

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

This chapter is the introduction of the dissertation. This dissertation endeavours to establish and analyze the factors that hinder participation of the youth in national leadership of political parties in Zambia. The chapter commences with the background to the study and the statement of the problem, it then highlights the research objectives, research questions, rationale of the study, definition of concepts, theoretical framework and concludes with the structure of the dissertation.

1.2. Background to the Study

The collapse of the Soviet Union and communist regimes in Eastern Europe in the late 1980s paved the way for democratization process in many developing countries in Africa as most one-party dictatorships gave way for multi-party politics. Zambia is one of the countries that underwent through this democratization process. The reintroduction of multiparty politics in Zambia in 1990 was informed by both internal political developments and international developments (Ndulo, 2000). The democratic wave in Zambia was compounded by a number of difficulties the country faced during the United National Independence Party (UNIP) regime such as corruption within the civil service, government, and parastatal sector, and declining government revenue caused by the falling price of copper on the international markets. The government's revenue options significantly shrunk and led the State to resort to borrowing unsustainably to support state expenditure. Rising economic difficulties led Government to adopt an International Monetary Fund (IMF) backed economic liberalization programme with the hope of reviving the ailing economy (Simutanyi, 2005).

However, attempts to partially liberalize the economy led to a rise in inflationary pressures which saw commodity price levels to sharply increasing against the background of falling real incomes leading to escalation of discontent among the citizenry

throughout the country over the 1980s and discontent reached high levels characterised by militancy of organised labour, student protests and growing opposition within UNIP structures. Consequently, pro-democracy groups started emerging in Zambia defying the one-party state regime (Simutanyi, 2005). People from different backgrounds such as academicians, University students, churches, trade unions and businessmen came together and formed a pressure group called Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) in 1990. This movement pressured government to hold a referendum to vote whether to abandon or continue with the one party state. In 1990, the UNIP government repealed Article 4 of the Republican Constitution and open up the political space to allow for multiparty elections once again. MMD then changed from a pressure group to a political party that eventually ousted UNIP from power in the multiparty elections in 1991. This was the rebirth of multiparty politics in Zambia (Simutanyi, 2005).

The reintroduction of multiparty politics in Zambia brought hope of a true representative democracy in terms leadership but not all stakeholders were able to fully participate in democratic processes such as leadership and among these stakeholders, are the youth, women and the disabled. Manning (2005) argues that political parties are expected to have a ‘strong social base, offer distinctive platforms which appeal to a core set of voters and able to attract and retain party activists and potential leaders.’

Meanwhile, Zambia is a multi-party democracy with many political parties in existence with a population that is predominantly young, but despite being the main support base for these political parties, the youth are generally excluded from holding leadership positions at national level in these political parties. Currently the main active political parties that regularly participate in elections, are the Patriotic Front (PF), United Party for National Development (UPND), Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD), Forum for Democracy and Development (FDD), National Restoration Party (NAREP) and the United National Independence Party (UNIP). However, since the inception of independence, Zambian political leaders have taunted the youth as the future leaders of the country.

Political parties in Zambia have youth wings intended to advance the interests of the youth, but despite being the main support base for these political parties, they are often hindered from holding leadership positions at national level of the political parties, sometimes including those of the youth wings. The youth wings to which the youth are relegated, are lower and insignificant with limited resources and authority to meaningfully influence party decisions. Political parties are usually not open to the concerns, interests, and involvement of young people despite their significance. The youth are relegated to slogan chanting and individual promoters of those with a bit of political clout. Most political parties in Zambia deprive their youth of leaders that will be in the forefront of making decisions. The exclusion of youth from leadership positions in political parties manifests itself at government level whenever a political party is elected into government as there are usually no government leaders who are youths.

According to the 2015 Zambian National Youth Policy (NYP) a youth is defined as a male or female person aged from 15 to 35 years, in line with the African Youth Charter. Zambia's population is predominantly young. According to the 2010 Census of Population and Housing conducted by the Central Statistical Office (CSO), out of the total national population of 13,092,666, those aged below 18 years constituted 52.5 % while those aged between 15 and 35 years constituted 36.7% of the total national population (CSO, 2012:13). Therefore, the necessary role of young people in development cannot be over- emphasised: young people, being in the majority coupled with their dynamic energies which presents a great resource in terms of abilities and number, must not be left out in leadership. They must, both realise the critical role they play and be sufficiently equipped to take up the challenge and create a successional leadership (Nyimbili, 2012). However, with the history of marginalisation in all spheres of life, only a handful of young people are likely to take part in national leadership of political parties.

The above mentioned statistics on the youth show that political parties should take the youth agenda as core rallying platform if they hope to transform governance in the country and ensure participation of the youth. The essence of this is that political parties

will be building a strong foundation for the existence of their parties. Another thing they will be doing is raising pragmatic leaders who have the technical knowhow on how to run effective political systems.

1.3. Statement of the Problem

The youth in Zambia, like many young people in developing countries across the world, are faced with multiple challenges, including high HIV prevalence, teenage pregnancies, limited education opportunities and lack of livelihood options, among others. However, the youth in Zambia have been unable to meaningfully participate in decision-making on issues that directly and/or indirectly affect them because they are usually left out in leadership in many governance institutions such as political parties. Very few Zambian youth generally and specifically those who engage in partisan politics are involved in leadership, as most national political party leaders are of the older generation because in many instances, even those who represent young people as leaders of the youth wings of the political parties are not youths, leaving leaders out of touch with youth issues and disinterested in authentically engaging the youth. Opportunities for the youth to take up national leadership positions in the Zambian political parties are few and in some cases non-existent, posing a challenge to generational leadership change. Meanwhile, despite the acknowledgement by political parties on the need to involve the youth in leadership and decision making, the trend of hindering the youth from holding leadership positions in political parties in Zambia has continued, as focus appears to be on increasing women participation in spheres of leadership in accordance with the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) Protocol on Gender (International Youth Foundation, 2014). A number of studies on challenges the youth face in various aspects of life and the factors that account for that have been undertaken. However, there is little focus, if any, on determining what factors and how these factors account for hinderance of youth from national leadership of political parties in Zambia, which this study undertook.

1.4. Study Objectives

1.4.1. General Objective

The general objective of this study is to establish the factors that hinder participation of

the youth in national leadership of political parties.

1.4.2. Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of this study are:

- i) To establish the extent of participation of the youth in national leadership of political parties;
- ii) To establish how leadership recruitment and candidate selection affect participation of the youth in national leadership of political parties and,
- iii) To identify and explain the constraints that hinder the youth from being national leaders of political parties.

1.5. Research Questions

The research questions for this study were:

- i) What is the extent of youth participation in national leadership of political parties?
- ii) How does leadership and candidates selection impact on participation of the youth in leadership of political parties?
- iii) What are that constraints the youth face that hinder them from being leaders of political parties at national level?

1.6. Rationale of the Study

In order to respond to the needs of young people, and to guarantee that their basic human rights are recognized and enforced, young peoples' active and meaningful participation in the Zambian politics and in democratic practices and processes is of crucial importance. Meaningful youth participation and leadership require that young people have opportunities and capacities, and benefit from an enabling environment and relevant programmes and policies at all levels. From a development perspective, the involvement of the youth in participatory processes and planning and policy making at all levels plays a pivotal role. It ensures that their rights are promoted and that their voices are heard, that inter-generational knowledge is shared, and that innovation and

critical thinking are encouraged at all ages to support transformational change in their lives and communities. From a crisis prevention perspective, such engagement further reduces the risks related to the political exclusion of large groups. Therefore, it is important that the factors that hinder youth participation in leadership of political parties are established, evaluated and recommendations made on how to address them. This research is thus important because the findings would help in providing useful information for decision-makers in political parties, the youth and other stakeholders address them. Tackling these factors would help to have the youth involved in leadership and decision-making processes in political parties in Zambia. The research findings would also be useful to consultants, other researchers and the general public at large.

1.7. Theoretical Framework

This study employed the “iron law of oligarchy” which is a political theory, first developed by the German sociologist, Robert Michels in his 1911 book, *Political Parties*. Michels theorised that leaders of political parties usually become detached their supporters and when gaps in their ranks arise, they are filled up by cooptation and not through popular elections. This theory is applicable to this research as it endeavours to identify and explain the factors that hinder the youth from becoming leaders of political parties in Zambia.

The “iron law of oligarchy” theory claims that rule by an elite, or oligarchy, is inevitable as an "iron law" within any democratic organization as part of the "tactical and technical necessities" of organization. Michels' theory states that all complex organizations, regardless of how democratic they are when started, eventually develop into oligarchies. Michels observed that since no sufficiently large and complex organization can function purely as a direct democracy, power within an organization will always get delegated to individuals within that group, elected or otherwise.

Using anecdotes from political parties and trade unions struggling to operate democratically to build his argument in 1911, Michels addressed the application of this law to representative democracy, and stated: "Who says organization, says oligarchy." He went on to state that "Historical evolution mocks all the prophylactic measures that have been adopted for the prevention of oligarchy" (Michels, [1911] 1962).

An example that Michels used in his book was Germany's Social Democratic Party. Drawing on his own disillusioning experiences as a member and supporter of the party in early 20th Century Germany, Michels described a number of conditions and processes that inevitably impelled (in his view) even the most democratically-committed organizations do become divided into a set of elites, or oligarchs, with their own set of distinctive interests in the organization, and the rest of the membership, whose labor and resources are exploited by the elites. The first condition precipitating the drift to such an oligarchical system is, ironically, success in recruiting new members to the organization's cause. As organizations grow, the ability of members to participate equally in organizational decisions becomes progressively more difficult, both because it is hard to find a place and time for all members to assemble and because decision-making is significantly slowed, not infrequently to a standstill, as the number of decision-makers increases.

According to Michels all organizations eventually come to be run by a "leadership class", who often function as paid administrators, executives, spokespersons, political strategists, organizers, etc. for the organization. Far from being "servants of the masses", Michels argues this "leadership class," rather than the organization's membership, will inevitably grow to dominate the organization's power structures. By controlling who has access to information, those in power can centralize their power successfully, often with little accountability, due to the apathy, indifference and non-participation of most rank-and-file members have in relation to their organization's decision-making processes. Michels argues that democratic attempts to hold leadership positions accountable are

prone to fail, since with power comes the ability to reward loyalty, the ability to control information about the organization, and the ability to control what procedures the organization follows when making decisions. All of these mechanisms can be used to strongly influence the outcome of any decisions made 'democratically' by members. This limits the ability of rank-and-file members to challenge leaders' recommendations or decisions, and to replace them; thus, power increasingly inheres in the leadership. Moreover, once ensconced, leaders are likely to acquire vested interests in maintaining their positions in the organization. Michels stated that the official goal of representative democracy of eliminating elite rule was impossible, that representative democracy is a façade legitimizing the rule of a particular elite, and that elite rule, which he refers to as oligarchy, is inevitable.

Bureaucratization and specialization are the driving processes behind the Iron Law. Bureaucracy by design leads to centralization of power by the leaders. Leaders also have control over sanctions and rewards. They tend to promote those who share their opinions, which inevitably lead to self-perpetuating oligarchy. As with complexity and formalization, increasing organizational size also typically leads to the creation of full-time administrative positions; thus, office-holding become same as conduits through which incumbents make their livelihood. Michels argued that this, in turn, makes it likely that the leaders will ultimately recognize their common interests in maintaining their positions within the organization, and develop a sense of solidarity with one another. As such, they are inclined to act cohesively in fending off criticisms and warding off displacement efforts by the membership. If serious challenges are not readily suppressed, the leaders may resort to cooptation of individual rank-and-file members, thus effectively hobbling lower-level resistance.

Michels' conclusion was that the problem lay in the very nature of organizations. The more liberal and democratic modern era allowed the formation of organizations with innovative and revolutionary goals, but as such organizations become more complex, they became less and less democratic. Given these common place evolutionary

developments in organizations, Michels was led to the famous, pessimistic conclusion “He who says organization, says oligarchy.” (Michels, [1911] 1962:365).

1.8. Structure of the Dissertation

Each of the chapters which follow concentrates on the specific subject areas, among which have been broadly outlined in the objectives above. This dissertation has six chapters with the hitherto Chapter One followed by the subsequent chapters. Chapter Two highlights the literature review. It reviews existing literature that was significant to this research. It focuses on studies on youth involvement in politics in Zambia and from the rest of the world. Chapter Three focuses on the Research methodology which explains the methods used to conduct the research. It shows how the information was collected and the analytical procedure that was used. Chapter Four provides an outline of political parties and party system in Zambia with a historical background. The chapter further discusses leadership of political parties and intra-party democracy with focus on leadership selection process. The legislation governing political parties and the electoral system is then discussed. Chapter Five discusses the extent to which the youth are involved as national leaders of political parties in Zambia. The chapter presents the actual extent to which the youth are represented in the main political parties in Zambia at the level of national leadership from responses during the study. Chapter Six analyses the impact of leadership and candidates selection process on participation of the youth in leadership of political parties. Chapter Seven seeks to identify the factors that hinder the youth from being national leaders of political parties in Zambia. The identified factors from the responses obtained from the questionnaires and interviews are outlined and analysed. The chapter then outlines the measures that have been put in place to address the factors. Chapter Eight is the conclusion, which summarises the contents of the substantive chapters and thereafter makes policy recommendations and recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

This chapter reviews existing literature that was significant to this research. It focuses on studies on youth involvement in politics in Zambia and from the rest of the world.

2.2. Youth Political Involvement in Zambia

According to a report of a baseline study, Nyimbili (2011) noted that young people are social actors with skills and capacities to bring about constructive solutions to their own problems. She argued that more often than not, institutions fail to recognise the legitimacy of young people's contribution to programmes, policies and decision-making. Much of policy has a direct or indirect impact on young people's day to day lives, but seldom are young people consulted or considered in these decisions that affect their present and future well-being. Nyimbili argued that reference ought to be made to the role youth leaders exhibited during Zambia's struggle for independence. Young people should be encouraged to build their capacity in promoting democratic ideals based on political tolerance, co-existence, and the rule of law, fair and equal justice. This study report focused on consultation of the youth with regard to policy formulation and not youth involvement in leadership, therefore it did not attempt to explain the factors that account for the exclusion of youths in political party leadership.

According to a report by the International Youth Foundation (2014), representation of young people in decision-making positions has not being a focus of many institutions past. What has been more emphasised is the gender perspective, through the Southern African Development Community (SADC) declaration that there should be at least 30% representation of women in leadership positions. The absence of the youth perspective means that adults really do not know what young people think or even if they want to participate or the way they would like such participation to occur. It is through dialogue that young people can bring their expertise to the table, be recognised and inform policy.

The report dealt with exclusion of the youth in political and governance positions in Zambia but did not delve into highlighting the factors and how they hinder the youth from such appointments especially in political parties in Zambia.

According to an article by Tobolka (2013) titled “*Political Parties in Contemporary Zambia: A view from within, in Modern Africa*”, Zambian political parties were remarkably similar in terms of their structure and procedures. It is extremely easy to become a member of any of these parties. Their members have hardly any obligations (in some cases none at all), and previous membership in another party need not be cancelled. Members of this elite group are free to circulate from one party to another or find their own according to the logic of the personality oriented political culture. On an individual level, the winner of this game is a rich politician/businessman with a solid base of clientele. Party members of average or low socioeconomic status realize they can only rise up to a certain level within the party hierarchy. Their usefulness for the party ends roughly with the membership in provincial committees, because they are not able to fund an MP campaign or pursue a political career in Lusaka, the centre of power. Besides financial and material incentives, party cohesion is ensured by suspensions and expulsions. At the national level, disciplinary procedures are initiated to get rid of intra-party opponents and are at least as important for the composition of party organs as the electivity of the positions declared in party statutes. At the lower levels, the disciplinary procedures tend to resolve genuine problems having to do mostly with inter and intra-party corruption in the run-up to elections. The parties are best understood as organizations whose *raison d'être* is to gain access to resources of the state and, from the point of view of most of their supporters, as organizations that distribute resources and offices. Though Tobolka's study informs this research about some challenges of party membership in Zambia, it did not focus on the youth, and was not extensive as its main focus was to examine the organization of Zambian political parties.

