISOP	-	Parliamentary Information Systems Operations Policy
PSRP	-	Public Sector Reform Programme
SACCORD	-	Southern African Centre for Constructive Resolution of Disputes
UN	-	United Nations
UNZA	-	University of Zambia

UPND - United Party for National Development

WDC - Ward Development Committee

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Today there is an overwhelming consensus that good governance is essential for sustainable and democratic development. Legislatures are important players in the overall governance of a Nation. Good governance is important for political stability, thus contributing to a more predictable environment for investments in human resources and in creating wealth for the benefit of the people. Legislatures are essential to allow for public open debates and a peaceful democratic decision-making process on issues that concern citizens. The role of the legislature is to oversee the actions of the executive, thereby enhancing good governance for a nation (African Parliamentary Index, 2013). The doctrine of separation of powers dictates that the three arms of government namely; the legislature, the executive and the judiciary must perform their functions independently, while, providing checks and balances towards each other. However, the interdependent or mutual relationship must exist among the three arms of government in order to maintain equilibrium in the way the state functions. For example, the legislature main function is to make laws, the judiciary interprets the laws and the executive formulates and implements the laws. The importance of separation of power in a democracy is to prevent the abuse of power by one arm of government and safeguard the freedom for all.

The management of public institutions in both developed and developing countries has traditionally been heavily influenced by the theory of bureaucracy developed by Max Weber. In general terms, traditional public administration was founded on the concept of bureaucracy upon which other scholars such as Frederick Taylor, Woodrow Wilson and Henry Fayol, among others, premised their work. One key feature of traditional public administration is that it expects professional bureaucrats to execute the tasks of public administration, while separated from the political mechanisms, as well as the private sphere (Pfiffner, 2004).

Weber identified key characteristics of bureaucracy, namely hierarchy of authority, division of labour, technical qualifications, procedural specifications, continuity and impersonality. These characteristics are believed to help to establish rational and efficient organisations where goals

are clear and explicit. Positions in the ideal form of bureaucracy are arranged in a hierarchical order with authority increasing as one move up in the organisation. The authority lies in the position rather than the people occupying them. Selection of members is based on their qualifications rather than who they know and promotions are based on seniority and performance. The officials working in a bureaucracy provide a continuous and neutral service essential to proper function of the state (Weber, 1964).

However, the traditional public administration model has been criticised for its emphasis on the formal aspect of organizations while ignoring the informal aspects of human relations which characterise the reality of organization life (Bernard, 1966). Further, the model's emphasis on rule bound behaviour has been criticized for leading to undesirable consequences like red tapism which discourage innovation and creativity and goals of the organisation being displaced. (Nhema, 2015). Parson (1960) draws attention to possible conflict which might arise between a bureaucrat's authorities derived from his position in the hierarchy and that derived from technical expertise which may result in dual loyalty among subordinates in an organisation.

In an attempt to address the inefficiencies in traditional public administration, public institutions have undergone reforms in one way or another. These reforms were ignited by the new approach to public administration called New Public Management (NPM) of the 1980s and 1990s. The new approach to public management focuses on clients, outputs and outcomes. It also focuses on management by objectives, and performance management, the use of market type mechanisms in place of centralised command and control, competition and choice, devolution of authority, and accountability (Pfiffner, 2004).

Although the NPM approach started in the developed world, it then spread to developing countries including those in Africa. Zambia identified the need to reform its governance system after the re-introduction of multi-party democracy in 1991. On one hand, as part of the good governance and democratisation agenda the government launched the Public Service Reform programme (PSRP) in 1993. The goal of the PSRP was to improve the quality, delivery, efficiency and cost-effectiveness of the public service so that it would be more responsive to the needs of its citizens (Republic of Zambia, 2010). On the other hand, citizen increasing demands for a modern and democratic parliament that is: representative and responsive, efficient and

effective, accountable and accessible, legitimate and linked(R-E-A-L, parliament) triggered the reforms. Subsequently, the National Assembly of Zambia saw it prudent to realign the functions of parliament with the demands of plural politics through which citizens would participate in determining their destiny. This became the foundation for the parliamentary reform programme in Zambia (Republic of Zambia, 2009).

The historical background to the Zambian parliament dates back to 1924 when the first meeting of parliament took place in Livingstone. It was called the Legislative Council then. The Legislative Council held its first meeting in Lusaka in 1935 at government central offices which became the capital city of Northern Rhodesia. The council, however, was biased towards imperialist interest than local interests and accorded white settlers a say in the running of public affairs. Africans had no representation in the council until 1946 when two African bodies called African Representative Council and Northern Rhodesia federation were formed to agitate African representation in the white dominated council.

Subsequently, in the fourth legislative council, African interests were considered (Republic of Zambia, 1968). Before independence in 1964, the last legislative council was formed under what was called a self-governing constitution which provided for seventy seats in the house. In 1964, when Zambia became independent, the Legislative Council was renamed National Assembly of Zambia and consisted of 75 elected members and five nominated members. The first meeting of the National Assembly was held on 14th December 1964. The composition of the National Assembly continued to increase following constitutional amendments. The current composition is 158 members of parliament, eight of them are nominated by the Republican President.

According to the Inter Parliamentary Union (IPU, 1997), democracy is founded on the right of every one to take part in the management of public affairs. It, therefore, requires the existence of representative institutions at all levels of the governance system. Recent years have witnessed major transformations in the evolution of political institutions the world over. These transformations have led to legislative organs taking new roles over and above their traditional roles as legislators and controllers of the executive wing of government. The new roles include conflict resolution, development agents, social security agencies and international relations management, among others (Inter Parliamentary Union, 1997). The Zambian Parliament is one of the public institutions that have undergone significant reforms since 2002. This was done

under the Parliamentary Reform Programme, complemented by other programmes such as the Africa Parliamentary Strengthening Programme (APSP) whose focus was to enhance the performance of Parliament and the effectiveness of its oversight function through strategic capacity building activities like the African Parliamentary Index (API, 2013).

Just like other parliaments in the world, the Zambian parliament suffers in degree from problems of lack of public trust, credibility, accessibility and relevance. This is manifested in the diminishing voter turnout, increasing public apathy, poor quality of debates and growing alienation from the political processes. The respect for Members of Parliament is often low and has been adversely affected by scandals, bribery, corruption and the abuse of office among others (Hughes, 2005). Hence the subject of parliamentary reforms has increasingly become a subject of national concern by national governments and the citizens in general. This is done to redefine the roles of parliament in as far as national governance and service delivery to the citizens are concerned (Republic of Zambia, 2000).

When Zambia re-introduced of multiparty state in 1991, the democratic system of governance was adopted. Democracy is founded on the principle that citizens have the right to take part in the management of public affairs or affairs that affect their lives (Petifor, 2000). By implication, democracy requires the existence of representative institutions at all levels, including parliamentary structures in which all social groups are adequately represented and which have requisite powers and means to express the will or aspirations of the people. In order to conform to the dictates of democracy and as part of the wider governance structure, the Zambian National Assembly, for the past decades, embarked on parliamentary reforms aimed at aligning the functions of parliament with plural politics, promote citizen participation in national affairs, enhance parliament oversight over the executive activities, promote transparency and accountability and good governance in the government system.

Hence parliamentary reforms became inevitable as the institution was widely viewed by the public as a remote institution which is ill equipped, secretive, inaccessible and inadequately resourced to effectively represent the constituents. In addition, the reforms in Zambia were intended to align parliamentary business with current legislative trends worldwide where

portfolio committees deal with specialised matters in an efficient manner and relieve pressure on the National Assembly (Republic of Zambia, 2009).

Though parliamentary reforms have been on-going since 1964, the subject of reforms gained momentum in 1999, when the speaker of the National Assembly of Zambia appointed an ad hoc reforms committee to undertake a study in key areas of reform. This committee was tasked to undertake a study and make recommendations in key areas of reform namely; committee system, legislative process, administration of the National Assembly, support services to parliament and its members and member - constituency relations (Republic of Zambia, 2000). In order to meet its mandate, the committee held more than 20 meetings and made wide consultations, both in Zambia and abroad, before producing a background report. The committee made a total of 73 recommendations that became the basis of the parliamentary reforms in Zambia's National Assembly.

With the re-introduction multi-partism in 1991, and as a way of enhancing democratic governance, the government of the Republic of Zambia and the government of the United States of America signed a grant agreement on 28th September 1992. The essence of the grant was to modernize strategic governance institutions in order to enhance democratic governance in which citizens could fully influence decisions made by parliament in particular and government in general. The grant agreement contained four components namely; the civil rights project, the media independence project, the policy coordination project and the legislative performance project (Republic of Zambia, 2000). Under the legislative performance project, the major focus was the improvement of the operations of the National Assembly of Zambia in the context of the provisions of the constitution. Subsequently, the National Assembly and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) signed a memorandum of understanding on 26th February 1993.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The parliamentary reforms in Zambia were embarked on with a view to bring Parliament closer to the people and enhance citizen participation in the legislative process. Nonetheless, there is a degree of ignorance and apathy in the way citizens participate in governance issues and parliamentary democracy in Zambia. Despite there being channels of engagement, the general

public seem to have little real engagement with Parliament as most people still perceive Parliament as a sacred institution and a ‘no go area’ for ordinary citizens. In addition, democratic deficits between the Public and Parliament are growing. This includes political detachments, lengthy channels of accountability, complex laws and policies and decreasing coverage by traditional media (Hansard Society, 2011).

Further, there is generally public outcry that despite Article 21 of the Zambian Constitution providing for citizens’ rights to association, expression and assembly, some pieces of legislation such as the Public Order Act (POA) somewhat limit the levels of citizen participation and enjoyment of their democratic rights to freely express themselves and hold public meetings to lobby parliament to make amendments on various bills in parliament. For example, the Public Order Act requires citizens to be given seven days’ notice to the police for any public meeting or assembly to be held (Republic of Zambia, 1996). Many Citizens and organizations have also complained that police is usually subjective when giving such permits, thereby limiting citizen participation. Further, the Non-Governmental Act No. 16 of 2009 restricts Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) freedom of Association and Assembly in that such organisations are required to register every five years, submit annual reports of their activities, accounts and personal assets of their officials. Using the same law, the registration of NGOs can be denied on the basis that the objectives are against public interest (Republic of Zambia, 2009). This situation, therefore, raises questions about the effectiveness of parliamentary reforms in enhancing citizen participation in parliamentary affairs.

1.3 Objectives of the Research

1.3.1 General objective

The general objective of the research is to examine the effectiveness of parliamentary reforms in enhancing citizen participation in parliamentary affairs in Zambia.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of the research are as follows;

- i) To examine strategies used to reform parliament in Zambia.

- ii) To assess the extent to which the objectives of parliamentary reforms have increased citizens' participation in legislative functions in Zambia.

1.4 Significance of the Study

The significance of the research is that it provides information on the effectiveness of parliamentary reforms in enhancing citizen participation in parliamentary affairs. The subject of citizen participation is chosen because legislative and policy making activities should offer people a platform to have their voices heard by allowing them an opportunity to make circumstances known and to express their needs and grievances. As much as citizen participation is necessary for democracy and good governance, it is also significant for society development (Kabemba, 2005; Booysen, 2002).

On the other hand, parliamentary reform is chosen to appreciate whether the reforms have enhanced parliamentary democracy and good Governance (National Assembly of Zambia, 2000). The parliamentary reforms are meant to enhance the capacities of civil society, political parties, media, legislative assemblies and other relevant government bodies to contribute to gender sensitive budgets and monitoring public general spending. The reforms focus on enhancing interrelationships between key actors in order to provide institutionalized entry-points for citizens and their organisations in the budget process. In addition, the sovereign will of the people is vested in law making bodies such as Parliament.

The subject of Parliamentary reform is also aimed at easing the business of the house through harnessing the best practices from other legislatures (National Assembly of Zambia, 2011). The research would determine whether parliament is closer to the people or not as a result of the reforms.

The findings of this research may help the Government and other stakeholders like members of parliament, civil society organisations and others to understand how the reforms have helped in enhancing Citizen Participation in parliamentary affairs. The research is likely to be beneficial in the following ways; it is anticipated that the findings and ultimately the recommendations of the research would enhance the understanding of effective participation by citizens in parliamentary affairs. The information generated by this research can also help both the

government and multilateral institutions to address the principles of good governance and parliamentary democracy in line with the recommendations made. Further, the findings are likely to add to the body of knowledge on parliamentary reforms and citizen participation. The generated findings on citizen participation and parliament reforms can also help parliamentarians and staff to have a clear understanding of the typical obstacles that might hamper the parliamentary reform process in Zambia.

1.5 Definition of key concepts

The key concepts in this research are:

- 1. Citizen Participation** - means the involvement of subjects in the process of decision making, policy formulation and policy implementation (United Nations, 2001).
- 2. Effectiveness** - refers to the degree to which the Zambian parliament allows citizens to participate in its activities such as policy formulation.
- 3. Parliamentary Affairs** – refers to activities relating to making public policies and laws.
- 4. Parliamentary Reform** - refers to changes in the composition, powers, procedure and structure of parliament (Inter Parliamentary Union, 1997).
- 5. Reform Strategy** – refers to an approach or plan of action used to change the way Parliament operates.

1.6 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework of the research is presented in the Figure 1.1 below:

Figure 1.1: Conceptual Framework of the research



The conceptual framework is based on three assumptions. The first assumption is that, parliamentary reforms involve changes in the composition, powers, procedures and structure of parliament. These changes are important in order to promote efficiency and effectiveness in the way parliament operates and make the institution relevant to the needs and aspirations of the citizenry. The second assumption is that, there are a number of strategies used to reform parliament. These include plans of action used to change the way parliament operates. The plans of action used should help to effectively implement the reform process in a structured and coordinated way and also provide a framework for monitoring and evaluation of the expected reform outcome. The third assumption is that, through the parliamentary reforms, citizens are given the opportunity to participate in decision making which include, policy formulation and implementation. In this regard, it is expected that structures that facilitate citizen participation are established in local communities, so that decisions made by state institutions like Parliament reflects the interests of the various social groups and individual citizens. Citizen participation in parliamentary affairs enhances democracy and good governance, through inclusive and representative parliamentary decision making, enhanced citizens' opportunities to communicate their legitimate interests, increased trust and confidence of citizens in Parliament, improved interaction and understanding on the roles and functions of Parliament and promote transparency and accountability in the legislative process. Further, implementation of state policies becomes easier because citizens are involved in decision making processes.

1.7 Structure of the Dissertation

The dissertation has been divided into six chapters. Chapter one has the introduction and the background to parliamentary reforms. Further the chapter presents the statement of the problem, research objectives, significance of the study, conceptual frame work and ends with the structure of the research. Chapter two, on the other hand, presents literature reviewed on parliamentary reforms and citizen participation in parliamentary affairs. The literature has been divided into three major categories namely; literature from Zambia, literature from African countries and literature from developed countries. Chapter three presents the research methodology. The chapter covers research type, location of the research, research approach, research design, sources of data, sample size, sampling methods, data collection methods, reliability of data, validity of data, data analysis techniques, research ethics and limitations of the research.

Chapter four presents the findings on specific objective number one. The chapter starts with presentation of background characteristics in terms of age group and gender. Further, strategies used to reform parliament are analysed. The chapter ends by presenting the factors that affect effective implementation of the reforms. Chapter five presents the citizen participation in parliamentary Affairs in terms of the levels of awareness of the reforms, extent of citizen participation and factors that limit citizen participation in parliamentary affairs.

Chapter six is the conclusion and recommendations chapter which also suggests possible areas of future research. Finally, the appendixes are given at the end to show the data collection instrument used in the research process.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews relevant literature on parliamentary reforms and citizen participation. The chapter is organised in such a way that literature on Zambia is presented first, followed by literature on other African countries, literature on developing countries outside Africa and literature on developed countries. Finally, a conclusion is given.

2.2 Parliamentary Reforms

2.2.1 Literature on Zambia

According to Phiri (2005), the National Assembly of Zambia, in conjunction with the Carter Centre in the United States, wrote a paper on improving parliament's engagement with the civil society. The objective of the study was to obtain views from civil society organizations on whether parliament was accessible to members of the public. Workshops were held in five provincial centres, namely: Chipata, Mongu, Livingstone, Kitwe and Lusaka. The majority of the participants expressed concern that parliament was perceived to be inaccessible to ordinary people, hence the need for reform.

On the other hand, participants observed that reforms had started improving the interaction between parliament and the civil societies and the public in general, although areas of mistrust still existed. Parliament was challenged to ensure that it opens its operations more to the citizens for it to be relevant to the needs of the society. The participants, in conclusion, submitted that the most useful means of engagement between parliament and them are parliamentary committees which should engage the citizenry to make submissions on various stake holders. Committees, according to the participants, must allow civil societies to participate directly in deliberations of parliamentary committees, instead of just being allowed to make submissions and answer questions, if invited to appear before them.

The major strength of the study is that it identified civil societies as key stake holders in policy formulation and that dialogue between them and parliament is key in promoting parliamentary

democracy and national building. Further the study acknowledged that constitutional reforms is key if parliamentary reforms are to reflect the sovereign will of the people.

The Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection, JCTR (2008) conducted a study to determine the public perception, understanding and expectation from National Assembly of Zambia in Lusaka. The study targeted respondents from civil societies and ordinary people. Findings of the study revealed that 96% of the respondents were aware of National Assembly and that MPs were elected to represent them in parliament. The study also revealed scanty knowledge among respondents on the role and functions of National Assembly and the majority felt that the institution was sacred and not fulfilled its roles effectively. 79% for example, indicated that they had never interacted with National Assembly due to unclear avenues of interaction and restrictions.