According to the SADC Parliamentary Forum Election Observation Mission to the 2011 Zambia tripartite general elections, inspite of the youth constituting the majority of the voters, their participation was generally marginalized to mobilizing support for their

parties' candidates without having a clearly defined agenda of their own in the electoral process. The Mission further noted that some candidates took advantage of youth unemployment to use them as unpaid political "foot soldiers" and rewarding them with beer. The Mission was of the view that inclusion of the youth in the political party structures of contesting political parties as well as adoption of the same as candidates would help enrich and deepen Zambia's democratic development. Though this report noted that the youth were generally marginalized in the political process in Zambia, it did not delve into highlighting the factors that account for this marginalization.

Momba (2005) in a report titled "*Political Parties and the Quest for Democratic Consolidation in Zambia*" highlighted that all political parties in Zambia indicated that they did not provide any quotas for women or youth candidates for parliamentary or local government elections. There are no special programmes to enhance women and youth participation in either intra-party leadership elections or to enhance their chances of being adopted as party candidates in parliamentary and local government elections. He noted that the MMD had taken no special measures to ensure that the chances of female and young parliamentary candidates are improved. The situation in the UPND was more or less the same regarding the nomination of women as parliamentary or local government election candidates. The UPND however, ensures that at least 30% of the members of its national management committee are women. There is provision in the electoral regulations which requires that at least 30% of party positions must be occupied by members of either sex. This is not, however, part of the party's regulations regarding the adoption of parliamentary candidates. The most that the UPND has done is to encourage young people and women to seek endorsement as party candidates. Similarly, UNIP is committed to 30% women's representation within its party structure, but that is not provided for in the party constitution. Momba(2005) report is important because it provides information on representation of youths and women in political parties in Zambia but does not focus on the reasons why the youth are not involved in leadership in the political parties.

Siwale (2016) in his thesis titled "*The Survival of Political Parties in Consolidating*

Democracies: A Qualitative Case Study of Zambian Political Parties 1991-2015” observed that almost all major parties have included women and the youth in their parties’ structures by establishing women and youth wings. However, much as these wings exist, national leadership did not reflect the involvement of women and youth in senior leadership positions. Furthermore, very few women and youth get the support to be adopted as parties’ candidates in parliamentary and local government elections. This was evidenced in the number of women and the youth elected to parliament and local councils. Siwale in quoting, Ndulo (2000), noted that despite having provision for legal equality recognized in the Zambian constitution, and the widespread movement towards democratization within and outside the country, Zambian women and youth remain underrepresented at most levels of parties’ structures, especially in top party policy-making bodies and government. This research provided an insight for this study but was not very informative with regard to factors that account for youth exclusion from being leaders of political parties but it focused on explaining the factors that enable political parties in Zambia to survive.

2.3. Youth Leadership in Political Parties in other countries

In a study report by Qasem (2013) titled “*Five Barriers to Youth Engagement, Decision-making, and Leadership in Yemen’s Political Parties*”, he notes that a number of structural and systematic barriers remain that prevent young men and women from making their voices heard through political parties. His study revealed that the five barriers were:- First, there was no culture of positive engagement, meaning that there were existing leadership barriers preventing youths from being involved in crucial party decision-making. Younger members often perceive their leadership as an aging one. Young individuals develop every time they pro-actively engage and contribute to decision making. Secondly, lack of capacity- one of the most frequently brought up barriers to true and effective youth engagement in decision making was the admission by youth that they lacked capacity and expertise. The lack of knowledge was mainly attributed to weak capacity building programmes and to poor planning on the part of the leadership. Thirdly, suspension of party mechanisms for discussion and change- many of the youth in political parties, particularly traditional parties, complained of the

suspension of key mechanisms for dialogue and engagement, including party elections and party conferences. Party elections and conferences are integral mechanisms for young members of the party to share their views with the rest of the party and the leadership, and to have a say on party decisions. The conferences are also an opportunity for youth to compete in elections. Fourth, the existence of geographical barriers- the tendency for politics to be focused only in Sana'a (the Capital). A lot of the party youth who reside outside of the capital expressed their frustration with the leadership in Sana'a. Fifth, lack of financial resources and security- lack of financial resources was a major limiting factor for young party members. Additionally, the concentration of power among those with capital funds as one of the challenges that face youth engagement. The security challenge as an obstacle to participation is worth mentioning. It was revealed in the study that facing the constant fear of party leadership infiltration by security and intelligence forces, the political parties tend to time-test the commitment of their members to the parties before being promoted. This often means young members spend many years earning the trust of political party elites and are therefore not consulted on decisions until after years of vetting – by which time they are no longer youth. This study report by Qasem informs this research on the five structural and systemic barriers to youth engagement, Decision-making, and Leadership in Yemen's Political Parties but it was conducted in a different political environment to that obtaining in Zambia.

The report by Women In Politics (2015) titled “*Youth Participation and Leadership of Political Parties in Africa: Special Focus on Young Women in 2015*”, acknowledged the role of young people in the evolution of political parties in Africa and their contributions to the liberation movement. These contributions led to the formation of most pre and post-independence political parties which continue to be the most dominant parties in several countries on the continent to date. However, the incursion into the governance space by the military through coup d'état shortly after most African countries gained independence in many instances truncated political party systems on the continent. Invariably, this negatively affected youth participation in political parties as political harassment, incarceration and outright ban of political parties in most countries made

political participation a risky affair. The return to democratic governance in most countries particularly since the early 1990s has led to a resurgence of political party systems in Africa. This resurgence has led to varying degrees of experiences on youth participation in various countries. It was noted that while several parties have put in place structures and created an enabling environment for young people to organize and influence party policies, most young members of political parties in Africa particularly young women are deprived from effective political participation. The limits of youth wings/leagues which can also serve to further marginalize the concerns and contributions of young people from the mainstream, dominant discourse within political parties was highlighted. Closely related to this, is limited capacity to effectively influence party policies and manifestoes. Nonetheless, it was acknowledged that Africa's young people have a critical role to play in the attainment of the African Union Agenda 2063. In achieving this lofty goal, the forum underscored the need to emplace effective structures and modalities that enable active and effective participation of young people in political parties. This report provided a lot of insight into the challenges the youth face especially young women in political participation as leaders in Africa but its limitation lies in the fact that it only focuses on youth women to the exclusion of their male counterparts.

According to Maiyo (2008) in his thesis titled "*Political Parties and Intra-party Democracy in East Africa: From Representative to Participatory Democracy*", in which he sought to investigate how processes of participatory democracy within political parties influence intra-party democracy in East Africa; he pointed out that electoral systems in East Africa as in many African countries were single member parliamentary and presidential systems. This meant that the selection of a party leader is equivalent to selecting the party's presidential candidate. The choice of party leader determined the image as well as the course the party would take. This was more so in African party systems characterized by oligarchy instead of democracy. In most cases, overwhelming power and influence was concentrated in the party leader or a few of his cronies who held significant sway over party policies, programmes and selection of other leaders and candidates.

Technically, almost all political parties selected their national leadership through the delegates conference, a form of party caucus in which representatives from the lower branch or district levels of the party met at the national level. According to most party rule books, these delegates were supposed to be elected by party members at the branch, district or constituency levels and are supposed to be widely representative of women, youth and other marginalized groups. In practice however, these delegates were usually carefully handpicked by party operatives according to their loyalty to particular party elites from their own regions and calculated to give as much support as possible to the regional party stalwarts. In many cases, with the exception of a few, most parties did not have any real structures at the grassroots level where delegates should be democratically elected. He noted that, in less institutionalized political parties, party positions were usually divided between the party elites, usually among its founders, chief financiers or regional and ethnic chieftains in boardroom deals. Highly centralized political parties equally had less inclusive leadership selection processes. The Central Committee is the most powerful organ of the party with overwhelming power over nomination and recommendation of party members for the positions of chairperson and deputy chairperson of the party; the president of the republic; and MPs. Such a highly centralized system was characteristic of ruling parties in one-dominant-party systems that had often retained power since the era of single-party rule.

Maiyo (2008) argued that the lack of inclusive and democratic leadership selection processes with no clear mechanisms for neutral and independent dispute arbitration often had negative consequences for party unity and cohesiveness. Such attitudes portrayed a party deeply divided within its ranks, not only among its membership and supporters but within the leadership as well. How these differences and conflicts were managed would determine the future cohesion and effectiveness of the party and the extent of membership loyalty. Undemocratic and unrepresentative leadership selection processes therefore had significant and often negative consequences on party unity and cohesion, its effectiveness in contesting elections and where regionalism and ethnicity was the organizing principle, wider considerations of national security and stability were

at stake. Maiyo's research sought to investigate how processes of participatory democracy within political parties influence intra-party democracy in East Africa but did not focus on establishing the factors that hinder youth participation in leadership of political parties.

According to a publication by Kanyadudi (2010) titled "*From the Wings to the Mainstream. The Role of Political Parties Youth Leagues in Democratization and Regional Integration in East Africa*", young people were invariably the most progressive members of society and had a unique role to play in enhancing the profile and performance of political parties. The youth were predominantly organized within the framework of youth leagues in the political parties. He explained that for youth and youth leagues to be effective, it was critical for them to be part and parcel of the efforts that are made towards realization and nurturing of participant political culture. If this happened, they would contribute significantly to the democratization process in East Africa. Kanyadudi argued that political parties and political party youth leagues needed to prioritize managerial issues as they could either facilitate or constrain effective political participation internally and in the wider political system. Parties as well as youth leagues were expected to make decisions that involved as many people who were in leadership positions as possible. Effective and democratic leaders were expected to also make decisions that involved ideas and interests of lower levels in the party or youth league structure. They should strive to have lower level personnel and members give ideas and participate in most decisions affecting their party or youth league.

He added that youth leagues, by virtue of their position in party organizational hierarchy and demography, were better placed to promote and protect democratic governance. Indeed, they had played vanguard roles in championing and espousing democratic interests and causes both within their parties and countries. By their sheer numbers, they were able to exact pressure on the mother party leadership to respond to social needs of their respective states. Further, by virtue of youth, they were versatile and amenable to new technology and methods of doing things. On account of their vast skills, they were most of the time more knowledgeable than the older cadres within the party. The youth

had therefore played an important role in developing their respective party manifestoes and policy positions which had greatly shaped the direction of national development and public policy. However, this noble role and contribution was not as celebrated as the traditional roles of providing security and other hospitality services associated with the youth, he noted. Kanyadudi's article is informative on strategies to increase the influence of young people through political party youth leagues on their mother parties, however it did not focus on the factors that hinder the youth from becoming leaders of political parties.

Imoite (2007) in a seminal report titled "*Youth and Politics in Conflict Contexts*" on the challenges and opportunities of youth participation in Kenyan politics, Imoite argued that at independence in 1963, Kenya's youth assumed power from the outgoing colonialists but that since then, the same leaders had continued to dominate the political scene. The political environment in Kenya had therefore not been conducive to youth participation, and this had been detrimental to the generations that followed since independence. Consequently, the youth have had to face many challenges in their bid to find relevance in Kenya's politics. He said that the slow evolution of the democratic culture in Kenya had been the first major challenge to the participation of youth in the political process. The political environment was stifling for anyone outside the government, especially youth. It was nearly impossible for youth to be positively engaged in contributing their ideas or different points of view on any matter. A second major challenge was that many Kenyans assumed that the younger the person, the less prepared he or she was to deal with the mechanics of policy formulation and governance issues. The "youth" label was synonymous with political incompetence. Consequently, the definition of youth has changed over the years, often to accommodate political interests. For example, during the KANU regime, from 1963 to 2002, anyone under 50 was considered a youth in order to validate the authority of the older politicians who had been in power longer. A third obstacle to the effective participation of youth in political leadership was the unequal distribution of resources. Most young people do not have the basic resources to mount a campaign for elected office; or if they do, either their party rejects them in favor of an older, well financed competitor or youth volunteers prefer to work for more prosperous candidates. A fourth factor that often impedes the effective

involvement of youth in political leadership is ignorance. Some young people who have been entrusted with leadership positions have contributed to the negative image of youth.

Finally, without a properly defined and predictable procedure on issues such as internal party nominations, processes, and elections, among other topics, elections become chaotic, and the less-connected party members, especially youth, get marginalized in the political process. At the party level, just as at the national level, youth are often viewed as being inadequately prepared for political leadership until they can prove otherwise. Therefore, in addition to the usual challenges of political leadership, young people must also grapple with the cultural stereotypes and prove their validity.

Imoite (2007), however pointed out that despite the various challenges facing the youth in politics, the political environment in Kenya was increasingly receptive to youth engagement and the government was making an effort to empower the youth. Similarly, political parties were moving away from mere rhetoric to actually providing leadership opportunities for young people. More young people were stepping into the political arena because they feel the need to change the way things are done. It had become increasingly common to find youth seeking elected positions, occupying leadership positions in political parties and other organizations, engaging in political debates, or taking part in political activism. In fact, while the political field has historically been dominated by male youth, and in most cases, urban, educated male youth, diversity is increasing as young women step forward in larger numbers to take part and young leaders encourage rural youth to get involved. This presentation richly informs this research on the challenges the youths face for them to effectively engage in active politics in Kenya which this research similarly endeavoured to establish but with particular focus on youth leadership in political parties in Zambia.

2.4. Strategies on Youth Leadership

The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) Youth Strategy 2014-2017: *Empowered Youth, Sustainable Future*-March 2014, pointed out that young people

continue to remain at the margins of the political, social and economic mainstream in most parts of the world such as Latin America and Africa. Political processes and institutions are still characterized by limited youth participation. Young men and women are very often disillusioned with political leadership and political institutions and excluded from leadership and policy development. As a global force, however, youths are increasingly moving to the centre stage of development debates; they demand to be involved in the decisions that shape their societies. The strategy paper further argues that from a development perspective, the involvement of young men and women in participatory processes and planning and policy making at all levels plays a pivotal role. It ensures that their rights are promoted and that their voices are heard, that inter-generational knowledge is shared, and that innovation and critical thinking are encouraged at all ages to support transformational change in people's lives and communities. Valuable resources that can contribute to the advancement and quality of development are lost or under-utilized when young men and women are excluded from or insufficiently engaged in formal decision-making processes and institutions. The critical concerns of young people as future leaders is that they must participate in the design and implementation of a new development agenda. The UNDP Youth Strategy 2014-2017 rightly recognised the exclusion of youths in decision-making process as an impediment to development and advocated for their inclusion, however, the paper does not identify the factors and establish how the factors they account for youth exclusion in leadership in political parties.

According to UNDP (2010), opportunities for youth to engage in governance and participate in political and decision making processes depend largely on the political, socio-economic and cultural contexts. The youth can be a creative force, a dynamic source of innovations and they have undoubtedly, throughout history, participated, contributed and even catalyzed important changes in political systems, power-sharing dynamics and economic opportunities. The UNDP broadly identified that political, socio-economic and cultural factors affect youth engagement in governance and decision-making processes in many parts of the world but it did not mention what

these factors specifically were and how they explain the exclusion of youths from leadership positions in political parties.