Respondents also indicated that they had no confidence and trust in their MPs because they usually did not consult them on matters of development and rarely visited them, only to appear during elections, while others accused the MPs of being corrupt in their activities. The study concluded that the levels of involvement in National Assembly activities were quite low. The weakness of the study is that it did not get views from MPs and National Assembly staff in order to have a balanced conclusion on the relationship between National Assembly and the citizens which this study endeavoured to do.

A study by Ismi (2004) on parliamentary procedures in Zambia further observed that while there is room for engagement between electorates and their MPs, hectic schedules and tight commitments elsewhere involving MPs negatively affected developmental activities and discouraged citizens ,especially women and youths in taking party in the activities of National Assembly, rendering the institution somehow irrelevant to the citizenry. The reform process was basically premised on the need to make National Assembly accessible, responsive, transparent and accountable, among others but this is drastically affected by the high turnout of new Members of Parliament after every general election.

The study by Ismi (2004) further revealed that the Zambian National Assembly strategic plan was informed by a comprehensive situation analysis which included the review of the previous Strategic Plan; implementation of reforms and an analysis of the Institution's strengths,

weaknesses, opportunities and threats. The National Assembly will, therefore, over a period of five years focus on eight strategic objectives aimed at enhancing the institution's mission to carry out its core functions. In addition, the plan focuses on improving the procedures and administrative service delivery of the institution to support the legislative, representative, oversight and budget approval functions. The strategic objectives will be achieved through identified strategies that will inform the National Assembly's activities during the implementation period.

The National Assembly will monitor and evaluate the implementation and subsequent results of various activities to be implemented within the strategic planning period. The successful implementation of the Strategic Plan will require resources and the National Assembly of Zambia will develop a resource mobilisation strategy to guide the mobilisation of adequate resources. The Institution's identified various risks and mitigation measures to minimise the likelihood of occurrence and impact have been outlined in the Plan. Further, the Strategic Plan will be complemented by an operational plan that will demonstrate how the institution will roll out the activities in the Plan.

The strength of the Ismi's study is that interaction and knowledge gaps that exist between National Assembly and the citizens were revealed, and the reform process was triggered by the same gaps and declining public trust in National Assembly. On the other hand, the weakness of the study is that it focused more on obtaining views from citizens who might have been misinformed witnesses or respondents. In other words, the responses were biased towards citizen views and ignored MPs views and those of parliament staff which this study endeavoured to do.

2.2.2 Literature on other African Countries

A study by Mkhwebane (2006) on parliamentary affairs in South Africa revealed that, the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Act 108 of 1996), is the supreme law of the country and provides, among others, how the three branches of Government, namely the Legislature (Parliament, provincial legislatures and municipal councils), the Executive Authority and the Judicial Authority should conduct their business. Chapter 4 of the Constitution sets out the national legislative process and determines that Parliament is the national legislature (law-making

body) of the Republic. Both Houses of Parliament, namely; the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces (NCOP), play a role in this process.

The study by Mkhwebane (2006) went further to reveal that parliament, as the national legislature, has legislative authority (the power to make laws) in the national sphere of government. Consequently, Parliament has the power to pass new laws, to amend existing laws, and to repeal old laws. The same power is exercised by provincial legislatures in the provincial sphere of government in respect of provincial laws, and by municipal councils in the local sphere of government in respect of municipal by-laws. The study indicated that there is need to capacity build the national assembly staff for them to effectively execute their duties in line with advancements in the world. Additionally, the National Assembly needs adequate funding to implement various reforms.

Mkhwebane (2006) established that schedules 4 and 5 to the Constitution provide a list of functional areas in which Parliament and the Provincial legislatures are competent to make laws. Schedule 4 lists those functional areas in which Parliament and the Provincial legislatures jointly have the power to make laws (for example matters relating to agriculture, consumer protection, health, housing, public transport and regional planning and development). Schedule 5 lists the functional areas in which the Provincial legislatures may make laws (for example matters relating to provincial planning, liquor licensing, provincial roads and traffic and provincial sport). Municipal Councils may make and administer by-laws for the administration of local government matters listed in Part B of Schedule 4 (for example building regulations, municipal health services and trading regulations) and Part B of Schedule 5 (for example control of public nuisances, fencing and fences, local amenities and street trading) to the Constitution.

The strength of Mkhwebane (2006)' study is that it highlighted the importance of constitutional reforms to guarantee, not only parliamentary democracy, but also to promote decentralization of parliamentary activities to the local people and indeed separation of powers. The study, however, did not show other factors that can hinder citizen participation in parliamentary affairs.

Olokoa (2000), in his study of constitutional reforms in Uganda, observed that participatory constitution making process is the bed-rock of genuine parliamentary reforms. This includes increasing the parliament space and office accommodation. A 21-member inquiry was setup in

1989 to collect proposals from Ugandans, both within and outside the country. Working for four years the commission solicited for views from citizens on areas of reform through interviews, public meetings, debates, essays, seminars, workshops, written memoranda and others as the basis for drafting the constitution. In addition, interest groups such associations, professional and academic institutions, youth and women groups, disabled groups, trade unions, among others, were consulted(Olokoa, 2000).

Furthermore, Olokoa's study revealed that although, some skepticism of the government intentions remained, the constitution is widely seen to have been drafted in a democratic and participatory way before the constituent assembly comprising members of the various interest groups, MPs, state functionaries and others who adopted it. Section 78 of the constitution, for example, stipulates the composition of parliament to include; one woman from every district, representatives from the youths, Army, workers, disabled, and others as parliament may determine. Therefore, special legislation to protect the independence of parliament is enshrined in the constitution such as; the administration of parliament Act of 1997 and the budget Act of 2001. Consequently, the Uganda parliament is not part of the public service, as it has its own parliamentary service commission and its own budget office. Only when parliament is independent, like the Ugandan parliament, can it provide true checks and balances over the executive and protect the interests of the citizens.

The strength of Olokoa's study is that it highlighted that constitutional reforms and parliamentary reforms should include all interest groups and representation in parliament must be broad enough to represent various groups that form a particular society for democracy and good governance to thrive. The weakness of the study is that it does not explain the extent to which various interest groups actually participate in constitutional and parliamentary reforms.

Hughes (2002), in a study conducted to investigate the legislative powers of the National Assembly of Nigeria, observed that the legislative powers of the Federal Republic of Nigeria are vested in a National Assembly for the Federation, which consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives. The National Assembly has power to make laws for the peace, order and good government of the Federation or any part thereof, with respect to any matter included in the Exclusive Legislative List, set out in Part I of the Second Schedule to this Constitution. The

power of the National Assembly to make laws for the peace, order and good government of the Federation, with respect to any matter included in the Exclusive Legislative List, save as otherwise provided in the Constitution, be to the exclusion of the Houses of Assembly of States.

In addition, Hughes (2002) established that without prejudice to the powers conferred by the constitution, the National Assembly has power to make laws with respect to any matter in the Concurrent Legislative List set out in the first column of Part II of the Second Schedule of the extent prescribed; any other matter with respect to which it is empowered to make laws in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution. If any Law enacted by the House of Assembly of a State is inconsistent with any law validly made by the National Assembly, the law made by the National Assembly shall prevail, and that other Law shall, to the extent of the inconsistency, be void.

The legislative powers of a State of the Federation will be vested in the House of Assembly of the State. The House of Assembly of a State shall have power to make laws for the peace, order and good government of the State or any part thereof with respect to the following matters, that is to say:- any matter not included in the Exclusive Legislative List set out in Part I of the Second Schedule to this Constitution; any matter included in the Concurrent Legislative List set out in the first column of Part II of the Second Schedule to this Constitution to the extent prescribed in the second column opposite thereto; and any other matter with respect to which it is empowered to make laws in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution.

Furthermore, Hughes's study revealed that every member of the Senate or the House of Representatives shall, before taking his seat, declare his assets and liabilities as prescribed in this Constitution and subsequently take and subscribe the Oath of Allegiance and the oath of membership as prescribed in the Seventh Schedule to this Constitution before the President of the Senate or, as the case may be, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, but a member may, before taking the oaths, take part in the election of a President and a Deputy President of the Senate, as the case may be, or a Speaker and a Deputy Speaker of the House of Representatives. The President and Deputy President of the Senate and the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker of the House of Representatives shall declare their assets and liabilities as prescribed in this Constitution and subsequently take and subscribe the Oath of Allegiance and

the oath of membership prescribed as aforesaid before the Clerk of the National Assembly (Hughes, 2002).

The strength of this study is that it clearly demonstrated that for parliament to be effective the legislation process and procedures of parliament should be premised on laws and regulations between key actors in the state such as the president, MPs and parliamentary staff. However, the weakness of the study is that it did not show to what extent good laws or constitutionalism can promote citizen participation in parliamentary affairs, which this research tried to analyse.

The Inter Parliamentary Union (IPU) (1997) carried out a survey on the evolving role of parliament in emerging democracies in Africa and beyond called “the Inter Parliamentary Union perspective on parliamentary reforms”. According to the findings of IPU, reforms are key if democratic parliaments in member countries are to thrive. Democratic parliaments need to fulfil the following criteria, Firstly; the process whereby parliament is constituted should be based on democratic principles. It must be, therefore, chosen by the sovereign people in a free and fair election by universal and equal suffrage. Secondly, parliament must reflect and accommodate unity in diversity of a particular society such as political trends, sexes, ethnic groups, minorities, women, disabled, youths and ensure the process the is inclusive and participatory.

Thirdly, parliament should have constitutionally enshrined guarantees of independence and the faculty to perform its work in unhindered fashion. Fourthly, parliamentarians should enjoy equal access to information and other support services from parliament administration and the institution should promote and foster integrity, confidence and legitimacy. The survey also identified some of the possible obstacles to parliamentary reforms. Parliamentary reform is a politically sensitive endeavour given that parliament is a political institution by nature.

It is an arena of constant confrontation between the executive and the legislature and the ruling majority and the opposition because parliamentary reforms involve redistribution of power. Whereas the opposition, by and large, may support reforms, the executive may resist reforms in order to preserve power and control of parliament. Therefore, a hostile or at the very best uncooperative government is a major impediment to reform (IPU, 1997). High Turnover of MPs after general elections is another obstacle to reforms because it is difficult to maintain a core group of reform minded MPs to steer reforms in a sustainable manner. The one party,

rubberstamp reputation continues to be a major hurdle to reform due to the culture of democracy that has not taken root enough in most emerging democracies, long after colonialism ended. Colonial heritage, for instance, exerts pressure on parliament to maintain colonial systems and procedures and not embrace desirable change.

Other impediments to the reforms include; fear of the unknown, language barrier and lack of adequate financial resources to adequately implement reforms. International assistance is often therefore required at least in the initial phases of reform. The strength of the study is that it identified how a democratic parliament ought to be. The survey also clearly identified the possible obstacles to parliamentary reforms in emerging democracies like Zambia. The weakness of the study is that it generalized the findings to all parliaments in emerging democracies, yet parliamentary and political systems may differ from one country to another and so may be the laws that govern particular states.

2.2.3 Literature on developed countries

Philip (2002) conducted a study on parliamentary reforms in the United Kingdom (UK) parliament with special focus on the House of Commons (elected representatives) and the House of Lords (none elected representatives). He observed that the reforms were enhanced when the labour party government led by Tony Blair as prime minister promised comprehensive reforms during campaigns of 1999 because parliament was considered as weak following the expense scandal of 1999 and declining public trust and confidence in the institution effectiveness. The weakness of the study is that it focused only on one factor that contributed to the reforms and ignored other factors outside parliament such as changes in foreign policy and global trends that triggered parliamentary reforms in neighbouring countries.

Hansard Society (2005) observed that due to the declining public trust in the UK parliament, politics was viewed by the public as the pursuit of exclusive and disreputable elite of hypocrites and liars and MPs were seen to be in politics solely to make money and advance themselves socially at the expense of their constituents. In 1999, William Hague leader of the opposition in parliament established a Commission to examine the declining effectiveness of parliament in holding the executive to account and make proposals for reforms. The commission mad several recommendations. These included among others; strengthening select committees, reforming

standing committees dealing with legislation, improving scrutiny of financial legislation and budget, strengthen resources available to members and provide training to them. It recommended making the house more accessible to both the citizens and the media. The commission also favoured, constraining government recommending fewer ministers, fixed dates for parliamentary sittings and the prime minister appearing before the committees regularly to answer questions. The report received favourable press comment.

Philip (2002) argued that if major reform is to be achieved, there is not only need for coherent proposals for change, but strong leadership to spearhead the reforms, which was not the case under the leadership of Tony Blair as he attacked the opposition when the subject of reforms was tabled in parliament and also spent few minutes appearing before committees, contrary to his campaign promises he made on reforms. He also ordered his MPs to be loyal to the government in whatever it decides to do. Moreover, the reform of the House of Commons was not supported by the constitutional amendments. None the less, some of the reforms were achieved such as, election of a mayor of London by universal suffrage, election of assemblies in Scotland, Northern Ireland, passage of freedom of information act and other pieces of legislation on UK and the European Union and human rights act.

Hansard Society (2009), argued that limitations of implementing of a reform agenda have been well recognized by the commission in its conclusion. The commission noted that parliamentary reform has traditionally been a slow process. The success of the reform often relies on balancing the aspirations and objectives of MPs and ministers, front benchers and back benchers, government and opposition. The study concluded that effective reforms seek to meet the needs of these different groups. However, it has often been the case that the perceived difficulties of reform have presented a creative and long term approach to the role of parliament. This has intern, lengthened the time it has taken to implement change.

A study was conducted by the Canadian Parliament Library (2003) entitled “Parliament we want” under the direction of Carolyn Bennett (MP). The objective of the study was to obtain parliamentarians’ views on the type of parliamentary reforms they wanted. The basic question asked to the parliamentarians from both the ruling and opposition parties was “what should parliament look like in the 21st century? A total number of forty (40) parliamentarians were

interviewed. Findings from the study showed that, Parliament had lost its former quality to effectively scrutinize the activities of the Executive arm of government, Citizens want public engagement to be representative, informed and reflective, and citizens were dissatisfied with the gap in their relationships with parliamentarians. The public wanted to provide input at the values and principle stages of parliamentary debates, on the normative questions and not so much on the specifics of policies and programmes. In conclusion, the study provided a frame work that should guide parliamentary reforms by stating clearly that reforms should aim to; Lead to more meaningful work, look to the future and not the past, enhance parliament's oversight of government activity, strike a balance between the aspirations of the ruling party and the opposition, focus on committees as an immediate priority Strike a new bargain between parliament and public service.

The strength of the study is that it recognized the consultation process as key to successful reforms. Views from parliamentarians provide a broader framework for successful parliamentary reforms. The study, however, failed to consult the ordinary citizenry with regard to parliamentary reforms, which this study endeavoured to investigate.

The study by Huntington (1991) of the constitution revealed that article I of the United States Constitution grants all legislative powers to a bicameral Congress: A House of Representatives and a Senate that are the result of a "Great Compromise" seeking to balance the effects of popular majorities with the interests of the states. The system currently provides for a two-year term of office for House members from the 435 population-based districts. In the Senate, voters of each state elect two Senators, who serve 6-year terms that overlap such that only one-third of the chamber is up for election in any given election cycle. The two chambers are fundamentally equal in their legislative roles and functions.

Only the House can originate revenue legislation, and only the Senate confirms presidential nominations and approves treaties, but the enactment of law always requires both chambers to separately agree to the same bill in the same form before presenting it to the President. Because each chamber has the constitutional authority to make its own rules, the House and Senate have developed some very different ways of processing legislation, perhaps partially flowing from their constitutional differences. In general, the House rules and practices allow a numerical

majority to process legislation relatively quickly. Senate rules and procedures, on the other hand, favour deliberation over quick action, as they provide significant procedural leverage to individual Senators Huntington (1991).

Congressional action is typically planned and coordinated by party leaders in each chamber, who have been chosen by members of their own caucus or conference that is, the group of members in a chamber who share a party affiliation. Majority party leaders in the House have important powers and prerogatives to effectively set the policy agenda and decide which proposals will receive floor consideration. In the Senate, the leader of the majority party is generally expected to propose items for consideration, but formal tools that allow a numerical majority to take action are few. Instead, majority party leadership typically must negotiate with minority party leaders (and often all Senators) to effectively conduct Senate floor action (Huntington, 1991).

Huntington further indicated that while the engine of legislative ideas and action is Congress itself, the President has influence in the legislative process, as well. The President recommends an annual budget for federal agencies and often suggests legislation. Perhaps more significantly, the power to veto legislation can affect the content of bills passed by Congress. Since it is quite unusual for law to be enacted over a presidential veto, Congress typically must accommodate the president's position on proposed policies. The process by which a bill becomes law is rarely predictable and can vary significantly from bill to bill. In fact, for many bills, the process will not follow the sequence of congressional stages that are often understood to make up the legislative process. The presentations on specific topics that follow present a more detailed look at each of the common stages through which a bill may move, but keep in mind that complications and variations abound in practice Huntington, (1991).The strength of the study is that, it highlighted the composition, procedures and constitutional provisions for various actors in parliament and separation of powers .The weakness of the study is that it focused only on internal operations of parliament and ignored the citizens participation in the legislation process, which this study endeavoured to investigate.

2.3 Citizen Participation

2.3.1 Literature on Zambia

PANOS (2008) conducted a study aimed at developing a communication strategy for National Assembly of Zambia. The study covered all the 9 provinces and the objectives of the study were : (1) public perception, understanding and expectations of the national Assembly; (11) levels of involvement by the public in the governance process, particularly through parliament; (111) stake holder perception of proposed reforms.

With regards to public perception, understanding and expectation from National Assembly, findings revealed that respondents were generally aware of the National Assembly and that MPs are elected to represent them as confirmed by 96% of the respondents. However, this did not translate into understanding and appreciation of the roles of the National Assembly; in fact several misconceptions were also discovered on the part of the constituents regarding their expectations from their MPs. Despite being aware of National Assembly, 79% of the respondents had not yet interacted directly with National Assembly. The result indicated that accessibility of National Assembly by members of the public was and still is a challenge. The strength of the study is that it highlighted the communication, knowledge and interaction gaps between National Assembly and the citizens, as well as the negative perception citizens have on the roles and functions of National Assembly .The weakness of the study is that it failed to obtain views from parliamentary staff and MPs on the subject matter which this study endeavoured to do.

Yezi (2013) conducted a research in Sesheke District (western province) and Milenge districts of (Luapula Province), to determine levels of participation by ordinary citizens in political governance in Zambia. The findings of the study showed that there is limited participation in political governance. Respondents in the study cited, limited opportunities due to bureaucracy in government structures, limited civic knowledge on how to participate, limited access to information, especially the main stream media (newspapers, radio, and television) not available in rural areas and high illiteracy levels among rural dwellers .High levels of ignorance about their civic roles and responsibilities was also manifested by citizens, who, despite having gone to school, had no good orientation base to fully engage in national governance. For instance, the majority of the citizens in rural areas think their civic roles end after elections and do not bother

to hold their elected leaders accountable on matters of development. Other respondents cited lack of bottom up approach to development as the source of their frustrations, while others lamented that their elected leaders rarely visited them to appreciate development needs (Yezi, 2013).

Discrimination of women and youth by their political parties from taking up various leadership roles democratically due to intimidation and certain rules and negative perceptions contribute to low political participation. In addition, power structures within political parties tend to promote men's superiority in politics than women. The absence of a visible gender perspective in the political system and organizations not only reduces women participation in politics, but also promotes gender inequality in the political process and governance. And when asked to describe the roles of their MPs play in local governance, most participants said they couldn't describe the roles of their MPs because they had no relationship with them. As a result, they expressed little faith that MPs can help address their needs, as they are not easily accessible and subsequently, ineffective (Yezi, 2013).

Similarly, Marie (2016) in the study entitled public participation in Zambia, identified obstacles to effective participation to include government strict control of state radio and television, high levels of poverty, long distances and lack of translated information into local languages for the rural population to understand and NGOs advocacy for good governance and human rights, faced with hostility and threats from government. She further, urged that although protected by the constitution, the freedoms and rights are not observed in other legislation and practice. Equally the NGO Act of 2009 was passed, but is restrictive in terms of registration, reporting, activities and assets of personnel. The strength of the study is that it demonstrated the importance and areas of public participation in political and democratic governance. The study also highlighted barriers to effective citizen participation. The weakness of the study is that it targets rural districts only and as such responses from both districts were similar and the sample was not representative enough (2 out of 116 districts in Zambia).

2.3.2 Literature on other African countries

A study was conducted in Angola by Uzinga (2004) entitled "parliament and civil society." The main objective of the study was to analyse the relationship between civil society and parliament. Random interviews were conducted to obtain citizens' views on the subject matter. Benjamin

Castello and Antonio Jose noted “mistrust was the cause of misguided perceptions and suspicious attitude that frustrated the development of good working relations when civil society started engaging parliament on issues of common consensus”, (Interview with Benjamin Castello: 2004). On the other hand, some respondents considered civil society organizations to be none partisan opposition groups of the government and many of them exist only to criticize state institutions like parliament, hence the general perception that they are enemies of the state.

Respondents further criticized civil society organizations dependence on external funding and individualistic styles of management which make them look like private business owned by either a few individual partners or clan, hence respondents rising question about the integrity of civil society initiative. The fear of foreign interference in the political arena has also resulted into state institutions like the National Assembly to question the legitimacy of civil society. The strength of this study is that while it acknowledged the important role civil society can play in parliamentary reforms, it identified some of the weaknesses inherent in civil society organizations that can cause mistrust between the National Assembly and such organizations such as nepotism, individualistic style of management, dependence on external funding and others. Nonetheless, strong relationships are necessary between government and civil society if parliamentary reforms are to impact positively. The study, however, failed to identify mechanisms that can strengthen the relation between civil societies and state institutions.

Hussein (2005) conducted a study in Malawi and identified a number of factors that limit civil society’s effective engagement with parliament He revealed that the engagement with parliament is reactive, irregular, arising from perception that they cannot really change the way government functions., unsystematic and adhoc, Civil society organisations and citizens resist identification with MPs for fear of being deemed partisan. Their roles, mission and goals are misunderstood, but, they are mostly dependent on donor funding which increases their vulnerability to manipulation. Most of the senior persons in such organisations lack knowledge of parliamentary procedures, operations and mechanism needed to ensure effective engagement. There is generally apathy among civil society organisations and the public.

This study, therefore, examined the relationship between National Assembly and civil society and identifies areas of possible cooperation or engagement for effective implementation of

parliamentary reforms. The study, however, did not emphasize the important role NGOs play in influencing government policy and legislation through lobbying and advocacy.

Hwedie (2001) conducted a study in Botswana entitled “Parliamentary engagement with the public.” The objective of the study was to identify local structures that can promote citizen participation in national affairs and parliamentary activities in particular. The study identified the role of parliament in parliamentary democracy of Botswana, as that of legislation and representation. For effective dissemination of information and improved interaction between MPs and the electorates, findings of the study identified “Kgotla” and constituency offices as local structures that enabled citizens to participate in National governance.

The Kgotla, a traditional institution, complements democracy in Botswana and performs political, administrative and judicial functions in an open and transparent manner. It is the bridge between society and government and it is a meeting place for tribesmen and women to discuss tribal affairs and development issues. MPs use the Kgotla to explain the roles and responsibilities of parliament and government policies and solicit people’s views and mobilize their participation in national politics. The study showed that decentralized structures ,like the Kgotla, can promote local empowerment in decision making on issues that affect peoples; lives and bring parliament closer to them (Hwedie, 2001).

On the other hand, the study by Hwedie (2001) established that the constituency offices located in 40 constituencies provide MPs with an opportunity to have a direct and daily interaction with their constituents. Nonetheless, the study also revealed that constituency offices lacked adequate equipment and well-resourced staff, to assist MPs to fulfil their political and decision making roles. The strength of the study is that it identified the most basic local structures that can promote citizen participation and some of the challenges that can hinder parliamentary reforms like lack of adequate equipment and resourced staff or even long distances to the location of Kgotla or constituency offices .In this study, therefore, we investigated local structures such as ward development committees interaction or linkages with National Assembly to determine grass root appreciation of the reforms in the National Assembly. The weakness of the study by Hwedie (2002) is that, emphasis that local structures can promote high citizen participation is

exaggerating. Structures alone without civic education, good laws, responsive leadership and political will, cannot guarantee enhanced citizen participation in Parliamentary Affairs.

Hughes (2005) conducted a study on parliamentary committees in South Africa. The objective of the study was to establish the link between parliamentary committees and national or government institutions. The study covered 57 parliamentary committees, comprising 27 portfolio committees representing cabinet ministers, 14 select committees and 7 joint committees for both houses of the South African National Assembly. Findings of the study, revealed that membership to the committees are proportional to their representation in parliament and are rotational in nature. Smaller parties sometimes failed to chair these committees, especially in the public accounts committees, which should always be chaired by the opposition in line with the convention of the Commonwealth parliament. Furthermore, the study revealed that the performance of the committees is influenced by two factors, namely; its relationship to the cabinet minister and government department itself and the second one relates to the role and personality adopted by respective committees and its chairperson in particular.

The study also identified weaknesses inherent within parliamentary committees. For example, structural constraints which limit the capacity of committees to work effectively to oversee the activities of the executive arm due to the voluminous and technical nature of submissions and limited time to do thorough reading and study reports.

The second constraint identified was lack of professionalism of some of the MPs appointed to parliamentary committees. Relevant skills of many MPs were found wanting and many committees lacked adequate research resources to effectively interrogate ministers, deputy ministers and their officials. Moreover, the argumentation process is often of a technical and legalistic nature, frequently leaving committee members at a disadvantage and recommendations of the committee are rarely enforced or worked on by government (Hughes, 2005). The strength of the study is that it gave a critical analysis of the relationship between parliamentary committees and government. The study also identified some of the constraints faced by parliamentary committees such as structure constraints, inadequate capacity, the technical and legalistic argumentation process, inadequate resources, insufficient skills and others that can negatively affect the performance of committees and National assembly at large. Such factors, if

not addressed, can derail parliamentary reforms. The study however, failed to analyse the composition of the committees in terms of members of the executive and the opposition ratio and also the appointment criteria which this study investigated in order to establish whether committees can indeed offer real checks and balances.

Pereira and Shenga (2003) conducted a study on parliamentary reforms in Mozambique. The objective of the study was to establish the communication channels for dissemination of information by parliament, as the Mozambique's parliament had been working towards becoming more open and accessible. Findings of the study revealed that parliamentary committees and plenary sessions were open to members of the public in order to enhance public engagement with parliament. The study findings showed that parliament advertised in local mass media when it is to meet, issues to be debated and session times and committee meetings are, to some extent monitored by civil society organisations.

Official summaries of proceedings and copies of documents submitted to, or presented at, these meetings are made available in the parliament library, published in newspapers or broadcast on the radio. The study also revealed that unfortunately rural Mozambicans do not have access to mass media, particularly newspapers. The independent print media and state television reach mainly in Maputo. Given the high levels of illiteracy in Mozambique, newspaper readership (especially in rural areas is limited) while in urban areas the problem is compounded by many being unable to afford newspapers. The print media themselves are limited, facing constraints in terms of accessing materials, financial resources and professionalism. On the other hand, private media is seen as mainly pro-opposition and circulation mostly covers major cities.

Pereira and Shenga (2003) also identified radio as an effective media, given its wide range and ability to broadcast. While some respondents hailed, for example, the role and functions of parliamentary constituency information centres, in that parliament was more visible to the members of the public, the internal structures and procedures in parliament were ineffective. They stated, for example, that it was difficult to change or reject bills that had been formulated and presented to parliament by the executive due to the inbuilt majority that favour the ruling party. By and large, they argued parliament had become an institution that merely 'rubber stamps' decisions by the executive. Asked whether the existing structures and procedures

allowed parliament to hold the executive accountable for its actions, the majority of the respondents indicated that the existing procedures were ineffective because they tended to be lengthy, tiresome and lacking transparency.

Some respondents said they viewed several procedures as serving only to legitimise the executive's decisions and thus they did not constitute effective checks and balances on the actions of the executive. One respondent said, the executive ignores parliament, even portfolio committees serve no purpose. Mozambique has seen an increase in the number of frequent modulation (FM) national and regional radio stations, with eight (08) out of ten (10), (80%) fully operational. Mozambicans recently surveyed saying they get news via radio at least few times a month; compared to the high incidence of 'never' for television or newspaper.

The strength of the study by Pereira and Shenga (2003) outlined key channels of communication necessary for parliament to get close to the people such as radio, newspaper, documents and parliamentary committee meetings. The study further highlighted problems associated with the media in general such as limited coverage, lack of professionalism, inadequate finance, and political coverage biases which are common in Zambia too and can hinder public awareness of what parliament does. The study, however, failed to highlight related laws to parliamentary reforms and capacity building elements.

Mkumbe (2002) conducted a study on effectiveness of parliamentary structures and procedures in Zimbabwe. The major focus of the study was to establish whether existing parliamentary structures and procedures promoted effective public involvement in the legislation process. Findings of the study revealed that existing parliamentary structures were ineffective because they tended to be lengthy, tiresome and lacking in transparency and made it difficult for bills to be changed or rejected once presented in parliament. The study further revealed that the Zimbabwean National Assembly has not made progress in terms of reforms because of following the British Westminster structure. By and large, respondents, mostly MPs, argued that parliament was a rubberstamp of executive decisions and could not hold the executive accountable or provide checks and balances. Respondents further expressed concern that structures and procedures were popular and accessible to civil society and elites and not ordinary people, especially in rural areas. Some respondents stated that they had never attended portfolio

committee public hearings because they were not widely advertised, while others feared to go into the parliament building because it is seemingly sacred. Moreover, MPs were inaccessible to ordinary citizens and rarely held constituency clinics to get views from citizens due to the requirement that they need police clearance under the draconian public order act to hold such meetings.

The strength of the study by Mkumbe (2006) is that it highlighted the communication gap between MPs and the electorate due to inappropriate structures and procedure that tend to alienate citizens in the legislation process and also make parliament fail to hold the executive accountable. The study also revealed that portfolio committee public hearings should not be the preserve of the elite or civil society but also should include ordinary people, especially in rural areas. The study however failed to identify the actual parliamentary structures and procedures that are followed to handle parliamentary affairs.

Mkandawire (2002) conducted a social audit study in Malawi on the performance and role of members of parliament. The objective of the study was to determine the factors that hindered effective delivery of parliamentary business by members of parliament and staff. Findings of the study revealed that the performance of MPs and National Assembly was not satisfactory due to the calibre of some MPs, poor education, inability to effectively communicate in English, inadequate time for conducting parliamentary business, insufficient time to read and study bills (21 days).

The study also revealed that MPs performance is also constrained by lack of office equipment, vehicles, information systems such as computer and telephones, shortage of trained personnel to conduct parliamentary business and inadequate infrastructure. The study outlined key capacity building elements that should accompany parliamentary reforms. The above mentioned factors show that, for parliamentary reforms to be successful, institutional and human resource capacity building is necessary. The study, however, failed to highlight the financial commitment by the government of Malawi towards such programmes and sustainability of the programme which this study investigated, as capacity building programmes are expected to be continuous and well-funded by government, if they are to impact positively.

Longwe (2004) conducted a study on dissemination of parliamentary publications and the media. The objective of the study was to establish the communication link between the citizenry and the National Assembly of Malawi. Findings of the study revealed that parliamentary activities were disseminated through publications such as Hansard, committee's reports, and national colleges' libraries. However, they were rarely distributed in rural areas and even urban populations were ill serve. Rural people for example could not understand parliamentary documents written in English thereby hindering effective parliamentary reforms.

Further the study by Longwe (2004) revealed that the media rarely covered parliamentary proceedings though both the Malawi Broadcasting Cooperation and Television Malawi air debates when parliament was in session. Parliament also established media gallery to assist journalists in their work. The media, however, faced a lot of challenges such as lack of editorial independence due to political ownership; intimidation and harassment of journalists and inadequate training. Moreover, although the state ran Malawi Broadcasting cooperation reaches rural areas, many people could not afford batteries for their transistors and moreover, its image had been tarnished by its perceived bias towards the ruling party.

For instance, journalists from the public broadcaster were not free to interview the opposition MPs for fear of losing their jobs. It was said though the Malawi institute of journalism and a number of donor agencies played a role in training journalists, the tendency was still towards sensational reporting to identify the gaps that can negatively affect parliamentary reforms inadequate training and biased distribution of National Assembly publication. If not addressed, such factors can negatively hinder parliamentary reforms. The study investigated the neutrality of the media when reporting parliamentary business and broadcasting of parliamentary debates and sensitization of members of the public on parliamentary reforms.

The weakness of the study by Mkandawire (2004) is that while the media plays a key role in informing, and educating the citizens, sustainability is the major challenge due to the cost of broadcasting that tend to be high and so are the illiteracy levels, especially in rural areas where people cannot read and write to comprehend the reforms message.

Onyango (2000) conducted a study in Uganda on interaction between MPs and the electorate following the reform of the Ugandan parliament in order to facilitate direct interactions between

the electorate and MPs. MPs are given annual constituency Development fund (CDF) and mileage allowance. The constituency development fund enables MPs to establish constituency offices which provide a platform for exchange of developmental ideas between constituents and the MPs, while the mileage allowance enables MPs to carryout in person oversight visits to some projects in their respective constituencies. In addition, parliament launched an outreach programme in March (2010) aimed at improving visibility and understanding of parliament in educational institutions country wide. The outreach programme is intended to enable the young and old people to understand the complex process of parliament so that they can utilize it more efficiently and appreciate its roles and functions in supporting the parliamentary system. The outreach programme also was designed to bring youths in various community projects and prepare them for future leadership roles. In this respect, the public relations section of parliament does hold parliamentary debates and parliament libraries were opened in all schools to provide information on parliamentary activities. The outreach programme involves parliamentarian visits to educational institutions country wide.

However, the study noted that the outreach programme faces a number of challenges that somewhat limit citizen participation in parliamentary affairs such as, inadequate legal frame work, high illiteracy levels, limited access to information, bad laws among others. With regards to mileage allowance, the study revealed that such funds usually are abused and breed corruption since they are spent by MPs as they wish. Worse still, MPs tend not to communicate, usually after elections, and rarely visit their constituencies. In conclusion, the study identified some of the common challenges affecting parliaments with regards to consultations with the citizens and includes; lack of adequate time frames and logistics, lack of physical accommodation space for MPs, including meeting facilities to conduct public hearings, especially in rural areas and poor remuneration of MPs, especially in African parliaments.

The strength of the study by Onyango (2000) is that it demonstrated the importance of citizen participation, despite the above highlighted challenges and the desire of most African countries to make parliament relevant, accessible, and democratic through outreach programmes in contemporary times. The weakness of the study is that it did focus much on outreach programs and ignored other factors that can hinder citizen participation such as personal attitudes and political will.