2.5. Conclusion

From the literature reviewed, it was observed that much of policy has a direct or indirect impact on young people's day to day lives, but seldom are young people consulted or considered in these decisions that affect their present and future well-being. The representation of young people in decision-making positions has not been a focus of many institutions such as political parties. Political processes and institutions are still characterized by limited youth participation. Young men and women are very often disillusioned with political leadership and political institutions and excluded from leadership and policy development. Meanwhile, it was also noted that with regard to political parties in Zambia, that there were no special programmes to enhance youth participation in either intra-party leadership elections or to enhance their chances of being adopted as party candidates in elections. It was observed that the youth were predominantly organized within the framework of youth leagues in the political parties but for youth and youth leagues to be effective, it was critical for them to be part and parcel of the efforts that are made towards realization and nurturing of participant political culture. However, at the party level, just as at the national level, the youth are often viewed as being inadequately prepared for political leadership until they can prove otherwise. One of the main obstacles to the effective participation of youth in political leadership was the unequal distribution of resources. Most young people do not have the basic resources to mount a campaign for elected office; or if they do, either their party rejects them in favor of an older or a well financed competitor. This research therefore builds on this body of knowledge.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This chapter explains the methods used to conduct the research. It shows how the information was collected and the analytical procedure that was used. The research methodology is a strategy of enquiry, which moves from the underlying assumptions to research design, and data collection (Myers, 2009). This indicates how data is collected, the population to be studied, the design to use to analyse as well as to how data will be interpreted and the conclusions arrived at (Creswell, 1994). The chapter ends by highlighting the limitations encountered during the conduct of the research.

3.2. Study Design

The research is a mixed methods research which is both qualitative and quantitative in approach and used descriptive research design. Descriptive research design is a method of collecting information about people's attitudes, opinions, habits or any of the variety of issues (Orodho and Kombo, 2002). This design was preferred because apart from enabling direct generation of information, it creates an opportunity for in-depth responses and focuses on the *how* and *why* questions.

3.3. Study Area

The research was conducted in Lusaka district due to proximity and accessibility to the intended respondents. Lusaka is the capital city of the Republic of Zambia and most of the political parties in Zambia are headquartered in the city. Lusaka is also the most populous district in Zambia with a population of about two million people (CSO, 2015).

3.4. Target Population

Target population is the entire group of individuals, projects or things that share common attributes and may or may not be found within the same geographical area that the researcher specifies in the research (Mugenda, 2008). The study population were the

youth and a range of key informants. The youth were drawn from among members of the youth executive committees at district, provincial and national levels who are residents of Lusaka, of the main political parties that participated in the last two general elections in Zambia held in 2011 and 2016 ie. PF, UPND, MMD, FDD, NAREP and UNIP. Key informants were leaders of youth advocacy and governance groups such as Young African Leadership Initiative (YALI), Operation Young Vote (OYV), Foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP) among others, and official representatives of the six political parties. The choice of these political parties was because they are the current active parties with structures country wide and have their headquarters in Lusaka; while the youth and governance pressure groups are those that advance the promotion of the youth to take up leadership roles and good governance.

3.5. Sample Size and Sampling Procedures

A sample size of one hundred and five (105) was selected using non-probability purposive sampling. Ninety (90) youth, fifteen (15) from each of the six political parties; responded to questionnaires while fifteen (15) key informants were interviewed. The research employed purposive sampling procedures in coming up with the sample. As Marshall and Rossman (2011) wrote, samples in research are generally purposive which means that they are selected because they are likely to generate useful information for the topic at hand.

3.6. Sources of Data

Primary data was collected from the youth and a range of key informants. Secondary data research involved reviewing relevant documents – both pre-identified documents, as well as other relevant documents located through internet search. This included journal articles, dissertations and books with a bearing on this research among them studies and strategies by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP).

3.7. Data Collection Instruments

The research employed mixed methods approach in data collection and the instruments used were self-administered questionnaires with focus on open-ended questions. Before

the questionnaire was administered, a pilot test was undertaken on ten (10) people to ascertain the extent to which the tool will provide the required information in the study as well as allow for refinement, corrections and adjustment. The other data collection instrument consisted of interview guides for semi-structured interviews with key respondents.

3.8. Validity and Reliability of data

Validity and reliability of the data involved using member checks by taking data and tentative interpretations back to the interviewees from whom it was derived and asking them if the results were plausible. It basically involved gaining feedback on the data, interpretations and conclusions from the participants themselves. Data obtained from questionnaires was mainly subjected to triangulation which involved using multiple sources of data to confirm the findings such as from pre-identified documents, as well as other relevant documents located through internet search which included journal articles, dissertations and books.

3.9. Data Processing and Analysis

The aim of analysis of qualitative data is to discover patterns, concepts, themes and meanings. Therefore data collected was analyzed using thematic analysis that involved: (1) preliminary exploration of the data by reading through the transcripts and writing memos; (2) coding the data by segmenting and labeling the text; (3) using codes to develop themes by aggregating similar codes together; (4) connecting and interrelating themes; and (5) constructing a narrative. Data obtained from questionnaires was analysed using Excel. Descriptive statistics were summarised in the text and frequency analyses were conducted to identify valid per centum for responses.

3.10. Ethical Considerations

The participants were guaranteed confidentiality and that the information sought was purely for academic purposes, when they agreed to be involved in the study.

3.11. Limitation of the Study

The problem that was encountered during the conduct of the research was the refusal by political parties to avail their constitutions and this made it difficult to verify the responses from representatives of political parties.

CHAPTER FOUR

POLITICAL PARTIES AND PARTY SYSTEM IN ZAMBIA

4.1. Introduction

Political parties are essential institutions for the proper functioning of a democratic society. As social organisations designed for contesting and attaining political power, political parties serve several functions, including, determining the content of the political order, selecting leaders, resolving disputes, maintaining order and promoting the various interests of the community among diverse and contending social forces. This chapter provides an outline of political parties and party system in Zambia with a historical background. The chapter further discusses leadership of political parties and intra-party democracy with focus on the leadership selection process. The legislation governing political parties and the electoral system are then discussed. Thereafter, the chapter ends with a conclusion on the subject matter focussed on in the chapter.

4.2. History of Political Parties and Party System in Zambia

The post-colonial political history of Zambia is generally divided into three distinct phases namely the First Republic (1964-1972), the Second Republic (1973-1990) and the Third Republic (1991 to date).

4.2.1. The First Republic

The development of political parties in Zambia dates back to the colonial days around the 1930s where the initial parties formed by the Europeans and representing European interests were organised. However, political parties got real recognition from colonial government in the 1950s and only a few of them could represent the interests of Africans up to 1962. In 1962, a great deal of political development happened, Africans for the first time gained universal suffrage through the first multi-racial elections. The African National Congress (ANC) established in 1948 as an offshoot of the Federation of African Societies in Northern Rhodesia, emerged as the first African Party in Zambia. The party was relatively inexperienced. It experienced internal differences regarding

leadership selection and policy strategies that were necessary to attain political independence. This resulted in the first faction that broke away and formed a new party called Zambia African National Congress (ZANC) in 1958. ZANC equally faced leadership and policy challenges and the colonial government found it easy to ban it. This led to the formation of another party in 1959 called United National Independence Party (UNIP), a party that eventually led Zambia to her political independence on October 24th, 1964 under the leadership of Kenneth Kaunda (National Democratic Institute /FODEP, 2003; Simutanyi, 2005). The multiparty elections of 1964 and the formal granting of independence to the then British colony of Northern Rhodesia gave birth to the Republic of Zambia and ushered-in the era of the First Republic. During the January 1964 elections, UNIP defeated its main rival ANC, leading to Dr Kenneth Kaunda becoming the first President of the Independent Zambian Republic. After independence however, the common bond of decolonisation and nationalism quickly disintegrated and the political elite quickly abandoned their nationalist politics and relapsed into ethnic, regional sub-nationalisms. The lack of a strong sense of national identity resulted in a relapse to precolonial and colonial identities and political competition took an ethnic dimension and these cleavages only deepened with time with disastrous consequences for multiparty democracy. Some social groups perceived themselves excluded from power, government, or access to the “fruits of independence” and sought to reassert their political identity through the revival of ethnically based political parties or movements (Simutanyi, 2005).

The First Republic derives its significance in Zambian political and electoral history from the fact that the 1964 elections marked Zambia’s first experience with political pluralism although Dr Kaunda and his UNIP remained dominant throughout the First Republic. This single party domination of Zambian political space was further solidified through the introduction of a one-party state system of governance in 1973 leading to an era which is now generally referred to as the Second Republic.

4.2.2. The Second Republic

Simutanyi (2005) indicates that at independence in 1964, Zambia was a multi-party

state. UNIP encountered relative opposition from a small but persistent party, ANC. There were two other smaller parties that were formed between 1964 and 1972; these were the United Party (UP) and United Progressive Party (UPP). These parties did not however survive for long as they were outlawed on the basis that they were organised on ethnic lines which threatened the unity of the country. ANC was integrated into UNIP when the government declared the country as a one-party state in 1973. The outlawing of political parties meant that only UNIP was legally allowed to exist and operate as a political party in Zambia. This is the period that is referred to as the Second Republic following the constitutional changes allowing for the existence of only one political party. The so called "one party-participatory democracy," was effectively a one-party state ruled by the UNIP. All other political parties were banned, and Dr Kaunda's dominant role in the UNIP and the government assured him an uncontested rule. The one-party system constrained competition for National Assembly elections as nominations were filled within party primaries and only up to three candidates could compete for each parliamentary seat before the final list of contestants was adopted by the UNIP Central Committee. UNIP enacted a constitution which elevated party decisions and policies above those by the Parliament and other organs of government. President Kaunda, as leader of both the party and government was able to increasingly amass power and influence to the extent of becoming the single most powerful force in Zambian politics of the time and in the process, subordinating the power of the Parliament and UNIP structures. In light of the above, Dr Kaunda was elected unopposed successively in 1973, 1978, 1983 and 1988 (Simutanyi, 2005).

The single party regime was characterised by a fusion of the party and the state into one entity. This led to the creation of highly structured internal organisations characterised by the principles of democratic centralism (Heywood, 2002). The rationale for banning political party activity was that it promoted: national cohesion, unity and development. Political parties were in this case seen as divisive, parochial and harmful to the very principle of democracy as a process of governance based on the stable ordering of society and political competition (McMahon, 2001). The single party regime was therefore characterised by the fusion of the party and the state with no clear separation

between them. The party became a parallel bureaucracy to the extent that key administrative positions in government were held by party bureaucrats. The party entrenched itself in virtually all structures of government and public service such that there was no distinction between the party and the state. Patronage was dispensed along party structures. Access to positions in government at all levels meant that one had to toll the party line. That is why there was a high degree of fusion between the government and the party such that party officials considered themselves as government officials and government officials considered themselves as party officials, whether formally or informally (Nyirabu 2002).

However, the Second Republic faced a plethora of difficulties due to corruption within the civil service, government, and parastatal sector, and declining government revenue caused by the falling price of copper on the international markets. The government's revenue options dwindled significantly leading to the State resorting to borrowing unsustainably to support the vast state expenditure. Mounting economic difficulties led the Kaunda Government to adopt an International Monetary Fund (IMF) backed economic liberalization programme with the hope of reviving the ailing economy. However, attempts to partially liberalize the economy stoked inflationary pressures which saw the general price levels in Zambia sharply increasing against the background of falling real incomes leading to escalation of discontent throughout the country over the 1980s. Although the IMF backed economic liberalization programme was later dropped in 1987, discontent had already reached high levels characterised by militancy of organised labour, student protests and growing opposition within UNIP structures. Consequently, pro-democracy groups started emerging in Zambia defying the one-party state regime (Simutanyi, 2005).

4.2.3. The Third Republic

People from different backgrounds such as academicians, University students, churches, trade unions and businessmen came together and formed a pressure group called Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) in 1990. This movement pressured government to hold a referendum in which people would vote whether to abandon or

continue with the one party state. Mounting economic crisis and political pressure from mainly civic society organisations led Dr Kaunda, in 1990, to repeal Article 4 of the Republican Constitution and open up Zambia's political space to allow for multiparty elections once again. This repeal of article 4 of the constitution ushered in the Third Republic and meant that the constitution legally allowed other parties to be formed and compete in multiparty elections. MMD then changed from a pressure group to a political party that eventually ousted UNIP from power in the multiparty elections in 1991. This was the rebirth of multiparty politics in Zambia. The Third Republic adopted a multiparty Parliamentary democracy. Peaceful Presidential and Parliamentary elections were held on 31st October 1991. MMD candidate, Frederick Chiluba resoundingly carried the presidential election over Kaunda with 81% of the vote. To add to the MMD landslide, in the Parliamentary elections, the MMD won 125 of the 150 elected seats, and UNIP won the remaining 25 (Simutanyi, 2005).

Simutanyi's (2013) Discussion Paper on Zambia's Democracy and Political Participation that looked into political parties and party system points out that like elsewhere in Africa, political parties in Zambia came into existence as associations articulating African grievances and making demands for universal suffrage and self-rule. By the end of the 1980s, it was the pervasive nature of Zambia's one-party state and particularly UNIP's debilitating tendency to limit political expression, harass political opponents and monopolise power that gave impetus to demands for the reintroduction of a multiparty system. Thus, in early 1990, there was a widespread demand for multipartyism in which civil society and in particular the trade unions played an important role. Because of its inclusive nature and broad character, MMD emerged as the only true representative of the opposition against one-party rule. And because the MMD symbolized public aspirations for democracy it gained moral legitimacy. This overwhelming endorsement had important implications for the emergence of political opposition in Zambia.

Because most significant forces were aligned to the MMD, opposition was synonymous with the MMD in the 1990s. By 2001, internal factionalism led to a major split within

the MMD mainly over Chiluba's desire to contest presidential elections for a third term in office and it had started to display undemocratic tendencies and a high degree of political intolerance. Some of the prominent political parties formed as a result of splits in the MMD; were the Forum for Democracy and Development (FDD) led by Christon Tembo and other senior MMD officials opposed to Chiluba's third term bid, the Heritage Party (HP) led by Godfrey Miyanda also opposed to the third term bid and PF led by Micheal Sata after he was overlooked by Chiluba to take over the MMD leadership in preference of Levy Mwanawasa. While most opposition formations operating in the first decade of multi-partyism were weakly institutionalised, the parties that emerged just before and after the 2001 elections seemed better organised and capable of gaining broader support. However, they proved unable to wrestle control away from the MMD, until Sata's PF managed to win the presidential elections in 2011. During the decade preceding this PF victory, the opposition was unable to form a united front against the MMD mainly because almost all opposition parties revolved around the personality of their respective party leader.

4.3. Leadership of Political Parties in Zambia

Simutanyi (2013) argues that Zambia's party system is dominated by prominent individuals. Most leaders of Zambia's current political parties have served in government before or were prominent business personalities. Most of them have either held a senior position in government or are (perceived to be) relatively wealthy. Most political parties in Zambia are perceived to serve mainly the leaders who compete for power. As a result, people's attachment to political parties is rather weak. Where parties are perceived as furthering the interests of their leaders, there is a lack of ownership, party membership is unreliable and mass mobilisation problematic. When the founding leader retires, dies or is co-opted by the ruling party, the party tends to lose its main mobilising force, for example, the dissolution of the National Citizen Coalition (NCC) led by Dr. Nevers Mumba and Agenda for a Better Zambia (ABZ) led by Father Frank Bwalya when the two party leaders decided to join the ruling party i.e MMD and PF respectively. Few opposition parties have been able to survive the departure of their leaders. Because of the emphasis on the personality of the party president as opposed to

policy, leadership succession becomes a divisive issue, internal dissent or criticism is rarely tolerated and internal policy debates are discouraged, for example, the succession disputes that arose when UPND founder Mr Anderson Mazoka died in 2006 and was succeeded by Mr. Hakainde Hichilema. Where factional debates exist they are squashed. Party leaders who voice dissent or display personal ambitions for the top job (party president) are confronted with serious sanctions, such as demotions, dismissals, suspensions and even expulsion from the party. This scenario is very evident in most prominent of the political parties. Few party leaders who have dared to challenge a party president have survived and almost everything is done to frustrate them both politically and economically especially if the party is in power and able to use state machinery for such endeavours. An example in this case is the expulsion of Mr. Chishimba Kambwili from the PF for allegedly destabilising the party when he indicated that he would vie for party presidency at its next convention in 2020, against the sentiments among some party senior officials who had indicated to support the candidature of the incumbent party president, Mr Edgar Lungu.

NDI/FODEP (2003) also wrote that the major organizational challenge that political parties in Zambia have been facing since the rebirth of multiparty politics is the nature of leadership. Most political parties are formed by individuals with strong personal desires to become Republican president and as a result parties have tended to be dominated and heavily identified by these individuals. This means that political parties that are heavily dominated by individuals' desires lack representation at different levels in the country because they have not allowed other leaders to exercise leadership as they perceive them to be threats to their personal ambitions. They therefore tend to handpick preferred people to run the parties structures. The handpicked leaders in all the existing party structures only preach the ideas of the person that appointed and funds them. The appointment of secretary generals of the political parties who are the Chief Executive Officers of the parties, is usually the prerogative of the party presidents. This even influences parties' leaders to dictate provisions to include in their constitutions which give them an upper hand to dominate party activities. For instance, the PF constitution (PF, 2011) gives powers to the president to appoint and fire the party secretary general.

This means that the secretary general has to please the appointing authority if s/he has to stay long in that position. Parties are synonymous with the names of party leaders. For example UPND was identified with Anderson Mazoka before his death and now it is identified with Hakainde Hichilema who is the major funder of the party. PF was identified with Michael Sata; NAREP is identified with Elias Chipimo and UNIP with the Kaundas (Momba, 2005).

Owing to weak leadership Siwale (2016) observes that in almost all political parties there have been high levels of intolerance to divergent views. Although it is expected that all members ought to show loyalty to the party president and national leadership, it is often that those that hold different views have been expelled from parties and this fuels further party defections and resignations. For example, senior party officials and Cabinet Ministers such as Lieutenant General Christon Tembo, Brigadier General Godfrey Miyanda, Mrs Edith Nawakwi, among others were expelled from MMD for opposing the Third-term bid of President Chiluba leading to the formation of FDD and Heritage Party. Another example, is the expulsion of Messrs; Mwenya Musenge and Chishimba Kambwili from the PF for being critical of the party leadership and intending to vyi for party presidency respectively leading to the formation of the National Democratic Congress (NDC) party by Mr. Musenge. Meanwhie, the tendency of not expecting divergent views vary, in some instances unlike those cited above, those members who do not usually contribute much resources to the party are not considered a threat even if they leave parties while those with enough resources are encouraged to dialogue with the rest of parties' leadership.

4.4. Intra-Party Democracy in Zambia

Mainwaring and Mariano (2006) wrote that intra-party democracy is very important component of party organization that allows every party member to be actively involved in the programmes of parties. This entails that parties should be impersonal; everyone must respect the laid down party rules and regulations regardless of the position or economic status. All leadership positions within the party structures must be assumed through democratic procedures such as transparent elections. The composition of party

leadership positions should reflect the inclusive characteristics of the population, meaning all the voices of party members should be heard. This is in harmony with what Basedau and Stroh (2008) wrote that respecting different opinions among party members is a strong indicator of the existence of intra-party democracy and this makes the party to stabilize and survive all environments. Siwale (2016) wrote that, this in practice means that the political parties should create a political will within them and this in practice encourages bottom-up approach to party organization, that is, party decisions and programmes should emanate from the base to top party leadership. In this way, parties aiming at growing their roots in society and be guaranteed of their survival need to respect the democratic principles in the process of executing party policies and programmes.

Regarding intra-party democracy among parties in Zambia, Momba (2005) found that all political parties have in their constitutions well attended to these issues though the effort seems to be very effective only on paper. This is because in reality certain individuals who seem to be economically advantaged have dominated the political party leadership and to a certain extent the crafting and execution of party programmes. For example, UPND has been dominated by one president for 10 years; PF had the same leader for 13 years until he died, UNIP has had the same leader since 2001. The main observation is that these individuals seem to have invested a lot of their financial resources and party members believe party organization can only succeed with these people at the helm of their parties.

Similarly, Ndulo (2000) wrote that it is a common characteristic for emerging parties in consolidating democracies to tend to rely on individual (charismatic) leaders in their process of party-building. A strong ideological alignment or a decidedly policy-oriented party leadership is usually absent. This eventually leads to perpetual absence of intra-party democracy as the execution of party functions is left to a few individuals who may end up serving their personal political ambitions; this also means that the individuals will invest more of their resources which guarantee them to control party programmes. For instance, internal party elections within various party structures at all levels are

either not held at all or in cases where they are held, they are conducted under undemocratic and controversial circumstances. The nominations of candidates do not reflect the choice of party members at grass root level but instead the top party leadership select the candidates depending on the loyalty of the candidate. There have been cases where the party president personally makes decisions to expel members and decides who to replace them with without the decision coming from the party leadership and members. Siwale (2016) adds that, when it comes to selecting leaders who should actually lead the parties, it has been found that all the political parties in Zambia in their infant stages preach about democratic ways to be employed in choosing leaders and promise to hold elections through national conventions.

Despite indicating in their constitutions that even the position of party president was supposed to be acquired through competitive and fair elections, few times that parties have held national conventions, the party electoral rules have not been respected as some positions such as the presidency and other top leadership have been not been contested (Ndulo, 2000). The PF was formed in 2001 but waited for 10 years to hold its first national conference. However, the position of president was never challenged at the national convention. The party first had the position of party president contested after the death of the founder president who had been at the helm of the party for over 13 years. The convention produced controversial results where two candidates emerged winners from two parallel conventions until the courts of law had to settle the matter on behalf of the party. UPND was formed in 1998 and the first national conference where the party presidency was changed was after the death of the founder president in 2006 though not through contested elections but mere appointment of a new leader by the party's National Management Committee. The results of this convention that produced a new party president were not different from what happens in many other parties, the party vice president and secretary general were among many senior party members to leave while others formed their own political parties. The same trend happened in UNIP, Dr Kaunda was the leader for 27 years until the party was defeated in 1991 he was never challenged for party leadership. His son has been at the helm of UNIP since 2001 without a national convention and many members have left the party to join other

parties. MMD had conventions when it was in power but for as long as the party president remained in power as the president of the country his position in the party was never challenged.

Meanwhile, there have also been undemocratic tendencies in that party members and supporters have publicly supported undemocratic decisions taken by their leaders. Most of the major political parties have often not followed due process in dealing with internal dissent and contestation.

4.5. Legislation Governing Political Parties in Zambia

A Political Parties Act was introduced in 2016, but not enacted. Thus, as there is no specific law on political parties, they continue to register as per the very general terms of the 1957 Societies Act, which does not prescribe any unreasonable restrictions. Political parties cannot be founded on the basis of religion, race, ethnicity, tribe, or gender and are prohibited from engaging in propaganda based on these identities. According to article 60 of the 2016 Amended constitution of Zambia, political parties have the right to disseminate information on their political ideology, sponsor candidates for elections and conduct primary elections to select candidates. Parties are obliged to conduct regular internal elections and to respect the rights of their members to participate in the affairs of the party. Members have the right to seek redress from the courts if aggrieved by decisions of the party.

4.6. Political Parties and The Electoral System in Zambia

Political parties in Zambia help the electorate to actively participate in elections. To achieve this, political parties educate the people about crucial issues relating to the political system. Parties nominate candidates that have very good chances of winning election. They often do this by sponsoring candidates with money, campaign materials, etc. Meanwhile, Zambia is a constitutional republic governed by a directly elected president and a unicameral National Assembly. Executive power in Zambia rests with the president, who is the head of state, head of government and commander-in-chief of the armed forces. The requirement that both parents of

presidential candidates be *Zambian citizens at birth* was dropped and independent candidates are now allowed to stand for all elections. The president is directly elected in a majoritarian system, where the winning candidate must receive more than fifty per cent of valid votes cast. In the event that no candidate secures such a majority, a run-off election is to be held between the two leading candidates no later than 37 days from the initial ballot. The president is elected for a five-year term and can serve a maximum of two terms in office. The president appoints ministers and provincial ministers from among the members of the National Assembly and also appoints the attorney-general, solicitor-general and director of public prosecutions and the chairs of various commissions foreseen in the constitution. Following constitutional amendments, the vice-president is directly elected as the running mate of a presidential candidate. The vice-president would assume the presidency for the remainder of the mandate in the eventuality of a president dying or leaving office early. Legislative powers are vested in the National Assembly, which now consists of 156 elected members. The president may appoint up to eight additional members. The speaker and deputy speaker are chosen from outside the National Assembly by the elected and appointed parliamentarians. The vice-president serves as leader of government business in the Assembly. Elected members serve five-year terms from single-member constituencies, elected on the basis of first past the post. The constitution provides for a system of local government, establishing a local authority in each of the 106 districts. The local authority has the power to administer the district, oversee programmes and projects in the district and to make by-laws. There is a local council in each district, consisting of directly elected councillors, elected on the basis of first past the post in 1624 wards, a mayor (in urban areas) or a council chairperson (in rural areas). For the first time, mayor and council chairpersons were directly elected (Commonwealth Observer Group, 2016).

4.7. Conclusion

This chapter highlighted that the development of political parties in Zambia dates back to the colonial days around the 1930s where the initial parties originating from the Europeans and representing European interests were organised. During the January 1964 elections, UNIP defeated its main rival ANC, leading to Dr Kenneth Kaunda becoming

the first President of the Independent Zambian Republic. Multi-partyism did not however survive for long as opposition political parties were outlawed on the basis that they were organised on ethnic lines which threatened the unity of the country and in the government declared the country as a one-party state in 1973.

However, the Second Republic faced a plethora of difficulties due to corruption within the civil service, government, and parastatal sector, and declining government revenue caused by the falling price of copper on the international markets. Mounting economic crisis and political pressure from mainly civic society organisations led Dr Kaunda, in 1990, to repeal Article 4 of the Second Republic Constitution and open up Zambia's political space to allow for multiparty elections once again. Peaceful Presidential and Parliamentary elections were held on 31 October 1991 and MMD candidate, Frederick Chiluba won. By 2001, internal factionalism led to a major split within the MMD mainly over Chiluba's desire to contest presidential elections for a third term in office and it had started to display undemocratic tendencies and a high degree of political intolerance. Michael Sata's PF managed to win the presidential elections in 2011.

In terms of leadership, this chapter established that, Zambia's party system is dominated by strong personalities. Because of the emphasis on the person of the party president as opposed to policy, leadership succession becomes a divisive issue, internal dissent or criticism is rarely tolerated and internal policy debates are discouraged. Party leaders who voice dissent or display personal ambitions for the top job (party president) are confronted with serious sanctions, such as demotions, dismissals, suspensions and even expulsion from the party. Party leaders usually handpicked leaders in all the existing party structures who only preach the ideas of the person that appointed and funds them.

Regarding intra-party democracy it was found that all political parties have in their constitution well attended to these issues though the effort seem to be very effective only on paper. This is because in reality certain individuals who seem to be economically advantaged have dominated the political party leadership and to a certain extent the crafting and execution party programmes. When it comes to selecting leaders

who should actually lead the parties, it has been found that all the political parties in Zambia in their infant stages preach about democratic ways to be employed in choosing leaders and promise to hold elections through national convention.

Having discussed the political parties and party system in Zambia, the next chapter focusses on the extent of youth participation in national leadership of political parties in Zambia.

CHAPTER FIVE

EXTENT OF YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN NATIONAL LEADERSHIP OF POLITICAL PARTIES

5.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the extent to which the youth are involved as national leaders of political parties in Zambia. With a population that is predominantly young, the representation of young people remains consistently low at the level of the leadership of political parties in Zambia, National Assembly and in Local Councils. Similarly, while it has been observed that the youth participate in significant numbers in the election process, it is of concern that young people have no equal access and opportunities to contest elections. This chapter presents the actual extent to which the youth are represented in the main political parties in Zambia at the level of national leadership from responses during the study.

5.2. Youth participation as leaders of political parties

According to the FODEP representative, he observed that in almost all the political parties, structures and practices relegate youth to mere voting. They are relegated to lower and insignificant positions, such as youth leagues, with limited resources and authority to meaningfully influence party decisions. Political parties are not open to the concerns, interests, and involvement of young people despite their significance in the country's electoral process. The FODEP representative therefore said, "there is no single party in Zambia that can ride on a strong ideology such as that of rallying its support through such an important agenda as youth empowerment. The exclusion of youth in party politics clearly manifests itself in the national leadership." Meanwhile, he pointed out there is a great divide between youth in politics and the older politicians and that this posed a threat to generational leadership change. He thus said "the danger of this is that in an eventuality that all these older people who are experienced do no longer exist, it would leave the country under the leadership of inexperienced leaders creating problems in the governance of the country." He added that,

Having the youth in politics is essential for the technological development of the country but this did not mean that the older generation does not know anything about technology, but that the youth have the capability to translate technology into actions because of the type of education that they are receiving, for example, the emphasis on Information Communication Technologies. (Interview with FODEP representative on 19th July 2017).

5.3. Percentage of youth participation as national leaders in political parties

According to the responses obtained from both questionnaires and interviews, the only political party during the study that had a substantial number of youth in the National Executive Committee was NAREP. The other parties did not have or had very few youth at national leadership level in their National Committees, although the interviewees representing the parties argued that the youth were represented at national leadership level by leaders of the youth wings of the parties. The following data was obtained through the interviews with representatives of the political parties and was confirmed by responses from questionnaires obtained from the youth who are members of these political parties.

5.3.1. Patriotic Front

According to the PF representative interviewed, the party had 58 members of the Central Committee (CC) which is the supreme decision-making organ of the party. Out of the 58, only one Ex-Officio member was a youth and was only a member of the Central Committee by virtue of being the Provincial Chairman for North-Western province. Being an Ex-Officio also meant that he did not possess much influence in the decision-making process in the party. Therefore, youth representation in national leadership of the PF is 1.7 percent while the older politicians comprise 98.3 percent as graphically shown in Figure 5.1.

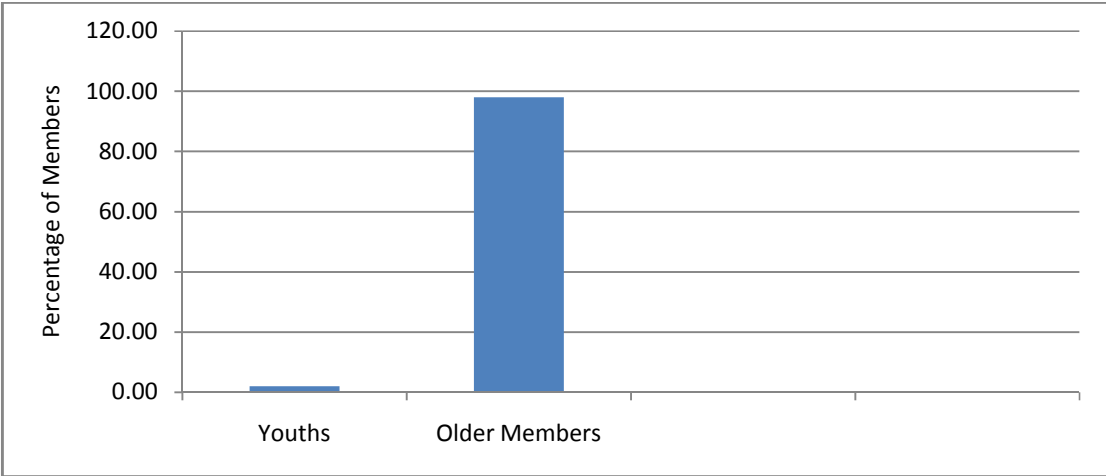


Figure 5.1 Percentage of Youths in PF Central Committee

5.3.2. National Restoration Party

The NAREP representative disclosed that the party had 13 members of the National Executive Committee (NEC) of which 4 were youths including the Secretary General of the party, representing 30.8 percent of youth representation in leadership of the party while 69.2 percent are older politicians. This is graphically shown in Figure 5.2.