2.3.3 Literature on developing countries outside Africa

Frais (2014) during the world parliament identified participatory media through the use of social media technologies (SMTs) in Chile as powerful tools of political change which can reinforce the communication between society and political Authorities and it is necessary to enhance citizen participation. The congress of Chile, as part of the reform process, introduced a programme called “democracia envivo” which allows citizens to follow the discussion of bills during the parliamentary sessions and express their views to MPs live. This allows citizens to communicate directly with their representatives and obtain immediate feedback.

Another interesting innovation in Chile is the introduction of the senate or virtual portrayal in Parliament. This is an ongoing voting system used to engage the public on specific policy proposal’s being considered in the legislature ‘Participants are directed to on line resources that give them background information on issues in parliament. They can then vote for or against certain proposals within a bill and post their own comments for other participants and senators to read. Responses are forwarded to the senate at the committee stage, where they can help influence legislation outcomes. To avoid corruption, voters are required to register by setting an account. Participants are updated on the progress of the bill via email. They also receive feedback on the issue that interests them and they can consequently see whether their views or contributions have been reflected in the overall legislative decision.

Further, the site allows the MPs and officials to draw on both the voting, results and the comments made by participants to inform their deliberation. At the end of the voting the results and information are achieved but readily accessible via the site. Due to this initiative, the Chile parliament has a following, for instance, of 102,000, and has posted 43800 tweets (Frais, 2014).

The strength of the study is that it demonstrates the effectiveness of social media technologies in promoting parliamentary democracy and good governance. The study, however, failed to show the cost associated with such investment in social media and to what extent such a system is sustainable especially in rural areas where internet is not easily available and accessible.

Inter Parliamentary Union (2009) conducted a study to establish factors that trigger parliamentary reforms in member countries of Africa. Findings of the study revealed that

parliamentary reforms are driven by variables that interact and are complimentary to others and the factors include; societal changing needs, technological change, public pressure, international influence, recognition, and institutional limitations. Further, the study revealed that effective parliamentary reforms should improve internal systems, procedures of the house, improve information dissemination, and promote transparency and accountability in parliament. The study also identified possible obstacles to parliamentary reforms such as; one party state colonial legacy, fear of unknown, lack of political will, executive fear of losing power, inadequate resources, and language barrier and lack of leadership at national assembly level. The strength of the study is that it managed to identify parliamentary reform drivers and possible obstacles to effective implementation of reforms. However, the study did not focus on reforms in a particular country, but generalized findings in member countries.

2.4 Conclusion

The reviewed literature reveals that parliament plays a critical role in the governance process of a country because the legitimacy of any government and the sovereign will of the people are reflected in the way parliament operates. Parliaments are trustees of the people with a mandate given to them through periodic elections. Furthermore, the literature has revealed that the role of parliament broadly includes; making and repealing laws, oversee the activities of the executive, represent and articulate the will and aspirations of the people. To effectively perform its roles, parliament, in a democratic state, provides a platform for people to participate in the legislative process in order for the outcome of the legislation process to reflect the needs and the aspirations of a particular society. Democratic parliaments and good governance require the existence of a strong, effective, efficient, transparent, accountable, responsive and accessible parliament that can promote citizen participation in decision making. Studies have revealed that public confidence in most parliaments in Africa and beyond has been declining and public perception towards activities of parliaments has been largely negative due to the fact that the electorate feel that their MPs fail to represent their interests and fail to fulfil their promises. This is manifested in the diminishing voter turnout during elections, increasing public apathy and growing alienation from the political process. Respect for public representatives is often low and has been affected by scandals, bribery, corruption, and poor standards of debates, misconduct and abuse of office and others which has resulted in declining standards of public life.

The literature also shows that due to public demand to participate in the activities of parliament and as a remedy to improve public confidence and trust in the activities of parliament and parliamentarians, many countries embarked on parliamentary reforms in order to make parliament relevant to the needs and desires of the citizens. Effective parliamentary reforms promote close cooperation between parliaments, society and government within an established frame work which is sustainable, structurally integrated, thematically embedded, politically relevant, broad based, inclusive, decentralized, representative, conflict aware and safeguarded by the rule of law. However, the literature does not show why despite there being channels of engagement, the general public has little real engagement in parliamentary affairs .Parliamentary reforms to enhance citizen participation in legislative debates was the knowledge gap in the consulted literature.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the methods which were used to conduct the research. It includes the type of research, site of research, research design, sources of data, target population, sample size, sampling procedure, data collection instruments, reliability of data, validity of data, data analysis techniques, research ethics, and limitations of the research.

3.2 Type of Research

The type of research that was conducted was looked at from two angles. The first angle was based on the purpose of the research. In this regard, the research was an evaluation research. Evaluation research is used to determine the impact of a social intervention and it analyses the impact of a particular programme or policy designed to solve an identified problem (Babara, 2006). The purpose of evaluation research, therefore, is to determine the extent to which a particular social intervention contributes to the achievement of the intended goal, objective or outcome. Evaluation research was selected because it provides an avenue to track progress made as a result of a particular intervention with a view to either change the course of action or maintain a particular programme or policy.

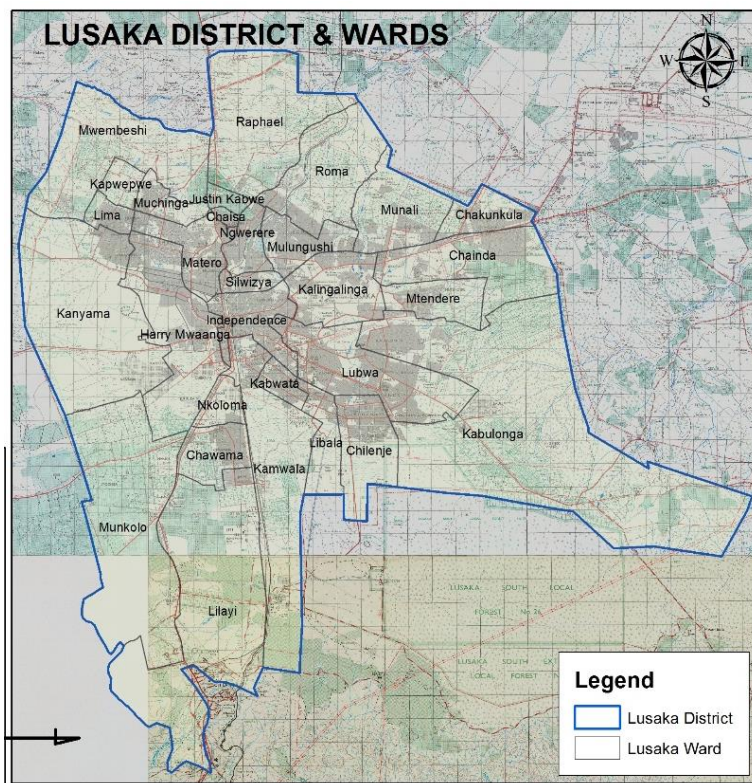
The second angle was based on the period when the research was conducted. In this case, the research was a one- time research. A one-time research is a study which is conducted at a single point in time. The point in time at which this research was conducted was from 18th August 2016 to 5th September 2017.

3.3 Site of the Research

This research was confined to Lusaka, Mazabuka and Kasempa districts. Lusaka was chosen because it is the capital city of Zambia and that is where parliament is located. Being the capital city, Lusaka is the administrative hub of Zambia and as such, policies, laws, as well as major National and International decisions that affect the welfare of the citizens are made in Lusaka. Further, economically, Lusaka has seen a lot of businesses established in the recent past

including many shopping malls that have sprung up in almost all corners of the city (Lusaka City Council, 2017). Lusaka had a total population of 1,747,152 people in 2010 and a projected population of 2,426,898 in 2017 (Central Statistical Office, 2013). For administrative and political purposes, Lusaka has 33 wards and seven constituencies. Mazabuka and Kasempa were selected as districts far from parliament. One is along the line of rail (Mazabuka district) while the other is not (kasempa district). The aim was to compare citizen’s participation in different geographical locations.

Figure 3:1 Map of Lusaka District



Source: UNZA (2020)

Mazabuka district is located in the southern province of Zambia. It has 14 wards and one constituency. In the year, 2010, the population was 171,063 and was projected to increase to 194,653 by the year 2019 (CSO, 2013). Mazabuka is predominately an agriculture district.

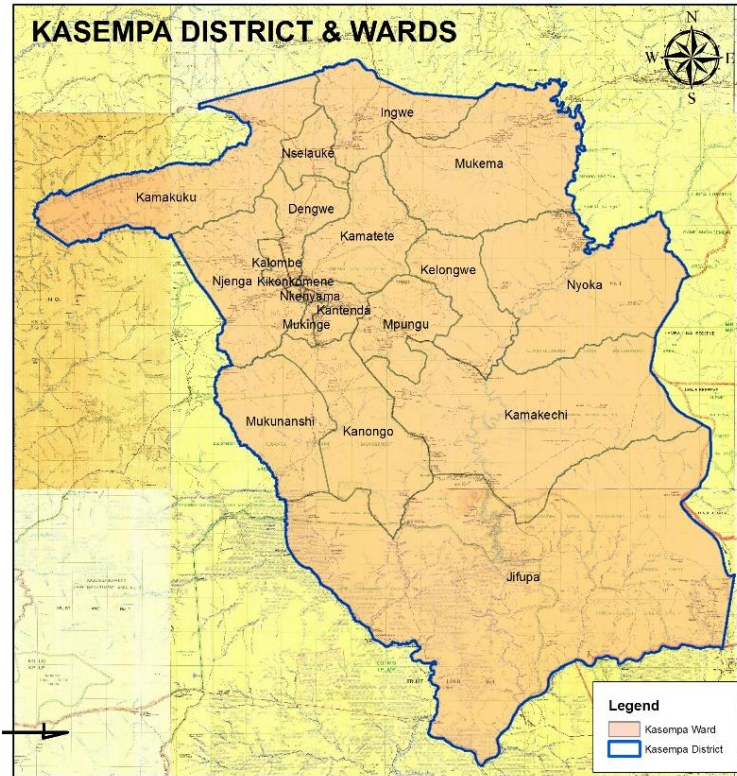
Figure 3:2 Map of Mazabuka District



Source: UNZA (2020)

Kasempa is one of the fastest growing districts in North Western province of Zambia. Farming is its major economic activity. According to the 2010 population statistics, the district had a population of 69, 608 people and projected to increase to 79,794 by the year 2019 (CSO, 2013).

Figure 3:3 Map of Kasempa District



Source: UNZA (2020)

Kasempa has one constituency, with a total number of 22 wards, covering a total surface area of 20,821 square kilometres. (CSO, 2010).

3.4 Research Design

This research used the qualitative design in collecting and analysing data. Qualitative research is one that relies on the collection of qualitative data. Qualitative data is concerned with understanding a phenomenon from the informant’s perspective and focuses on collecting in-depth information about the issue under investigation (Babara, 2006). The study used the qualitative research design so that the researcher could interrogate in depth and get to understand the subject from the respondent’s perspective. Respondents were able to disclose their feelings, opinions, and experiences without any constraint. Qualitative research also enables the researcher to make follow up questions on the subject matter (Claire, 2019).

3.5 Sources of Data

This research made use of both primary and secondary sources of data. Primary data is data which is undocumented and is collected for the first time by the researcher (Surbhi, 2016). In this research, primary data includes, qualitative data which was collected from the key informants who are officials from the National Assembly, and leaders of civil society organizations. On the other hand, secondary data is data that has already been collected and reported by others (Surbhi, 2016). This data was collected through desk research from documents that relate to the research topic. The secondary sources of data included unpublished and published documents such as books, research reports, committee reports, brochures, journal articles, periodicals, newspapers, dissertations and theses. These documents were accessed from constituency and parliament libraries, individuals, civil society organisations, government printers and the internet.

3.6 Target Population

The target population comprised 556,506, respondents from Parliament, representatives of civil societies and residents of six constituencies that is Lusaka Central, Munali, Kabwata, Mandevu, Mazabuka Central and Kasempa. The researcher targeted respondents above the age of 18 years who were adults. The adult population in each of the six constituencies were: Lusaka central (62,220), Munali (141,901), Kabwata (97,445), Madevu (180,187), Mazabuka Central, (48,357) and Kasempa (26,396) (CSO, 2013).

3.7 Sample size

The sample consisted of 12 Members of Parliament that is seven from Patriotic Front and five from United Party for National Development. It also consisted of three directors of civil society organizations and eight National Assembly Staff. The Directors were from Foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP); CARITAS Zambia; and Southern African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (SACCORD). 30 citizens, that is, five residents from each constituency of the six constituencies in the target population were sampled to take part in the study. The total sample of the informants and respondents was 53.

3.8 Sampling Procedure

The researcher used purposeful sampling to get a sample of 12 Members of Parliament, eight parliamentary staff, and three directors from civil society organization because the researcher was convinced that their knowledge, opinions and experiences would provide relevant information on the subject or research topic. Additionally, replacement of respondents was conveniently done in cases where the originally selected respondent was inaccessible. The 30 residents from the six constituencies were conveniently sampled under the auspices of Ward Development Committees, being the established platforms for representation at local level by the residents. A convenient sample simply includes the individuals who happen to be most accessible to the researcher. It is an easy and inexpensive way to gather data (Driscoll and Brizee, 2017). Convenient sampling also enabled the researcher to save on time, as it was easy to make appointments to hold meetings with the residents since the Ward Development Committees offices were located in residential areas and accessibility was possible.

3.9 Data collection Instruments

This study used two main research tools: face to face interviews and focus group discussions.

3.9.1 Face to Face Interviews

Interviews demand for close interaction between the researcher and the respondent. Face-to-face interviews provide an opportunity for the researcher to discuss with a selected subject. Cohen et al, (2006) indicate that during face to face interviews, a researcher asks the subject questions. As the respondent provides answers, the researcher can make follow up questions in order to clarify a point. Furthermore, the researcher makes observations in order to determine whether the respondent is telling the truth or not. In this study, the directors of civil society organizations were interviewed at different times. The researcher also used interviews to collect data from the parliamentary staff and members of parliament. The face to face interviews revealed many other issues that were not initially captured in the interview guide.

3.9.2 Focus Group Discussions

The other data collection tools used in this study was focus group discussions. Burke and Christenson (2004) state that focus group discussions are important in researches because the researcher interacts with the respondents. The researcher identifies some participants in the study and asks them questions. The respondents, as a group, are free to argue and share their independent views about the subject matter. The researcher can also seek for clarification on a number of other issues during the discussion. The researcher guides the discussants. In this research, focused group discussions in each of the six selected constituencies namely; Lusaka Central, Munali, Mandevu, Kabwata, Mazabuka Central and Kasempa were conducted. The focused group discussions involved ordinary citizens and were conducted under the auspices of Ward Development Committees in order to obtain independent views from the local level.

The focused groups comprised a minimum of five people per constituency. Using focused group discussions, the researcher was able to interact freely and obtain detailed information, opinions, and perceptions and also guide and observe physically the respondents closely to fully understand certain actions or behaviour during the interaction. In addition, it was easy to ask follow up questions and get clarification on responses given by the discussants. The researcher, using focused group discussion, was able to obtain detailed information about personal and group feelings, perceptions and opinions in order to obtain a broader range of information on the research topic, compared to individual interviews. In short, the focused group discussions, revealed a number of other issues which were not reflected in the interview guide.

3.10 Reliability of data

Data reliability refers to the degree to which a research method produces stable, consistent and accurate results on the research topic (Miriam, 2019). This research used external validity, which is a form of measurement to establish variations from one social group to another, more so, that the focused group discussions were used in this study. Because of this method, it was easy to analyse, compare and even contrast responses given from one focused group in one constituency to another. To ensure consistency and stability in responses, this research asked similar, but well-structured questions and responses given were verified to check for any contradictions.

3.11 Validity of Data

Validity refers to how accurate the method produces the intended results that corresponds to real properties, characteristics, and variations in the physical or social world, (Claire 2019). In this research content validity was used to ensure accuracy of the results. To achieve this, the research instruments were formulated in such a way to ensure that all important variables under investigation were adequately covered or captured. That is, taking into account the various components regarding strategies used to reform parliament, factors affecting effective implementation of the reform, and citizen participation in order to establish as to whether parliament is closer to the people as was envisaged, or not.

3.12 Data Analysis Techniques

Qualitative data collected using focused group discussions and interviews were analysed using thematic categorisation for easy of narrations. The thematic categorisation was derived from the specific objectives namely: strategies used to reform parliament, factors affecting effective implementation of the reforms, citizen awareness and participation in parliamentary affairs. Qualitative data analysis was used in this research to give detailed description of the findings and the fact that the nature of the research is more descriptive and does not require quantification of data. In other words, content analysis method was used to describe the knowledge, perceptions, opinions, written words, spoken words, and visual representation of respondents. This method helped to critically analyse responses in detail in relation to the subject matter.

3.13 Ethical Considerations

The study took into account all possible and potential ethical issues. Ethics can be understood as a system of moral principles and perceptions about what is right or wrong and govern a person's behaviour when conducting research activity (Merriam, 2019). To start with, the researcher sought a letter of introduction from the Directorate for research and post graduate studies at the University of Zambia, requesting for permission to conduct research. The values of the respondents were given due respect. During the research, respondents' responses were neither interfered with nor contested by the researcher. Informed consent was obtained from the respondents and the people in charge of places where the research was carried out and all the

respondents. Participants in the research were allowed to ask questions or even withdraw from the discussion anytime. Anonymity of their identity and confidentiality of responses were guaranteed to each respondent during and after the interviews and group discussions.

3.14 Limitation of the research

There are two major limitations of this research. These are presented below. Firstly, the subject of parliamentary reforms is a dynamic one and very wide. It has different components which cannot be conclusively dealt with in a single research. As such, only cross cutting issues were investigated according to specific objectives. The study also established that, there was no comprehensive research that had been done on parliamentary reforms in Zambia. Access to data was not an easy undertaking due to the fact that some respondents could not cooperate during the interview, while others were not available for interviews, despite making prior appointments, especially members of parliament due to their busy schedules.

The bureaucracy associated with public institutions like Parliament also contributed to constraints associated with data collection due to security checks and administrative rigidities involved to gain access to parliament library. To overcome this challenge, the researcher had to compare the data accessed from parliament with what was available on parliament website to ensure its reliability. Further, the researcher took advantage of live parliamentary debates and committee sittings to appreciate some of the reforms and also meet MPs and parliamentary staff after deliberations. In addition, the use of focused group discussions and access to parliament during sessions enabled the researcher to replace some respondents at short notice.

Secondly, inadequate time and resources were another major limitation in this research. The researcher had to travel long distances to and within the six constituencies to meet the respondents which was quite expensive. The researcher wanted to interview as many people as possible but because of this limitation, only a total sample of 53 respondents were interviewed. To increase reliability of the research, purposeful sampling was employed to target institutions and individuals that had knowledge, experience and interacted directly with parliament. In addition, the researcher employed other methods of collecting data such as websites, phone interviews and WhatsApp conversations where physical interaction was not possible. Attendance

to focused groups was also not restricted to five people only, to allow broader participation in the study in the various constituencies covered during the research.

CHAPTER FOUR

STRATEGIES USED TO REFORM PARLIAMENT IN ZAMBIA

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present and discuss the findings relating to the first specific objective which reads: to examine strategies used to reform parliament in Zambia. In order to achieve its purpose, the chapter proceeds by first presenting the background characteristics of the informants and respondents. It then presents the strategies used to reform parliament in Zambia. The reform will be discussed in this chapter in terms of citizen participation. Thereafter, it discusses factors affecting implementation of the reforms. Finally, a conclusion is given.

4.2 Background Characteristics of the Informants

The informants and respondents engaged in the research were in two categories. These are key informants and ordinary citizens. Their background characteristics are presented below.

4.2.1 Key Informants

The characteristics of key informants presented here are gender and age. These characteristics are presented in table 4.2.1 and 4.2.2, respectively.

Table 4.2:1 Gender distribution of key informants

SN	Key informants	Gender		
		Male	Female	Total
01	Members of Parliament	08	04	12
02	Parliamentary Staff	04	04	08
03	Civil Society Organizations leaders	02	01	03
Totals		14	09	23

Table 4.2.1 shows that 14 out of 23, representing 61 percent of the key informants, were males, while nine were females, representing 39 percent. This means that the sample of key informants was dominated by males.

Table 4.2.2 Key Informants Age Distribution

SN	Key informants age distribution	Frequency
01	16 - 25	05
02	26 – 35	03
03	36 – 45	04
04	46 and above	11
	Totals	23

Table 4.2.2 shows that 11 out of 23, (48 percent) of the key informants, were in the age range of 46 years and above. Four people (17 percent) were in the age range of 36 to 45. Eight key informants (35 percent) were below 36 years. This means that the sample of key informants was dominated by elderly people.

4.2.2 Ordinary citizens

The characteristics of ordinary citizens presented here are gender and age. These characteristics are presented in tables 4.2.3 and 4.2.4, respectively.

Table 4.2.3: Gender of ordinary citizens.

SN	Ordinary citizens	Gender		
		Male	Female	Total
01	Ordinary citizens	15	15	30
	Totals	15	15	30

Table 4.2.3 shows the total sample for ordinary citizens was 30, comprised of 15 males (50 percent) and 15 (50 percent) females. This means that there was equal representation of both sexes in the sample.

Table 4.2.4 Ordinary citizens Age distribution

SN	Ordinary citizens Age distribution	Frequency
01	16 - 25	11
02	26 – 35	08
03	36 – 45	03
04	46 and above	08
	Totals	30

Table 4.2.4 above shows that 11 out of 30 (36.6 percent) ordinary citizens were in the age range of 16-25 years, eight out of 30 (26.6 percent), in the age range of 26-35 years, three out of 30 (10 percent) in the age range of 36-45 years and eight out of 30 (26.6 percent), were in the range of 46 years and above. This means that the sample of ordinary citizens was dominated by the youths.

4.3 Strategies Used to Reform Parliament

The major strategies used to reform the Zambian parliament are the establishment of parliamentary radio and television studios, construction of constituency offices, construction of committee buildings and media /visitors centre, and formulation of National Assembly strategic plans. The details of the strategies are discussed below.

4.3.1 Parliament Radio and Television Studios

National Assembly staff indicated that one strategy used to reform parliament is the establishment of parliament radio and television studios. The study revealed that Parliamentary Reforms have incorporated parliamentary communication with a desire to keep the public informed on the works of parliament. On 18th February, 2018 the speaker of the National Assembly, the speaker, launched the Radio and Television studios at Parliament House in Lusaka. The German Government provided financial support for the project. At the launch of parliament radio and Television studios, the speaker encouraged the public to seize the opportunity by following parliamentary debates and committee meetings' deliberations. At the

same event, the German Ambassador to Zambia, Mr. Achim Burkart, said that the radio and Television studios should help Zambia to follow a path of good governance, transparency and accountability because the professional broadcasting of parliamentary debates will make the Zambian population gain a better understanding of the functions and works of parliament. This is in tandem with the pluralist (polsby,1960) argument that the competing interests of social groups should be heard and taken into account in a parliamentary democracy process in order to protect citizens from centralization of power and allow groups or citizen interests to be protected and expressed in the decision making process of the state. Public opinion or policy is viewed as the result of the combination of societal interests and consultations between the leaders and the citizens.

Some Members of Parliament and Leaders of civil society organisations indicated that the establishment of parliamentary broadcasting is an impetus for thinking afresh about the role of parliamentary broadcasting in Civic life, for instance, the Executive Director for FODEP said:

“Timely information given to citizens is the most powerful tool citizen can use to hold their elected leaders accountable in a democratic dispensation like Zambia. Where the citizens are misinformed or not informed at all, democracy and good governance indeed perish and social change becomes stagnant in any society”

The Executive Director for FODEP, further, indicated that parliamentary broadcasting should not only be a preserve of the Public Service Broadcaster. It should also be private and wide spread. The findings of the study show that there is need to have a credible parliament broad casting service. This is in agreement with Banda (2009) who contends that parliament broadcast should provide wide spread and relevant knowledge and competencies to the public. It should also promote loyalty to democratic values and procedures.

4.3.2 Establishment of Constituency Offices

National Assembly staff revealed that the Zambian Parliament, through its parliamentary reform department, has established constituency offices. This was pursuant to one of the recommendations made by the ad hoc parliamentary reform committee appointed by the speaker on 3rd February 1999. The committee made a total of 73 recommendations and recommendation

number one was the establishment of constituency offices. The offices were established with a view to improving the MP-constituent relationship by increasing the frequency and quality of interaction between MP and the people. This interaction was perceived to be something that would enable Parliament to be accepted as legitimate, accountable and transparent by the constituents. The constituency offices were established during the period 2003 to 2006. The offices are managed and coordinated by the parliamentary reform department which is headed by a senior clerk. Each of these offices is managed by professional assistants on behalf of the incumbent MP. Recruitment of professional assistants is done centrally at the National Assembly and later they are posted to various constituencies.

The head of department for parliamentary reform department said:

“The rationale for establishing constituency offices was to decentralize the activities of Parliament by providing a platform for consultations or exchange of development ideas between MPs and the citizens at a local level, thereby bringing parliament closer to the people.”

The Lunte constituency member of parliament revealed that National Assembly Constituency offices have made the work of the Members of Parliament easier, as they have an opportunity to interact with their electorate. Hwedie (2001) similarly observed that local structures such as kgotla in Botswana and constituency offices provide a platform where MPs can explain the roles and responsibilities of parliament and government policies and solicit people’s views and mobilize their participation in National politics. He further contended that constituency offices can promote local empowerment in decision making, because MPs can have opportunities to interact directly with their constituents on matters that affect their lives.

4.3.3 Construction of the new Committee Building and Media / Visitors Centre

The Principle committee clerk indicated that another reform strategy implemented by Parliament was the construction of the new Committee Building and Media/visitors centre. The Committee building was aimed at creating a conducive environment for parliamentary committee meetings. The committee rooms were named after past speakers of the National Assembly such as Sir Thomas William, Wesley Nyirenda, Robison Nabulyato and Amusa Mwanamwambwa. Each of

the committee rooms has the capacity of hosting about 50 people during committee sittings. The committee rooms were built to promote parliamentary democracy and good governance by allowing members of the public to make submission on bills at committee stage.

According to the findings the media and visitors centre was established to open parliamentary activities to the public. The public and members of various media houses are free to visit Parliament to learn more about parliamentary activities. In order to facilitate visitation to Parliament by the general public, the dress code was relaxed from smart to smart casual, where one does not need to wear a tie and jacket to visit parliament facilities or the public gallery. The need to have a conducive parliamentary environment was also emphasized by Olokoa (2000) in his study of constitutional reforms in Uganda. This study observed that participatory constitution making process is the bed -lock of genuine parliamentary reforms. This includes increasing the parliament space and office accommodation.

4.3.4 Formulation of National Assembly of Zambia strategic plans

The Principle clerk in charge of the parliamentary reform department indicated that as part of the reform programme to strengthen its legislative oversight and representative roles, Parliament decided to develop and implemented the National Assembly of Zambia Strategic Plans. These Strategic Plans were to help the institution carry out the parliamentary reforms in a structured manner based on the identified goals and objectives. So far, three strategic plans have been formulated. These are the 2004-2012, 2010_2015 ICTs master plan and 2015-2019 strategic plans.

4.3.4.1 The 2004 – 2012 Strategic Plan

The 2004 – 2012 Strategic Plan to reform Parliament was aimed at strengthening staff competencies in order to improve operational efficiencies and effectiveness; developing and implementing effective systems, policies and processes for the successful realisation of National Assembly Vision and Mission; aligning organisational structure with National Assembly Vision, Mission Statement and strategy; and enhancing financial management practices and procedures to ensure sustainability and maximum utilisation of available resources (www.parliament.gov.zm). The Member of Parliament for Kabwata constituency, stated, that the

implementation of the 2004-2012 Strategic Plan resulted in achievements like training needs assessment which was conducted for members of staff in 2010 and this informed the Staff Capacity Development Plan; development and implementation of the 2010-2015 Information, Communications Technology (ICT) Master Plan which assisted the National Assembly to harness the potential benefits of ICTs in supporting Parliament to perform its core functions. One of the outcomes of the ICT Master Plan was the development of the Parliamentary Information Systems Operations Policy (PISOP) which outlines the guiding principles for Parliament to manage its information systems and provide reliable, secure, useful and easily accessible information resources and related services to Members of Parliament and staff.

The Member of Parliament, further, explained that the implementation of the 2004–2012 Strategic Plan resulted in the development and operationalization of the Communication Strategy 2011- 2015. This Strategy is a holistic document that takes into account the strategic positioning of the National Assembly in National development and the need to reach out to all stakeholders; and commencement of the restructuring of the organisational structure of the National Assembly.

The Member of Parliament revealed that despite the achievements scored in the implementation of the 2004-2012 Strategic Plan, a number of shortcomings were encountered. For instance, the four strategic objectives did not comprehensively encompass the mission of the National Assembly. They concentrated on human resource and administrative issues as opposed to the institutional holistic approach of considering that the institution was made up of Members of Parliament, members of staff within the mainstream, and constituency staff. In this regard, the strategic focus of the institution was more inclined to staff development, operations and administrative systems, as well as on capacity building programmes for staff and Members of parliament.

4.3.4.2 The 2015_2019 strategic plan

The Head of parliamentary reform department further revealed that the development of the 2015 – 2019 Strategic Plan has employed a systematic approach in identifying and analysing factors external to the National Assembly and matching them with the institution’s capabilities, both financial and human resource. The Strategic Plan is also in line with the Planning and Budgeting Policy, Parliamentary Reforms and the Constituency Office Utilisation Model. In addition, the

Strategic Plan has been informed by the Vision 2030 and the Revised Sixth National Development Plan which recognises Parliament as an Institution that will play an oversight function to ensure effectiveness and accountability in the implementation process. This demonstrates that during the 2015 – 19 period, the National Assembly was expected to extend its oversight function to monitoring the outcomes of the Revised Sixth National Development Plan (R-SNDP).

These findings are in line with the National Assembly Strategic Plan (2015) which states that the reforms are aimed at strengthening the capacity of Parliamentary Committees to provide effective oversight; (b) strengthening of the capacity of Parliament to provide oversight on the implementation of Vision 2030 and national development plans; (c) development of mechanisms and procedures for the conduct of public hearings by Parliamentary Committees; and 24 (d) strengthening of collaboration between civil society organisations (CSOs) and Parliamentary Committees. This shows that the reforms are aimed at addressing the real challenges facing parliament in a dynamic world. The findings of this study showed that a lot has been done to capacity build officers in the implementation of the reforms. The 2015 – 2019 Strategic Plan is informed by the review of the previous Strategic Plan 2004 – 2012 and the National Assembly Parliamentary reforms. The Parliamentary reforms have been in progress since the 1990s when the country reverted to multi-party politics from the one-party system of governance.

The Director of legal services department indicated that the reforms are intended to, among other things, entrench democratic ideals by enhancing Parliamentary oversight of the Executive and also provide for increased public participation in parliamentary processes. In addition, the reforms are aimed at enabling the Zambian Parliament achieve the goals of attaining greater accountability, transparency and overall democratic governance. The focus of the Parliamentary Reform Programme (PRP) has been on five key areas, namely: (a) the Committee System; (b) the Legislative Process; (c) the Administration of the National Assembly; (d) support Services to Parliament and its Members; and (e) Member-constituent relations.

A number of successes have been scored under the Parliamentary Reform Programme. These include the following: (a) establishment of Parliament Radio; (b) establishment of Constituency Offices in all the 150 constituencies; (c) construction of the new Committee Building; (d)

construction of a Media and Visitors Centre; (e) enhanced public participation in the legislative process; (f) enhanced public participation, including that of CSOs in Parliamentary committee system.

The Director for legal services department indicated that the 2015 – 2019 Strategic Plan endeavours to build on the successes of the previous Strategic Plan. It took into account the identified limitations of the previous Plan, as well as the findings of the research on the operations of Parliament Radio, the operations of Constituency Offices and the assessment of the impact of training on Members of Parliament undertaken in 2013. The findings of the research indicate that the awareness level on the existence of Parliament Radio and Constituency Offices is low among the sampled population. With regard to the training for Members of Parliament, the findings of the research indicated that the training was beneficial, but there is still need for continued capacity development. These findings are in tandem with Mkhwebane (2006) whose study revealed that the National Assembly staff and members of parliament need capacity building training to keep abreast with world changes in legislature.

4.4 Factors affecting Implementation of the Parliamentary Reforms

4.4.1 Lack of time for MPs to visit their constituencies and inadequate funding.

The Head of Public Relations Unit at the National Assembly revealed that there was no government approved outreach plan to enable parliamentary staff and MPs disseminate information to the citizenry about the reforms for them to appreciate the reform process. While parliament radio and constituency offices have endeavoured to inform the citizens on the roles and functions of parliament, MPs have not been able to hold public meetings to sensitise the citizens on the reforms. This has created an information gap on the reforms, necessary for effective implementation. In addition, due to lack of time to visit their constituencies due to tight schedules at parliament, sensitization of citizens on the parliamentary reforms has negatively been affected.

MPs from the opposition UPND, as well as the ruling PF, indicated that time to visit constituencies was a big challenge and as such they were mostly unable to visit their constituencies due to additional responsibilities such as ministerial duties and committee

meetings, among others, long distances to rural constituencies were cited as other major hindrance ,because they have to mobilise their own money to visit constituencies .For, example ,the opposition UPND, Kalomo Central Member of Parliament said:

“How can Parliament truly be closer to the people when the MPs who are the elected representatives of the people are not empowered by government to visit their constituencies regularly to interact with the grassroot.it takes great personal sacrifice to visit the constituency and interact with our people, especially when you an opposition MP like me”.

The concerns of the MPs with regard to lack of resources and time are in tandem with Olokoa (2002) study of parliamentary reforms in Uganda. He observed that MPS in Uganda, after the reforms were annually given Constituency development fund and mileage allowance for them to establish constituency offices they visited their constituencies regularly. In addition, parliament launched an outreach programme in March 2010, approved by government, aimed at improving visibility and understanding of parliament in the education institutions. The outreach programme enabled young and old people to understand the operations of parliament so that they could utilise it more efficiently and appreciate its roles and functions in supporting the parliamentary system.

The head of the parliamentary reform department revealed that the reforms are by and large, donor driven. Most of the funds for the implementation of the reforms come from the donors. The head of parliamentary department said, for instance, out of the total budget of US\$4,493,426 for the budget for the reforms in 2011, US\$ 3, 819, 412 was from the donors and only US& 674, 014 was from the Zambian government. Inadequate funding has also negatively affected the capacity building programmes aimed at training of both MPs and parliamentary staff, necessary to promote efficiency and timely delivery of parliamentary services.