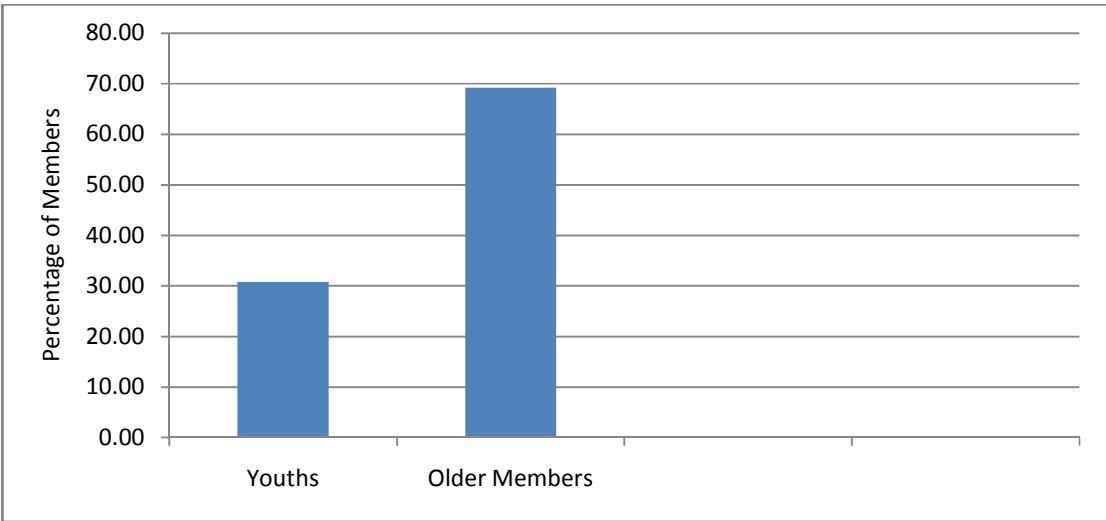


Figure 5.2 Percentage of Youths in NAREP NEC

5.3.3. Forum for Democracy and Development

The FDD interviewee indicated that the party had 60 members of the National Policy Committee (NPC) which is the supreme policy-making organ of the party of which only one member who is the national youth chairperson was a youth. This represented 1.7 percent representation of the youth as shown in Figure 5.3.

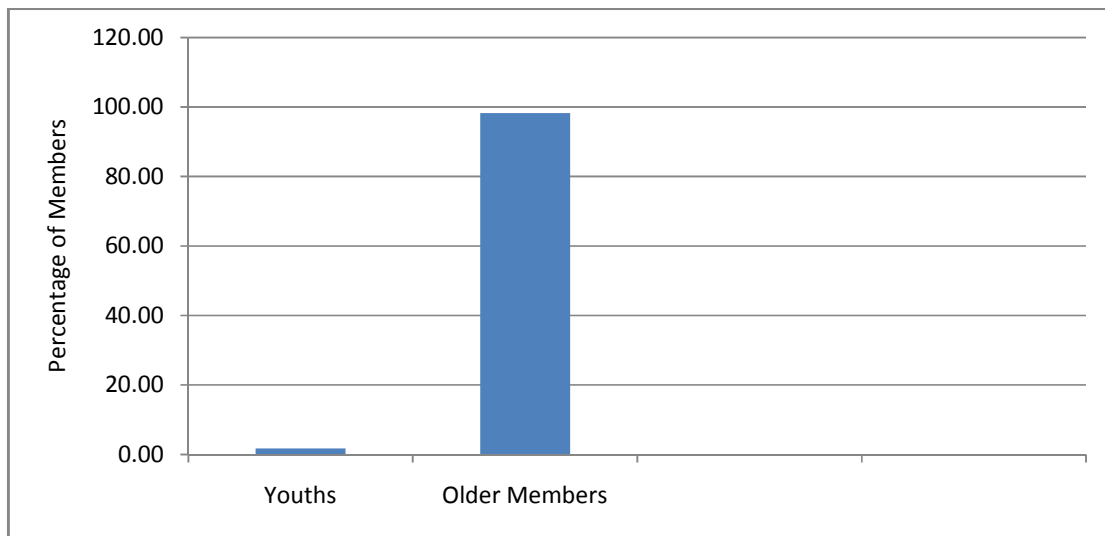


Figure 5.3 Percentage of Youths in FDD NPC

5.3.4. United National Independence Party

The UNIP representative indicated that the party had 41 members of the Central Committee which is the supreme policy-making organ of the party of which none of the members was a youth because the party had not held any elective conference since 2001.

5.3.5. Movement for Multi-party Democracy

The MMD representative revealed that the party had 54 members of the National Executive Committee (NEC) which is the supreme policy-making organ of the party of

which only 2 of the members were youth, representing 3.7 percent of youth representation and is graphically shown in Figure 5.4.

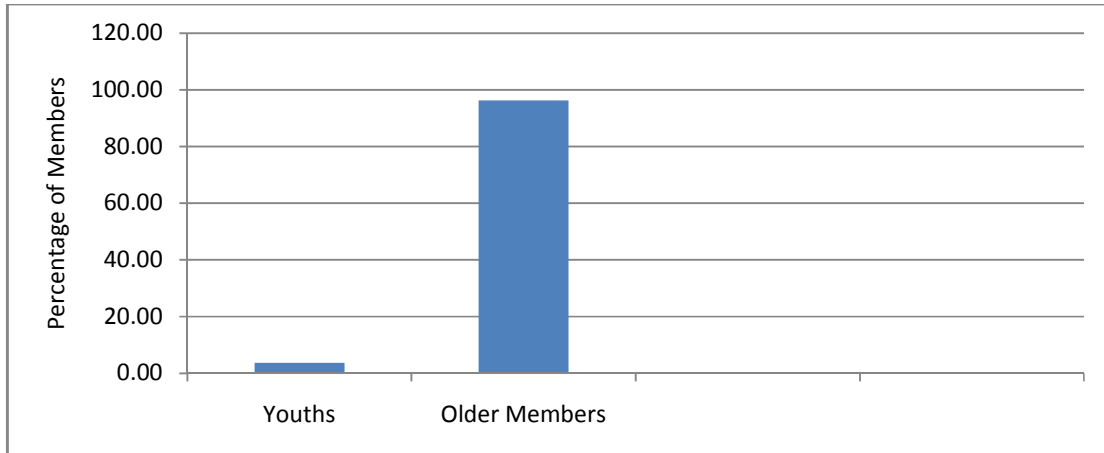


Figure 5.4 Percentage of Youths in MMD NEC

5.3.6. United Party for National Development

The UPND representative disclosed that the party had 51 members of the National Management Committee (NEC) which is the supreme policy-making organ of the party of which 3 of the members were youth, representing 5.9 percent of youth representation and is graphically shown in Figure 5.5.

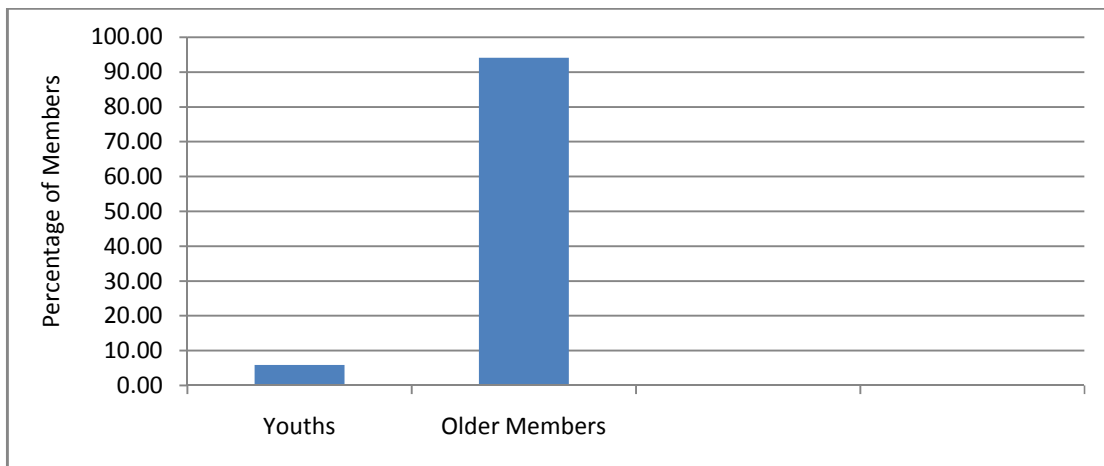


Figure 5.5 Percentage of Youths in UPND NMC

However, the Young African Leadership Initiative (YALI) interviewee noted with concern that some main political parties in Zambia deprive their youth wings of youth leaders that will be in the forefront of making decisions. For example, the ruling PF has a Member of Parliament and Minister of Home Affairs Mr. Stephen Kampyongo, aged 45, as the National Chairperson of the Youth wing, when he is not a youth. He further said,

it is important that youth leadership of any political party be left to the youth and not to older people who are not in the youth bracket. The essence of this is that political parties are building a strong foundation for the existence of their parties. Another thing they are doing is raising pragmatic leaders who have the technical knowhow on how to run effective political systems.

He added that it was not only a question of quantity but also about quality and what actual influence they have. In cases where the youth manage to get positions in decision-making bodies the question is not only about what percentage they represent but also what space and actual opportunity that is given to them, to make their voices heard and get their suggestions, ideas and priorities ratified (Interview with YALI representative on 21st July 2017).

5.4. Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that there were few and sometimes none youth involved in leadership of the political parties in Zambia but statistics show that any serious political party should take the youth agenda as its core rallying platform if it hopes to transform governance in this country and ensure participation of the most populous electorate.

The next chapter discusses the impact of leadership and candidate selection process on participation of the youth in leadership of political parties in Zambia.

CHAPTER SIX

IMPACT OF LEADERSHIP AND CANDIDATE SELECTION PROCESS ON PARTICIPATION OF THE YOUTH IN LEADERSHIP OF POLITICAL PARTIES

6.1. Introduction

Effective Intra-party democracy is a function of several factors including clear founding principles, a mobilising ideology and distinctive policies around which party membership is mobilised. This clear party identity can then be nurtured through strong and democratic institutions and organisational structures that ensure effective membership participation and the presence of internal checks and balances for accountability (Durveger, 1954). One of the key functions of political parties is the selection and presentation of credible candidates to the electorate who can adequately articulate their interests both in and out of government. It is important that the process by which these candidates are selected be democratic, inclusive and transparent. This is essential in maintaining membership loyalty to the party and eventual success in elections. Similarly, the process by which parties select their leadership should be inclusive and representative of the views and aspirations of its membership. Where these factors are lacking, as is the case with most political parties in Zambia, intra-party democracy is severely curtailed and parties fail to deliver on the promise of wider democracy in the society. The lack of structural democratic processes also compromise the legitimacy of the choices that parties offer the electorate in terms of policy and candidates for public office. Democratic principles demand that leadership at all levels be elective, that it be frequently renewed, collective in character, weak in authority. This chapter analyses the impact of leadership and candidate selection process on participation of the youth in leadership of political parties in Zambia. It commences by discussing leadership selection then candidate selection and concludes.

6.2. Leadership selection

The electoral system in Zambia is single member parliamentary (constituency) and

presidential systems. This means that the selection of a party leader is equivalent to selecting the party's presidential candidate, should the party choose to field a candidate during elections. Therefore, the choice of party leader determines the image as well as the course the party will take. In most cases, as already pointed out earlier, power and influence is concentrated in the party leader or a few of his/her closest allies who hold significant influence over party policies, programmes and selection of other leaders and candidates.

All the representatives of the political parties surveyed in this study explained that their parties select their national leadership through the conventions or conferences according to their constitutions. These conventions or conferences are a form of fora during which representatives of all levels of the party and party organs meet at the national level and all the representatives of the political parties interviewed, affirmed that these conventions/conferences were usually held every after five years. These delegates are elected by party members at the constituency, district and provincial levels and are supposed to be widely representative of women, youth and other marginalized groups. The conventions/conferences are generally described as the highest decision making organs of the parties whose decisions are binding to the parties. In practice however, the FODEP representative observed that most of the delegates are usually carefully handpicked by party operatives according to their loyalty to particular party elites. He added that the delegates selection process is usually yet another demonstration of the politics of personality cults and patronage as opposed to genuine processes of intra-party democracy. This observation is in line with the findings in Maiyo's (2008) study in East Africa. Coupled with the acrimony, confrontation and friction that the exercise raises, many parties shy away or totally avoid holding such conferences unless they absolutely have to, usually in order to meet legal requirements for the party to continue functioning as a legitimate body. The MMD and the PF have held conventions to choose party leaders in 2015 and 2016 respectively in Kabwe but emerged divided with different factions holding conventions for the same leadership positions. NAREP in 2017, held a national conference to elect national leadership but the number of delegates which was small made observers to question the representative nature of the members countrywide.

The FDD is currently entangled in leadership wrangles over the eligibility of the current party leader to contest the presidency after the expiration of the ten year maximum mandate and the convention has been put on hold awaiting the courts to adjudicate on the matter after some members sought the court intervention on the matter. The UPND and UNIP have not held such conventions in over ten years despite party constitutional provisions for such, leading to observers questioning the existence of internal democracy in these parties. Meanwhile, the UPND representative explained that the party had not held a convention since 2006 to avoid divisions over leadership positions therefore fostering unity and that the National Management Committee was mandated to choose the leadership of the party between conventions. In the same vein, the UNIP representative indicated that the party leadership is currently elected by the National Council on behalf of Congress since 2000.

Leadership positions are supposedly elective in the six political parties studied. There are, however, variations in the way internal elections are conducted. According to the MMD, PF and FDD representatives, all the nominations in their parties, including that of the president, are done at the party convention and each candidate is supposed to be supported by the number of delegates decided by the chairman of an independent electoral commission of the party. Once the nomination period is over a secret ballot is taken, and any aggrieved candidate can appeal to the chairman of the electoral commission. In the UPND, each aspiring candidate must get some endorsement from provincial conferences in order to be formally nominated to the respective positions: the president requires endorsement from at least five provinces; the vice-presidents from four; the chairpersons from three; and the deputy chairpersons from two. After being successfully nominated, a secret ballot is taken at the party congress to elect national management committee members. Meanwhile, the UNIP representative explained that in UNIP, an independent party electoral commission conducts and supervises the elections, guided by the party's electoral regulations. Party members who wish to contest party positions apply to the electoral commission, which will in turn scrutinise the applications to ascertain if the applicants qualify. Applicants who qualify will then launch their nominations.

Meanwhile, party positions in political parties in Zambia, are usually divided between the party elites, usually among its founders and chief financiers. Senior party positions are usually filled through appointments made by the Presidents of the parties who usually fill them up with close allies with a bit political clout and sometimes financially sound; therefore effectively excluding the youth who do not possess such. On this aspect Michels pointed out that, “leaders also have control over sanctions and rewards. They tend to promote those who share their opinions, which inevitably lead to self-perpetuating oligarchy.” For example, the appointment of the Secretary General of the PF is a prerogative of the Party President. The President also appoints other members of the Central Committee. The same happens in UPND and MMD (www.lusakatimes.com). For the parties that hold conventions, the conventions are subsequently mere pomp and ceremony meant to legitimise already agreed upon leadership positions devoid of any real participation by party members.

The political parties are highly centralised and have less inclusive leadership selection processes. The national executive committees of these parties are powerful organs of the parties with overwhelming power over nomination and recommendation of party members for the positions such as the president of the republic; Members of Parliament and local government representatives. Not only do the organs nominate members to contest leadership positions, they also have the supervisory role of monitoring the implementation of party elections as well as appointment of lower party leaders. The lack of inclusive and democratic leadership selection processes with no clear mechanisms for neutral and independent dispute arbitration often has negative consequences for party unity and cohesiveness. Consequently, more often than not, intra party rivalry spills out into open conflict and sometimes party splits. The PF, UPND and FDD are products of splits over leadership of the MMD. The MMD itself has further split into two factions with different Presidents both claiming legitimacy i.e. one led by Dr. Nevers Mumba and another led by Mr. Felix Mutati. The National Democratic Congress (NDC) was also formed in 2017 following divisions in the PF leadership.