This was why President Michael Sata, in his address to parliament on 14th October, 2011, requested donors to come on board to finance Parliament. He recognised that the Zambian Parliament needs reforms to be seen to be working in accordance with the aspirations of the people, regardless of their stations in life. It must be a symbol of hope for them.

Siavonga Constituency Member of Parliament from the opposition UPND also indicated that Parliament was also supposed to have its own budget which is not annexed to the National treasury in order to promote transparency and accountability in budget execution, necessary to maintain donor confidence. Further, erratic funding by both government and donors has delayed the reform implementation process. The MPs also lamented that due to these delays in funding, and sometime suspected misapplication of donor funds, some donors have been frustrated and stopped funding the reforms and only one major donor remaining is the Chinese government that funded the construction of the committee building and the media centre. The opposition law makers also observed that, the public accounts committee and the Auditor general's office had no legal authority to prosecute people found wanting in as far as abuse of funds allocated to parliament are concerned. Donors have put transparency and accountability and even prosecution of public workers who abuse donor funds as one of the major conditionalities, attached to their funding.

Phiri, (2005) urged that “the reforms in Zambia, were most welcome, although he feared that donor pressure had dictated the process, which might account for the inertia in their subsequent implementation. The relationship between donors and recipients is important, though donations (especially large ones) come with expectations and demands. The guarantee is dependent on this support and must follow the guidelines and rules given by the donors.”

Similarly, a study by Mkhwebane (2006) in South Africa revealed that Parliament, as the National legislature, has legislative authority (the power to make laws) in the National sphere of government. Therefore, there is need to capacity build the National Assembly staff for them to effectively execute their duties in line with advancements in legislatures in the world.

4.4.2 Excessive Executive Powers

Figure 4.1 the Executive and Implementation of the Parliamentary Reforms

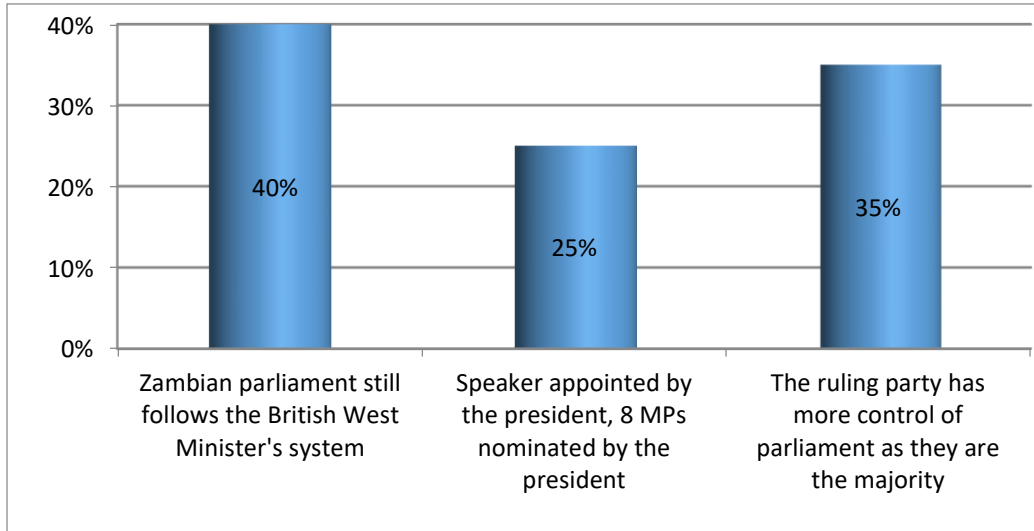


Figure 4.1 above on the Executive and how it affects parliamentary reforms shows that 10 out of 23 representing 40 percent of the key informants (directors of civil societies and parliamentary staff) indicated that the implementation of the reforms is affected because the Zambian parliament follows the British West Minister system. This is a system where the Head of the executive is an active participant in the day to day administration of the state and state institutions such as parliament, especially through nominated officials like the speaker and other officials, though he is subjected to ratification by Parliament, in the Zambian case. The Zambian Parliament, since independence from the British colonial rule has not departed significantly from this parliamentary system which, to a greater extent, tend to limit the autonomy of Parliament from executive influence. The colonial legacy is an impediment to speedy democratization of the Zambian Parliament, more so that Zambia is a member of the commonwealth countries, previously colonized by Britain.

Five out of 23 (25 percent) of the key informants (MPs from UPND), for example indicated that the president nominates eight members of parliament; and that the ruling party had more control of parliament since they are usually the majority in parliament. The eight nominated members of parliament always gives the executive members undue advantage when voting on a particular motion in parliament.

On the other hand, eight out of 23(35 percent) of the key informants (UPND MPs and directors of civil societies) indicated that the ruling party had more MPs in parliament than the opposition. The number of MPs, for example after 2016 general election, the ruling PF had 89 MPs out of 156 seats representing 53%, while the rest were independents and opposition members of parliament.

The leader of opposition from UPND said:

“Our parliamentary democracy is ineffective because the executive members use the arrogance of numbers when voting in Parliament. Some MPS from the opposition and independents tend to be compromised because they resign to join the ruling party or simply vote with the executive on critical national issues brought before parliament, thereby compromising the checks and balances over the executive in Parliament. This has also resulted in expensive bye elections .As elected leaders in the House ,we are expected to provide checks and balances to the executive and put national interest first and not personal of partisan interests .In addition our parliament is not independent from presidential influence because the President has the constitutional powers to dissolve parliament and call for early elections, if he wants .He has power to assent or not assent the bill if he feels the bill is in conflict with the interests of the executive .So excessive powers of the president over parliament must be reduced for our parliament to reform and truly be democratic.”

The observation is in tandem with the findings of Mukumbe (2002) who conducted a study on effectiveness of parliamentary structures and procedures in Zimbabwe. The study further revealed that the Zimbabwean National Assembly has not made progress in terms of reforms to hold the executive wing of government as Parliament accountable in the areas of legal reforms ,abuse of power ,corruption ,misappropriation of public funds, and others, but merely rubberstamps most of the executive decisions because of following the British Westminster parliamentary system. By and large, respondents mostly MPs, argued that parliament was a rubberstamp of executive decisions and could not hold the executive accountable or provide checks and balances.

Similarly, in the United States of America, while the engine of legislative ideas and action is Congress itself, the President has influence in the legislative process, as well. The President

recommends an annual budget for federal agencies and often suggests legislation. Perhaps more significantly, the power to veto legislation can affect the content of bills passed by Congress. Since it is quite unusual for law to be enacted over a presidential veto, Congress typically must accommodate the president's position on proposed policies (Steven, 1996).

The FODEP director said:

“Parliament is also affected by constitutional and procedural bottle necks such as powers of the President to dissolve parliament .The Electorate have high expectations on their representatives when they elect them but frequently they have been disappointed by resignations and shifting of political camps, resulting into unnecessary by elections which are not only expensive but compromise parliamentary democracy, separation of powers and good governance. According to Article 62 of the Constitution of Zambia, "Parliament" is a composite body consisting of the President and the National Assembly. The Republican President, through the powers conferred by the Constitution, calls Parliament to meet, orders elections to take place and gives final approval to laws (the Presidential Assent) but does not otherwise play an active role in parliamentary work.”

4.4.3 Lack of effective Monitoring and Evaluation of the Reform Programmes

The key informants at National Assembly revealed that the reform programmes are not effectively monitored and evaluated mainly due to inadequate funding. Mostly the National budget doesn't adequately cater for monitoring and evaluation of parliament and subsidiary constituency offices annually. For example, at the time of the study, it was revealed that National Assembly was not able to establish permanent offices in all the constituencies, but instead individual MPs were given the mandate to look for places where constituency offices could be opened.

The head of the parliamentary reform department said:

“if financial resources could allow, we were initially supposed to be monitoring the performance of the constituency offices and staff regularly, especially in rural areas, but instead we just receive reports from professional Assistants. We have not been able to implement monitoring and evaluation programmes fully to visit most of the constituency offices country wide to

appreciate the challenges out there and also obtain views from the citizens on how these reforms are performing.”

Another obstacle to effective monitoring and evaluation is the high turnover of old parliamentarians after general elections.

The Principle Clerk of the National Assembly said:

“Usually only about 40 percent of the Members of Parliament retain their seats after a general election. This means that 60 percent are new and require capacity building. This delays the implementation of the reforms and has affected the monitoring of the reform programmes.”

The need for effective monitoring in the implementation of the reforms was also brought out in a study conducted by Ismi (2004) on parliamentary procedures in Zambia. The study established that the reform process was basically premised on the need to make the National Assembly Accessible, responsive, transparent and accountable, among others but this is drastically affected by the high turnover of old Members of Parliament after every general election.

4.4.4 Lack of political will

The informants from the civil society and opposition MPs attributed the slow progress of the reforms, to lack of political will and strong leadership at institutional level (parliament) because the executive and National Assembly management have not shown adequate commitment and financial resource mobilization towards the reforms, but instead, the donor community has, to a greater extent, driven the reform agenda. For example, construction of the committee building, media centre and parliament radio and television studios were funded by the Chinese and Germany governments, respectively. The lack of political will and strong leadership are shown figure 4.2 below:

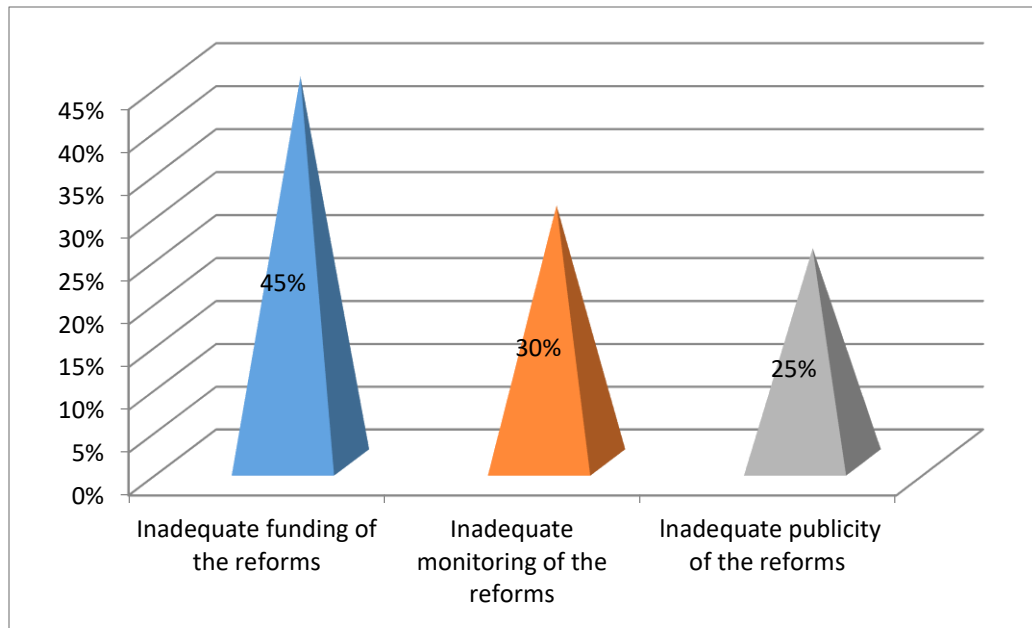


Figure 4.2 shows that 10 out of 23 (45 percent) of the key informants indicated that inadequate funding of the reforms by the government is a sign of lacking political will. These included parliamentary staff, opposition MPs and directors of civil societies. Seven out of 23 (30 percent) of the informants talked of inadequate monitoring of the reforms, while 6 out of 23 representing (25 percent) of the informants (UPND MPs) mentioned inadequate publicity of the reforms as a sign of lacking political will and strong leadership on the part of the government and NAZ leadership.

The leader of the opposition in parliament from the UPND said,

“Under the leadership of Levy Patrick Mwanawasa as president and Amusa mwanambwa as speaker, significant progress on reforms was achieved. We saw the construction of the committee building, amendment of standing orders in 2005 to introduce vice president question time and constituency development fund, live broadcasting of parliamentary proceedings on Radio and TV among others. This has not been the case with subsequent regimes.”

The head of public relations unit indicated that the reforms also included creating adequate space to accommodate members of the public and journalists and also the establishment of database for the National Assembly business as examples of reforms. These have not been fully

accomplished because the parliamentary staff did not engage a wide range of stakeholders in as far as sourcing for funds is concerned.

These findings are in tandem with the Inter Parliamentary Union (1997) observation that the subject of parliamentary reform in emerging democracies is a politically sensitive endeavour, given that parliament is a political institution by nature. It is an arena of constant confrontation between the executive and the legislature and the ruling majority and the opposition because parliamentary reforms involve redistribution of power. Whereas the opposition parties, by and large, may support reforms, the executive may resist reforms in order to preserve power and control of parliament. Therefore, a hostile or at the very best, uncooperative government is a major impediment to reforms.

These findings are also supported by Philip (2002) who established that if the major reform is to be achieved, there is not only need for coherent proposals for change but also strong leadership to spearhead the reforms, which was not the case under the leadership of Tony Blair as he attacked the opposition when the subject of reforms was tabled in parliament and also spent few minutes appearing before committees, contrary to his campaign promises he made on reforms.

The directors from civil society stated that the transparency and accountability of parliament and MPs, especially the executive and public service workers who abuse public funds are a sources of concern if the reforms are to be relevant. The respondents observed that government was reluctant to deal with cases that involve serving ministers cited for either corruption or abuse of authority. In addition, civil servants who have been cited for misappropriation of funds in the Auditor general report and appear before Public accounts committee have not been punished or prosecuted. Parliament has failed to hold the executive to account for these vices by prosecuting the suspects of abuse of public resources and corruption.

Hansard Society (2009) observed that the aspect of whether Parliament has mechanisms to prevent, detect, and discipline MPs and staff engaged in corrupt activities is one of the weaker ones in the transparency and integrity function of parliament. However, Members of Parliament and parliamentary staff are subject to prosecution under the National anti-corruption laws. In this respect, Parliament tends to use the same approach as in the rest of the public service. Some officials have been disciplined, especially with respect to cases to do with procurement.

The weakest aspect of Parliament's transparency and integrity functions is in respect of Members' declarations of their assets and business interests. Many MPs go to the extent of using Parliament's time to conduct personal business. The respondents suggested therefore, that Parliament should make arrangements for the appointment of either an independent outside institution to monitor MPs' declarations of their assets and business interests and who will examine each declaration for accuracy and veracity (In some Commonwealth countries, this is contracted to a reputable Audit firm), or empower the proposed Parliamentary Service Commission to perform this function. Parliament should also publish MPs' attendance or absenteeism in the House plenary and committee meetings, as part of a new move of openness to be extended to cover information related to the use of public funds such as expenses and financial interests; and as a step towards the establishment of a register for the public to access data on the activities and participation of MPs in Parliament's work on a day to day basis. This information should be published in the media and posted on the internet.

4.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, the study findings show that there are many strategies that have been used to reform the Zambian parliament. These include establishment of parliamentary radio and TV studios, establishment of constituency offices; construction of the new committee building and media/visitors centre and formulation of strategic plans. The strategies have, to some extent, helped to open parliamentary activities to the public. A number of factors have been identified that have affected adversely the effective implementation of the reforms such as, lack of time for MPs to visit their constituencies regularly, inadequate funding from government to support the reforms, excessive executive powers, lack of effective monitoring and evaluation and lack of political will. The next chapter will address the extent to which citizens participate in parliamentary affairs.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE EXTENT TO WHICH CITIZENS PARTICIPATE IN PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses the findings relating to the second specific objective which reads: To assess the extent to which citizens participate in parliamentary affairs in Zambia after the introduction of parliamentary reforms. In order to achieve its purpose, the chapter first discusses citizens' awareness of parliamentary reforms. It then looks at the extent to which citizens participate in parliamentary affairs. Thereafter, it looks at factors limiting citizen participation in parliamentary Affairs. Finally, a conclusion is given.

The extent to which citizens are aware of parliamentary reforms is discussed from the perspectives of civil society leaders, ordinary citizens and Members of Parliament. These perspectives are presented below.

5.2 Citizens' Awareness of Parliamentary Reforms

5.2.1 Civil society leaders' Perspective

All the three leaders of Civil Society organizations indicated that most citizens are generally aware of the existence of constituency offices in urban and peri urban constituencies, but they were not quite knowledgeable of the role and functions of these offices. They attributed this to lack of publicity of the reforms by the National Assembly of Zambia (NAZ). They, however, indicated that the picture was different in remote parts of rural constituencies such as Kasempa and Mazabuka, for example, most citizens in rural areas may not be aware of the existence, functions and roles of constituency offices.

The director for SACCORD said:

“The subject of parliamentary reforms has become a preserve of the educated elite and not common people on the street, yet whatever happens in parliament affects the lives of all citizens. The private media have not complemented public media houses to inform and educate the

citizens on the discourse of these reforms. NAZ is to blame for not formally engaging the private media. The obvious implication is that the majority of the citizens can not appreciate the benefits of these reforms”

Further, the CARITAS director said:

“Most citizens are not aware of parliamentary committee sittings, as there is usually limited publicity. The television and newspaper adverts leave out rural people and the fact that

Parliamentary committees’ sittings are usually held along the line of rail in comfort zones. The attendance to these committees is usually dominated by members of the ruling party. The committee meetings are not even regular because of limited funding.”