Undemocratic and unrepresentative leadership selection processes therefore have significant and often negative consequences for party unity and cohesion, its effectiveness in contesting elections and where regionalism and ethnicity is the organising principle, wider considerations of national security and stability are at stake. Internal wrangles often lead to weakening of parties, splits, defections and formation of new or revival of moribund parties. This also creates a culture of political party speculation in which unscrupulous individuals register briefcase parties, waiting for disgruntled party leaders looking for ready-made outfits for sale to which they can defect and use as vehicles to mobilise their supporters and seek political power (Maiyo, 2008).

The foregoing observations about leadership selection processes in political parties in Zambia confirms Michels (1962) argument that,

... leaders will ultimately recognize their common interests in maintaining their positions within the organization, and develop a sense of solidarity with one another. As such, they are inclined to act cohesively in fending off criticisms and warding off displacement efforts by the membership. If serious challenges are not readily suppressed, the leaders may resort to cooptation of individual rank-and-file members, thus effectively hobbling lower-level resistance.

6.3. Candidate Selection

Candidate selection for elections at all levels is a fundamental process of a political party's engagement with its membership and the wider electorate. The process by which candidates for elected positions are chosen is perhaps as important as the type of candidates selected. The result determines the party's competitive profile against its competitors during elections as well as determining the loyalty of its members and supporters. The degree to which party members and supporters are included in this process is therefore significant in determining a party's success in an election. The most open and inclusive form of candidate selection is the direct ballot or party primaries where eligible party members or supporters pre-select party candidates through direct elections. There are variations to this model depending on who is eligible to vote in the primaries. In most western democracies, participation is restricted to registered party

members. The 2016 general elections saw this process used in most political parties in Zambia. In most cases, a higher party organ at any level vetted candidates before they can be given the allowed to contest. In this respect, the UPND representative pointed out that the party needs to ensure that potential candidates are selected on specific criteria that will strengthen the party going into an election. Some considerations include a candidate's ability to finance own campaigns, party loyalty, electability, adherence to party ideology and platform and ability to work with fellow party members. This argument was also made by other representatives of the political parties. Meanwhile, the FODEP representative argued that although the political parties purport to conduct fair nominations, the party leaders are keen to influence the outcome based on the candidates who can bring them the biggest political capital. Only a handful of young people are likely to take part in national leadership and to be nominated as candidates during elections mainly because of lack of finances.

For nominations to contest elections for Member of Parliament, both the PF and the UPND relied on a complex interview process. Candidates who sought the nomination had to go through committee-based interviews at the constituency, district, and provincial level. These committees made their recommendations to the national committee of each party, who made the final decision. These processes were a major hurdle for youth representation. Many of the youth who were approved at ward, constituency, and district levels were not adopted when the decisions were made at the provincial and national levels. The nomination procedures had a negative effect on youth representation and reflects a failing of intra-party democracy.

Eligibility criteria for both parliamentary and presidential candidates closely mirror provisions contained in the country's constitution. These include guidelines on age and levels of education. Some parties such as the PF stipulate certain requirements such as length of membership within the party although these are not strictly adhered to (PF, 2011). The 2016 amended Republican constitution introduced a new eligibility requirement that candidates for all elected positions have the minimum academic qualification of a completed secondary education, attested by a Grade 12 certificate, its equivalent, or a superior qualification. Such a requirement has been criticised to the

right of citizens to stand for election and curtails the choice afforded to voters, especially at lower elected levels and with respect to prospective female candidates and those from rural areas (European Union, 2016).

During the 2016 general elections, aspiring candidates were required to pay a non-refundable nomination fee. ECZ originally announced an increase in nomination fees for all elected positions; the nomination fee for presidential candidates was increased from K10,000 to K75,000; from K5,000 to K 10,000 for parliamentary candidates, and from K50 to K1,500 for councillors in rural areas. Although eventually reduced from the figures first set: 65,000 for the presidential candidates, K7,500 for parliamentary and K400 for the councillors in the rural areas, the significant increase in nomination fees, particularly at councillor and parliamentary levels, were criticised by many political parties as prohibitive. The increase in fees further restricted the right to stand, particularly of the youth who were mostly unemployed.

At presidential level, in the case of UNIP, the constitution of the party states that the party president is ordinarily eligible to represent the party as presidential candidate in national elections provided s/he is a paid up member of the party for a period not less than five years. The presidential candidate must formally be adopted by the central committee and his/her candidature ratified by the National Council. In the case of parliamentary candidates the central committee determines who contests the parliamentary seats in respective constituencies (UNIP, 2001). However, after this has not been the case as the party has struggled to follow procedures stipulated in the party constitution. This trend appears in all the six parties studied although they have constitutions stipulating competitive and fair selection of presidential candidates. The foregoing trend further negatively affect the opportunities for the youth to take up leadership positions through intra-party elections.

The parties' constitutions, also prescribe transparency in selection of candidates to contest in parliamentary and local government elections where every member eligible to contest in parliamentary elections should have an equal chance to be adopted on party

tickets. However, like presidential seats, parliamentary seats have been dominated by certain individuals who tend to possess their respective constituencies and are not challenged especially those who win the seats. For instance, some parties like the PF, UPND and MMD have had members of parliament representing the same constituencies in more than three consecutive national elections. Although they apply to the party structures for adoption the process seem only to be a mere formality. Siwale (2016) argued that this is because those candidates have accumulated enough financial and material resources to enable them to dominate because they stand a chance to effectively campaign using their resources for the parties' names and this in itself makes such parties active and survive during and after elections.

6.4. Conclusion

This chapter showed that one of the key processes of expanding inclusiveness in party procedures and decision making is in the recruitment and selection of party leaders and candidates. Leadership and candidate selection processes are some of the most crucial undertakings a party can make since the outcome determines not only the party's public profile and competitiveness during elections, but it also has consequences on members' and supporters' continued loyalty and support. Selection of a party leader of a political party in Zambia is equivalent to selecting the party's presidential candidate, should the party choose to field a candidate during elections. In most cases, power and influence is concentrated in the party leader or a few of his/her closest allies who hold significant influence over party policies, programmes and selection of other leaders and candidates.

All the six political parties studied, supposedly select their national leadership through the conventions or conferences according to their constitutions usually held every after five years. The conferences are generally described as the highest decision making organs of the parties whose decisions are binding to the parties. In practice however, most of the delegates are usually carefully handpicked by party operatives according to their loyalty to particular party elites. The delegates selection process is usually yet another demonstration of the politics of personality cults and patronage as opposed to genuine processes of intra-party democracy. Coupled with the acrimony, confrontation

and friction that the exercise raises, some parties shy away or totally avoid holding such conferences unless they absolutely have to, usually in order to meet legal requirements for the party to continue functioning as a legitimate body. The constitutions of the six political parties provide that all leadership positions are elective. Meanwhile, it was observed that party positions in political parties in Zambia, are usually divided between the party elites, usually among its founders and chief financiers. Senior party positions are usually filled through appointments made by the Presidents of the parties who usually fill them up with close allies with a bit political clout and sometimes financially sound; therefore effectively excluding the youth who do not possess such. The political parties are highly centralised and have less inclusive leadership selection processes.

Candidate selection is a fundamental process of a political party's engagement with its membership and the wider electorate. The process by which candidates for elected positions are chosen is perhaps as important as the type of candidates selected. The result determines the party's competitive profile against its competitors during elections as well as determining the loyalty of its members and supporters. All political parties studied have clear party rules and guidelines on candidate selection. Although the political parties purport to conduct fair nominations, the party leaders are keen to influence the outcome based on the candidates who can bring them the biggest political capital. Only a handful of young people are likely to take part in national leadership and nominated as candidates during elections. The lack of transparency around nomination procedures had a negative effect on youth representation and reflects a failing of intraparty democracy. Furthermore, the parties' constitutions, they also prescribe transparency in selection of candidates to contest in parliamentary and local government elections where every member eligible to contest in parliamentary elections should have an equal chance to be adopted on party tickets. However, like presidential seats, parliamentary seats have been dominated by certain individuals who tend to possess their respective constituencies and are not challenged especially those who win the seats. Although they apply to the party structures for adoption the process seem only to be a mere formality. The foregoing therefore, shows that the study has really

established that leadership and candidate selection impacts negatively on the participation of the youth in leadership of political parties in Zambia.

The next chapter discusses the factors that hinder the youth from being national leaders of political parties in Zambia.

CHAPTER SEVEN

FACTORS THAT HINDER THE YOUTH FROM BEING NATIONAL LEADERS OF POLITICAL PARTIES

7.1. Introduction

This chapter seeks to identify the factors that hinder the youth from being national leaders of political parties in Zambia. The identified factors from the responses obtained from the questionnaires and interviews are discussed below in terms of Institutionalized factors and personal limitation factors.

7.2. Institutionalized factors

The following were identified as institutionalized factors that hinder the youth from being leaders of political parties in Zambia- organisational structure and leadership and candidate selection process, political violence, constitutional eligibility, traditional and cultural stereotype and religious affiliation.

7.2.1. Organisational structure and leadership and candidate selection process

This constraint came out in the study, that due to centralised party organisational structure such as the National Executive and Central Committees and strong hierarchical culture in political parties, low number of youth serve in the leadership positions in parties' organisational structure. The older politicians occupy almost all leadership positions within the parties, even in the youth wing itself. As for the youth, they only occupy positions that do not grant them access to policy-making process. According to the Youth respondents, the hierarchical culture impacts the parties' character which tend to be unfriendly towards the youth. The parties are structured in a way that automatically marginalises the youth by having national executive committees, constituting the main body, and then youth wings at the side. This also shapes the position and prioritization of youth issues, which all too often are not prioritised, or at all included, in the party policies. The NECs control the youth political structures within the parties. For example, the current experience is that most of the leaders on youth affairs are not driven by the youths in the parties as the leaders for the youth leagues are

beyond the ages of 35 such as Hon. Kampyongo the Youth Chairman of the PF, and expectedly sides with the party or those they interact with the most, and not the youth. Similarly, Michels in espousing the “iron law of oligarchy” concluded that the problem lay in the very nature of organizations. The more liberal and democratic modern era allowed the formation of organizations with innovative and revolutionary goals, but as such organizations become more complex, they became less and less democratic.

Political parties are highly centralised and have less inclusive leadership selection processes. The National Executive Committees of these parties are powerful organs of the parties with overwhelming power over nomination and recommendation of party members for the leadership and candidate positions. The lack of inclusive and democratic leadership selection processes with no clear mechanisms for neutral and independent dispute arbitration often has negative consequences for youth participation in leadership of political parties. Undemocratic and unrepresentative leadership selection processes therefore have significant and often negative consequences on party unity and cohesion (Maiyo, 2009).

This constraint is compounded by the growing trend that party positions in political parties in Zambia, are usually divided between the party elites, usually among its founders and chief financiers. Senior party positions are usually filled through appointments made by the Presidents of the parties who usually fill them up with close allies with a bit political clout and sometimes financially sound; therefore effectively excluding the youth who do not possess such.

In this regard, Michels pointed out that all organizations eventually come to be run by a "leadership class", who often function as paid administrators, executives, spokespersons, political strategists, organizers, etc for the organization. Far from being "servants of the masses", Michels argued this "leadership class," rather than the organization's membership, will inevitably grow to dominate the organization's power structures (Michels, [1911] 1962).

7.2.2. Political violence

The responses from the youth indicated that the prevalence of political violence and threats of violence especially during either national or intra-party elections has impacted negatively on youth to aspire for leadership positions in political parties especially women who are afraid of being involved or caught up in such violence. The UNIP representative said that UNIP experienced such before 2001 when there was change of leadership from Mr. Francis Nkhoma to the incumbent Mr. Tilyenji Kaunda. Ironically, it is usually the youth who are at the forefront of perpetrating violence to advance the cause of older politicians against their opponents. The violent nature of politics has a significant impact on how citizens will ultimately participate in the political process. Further, the incremental trend of incidences of violence correlates well with the resulting low levels of participation as many people shun political gatherings for fear of being caught up in skirmishes between and among parties.

Intra-party leadership selection process especially during party conferences has become acrimonious, confrontational and frictional among supporters of different candidates and this is common for both the ruling and opposition political parties, for example, the PF General conference of 2015 and the UPND convention of 2006. Because of this some parties shy away or totally avoid holding such conferences thereby denying opportunities to the youth to democratically vie for leadership positions as leaders get appointed on patronage basis.

7.2.3. Constitutional Eligibility

Another constraint that was highlighted in the study was with regard to constitutional eligibility to contest certain leadership positions especially that of party president. The AVAP interviewee said that since the selection of a political party leader in Zambia is equivalent to selecting the party's presidential candidate for elections and the constitutional age requirement is 35 years and above; the political parties therefore do not consider the youth who are usually below that age for such positions and the youth themselves do not usually aspire for such positions. For example, according to the

NAREP representative, the party's constitution clearly stipulated that qualifications for elective office were that one needed to be of 21 years and above in the case of any position other than that of Party Republican Presidential Election candidate, in which case the age requirement shall be 35 years and above. The eligibility criteria for both parliamentary and presidential candidates closely mirror provisions contained in the country's constitution. These include guidelines on levels of education apart from age. The 2016 amended constitution introduced a new eligibility requirement that candidates for all elected positions have the minimum academic qualification of a completed secondary education, attested by a Grade 12 certificate, its equivalent, or a superior qualification. This requirement works against many of the youth who it was observed lacked education qualifications. Further, the requirement that aspiring candidates pay a non-refundable nomination fee of K65,000 for the presidential candidates, K7,500 for parliamentary and K400 for the councillors in the rural areas, the significant increase in nomination fees, particularly at councillor and parliamentary levels, was observed to be prohibitive to the unemployed youth.

7.2.4. Traditional societal norms and cultural stereotype

Traditional societal norms and cultural stereotyping that the youth should follow elders therefore politics is not for the youth was also cited by youth respondents to be another hinderance that the youth face in becoming leaders of political parties. Meanwhile, one youth respondent from UPND observed that the elders in politics and society at large have always referred to the youth as future leaders but that this perception had worked to the detriment of youth aspiring for leadership positions and this has negatively affected the important role played by the youth and young people in multi-party political dispensation as well as democratization. Meanwhile, the FODEP interviewee similarly added that the concept of defining the youth demographically also hinders their participation in politics. The age based conceptualization of youth implicitly asserts that the youth are of tomorrow rather than of today. He therefore said that "this denies the youth of the opportunity to have their issues addressed with the importance and urgency they deserved. The inclusion of the youth in political leadership either through a quota system or through equitable levelling of electoral practices will definitely put the

solutions of these problems within the context required.”

7.2.5. Religious affiliation

The constraint can be related to cultural stereotype. Two youth, one from MMD and another from UNIP and the AVAP representative brought out this constraint and argued that some youth who practice other religions apart from Christianity such as Islam or Hinduism, feel constrained to participate in politics later on aspire for leadership positions in political parties, due to the constitutional declaration that Zambia is a Christian nation. This constraint arise from the perception that these youth would not be accepted in political parties where the majority of the membership profess to be christians.

7.3. Personal Limitations

The following factors were identified as personal limitation factors that hinder the youth from being leaders of political parties in Zambia- lack of interest, lack of support and mentorship from older politicians, lack of experience and exposure in leadership roles, lack of knowledge, low education levels, lack of resources and unemployment, and lack of confidence.

7.3.1. Lack of interest

A number youths who responded to the questionnaires across the political parties noted that one of the constraints that hinder youth participation as leaders of political parties in Zambia was low-level of interest in getting involved in active politics and aspire for political leadership due to the perception that politics was a “dirty game”. This is due to the fact that older politicians have been involved in negative and scandalous behaviours such as corruption and improper conduct in public, i.e use of inappropriate language against opponents. This has affected the youth negatively especially the women. Amongst the many options is that some of the youth have opted to disengage from active politics or aspire for political leadership despite being the majority voters, to focus on their immediate individual needs. Meanwhile, the FODEP representative also added that the media also was to blame because most of the news published tends to show the negative aspects of politics and not the positive ones.