5.2.2 Ordinary Citizens’ Perspective

The ordinary citizens interviewed in Lusaka and Mazabuka indicated that they were aware of constituency offices, parliament radio and TV, but were ignorant of other reforms such as construction of committee building, media center and strategic plans at National Assembly. Most of them were not aware of the roles and functions of these offices. In Kasempa, only one respondent out of five was aware of the constituency office, but all respondents were not aware of the other reforms. The residents blamed the MP and professional assistants for not visiting the remote areas of the constituency to appreciate their problems and also inform them about the reforms. Some respondents in Kasempa were not even aware of the name of their MP and the professional assistant. The study also established that high illiteracy levels in rural areas and lack of civic education contribute to low awareness and participation in parliamentary affairs. Language barrier is another factor that limits citizen participation in parliamentary affairs because both parliament radio and live broadcasting of parliamentary debates on TV are conducted in English language, thereby excluding the majority of the citizens who do not understand English language.

The study also established that ordinary people in Lusaka, Mazabuka and Kasempa districts were aware, interacted and appreciated more the local council and ward development committees’ roles and functions than constituency offices. These findings are in line with PANOS (2008) which established that generally citizens were aware of the National Assembly of Zambia and

that MPs are elected to represent them. However, this did not translate into the understanding and appreciation of the roles of the National Assembly. In fact, several misconceptions were discovered on the part of the constituents regarding their expectations from their MPs. One Citizen in Kasempa said:

“We don’t know where the constituency office is located and what it is doing, but we know what the council and the ward development committee is doing, because we receive constituency development funded projects and other services from the council through the ward development committee.”

The findings of this study are in tandem with PANOS (2008) study on the effectiveness of constituency offices. Among other things the study assessed the level of interaction between the MPs before and after the introduction of constituency offices, determine the levels of awareness of the constituents on the existence and purpose of constituency offices, assess the level of utilization and effectiveness of the offices in responding to the needs of the constituents and to determine the extent to which the offices remain politically neutral. The study established that introduction of constituency offices of the National Assembly did not translate into understanding of the role and functions of National Assembly. In fact, several misconceptions were also discovered on the part of the constituents regarding their expectations from their MPs. Despite being aware of NAZ, 79% of the respondents had not yet interacted with NAZ. The result indicates that accessibility of NAZ by members of the public was and still is a challenge. Findings of the study also revealed wide spread support for the idea of constituency offices and steps taken by government and donors to decentralize the activities of parliament are well received. While structures have been setup at different levels, they feel the structures are not yet very effective with regards to parliamentary reforms, 84% of the respondents said they had never heard about the reforms.

5.2.3 Members of parliaments’ Perspectives

The members of parliament from both the ruling party and the opposition indicated that the majority of the citizens are not aware of the reforms, except the constituency offices where they meet the citizens. They lamented that there has been less publicity about these reforms. The study also revealed that none of the MPs interviewed held meetings in their constituencies to

inform the citizens about these reforms. Some MPs indicated that most of the citizens were not aware, especially in rural areas, that constituency offices exist. Many were of the view that constituency offices are places where they are expected to meet the MP and present their personal problems and get assistance. On the roles of the MP, many people thought it is the role of the MP to assist people with personal needs and problems. There is also a misconception that the role of the members of parliament is to construct roads, schools and clinics. All these misconceptions show that there are low levels of awareness about the reforms and the roles and functions of parliament and constituency offices.

5.3 Extent to Which Citizens Participate in Parliamentary Affairs

Different stakeholders presented their views on the extent to which citizens participate in Parliamentary Affairs after the introduction of parliamentary reforms. These stakeholders are the Members of Parliament, leaders of civil society organizations and the citizens themselves. The views of these stakeholders are discussed below:

5.3.1 Members of Parliament’s Perspectives on extent to which citizens participate in Parliamentary Affairs

Figure 5.1: Members of parliament views on the effectiveness of parliamentary reforms to support citizen participation.

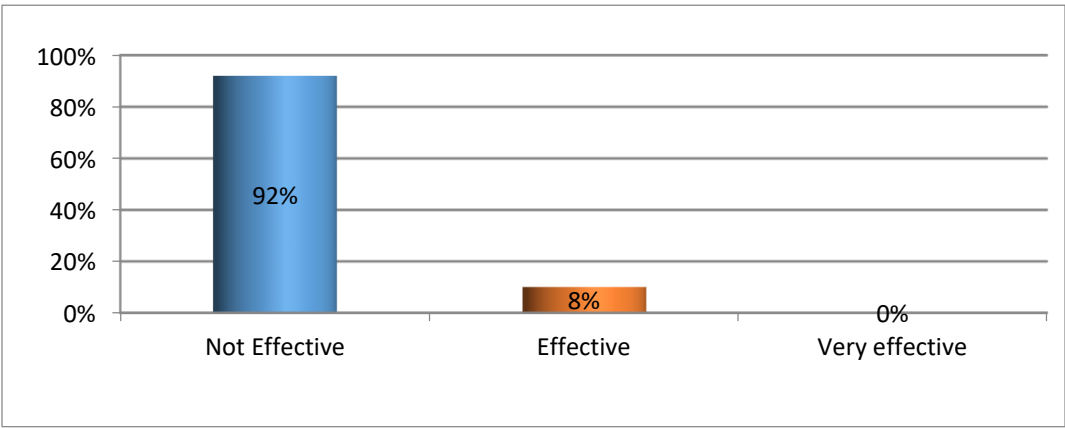


Figure 5.1 show that 92 percent of the 12 MPs indicated that the structures established to support citizen’s participation in parliamentary affairs are not effective. Only one MP representing eight percent of the MPs said the structures were effective.

The MPs appreciated the fact that the reforms have, to some extent, brought parliament closer to the people through the establishment of constituency offices, but they indicated that constituency offices are not very effective in promoting citizen participation because most of the citizens rarely visit these offices. They indicated that some of the offices are inaccessible, especially in rural areas, due to bad road and communications networks. They also indicated that serious communication gaps between these offices and National Assembly exist. Other structures like parliament radio broadcast exist only along the line of rail, thereby excluding the majority of the citizens, especially in rural areas. Some MPs also described structures such as committee rooms and public gallery at parliament as inadequate to accommodate a good number of citizens who visit parliament to watch deliberations when parliament is in session.

5.3.2 Responses from Civil Society Organization Leaders

The leaders of civil society organizations had mixed feelings in as far as the extent to which parliamentary structures support citizen's participation in parliamentary affairs. Two of the respondents indicated that the structures were not effective. In supporting this view one of them said:

'I am not aware of the structures supporting citizen's participation. If they are there, they are not fully publicised. There is need for the parliamentary staff to work closely with civil society organizations. Civil society organizations can build systematic links between elected representatives and their constituents through public outreach activities, including public hearings and citizen-friendly information channels of communication.'

Another one indicated that:

'Civil society can provide the necessary policy analysis and perspectives that facilitate parliamentarians to refine their policy positions and continue to align their interests with those of the electorate. The institutionalisation of the opportunities and mechanisms for civil society engagement in the governance architecture in Zambia is, therefore, a key to promoting a sustainable and peaceful means through which citizen's voices and interests may be heard and addressed.'

Caritas director revealed that the concept of bringing parliament closer to the people still has a lot of impediments. Caritas Zambia Director further indicated that there is need to examine the linkages between these offices and the ward development committees at grass root level. He also indicated that there is need to seriously evaluate the capacity building component which is key to successful reforms and service delivery of the National Assembly. In short, from the civil society point of view, citizens do not participate fully in parliamentary affairs.

5.3.3 Citizens' Responses on the extent to which they participate in Parliamentary Affairs

Figure 5.2 Responses on whether they have been to parliament or to the constituency office

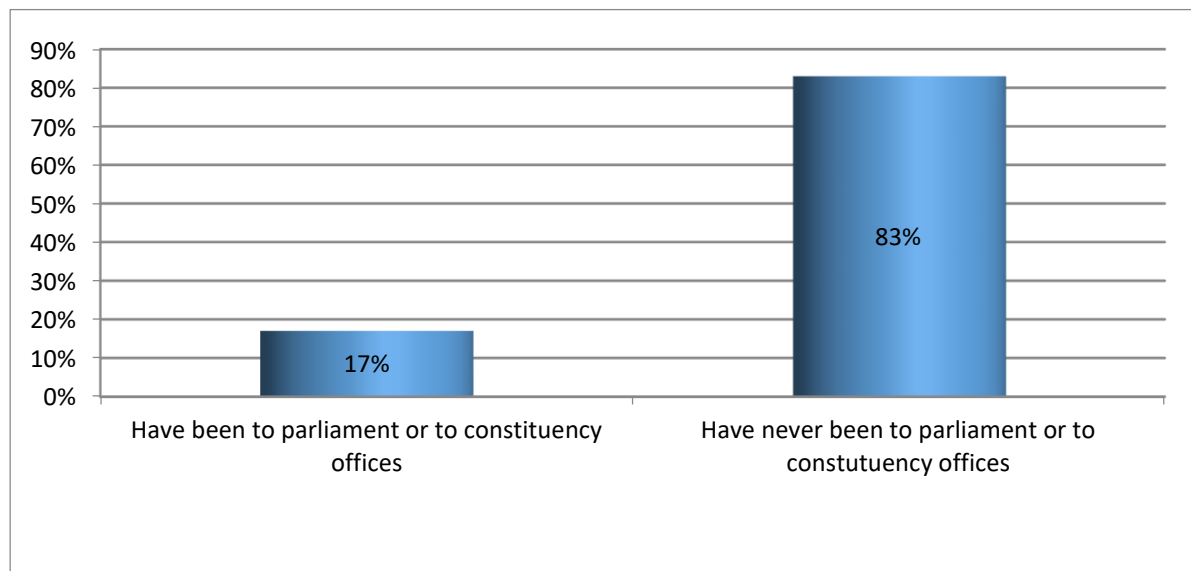


Figure 5.2 shows that of the 30 citizens sampled, only five, representing 17 percent, indicated that they have visited parliament or constituency offices. The rest, that is 25, representing 83, percent indicated that they have never visited parliament or constituency offices. Most of the citizens interviewed indicated that they have not visited parliament or indeed participated in public committee meetings.

The participants further revealed that there is citizen apathy in the utilization of constituency offices. Further, there are differences between men and women's visitation to constituency offices. There are also different levels of visitation between urban and rural constituencies. In urban and peri-urban areas, more people visit constituency offices than rural areas. In terms of gender, the number of women visiting these offices is almost the same in urban compared to

men. However, the picture in rural areas is different as more men visit constituency offices than women. In terms of visitation in Kasempa for example, only five to 10, mostly men, visited the constituency office per week. Citizens further indicated that MPs rarely visit these offices and even when they visit, most of them are unaware because their visits are unscheduled. This has been a source of frustrations among citizens. The study also revealed that professional assistants rarely engage the citizens to obtain their concerns on behalf of the MPs. MPs also do not consult their electorate to obtain views on various bills presented in parliament.

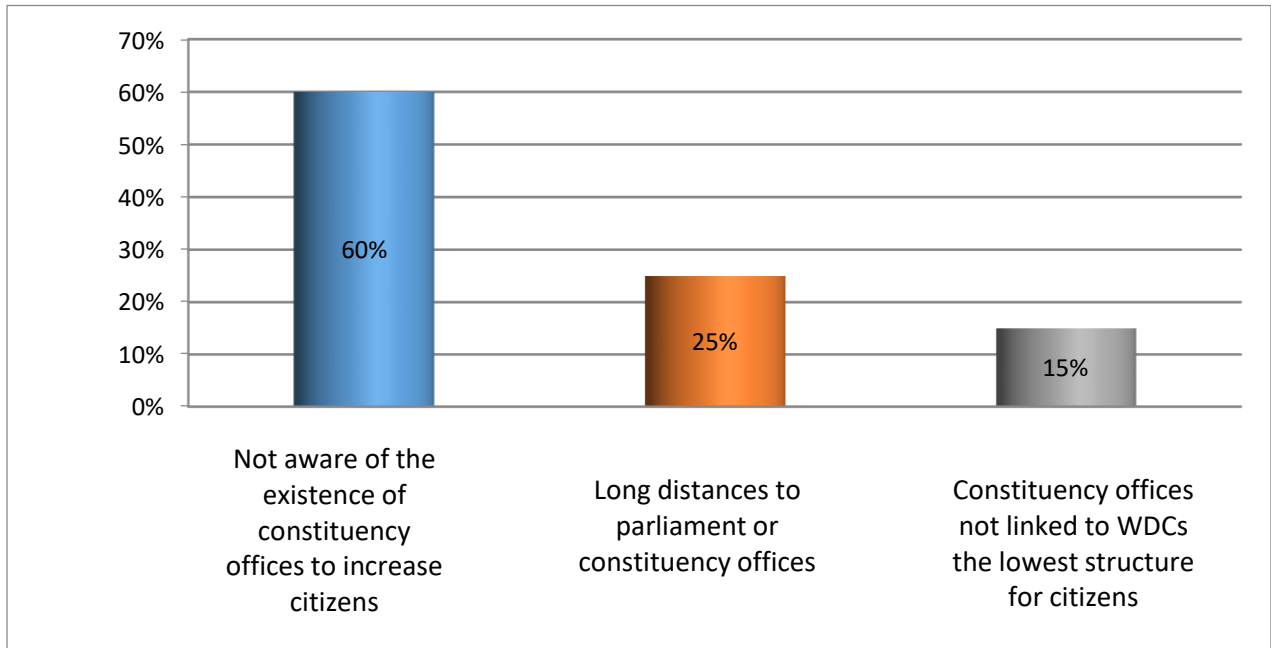
The findings of this research are similar to what was observed by Caritas (2004) who indicated that in Kabwata constituency in Lusaka, 50 people on average came to the constituency office per month. It was also revealed that the gender ratio was 50:50 between men and women, while in Chongwe 35 people on average visited the constituency office per month and the gender ratio was 70:30, men and women respectively. On the other hand, Mpongwe constituency located on the Copper belt rural, showed that 19 people on average visited the constituency office and the gender ratio was 80:20 between men and women respectively.

The study findings are similar to YEZI (2013) who established that there is limited participation in political governance in Zambia. Respondents in the study cited limited opportunities due to bureaucracy in government structures, limited civic knowledge on how to participate, limited information, especially from the mainstream media (newspapers, radio and television) not available in rural areas and high illiteracy levels among rural dwellers.

5.4 Factors Limiting Citizen Participation in Parliamentary Affairs

The factors limiting citizen participation in parliamentary affairs are discussed from the perspectives of three categories of stake holders. These are, ordinary citizens, civil society leaders and Members of Parliament. These perspectives are presented below.

Figure 5.3. Factors limiting citizen’s participation in parliamentary affairs



As shown in Figure 5.3, there are three major factors that limit citizen participation in parliamentary affairs. These are; not aware of the existence of constituency offices to increase citizen’s participation. This factor affects the majority of the citizens. Long distance to parliament or constituency offices was also cited as another factor that limit citizen participation especially in peri urban and rural constituencies. Further, the constituency offices are not linked to ward development committees the lowest structure for citizen’s participation.

5.4.1 Ordinary Citizens Perspective

One citizen indicated that;

“Parliamentary constituency offices have increased interaction between MPs and the electorates. However, there is need to make the electorates aware of the existence of these offices and MPs should take a leading role.”

Most of the sampled citizens indicated that constituency offices are usually not centrally located, but established in urban or District Administration Areas which are not easily accessed by people especially in rural areas because of bad road network and high transport cost. In some areas not

even communication infrastructure was not available for mobile phones or radio and television communication. For example, according to one citizen, the furthest ward in Kasempa (Nyoka ward) is about 180 km away from the constituency office and only five out of 14 wards had communication network.

One citizen in Kabwata Constituency said:

“I only visited the constituency office once and I don’t feel like going back again because of the hostile attitude by the professional assistant. Even when you take a concern there, they have no time for us and don’t give us feedback at all. Sometimes we wonder why we vote for these MPs because their promises are never fulfilled but instead what we see after elections is that their lives change for better while us we continue to live in poverty.”

The feeling by the citizen as indicated above shows that high levels of mistrust between the citizens and MPs as well as unfulfilled promises have negatively affected citizen participation in parliamentary Affairs.

5.4.2 Civil Society Leaders’ perspective

The civil society leaders bemoaned voter apathy in Zambia. They indicated that increased citizens’ participation in parliamentary affairs begins with full participation in electing members of parliament. Sadly, most of the citizens shun elections because they are disappointed with their members of parliament. The constitution also limits citizen participation by putting a lot of bottlenecks on the formation and operation of NGOs. That is why most NGOs are only along the line of rail. This means the rural population is left out and yet that is where the majority citizens live.

The FODEP Director said:

The low levels of citizen participation in elections are a source of concern. For example, in 2016 general elections less than half of the citizens participated in the elections (Imagine out of a population of about 13 million, only about six million, six hundred and ninety-eight thousand, three hundred and seventy-two (6,698,372) registered as voters and only a total of three million, seven hundred and eighty-one thousand, five hundred and five (3,781,505) voted during the

elections, according to the Electoral commission of Zambia). This means the president and members of parliament are actually elected by the minority citizens and legitimacy becomes a challenge. Some of the reasons why citizens shun elections include political violence especially against women and youth, low civic education and illiteracy, personal preference, unfulfilled promises, mistrust between elected leaders and citizens, corruption, commercialization of politics or use of money, among others. All stake holders in the country must collaborate to address these challenges, if our democracy is to mature.”

The CARITAS directors also indicated that the introduction of the NGOs Act No, 16 of 2009, has reduced the democratic space for their organizations. This is due to government regulation of the registration and operations of the NGOs in the country. Some of the changes introduced in the Act include declaration of assets by NGO leader’s disclosure on the source of information and funding, publication of the code of conduct among others. The freedom of expression and association has been restricted by this Act, he lamented. The director also lamented that citizen participation in public meetings has been constrained by the selective application of the Public Order Act by the police. This has resulted in many NGOs failing to demonstrate to express their dissatisfaction on some of the matters related to good governance for fear of police brutality especially at parliament. The NGOs directors also indicated that there are high levels of mistrust between government and them on matters of National Governance. Often times, they are misunderstood to be agents of foreign forces or propagating opposition party’s agenda. NGOs that are perceived to be antigovernment are usually not invited to participate in national consultative forums organized by the government and sometimes they are denied permits to hold their own public meetings.