7.3.2. Lack of support and mentorship from older politicians

The other constraint that was revealed in this study was that there was lack of support and mentorship from older politicians to the youth in political parties. A youth respondent from the FDD pointed out that “the older politicians usually block the youth from taking up leadership positions for fear of losing their positions.” They also do not motivate the youths to take up leadership roles therefore opportunities for the youth to do so do not exist. Meanwhile, the Anti-Voter Apathy Project (AVAP) representative said that most political parties in Zambia have often been run as personal or private property of a few political leaders. Such parties have not established institutional structures and generally lack internal democracy. The older politicians tend to dominate the key political party decision-making organs like national executive committees. Very few political parties in Zambia have comprehensive leadership training or mentorship programmes for the youth or young political leaders. According to the responses in this study only NAREP and UNIP had such programmes. The youth are meant to believe they are the leaders of tomorrow not today by older politician and society at large, thus most political parties and the government, lack a directive principle for youth participation in governance.

In this vein, Michels thus wrote that “the consequence is that in all modern popular parties a spirit of genuine fraternity is conspicuously lacking; we do not see sincere and cordial mutual trust; there is a continual latent struggle, a spirit of irritation determined by the reciprocal mistrust of the leaders, and this spirit has become one of the most essential characteristics of every democracy. The mistrust of the leaders is directed above all against those who aspire to command their own organizations. Every oligarchy is full of suspicion towards those who aspire to enter its ranks, regarding them not simply as eventual heirs but as successors who are ready to supplant them without waiting for a natural death (Michels, [1911] 1962: 104).”

7.3.3. Lack of experience and exposure in leadership roles from their communities.

The NAREP representative pointed out that lack of exposure and previous experience in

leadership roles affects the aspiration of the youth to take up leadership role in political parties. Usually, the youth are often considered by the older party colleagues to lack sufficient competence and that their leadership is poorly developed, not disciplined and disorganised. The UNIP representative stated that usually older politicians look down on youths as lacking experience. Operation Young Vote (OYV) interviewee argued that the scenario, where the youth never get the opportunity to gain experience or being financially supported, makes the parties to use the youths mostly to fill purely practical functions, like handing out flyers or mobilizing new members, or in worst case as militants around elections. This leaves them vulnerable from stronger economic and powerful forces in the party. Even when the youth are included in the high-level decision-making positions the status quo remains. When it comes to choice of candidates for decision-making positions, there is also always an argument advanced that the youth do not have years of experience and ability to raise their own funds and acumen to manage party affairs.

7.3.4. Lack of knowledge

The FODEP and AVAP representatives indicated that the majority of the youth in Zambia especially those in rural areas did not know that they have the right to participate in the governance processes both at national and local levels. This has shaped their attitudes and created a sense of expectation than to take leadership around these issues because of limited access to information. In addition there is a high prevalence of levels of illiteracy amongst many youth. High levels of ignorance are also manifested by citizens, who despite having gone to school, have not had a good orientation base to engage with governance issues. The OYV interviewee said that most of the youth have low levels of awareness of the existing laws and policies that are aimed at promoting democracy and political governance in the country and their respective political parties that could enhance their understanding of their roles and rights to participate in leadership of these political parties; such as: party constitutions, the Zambian Constitution (2016) and the Electoral Act, among others. However, during the study, it came to light that political parties in Zambia do not make their constitutions available to their membership and the general public apart from the PF that has just got an extract of the constitution published

on online media.

7.3.5. *Low education levels*

Related to and reinforcing the foregoing constraint is the constraint of low education levels among the youth. The OYV representative said that the low levels of education standards among the youth leads to other constraints such as unemployment and poverty. Directly, low levels of education among the youth in Zambia has adversely affected their aspirations for leadership in political parties because quality decision-making is linked to quality education standards. Further, the FDD representative argued that the constitutional requirement of attaining Grade 12 certificate or better to be able to be allowed to contest in national elections, is putting off aspiring youth to take up active participation because choice of leaders in political parties is almost selecting aspiring candidates. He added that the youth with considerable good education standards usually prefer to endeavour in gainful employment than politics. Low education levels also reinforce other constraints such as lack of resources due to unemployment. The need for education amongst the youth is a crucial one. Scarcity or lack of proper education therefore makes the transition to employment for young people difficult resulting in unemployment and underemployment (Marie, 1985; Kelly, 1999, Abadzi 2004). The YALI representative added that the majority of the youth politicians in Zambia lack political education. This applies mainly to ideology, social studies, and understanding of political processes and organisation. This affects their opportunities to get a position within the party and their ability to act as democratic leaders.

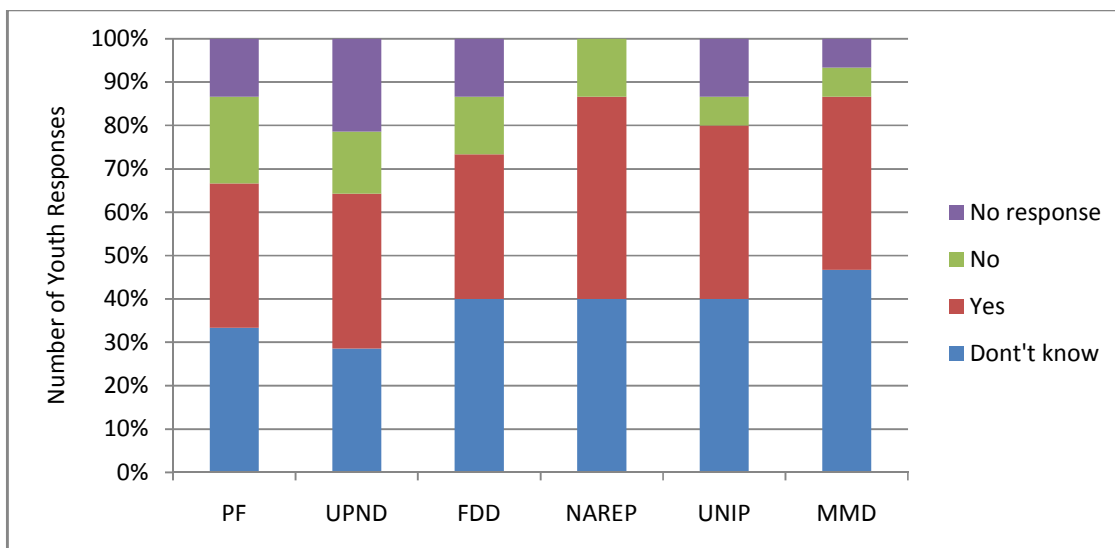


Figure 7.1. Level of Knowledge about party constitutional provisions on youth participation in leadership among the youth. Source: Compiled from responses.

Furthermore, the education levels at national level for all ages is also not impressive. For example, Figure 7.2 shows the percentage distribution of the population by highest level of education attained in Zambia. At national level, 27.0 percent of the population reported that they had no education and 24.0 percent reported that they had attained Grade 5-7. Meanwhile, 1.4 percent of the population had attained a degree or above.

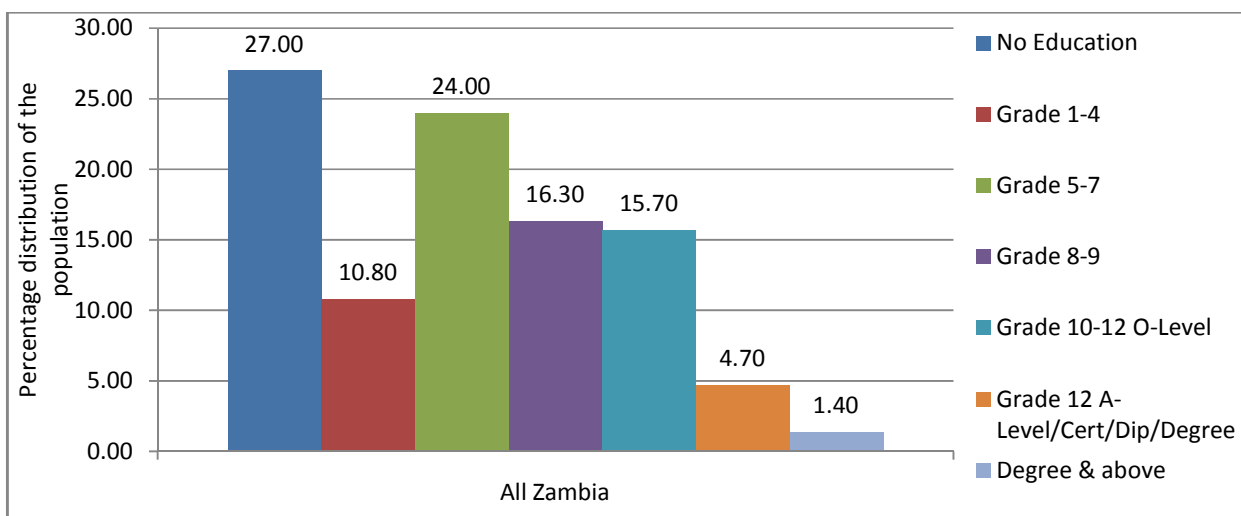


Figure 7.2 National Education Levels. Source: CSO (2015)

7.3.6. Lack of resources and unemployment

There is no question that large concentrations of unemployed or underemployed people may contribute to instability at some point. (Sommers, 2010). Kaplan (1996) describes the large numbers of out of school unemployed male youth as, loose molecules in an unstable social fluid that threatens to ignite. Growing youth unemployment is a phenomenon that can be equated to a national crisis. It is attributed to dwindling job opportunities due to the socio-economic crisis of the past two decades, as well as the increase in population, which results in an increased youth labour force. The lack of specific training and demand for previous work experience often limits a large proportion of youth from joining the formal sector of employment therefore most join the informal sector.

The lack of financial resources compounded by high unemployment levels among the youth was the major constraint that came out of the study with 95% of the responses from the youth citing the same. It was argued that most of the youth who aspire for leadership positions in political parties were not in formal employment and generally lacked financial soundness as compared to older politicians who they compete with for those positions. This disadvantages the youth because even aspiring for a leadership position in political parties required utilisation of financial resources to campaign for the same.

The YALI representative pointed out that, due to high unemployment and poverty levels among the youth in Zambia, they are often used by older politicians as tools of intimidation and violence against their political opponents. The high unemployment and poverty levels have often made many of youth to lose focus on aspiring for political leadership.

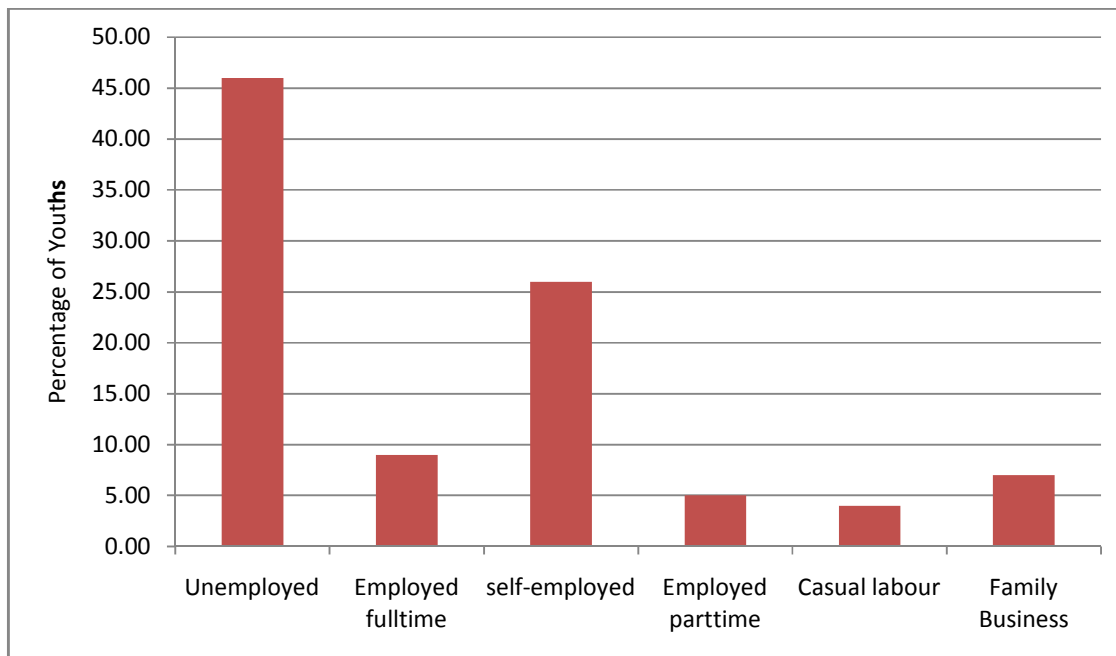


Figure 7.3. Youth Employment Status. Source. CSO (2014) Labour Force Survey.

Figure 7.3 clearly shows that the majority of the youth in Zambia are unemployed. The prevalence of unemployment leads to many youths not to be able to have adequate resources to contest for leadership positions in political parties against resource rich older politicians. The youth are relegated to slogan chanting and individual promoters of those with a bit of political clout and finances.

7.3.7. Lack of confidence

The OYV representative added the dimension of lack of confidence by pointing out that the youth themselves lack personal confidence and courage or have fear of the unknown to express themselves about what they want or about their rights and this works to their disadvantage because ultimately most of them do not even engage in politics or those in politics do not aspire for leadership in their political parties.

7.4. Conclusion

This chapter has shown that the youth in Zambia face a range of economic, social, cultural, religious and political constraints in broad terms in their quest to become political party leaders at national level and that these constraints are at times mutually

reinforcing. The constraints identified were that, there was centralised organisational structure and strong hierarchical culture in political parties with low number of youth who serve in the leadership positions as the older politicians occupy almost all leadership positions within the parties, even in the youth wing itself. The political parties also have less inclusive leadership selection processes. Secondly, the prevalence of political violence especially during either national or intra-party elections had impacted negatively on the youth to aspire for leadership positions in political parties especially women who were afraid of being involved or caught up in such violence.

Thirdly, the constitutional requirement of attaining Grade 12 certificate or better to be able to be allowed to contest in national elections, was putting off aspiring youth to take up active participation because choice of leaders in political parties was almost like selecting aspiring candidates. Further, the constitutional eligibility to contest certain leadership positions especially that of party president since the selection of a political party leader in Zambia was equivalent to selecting the party's presidential candidate should the party choose to field a candidate during elections and the constitutional age requirement was 35 years and above; the political parties do not usually consider the youth who were usually below that age for such positions and the youth themselves do not usually aspire for such positions.

Traditional societal norms and cultural stereotyping that the youth should follow elders therefore politics was not for the youth was also cited to be another institutionalized factor that the youth face in becoming leaders of political parties. On the other hand some youth who practice other religions apart from Christianity such as Islam or Hinduism, feel constrained to participate in politics later on aspire for leadership positions in political parties, due to the constitutional declaration that Zambia is a Christian nation. This constraint arose from the perception that these youth would not be accepted in political parties where the majority of the membership profess to be Christians.

The personal limitation factors include lack of interest due to the fact that the

satisfaction of the youth regarding the performance of politicians in Zambia was low and this scenario made them disinterested in politics and political leadership. This was due to the fact that the political landscape in Zambia was characterized by political hostility and shifting divisions between and within major parties as leaders scramble for influence and power. The lack of interest in getting involved in the political affairs was also due to the perception that politics was a “dirty game”.

Lack of support and mentorship from older politicians to the youth in political parties was another constraint identified. Older politicians usually block the youth from taking up leadership positions for fear of losing their positions and they also do not motivate the youths to take up leadership roles therefore opportunities for the youth to do so do not exist. There is also lack of exposure and previous experience in leadership roles which affects the aspiration of the youth to take up leadership roles in political parties. Usually, the youth are often considered by the older party colleagues to lack sufficient competence and that their leadership was poorly developed, undisciplined and disorganised.

Another constraint established, was that the majority of the youth especially those in rural areas do not understand their civic roles as citizens and this is attributed to the low literacy levels of the majority of the people. Most of the youth have very low levels of awareness of the existing laws and policies that are aimed at promoting democracy and political governance in the country and their respective political parties that could enhance their understanding of their roles and rights to participate in leadership of these political parties; such as: party constitutions, the Zambian Constitution (2016) and the Electoral Act, among others.