Their participation is constrained by National Assembly deciding which NGOs should make submissions on a particular bill. Even when they are invited, they are given few minutes to make submissions and mostly their submissions are not taken on board, rendering the submission process a mere academic exercise. This has been a source of frustration for the NGOs participation in parliamentary affairs.

The SACCORD director had this to say;

“Some citizens shun the parliamentary committee meetings because of high illiteracy levels. They cannot assimilate the voluminous and technical information being deliberated upon. Additionally, others avoid because there is no guarantee that what they submit will be taken on board. Their sittings are not widely published and the meetings are usually held in towns mostly there by excluding ordinary citizens.”

5.4.3 Members of Parliaments’ Perspective

Members of parliament indicated that although constituency offices provide a platform to meet the citizens and obtain their views on issues of development, these offices are not politically neutral, as citizens who visit these offices are mostly their party sympathizers. The MPs said most of these offices are not easily accessed by all the citizens because National Assembly has not built permanent buildings in all the constituencies. So they had to look for office space to rent anywhere within the constituency, hence the challenge of awareness and accessibility by citizens. They also indicated that constituency offices have a lot of challenges such inadequate capacity building, lack of transport, and lack of good communication network, among others. Low motivation levels among the staff, especially in rural areas remains a challenge that affects service delivery to the community.

The MPs further confirmed that, the constituency offices have no structured working relationship with the WDCs, being the lowest substructures for consulting citizens at the local level. The study established that most respondents are aware of the council and services provided by the council through ward development committees, as opposed to constituency offices, hence the low utilization of these offices by the citizens compared to the number of people who visit councils daily. For example, the CDF, which is a popular fund to the citizens, is administered by councils. The findings regarding the constituency offices challenges are similar to CARITAS (2004) who also observed some challenges associated with constituency offices in Zambia.

Firstly, there is overwhelming evidence that a huge difference exists between people that know the existence and purpose of the offices, and those who do not know at all. In fact, the majority do not know the existence and purpose of these offices. The second challenge relates to the

issues people bring to the constituency offices; for example, personal financial problems, funerals and others. Thirdly, the challenge associated with constituency offices relates to the political neutrality of these offices. Whereas it is expected that such offices should be politically neutral, there are many people who see constituency offices as belonging solely to the political party of the incumbent MP. Fourthly, most constituency offices are not centrally located. This results in apathy in as far as access to these offices by constituents is concerned. Fifthly, many MPs visits to these constituency offices are unscheduled and unpredictable due to other commitments either in the house, committee work, National Conferences and tours. The sixth challenges relate to motivation and maintaining the constituency office staff. Constituency office, and staff do not have the same conditions of service like their colleagues at National Assembly.

The study findings are also in tandem with observations by Hughes (2005) study on committees and public participation in South Africa. The study revealed that membership to the committees is proportional to their representation in parliament and were rotational in nature. The study identified weaknesses inherent within parliamentary committees. For example, structural constraints which limit the capacity of committees to work effectively to oversee the activities of the executive arm due to the voluminous and technical nature of submissions and limited time to do thorough reading and study reports. The second constraint identified was lack of professionalism by some of the MPs appointed to parliamentary committees. Relevant skills of many MPs were found wanting and many committees lacked adequate research resources to effectively interrogate ministers, deputy ministers and their officials. Moreover, the argumentation process is often of a technical and legalistic nature, frequently leaving committee members at a disadvantage and recommendations of the committee are rarely enforced or worked on by government.

5.5 Conclusion

This research has shown that constituency offices are not yet effective structures to bring parliament closer to the people and promote citizen participation in parliamentary affairs. The study findings show that the majority of the citizens' levels of awareness about the constituency offices and parliament roles and functions are still very low. This shows that the citizens have

not been closely following the parliamentary reform process. In addition, the study has revealed low levels of participation in parliamentary affairs. While to some extent the reforms have improved interaction between parliament and the public through the establishment of constituency offices, the functions and role of both parliament and such sub structures are yet appreciated by the majority of the citizens. A number of challenges associated with constituency offices such as lack of knowledge on the roles and functions of these offices, personal issues people bring to these offices, politicisation of the offices, unscheduled visits by MPs to constituency offices, low motivation levels among professional assistants and long distances, lack of linkages between constituency offices and ward development committees, among others, have contributed to low levels of participation by constituents in parliamentary affairs.

Other factors attributed to low levels of awareness and participation in parliamentary affairs after the introduction of the reforms include: inadequate publicity of the reforms, high illiteracy levels, unfulfilled promises, language barrier, inappropriate National Assembly structures, political violence, corruption, fear of the unknown, lack of rule of law, and strict security checks at parliament. The next chapter presents the conclusion and some policy recommendations that can help to enhance the parliamentary reforms and citizen participation, including possible areas of future research on this subject matter.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

This Chapter presents the conclusions and recommendations of this dissertation. The first part to be presented is the conclusions and then the recommendations.

6.2 Conclusion

The conclusions are presented according to the objectives of the research. The general objective of the research was to: examine the effectiveness of parliamentary reforms in enhancing citizen participation in parliamentary affairs in Zambia. The first specific objective of the study was to examine the strategies used to reform parliament and factors affecting effective implementation of the reforms. The conclusion on this objective was that the strategies used to reform parliament have not, to a larger extent brought, parliament closer to the people, as was envisaged. In order to respond to the demands of the citizens, National Assembly, together with donors ,developed and implemented various strategies to make parliament open its activities to the public such as, establishment of constituency offices, establishment of parliament radio and live television broadcasting of parliamentary proceedings, establishment of media/visitors centre, formulation of strategic plans and construction of committee buildings.

The findings of the research however, show that despite parliament putting these strategies in place, the implementation has been slow and the majority of the citizens are yet to appreciate and follow the discourse of the reforms. Some of the factors that have negatively affected the effective implementation of the reforms include, lack of time for MPs to visit their constituencies, inadequate funding from government to support the reforms, excessive executive powers, lack of political will, and lack of monitoring and evaluation programme. The second specific objective of the research was to determine the extent to which citizens participate in parliamentary affairs. The findings revealed low levels of both awareness and participation in parliamentary affairs. The study shows low levels of participation and awareness on the roles and functions of parliament and sub structures like the constituency offices. A number of challenges associated with constituency offices include, lack of knowledge on the roles and functions of

constituency offices among citizens, long distances, and personal issues brought to such offices by citizens, politicisation of the offices, unscheduled visits by MPs, and low motivation levels among professional assistants and lack of linkages to ward development committees.

These challenges contribute to low levels of awareness and participation by citizens in parliamentary affairs. Other factors attributed to low levels of awareness and participation in parliamentary affairs include, inappropriate National Assembly structures, unfulfilled promises, tight security checks at parliament, fear of the unknown, high illiteracy levels, language barrier, political violence during elections, corruption, lack of rule of law, among others. These factors have negatively affected citizen participation in parliamentary affairs.

In this regard, taking account of the preceding observations the general conclusion of this dissertation was that parliamentary reforms have not been effective to enhance citizen participation in parliamentary affairs in Zambia.

6.3 Recommendations

The recommendations are presented in two parts, namely: policy recommendations and areas for future research.

6.3.1 Policy Recommendations

In order to reform parliament fully and bring the activities closer to the citizens, the following recommendations should be taken into account by all stake holders involved in the reform process. These include: policy makers, donors, members of parliament, parliamentary staff, and citizens. Arising from the study, the following recommendations have been proposed for consideration;

1. The government should ensure that constituency offices are depoliticized, strengthened and effectively used to sensitize the public about the openness of Parliament.
2. Parliament should be proactive and exhibit at agricultural and commercial shows in the entire National and provincial events to showcase its roles, functions and activities to the members of the public.

3. Parliamentary debates should be covered live on National television, while necessary literature must be made available in English and local languages to the public for them to understand the parliamentary reforms.
4. More support should be given to the Constituency Offices, especially for office space where such is being rented.
5. There is need to strengthen the legal framework to control the supplementary expenditures, enhance the role of the MPs and the public in the budget process and to provide for legislative tracking mechanisms.
6. Parliament should facilitate public education on the role of MPs on the budget process by use of media, particularly radio, especially during budget approval times when the public is expected to participate. This was suggested as it emerged that there is a clear need of increasing capacity in the areas of promoting citizens' knowledge and understanding the role of Members of Parliament in the budget process.
7. Parliament should come up with a structured way of engaging with Civil Society Organizations in a form of memorandum of understanding to guide and foster sound relationship. Members recommended this out of realization that currently there is no coordinated way to engage such important stakeholders.
8. Increased budgetary allocations should be availed to Oversight Committees to enable them carry out their mandates effectively. Members recommended this out of the assessment that Oversight Committees are not adequately resourced to undertake their activities. Prosecution powers should be legally given to oversight committees like the public accounts committee to prevent abuse of the government resources.
9. Parliament should put procedures in place to enable MPs disclose business interest in addition to declaring their assets and liabilities in line with the general requirement that all public servants ,including MPs, declare their assets and liabilities. Members were concerned that there is no mechanism for disclosure of business interest by members.
10. Parliament should come up with a clear policy to guide the process and operations of public hearings as provided by the Constitution. While discussing the self-assessment that no adequate opportunities exist for public input into the legislation process, it was noted that despite the provisions in the constitution inherent challenges such as time limitations in publicity of budget information, coverage of public consultations, inadequacy of

parliamentary staff, insufficiency of Parliamentary facilities, limited knowledge of the public to make inputs to the budget and civic education still exist in the line of public input into the legislation process.

11. Parliament needs to come up with clear strategies to promote citizens understanding of the role of the Legislature. Legislators, while contributing to the assessment that low mechanisms exist to promote public understanding of the work of the Legislature, recommended that this should be done by way of putting in place sound mechanisms, including publications in the media and radio communications, in addition to the website information. There is a great need to institute and continuously update workable mechanisms strengthening public relations office or creating a robust communications unit within the parliament's structure. There is also need to strengthen and operationalize the existing communication strategy.
12. Parliament should decentralise further its activities by linking the activities of constituency offices to Ward Development Committees to bring parliament closer to the people.

6.3.2 Areas for Future Research

While this research has discussed the strategies that were used to reform parliament in order to promote citizen participation, the main focus was to examine the effectiveness of the reforms. The study did not bring all the details of the five major areas of the reforms namely, committee system, support services to parliament, member constituency relationships, capacity building, procedures and legislation processes of parliament which can be investigated by other researchers in future. Since the scope of the reforms is wide and the reform process is incomplete, a detailed study can still be conducted to evaluate these reforms in each of the major areas in future. The other key area of the reforms relates to legal reforms that can promote parliamentary democracy and citizen participation, which this study did not investigate in detail. Laws such as the Public Order Act can be the focus of future research.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Interview Guide for CSO Leaders

THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA
INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR LEADERS OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS ON
THE EFFECTIVENESS OF PARLIAMENTARY REFORMS IN ENHANCING
CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS

Dear respondent,

I am a post graduate student at the University of Zambia carrying out a research on the strategies used to reform parliament. You have been identified to participate in providing this research information at your institution. The data you will provide will help in establishing effective ways of implementing and evaluating parliamentary reforms. Kindly give your honest answers in this study. Be assured that the information you provide will be strictly confidential. Therefore, you should not mention your name.

Thank you in advance for your cooperation and support.

Yours Sincerely,

Every Ng'andu

SECTION A: BACK GROUND INFORMATION

- 1. Gender?
- 2. Age.....
- 3. How long have you been working for your organization?

SECTION B: STRATEGIES USED TO REFORM PARLIAMENT

4. What are the major roles and functions of your organisation?

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.....
.....

5. How do you engage the citizens of Zambia in your operations?

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.....

6. Have you at any time worked with the National Assembly?

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.....

7. Are you familiar with the operations of Parliament?

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.....

8. Are you aware of parliamentary reforms in the National Assembly?

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9. If so, mention some of the reforms.

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10. Do you think parliament is closer to the people as a result of these reforms?

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11. What are some of the factors limiting the effective implementation of the parliamentary reforms?

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12. What do think should be done to successfully implement these reforms.

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SECTION C: EXTENT TO WHICH CITIZENS PARTICIPATE IN PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS

13. Are you aware of structures put in place to promote citizen participation in parliamentary affairs?

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14. If so mention the structures.

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15. Are the structures adequate to promote citizen participation in parliamentary affairs?

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16. What factors in your view limit citizen participation in parliamentary affairs?

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17. what do you think should be done to enhance citizen participation in parliamentary affairs?

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Thank you for your cooperation!

Appendix 2: Interview Guide for MPs

THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA
INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT ON THE EFFECTIVENESS
OF PARLIAMENTARY REFORMS IN ENHANCING CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN
PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS

Dear respondent,

I am a post graduate student at the University of Zambia carrying out a research on the effectiveness of parliament reforms in enhancing citizen participation in parliamentary affairs. You have been identified to participate in providing this research information at your institution. The data you will provide will help in establishing effective ways of implementing and evaluating parliamentary reforms. Kindly give your honest answers on this study. Be assured that the information you provide will be strictly confidential. Therefore, you should not indicate your name.

Thank you in advance for your cooperation and support.

Yours Sincerely,

Every Ng'andu

SECTION A: BACK GROUND INFORMATION

- 1. Gender.....
- 2 .Age.....
- 3. How long have you been a Member of Parliament?

SECTION B: STRATEGIES USED TO REFORM PARLIAMENT

- 4. Are you aware of parliamentary reforms in the National Assembly?
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.....
.....
- 5. If so, mention the reforms you are familiar with.
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.....
- 6. Do you think the reforms have opened the activities of parliament to the public?
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- 7. What factors have affected the effective implementation of the reform?
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- 8. What do you think should be done to enhance implementation of the reforms?
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SECTION C: EXTENT TO WHICH CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS

9. What structures have been established to enhance citizen’s participation in parliamentary affairs?

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10. How effective are the structures in (1) above?

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11. Are the citizens of Zambia aware of these structures? If so how?

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12. What factors limit citizen participation in parliamentary affairs?

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13. How else can we engage the citizens to promote their participation in parliamentary affairs?

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Thank you for your cooperation!

Appendix 3. Interview Guide for Parliamentary Staff

THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR PARLIAMENT STAFF ON THE EFFECTIVENESS OF PARLIAMENTARY REFORMS IN ENHANCING CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS

Dear respondent,

I am a post graduate student at the University of Zambia carrying out a research on the effectiveness of parliamentary reforms in enhancing citizen participation in parliamentary affairs. You have been identified to participate in providing this research information at your institution. The data you will provide will help in establishing effective ways of implementing and evaluating parliamentary reforms. Kindly give your honest answers on this study. Be assured that the information you provide will be strictly confidential. Therefore, you should not mention your name.

Thank you in advance for your cooperation and support.

Yours Sincerely,

Every Ng'andu

SECTION A: BACK GROUND INFORMATION

- 1. Gender:.....
- 2. Age.....
- 3. How long have you been working for Parliament?.....

SECTION B: STRATEGIES USED TO REFORM PARLIAMENT

- 4. Are you aware of the parliamentary reforms in the National Assembly?
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- 1. If so what strategies were used to reform parliament?
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- 2. Do you think activities of parliament are open to the public because of these strategies?
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- 3. Have these reforms been made public? If so, using what means?
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4. What are some of the factors limiting the effective implementation of the parliamentary reforms?

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5. What do you think should be done to successfully implement these reforms?

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SECTIONC: EXTENT WHICH CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN PARLIMENTARY AFFAIRS

6. Does your work evolve working with the citizens?

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7. Are the citizens aware of the parliamentary reforms?

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8. What structures have been established to promote citizen participation in parliamentary?

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9. How effective are the structures in promoting citizen participation in parliamentary affairs?

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10. What factors limit citizen participation in parliamentary affairs?

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11. How else can parliament enhance citizen participation in parliamentary affairs?

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Thank you for your cooperation!

Appendix 4: Interview Guide for Focused Group Discussions

THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA

GUIDE FOR FOCUSED GROUP DISCUSSION WITH SELECTED CITIZENS OF ZAMBIA ON THE EFFECTIVENESS OF PARLIAMENTARY REFORMS IN ENHANCING CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS

Dear respondent,

I am a post graduate student at the University carrying out research on effectiveness of parliamentary reforms in enhancing citizen participation in parliamentary affairs. You have been identified to participate in providing this research information at your institution. The data you will provide will help in establishing effective ways of implementing and evaluating parliamentary reforms. Kindly give your honest answers on this study. Be assured that the information you provide will be strictly confidential.

Thank you in advance for your cooperation and support.

Yours Sincerely,

Every Ng'andu

PARTICIPANTS GENDER AND AGE:

gender?

age?.....

QUESTIONS

1. What are the major roles and functions of the National Assembly?
2. Are you aware of the parliamentary reforms in the National Assembly?
3. Do you think parliament activities are closer to the citizens because of these reforms?
4. Are you aware of structures put in place to promote citizen participation in parliamentary affairs?
5. How effective are the structures put in place in promoting citizen participation in parliamentary affairs?
6. What are some of the factors limiting citizen participation in parliamentary affairs?
7. What do you think should be done to successfully implement these reforms?

Thank you for your cooperation!