The lack of financial resources compounded by high unemployment levels among the youth was the major constraint that came out in the study. It was argued that most of the youth who aspire for leadership positions in political parties were unemployed and generally lacked financial soundness as compared to older politicians who they compete with for those positions. This disadvantages the youth because even aspiring for a

leadership position in political parties required utilisation of financial resources to campaign for the same.

Additionally, the lack of personal confidence by the youth themselves and courage or have fear of the unknown to express themselves about what they want or about their rights and this worked to their disadvantage as they ultimately most of them do not even engage in politics or those in politics do not aspire for leadership in their political parties.

The next chapter is the conclusion of the study and policy recommendations to improve the participation of the youth as national leaders of political parties in Zambia and recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1. Introduction

This chapter is the conclusion of the study and comprises the conclusion, policy recommendations to improve the participation of the youth as national leaders of political parties in Zambia and recommendations for further research.

8.2. Conclusions

The general objective of this study was to establish the factors that hinder participation of the youth in national leadership of political parties in Zambia. Specifically the study sought to establish the extent of participation of the youth in national leadership of political parties, establish how leadership and candidate selection impact on participation of the youth in leadership of political parties, and identify and explain the constraints that hinder the youth from being national leaders of political parties.

With regard to extent of youth participation, the study established that the number of youths serving in national leadership positions in political parties was very low almost insignificant, because political parties were not open to the concerns, interests, and involvement of young people despite their significance in the country's electoral process as they were the majority in number. In almost all the six political parties studied, structures and practices relegate the youth to mere voting. They are relegated to lower and insignificant positions, such as youth leagues, with limited resources and authority to meaningfully influence party decisions. The exclusion of youth in party politics clearly manifests itself in the national leadership.

With reference to leadership and candidate selection, the study established that Zambia's party system is dominated by prominent individuals. The political parties are held captive by the personalised nature of political organisation where the political elite and business class have virtual control of parties. Participatory democracy in political parties is thus compromised as the general membership is rendered ineffectual. Because of the

emphasis on the person of the party president as opposed to policy, leadership succession becomes a divisive issue, internal dissent or criticism is rarely tolerated and internal policy debates are discouraged. Party leaders who voice dissent or display personal ambitions for the top job (party president) are confronted with serious sanctions, such as demotions, dismissals, suspensions and even expulsion from the party. Party leaders usually handpicked leaders in all the existing party structures who only preach the ideas of the person that appointed and funds them.

It was observed that all political parties have in their constitutions well attended to these issues although the effort seem to be very effective only on paper. This was because in reality certain individuals who seem to be economically advantaged have dominated the political party leadership and to a certain extent the crafting and execution of party programmes. When it comes to selecting leaders who should actually lead the parties, it had been found that all the political parties in Zambia in their infant stages preach about democratic ways to be employed in choosing leaders and promise to hold elections through national conventions. However, very few live up to these promises to deliver a democratically elected party leadership.

In terms of candidate selection, there are strong tendencies towards centralisation, imposition of unpopular candidates, automatic nomination by the national secretariats and manipulation of rules and procedure. This is despite the fact that although most parties have clearly stipulated internal rules regulating the selection of party candidates in the party law, these are hardly adhered to. Further, concerning party conventions to choose leaders, it was established that they are hardly conducted in some political parties and when they are held, its usually close to general elections where party leaders use them to endorse already pre-selected presidential or parliamentary candidates. Party conventions are largely held contrary to the timeframes and procedures set in party constitutions. The findings show that in some cases, these conventions have been legally contested in court for being un-procedural such as ones that conducted by the PF in 2015, the MMD in 2016 and the yet to be held by the FDD. Neither the national constitution nor the party laws defines clearly enforceable procedures for conventions.

Finally, the study showed that the youth in Zambia face a range of economic, social, cultural, religious and political constraints in broad terms in their quest to become political party leaders at national level and that these constraints are at times mutually reinforcing. The constraints identified were that, there was centralised organisational structure and strong hierarchical culture in political parties with low number of youth who serve in the leadership positions as the older politicians occupy almost all leadership positions within the parties, even in the youth wing itself. The political parties also have less inclusive leadership selection processes. Secondly, the prevalence of political violence especially during either national or intra-party elections had impacted negatively on the youth to aspire for leadership positions in political parties especially women who were afraid of being involved or caught up in such violence.

Thirdly, the constitutional requirement of attaining Grade 12 certificate or better to be able to be allowed to contest in national elections, was putting off aspiring youth to take up active participation because choice of leaders in political parties was almost like selecting aspiring candidates. Further, the constitutional eligibility to contest certain leadership positions especially that of party president since the selection of a political party leader in Zambia was equivalent to selecting the party's presidential candidate should the party choose to field a candidate during elections and the constitutional age requirement was 35 years and above; the political parties do not usually consider the youth who were usually below that age for such positions and the youth themselves do not usually aspire for such positions.

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be accepted in political parties where the majority of the membership profess to be christians.

The personal limitation factors include lack of interest due to the fact that the satisfaction of the youth regarding the performance of politicians in Zambia was low and this scenario made them disinterested in politics and political leadership. This was due to the fact that the political landscape in Zambia was characterized by political hostility and shifting divisions between and within major parties as leaders scramble for influence and power. The lack of interest in getting involved in the political affairs was also due to the perception that politics was a “dirty game”. Lack of support and mentorship from older politicians to the youth in political parties was another constraint identified. Older politicians usually block the youth from taking up leadership positions for fear of losing their positions and they also do not motivate the youths to take up leadership roles therefore opportunities for the youth to do so do not exist. There is also lack of exposure and previous experience in leadership roles which affects the aspiration of the youth to take up leadership roles in political parties. Usually, the youth are often considered by the older party colleagues to lack sufficient competence and that their leadership was poorly developed, undisciplined and disorganised.

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generally lacked financial soundness as compared to older politicians who they compete with for those positions. This disadvantages the youth because even aspiring for a leadership position in political parties required utilisation of financial resources to campaign for the same. Additionally, the lack of personal confidence by the youth themselves and courage or have fear of the unknown to express themselves about what they want or about their rights and this worked to their disadvantage as they ultimately most of them do not even engage in politics or those in politics do not aspire for leadership in their political parties.

Meanwhile, with regard to the theoretical framework, this study reaffirmed the “iron law of oligarchy” theory, by Robert Michels as it clearly explained the hinderance of the youth from being national leaders of political parties in Zambia. The foregoing findings of the study confirms Michels’ theory. The theory claims that rule by an elite, or oligarchy, is inevitable as an "iron law" within any democratic organization as part of the "tactical and technical necessities" of organization. Michels' theory states that all complex organizations, regardless of how democratic they are when started, eventually develop into oligarchies. Michels observed that since no sufficiently large and complex organization can function purely as a direct democracy, power within an organization will always get delegated to individuals within that group, elected or otherwise.

8.3. Recommendations

8.3.1. Policy recommendations

As a result of the foregoing, the following are some of the measures that could enhance the participation of the youth in leadership of political parties in Zambia:-

- i. Introduction of youth parliament
- ii. Political party leaders need to come to terms with multidimensional processes of investing in the youth as an economic strategy. This would involve the creation of a healthy political leadership environment and succession cycle and maximizing on the numerous contributions generated by young people who form a very large population and hence have a hand in determining the present and future political course.

- iii. There is a need to create a safe space where there is equal participation in politics by youths. One such way, is through the formation of youth pressure groups that will provide checks and balances.
- iv. Another way to encourage the participation of young people in leadership of political parties, is to carry out vast civic education on the rights, responsibilities and the electoral power possessed by the youth. Knowledge of these will form a starting point in addressing the problems of poor participation of the youth in political leadership.
- v. The youth should also realize the power in their population to influence political leadership. The youth should then democratically seize this power and use it to ensure accountability in the political leadership.
- vi. Current political leaders should be encouraged to mentor the youth to take up political leadership roles in the political parties. This will fill the inter-generational gap in political leadership and ensure the smooth transition and succession of power in the parties. There must be a marriage between the old and new generations, which would allow for opportunities for youth to exercise their role and to work perpendicularly within a joint national framework.
- vii. The youth in their quest to escape the stereotypes of traditional societal norms and society's patriarchal nature, must take the reins of initiative into their hands in facing these norms. They must also push towards creating a youth project that is clear and integrated with the national program and with political action.
- viii. The government ensure to lay down laws and policies such as enactment of the Political Parties Act and to take affirmative action to ensure representation of the youth in political parties and government. This could take the form of reserving specific national leadership positions and seats in parliament and positions in government for the youth.
- ix. There must be a fight against the drop in the level of education and knowledge among youth in society. There must also be a push against the fundamental and religious practices in society in order to emerge with an enlightened perspective on contemporary issues having to do with modernity.
- x. Youth development programmes equipping young people with life skills and

self-confidence to take up leadership positions. This should also involve financial empowerment to raise the financial standing of the youth in society so that they possess the necessary resources to effectively participate in leadership of political parties.

- xi. Mechanisms of participation and representation should be put in place in which young people are selected to input into processes and represent their peers on decision-making bodies.
- xii. Nomination of party list members should be based on proportional representation and the youth should have the biggest share, being the largest sector of the population.
- xiii. Need to empower the office of the Registrar of Societies and the Electoral Commission to supervise and ensure the conduct of compulsory periodic democratic primary elections for political parties, which must be monitored by local independent observers. This will ensure that parties elect their presidential and parliamentary candidates transparently.

8.3.2. Areas for further research

Further research can be conducted to ascertain whether the participation of the youth in leadership of political parties could lead to the institutionalisation of political parties or consolidation of democratic tenets within political parties and governance in general. Additionally, further research can be conducted to explain whether lack of frequent leadership change enhances the chances of political parties to win elections or enables them to contract useful alliances at opportune times.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW GUIDE

Dear Respondent,

I am a student at the University of Zambia and currently undertaking research on factors that hinder participation of the youth in national leadership of political parties in Zambia. It is necessitated by recognition of the fact that Zambia is a multi-party democracy with many political parties in existence with a population that is predominantly young, but despite being the main support base for these political parties, the youth (18-35 years of age) are generally excluded from holding leadership positions at national level in these political parties. The exclusion of youth from leadership positions in political parties manifests itself at government level whenever a political party is elected into government. Opportunities for the youth to take up national leadership positions in the political parties are very few or non-existent posing a challenge to generational leadership change. Therefore, this research is aimed at establishing the factors that hinder participation of the youth in national leadership of political parties in Zambia.

Arising from the need to investigate the situation, I would like you to be part of this study by consenting to be interviewed and having this interview recorded for data analysis. Please note that even if you do agree to be part of this study you are at liberty to withdraw from this study at any time, without any pressure to provide reasons. I will also undertake all possible means to ensure that you are not disadvantaged by virtue of participating in this study. I also guarantee that any information revealed, either personal or professional will be regarded as absolutely confidential. You are assured that the information being provided in this interview will be purely used for academic purposes and treated with maximum confidentiality. Your cooperation, honesty, and objectivity will be highly appreciated.

Thank you in anticipation.

Section A

1.Date of interview.....

2. Name of Institution.....

3. Job title of the interviewee.....

Section B: Extent of youth participation in leadership

4. Do you think the youth should be involved as national leaders of political parties in Zambia?

1. Yes []

2. No []

a. If you agree, why?

b. If you do not agree, why?

5. Do you think the youth in Zambia aspire for leadership positions in political parties?

1. Yes []

2. No []

6. Are there youths who are leaders of political parties at national level (e.g President, Vice President, Secretary-General) that you are aware of?

1. Yes []

2. No []

a. If yes, what position(s) do they hold and from which political party(ies).

Section C: Candidate and Leadership selection

7. How are leaders selected in political parties in Zambia?

8. How often are leaders selected in political parties in Zambia?

9. Do youths in political parties get adopted for elective office such as MP or Councillor?

1. Yes []

2. No []

10. If yes, do you think the number of the youth adopted for elective office is adequately representative?

1. Yes []

2. No []

11. Are other members of the political parties receptive to the idea of the youth aspiring for national leadership positions in political parties in Zambia?

1. Yes []

2. No []

12. Do constitutions of political parties in Zambia provide for youth involvement in national leadership?

1. Yes []

2. No []

Section D: Constraints hindering the youth from leadership of political parties

13. What do you think are the reasons for the youth not being involved as the national leaders of political parties in Zambia?

14. For the reasons given above, how do you think they hinder the youth from being national leaders of your political parties in Zambia?

15. Are there measures that have been put in place in political parties to ensure that the youth ascend to national leadership positions?

- 1. Yes []
- 2. No []
- a. If not, why do you think this is so?
- b. If the answer is yes, what are the measures?
- c. If the answer is yes, do you think these measures a adequate to address the hindrance of the youth from leadership of political parties in Zambia?
 - 1. Yes []
 - 2. No []
- d. If not, what measures would you suggest?

Thank you for your cooperation.

APPENDIX B: RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear Respondent,

I am a student at the University of Zambia and currently undertaking research on factors that hinder participation of the youth (18-35) in national leadership of political parties in Zambia. The research is aimed at establishing the factors that hinder participation of the youth in national leadership of political parties in Zambia.

You have been selected for the research to answer the questions herein. You are assured that the information being provided in this questionnaire will be purely used for academic purposes and treated with maximum confidentiality. Your cooperation, honesty, and objectivity will be highly appreciated.

INSTRUCTIONS

- ❖ Do not indicate or write your name on this questionnaire.
- ❖ Please answer all the questions. If in doubt, seek clarifications from the representative who administered the questionnaire to you.
- ❖ Tick answers where appropriate and explain where necessary.

SECTION A: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. What gender are you?

1. Male

2. Female

2. What was your age at your last birthday?.....

3. What is your current level of education?

1. Below Grade 12

2. Grade 12

3. Certificate/Diploma []

4. 1st Degree and above []

4. What is your employment status?

1. Employed []

2. Not Employed []

3. Self-Employed []

5. Which type of residential area do you reside in?

1. Low density (e.g Kabulonga) []

2. Medium density (e.g Chelstone) []

3. High density (e.g Misisi) []

4. Rural (e.g Chongwe) []

Section B: Extent of youth participation in leadership

6. Which political party are you a member of?.....

7. What is your position in the party?.....

8. Do you think the youth should be involved as leaders of political parties in Zambia?

1. Yes []

2. No []

a. If you agree, why?.....

.....

b. . If you do not agree, why?.....

.....

9. Are there some youths who are leaders in your political party at national level (e.g President, Vice President, Chairperson, Secretary-General etc)?

1. Yes []

2. No []

a. If yes, what position(s) do they hold and from which political party(ies).....
.....

10. Do the youth aspire for leadership positions in your political party?

- 1. Yes []
- 2. No []

Section C: Candidate and Leadership selection

11. Are leaders appointed or elected in your political party?

- 1. Yes []
- 2. No []

12. How often are leaders selected in your political party?

.....
.....

13. Do youths in your political party get adopted for elective office such as MP or Councillor?

- 1. Yes []
- 2. No []

14. Are other members of the political party receptive to the idea of the youth aspiring for national leadership positions in your party?

- 1. Yes []
- 2. No []

15. Does your party constitution provide for youth involvement in national leadership of the party?

- 1. Yes []
- 2. No []

Section D: Constraints hindering the youth from leadership of political parties

16. What do you think are the reasons that hinder the youth from being the national leaders of your political party?.....
.....

17. For the reasons given in 16, how do you think they hinder the youth from being national leaders of your political party?.....
.....

18. Are there measures that have been put in place in your political party to ensure that the youth ascend to national leadership positions?

- 1. Yes []
- 2. No []

a. If not, why.....
.....
.....

b. If the answer is yes, what are the measures?.....
.....
.....

c. If the answer is yes, do you think these measures are adequate to address the hindrance of the youth from leadership of your political party?

- 1. Yes []
- 2. No []

19. What measures would you suggest to improve the participation of the youth as national leaders of political parties in Zambia?.....
.....
.....

Thank you for your cooperation.