A STUDY ON THE PARTICIPATION OF YOUNG PEOPLE
IN THE ELECTORAL PROCESS
IN LUSAKA DISTRICT

September 2018

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Unlike the adage that "young people are the leaders of tomorrow", young people are actually the leaders of today. The ability of young people to lead has been exhibited in Africa since time in memorial. Our own first republican president, Dr. Kenneth David Kaunda took over the leadership of the United National Independence Party (UNIP) at the age of 34, while Dr. Vernon J. Mwaanga at 25 years of age was the Zambia's Deputy High Commissioner to London and the following year, at the age of 26 was the Ambassador to Moscow. This was at the time of the Cold War. Currently, a young lady aged 30, Bogolo Joy Kenewendo is the Minister of Investment, Trade and Industry in Botswana. However, despite the recognition that young people can also take up the leadership just as much as the elderly, they have not been presented with these opportunities. Young people need to be encouraged and supported to express themselves and be able to adequately participate in democratic governance processes and in this case the electoral process.

The intention of this study is to investigate the factors which have an influence on the participation of young people in the electoral process. This is in consideration that, in comparison to the total number of young people in Zambia, only a few voted and very few participated in the 2016 General Election as candidates for the positions of mayor/council chairperson, councilor or Member of Parliament. It is hoped that from this study, measures will be taken to improve the participation of young people in the run-up to the 2021 General Election and an improvement in the number of them who vote.

This is a report on a study conducted by the Centre for Young Leaders in Africa (CYLA) under the Program for Young Politicians in Africa (PYPA) Alumni Project for 2018 in partnership with the Green Forum of Sweden. The purpose of the Alumni Project was to take advantage of the post -election period, to push for electoral reforms to enhance the participation of young people and promote an environment of inclusive politics.

This study was conducted by PYPA Alumni members through CYLA, who did not only collect and analyze the data but also wrote the report. We would like to thank them all but in particular we would like to thank Mbozi Tatila, Faston Nyirongo, Nawa Sitali, Daniel Sichilongo, Robinson Chipili, Tinashe Mazala and Gerald Chiluba for their commitment to the assignment.

We would also like to acknowledge and thank Micah L. Mvula for the programmatic support she provided throughout the study.

Furthermore, we would also like to thank the young people who were available to answer the questionnaire, the media both radio and television and key informants. The key informants included, Members of Parliament, Representatives from the Ministry of Youth, Sport and Child Development, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of National Development and Planning, and the Electoral Commission of Zambia. We further extend gratitude to the member political parties for their support. We would also like to thank the PYPA team particularly Anna Mate and Mariah Jacobson for their technical support.

Mulunga Jones Shimbela
Executive Director/Board Chairperson
September, 2018

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

7NDP	Seventh National Development Plan
ADD	Alliance for Democracy & Development
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
CDF	Constituency Development Fund
CYLA	Center for Young Leaders in Africa
ECZ	Electoral Commission of Zambia
FDD	Forum for Democracy and Development
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
Greens	Green Party
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
MMD	Movement for Multi-party Democracy
MOJ	Ministry of Justice
MP	Member of Parliament
NAREP	National Restoration Party
PF	Patriotic Front
PYPA	Program for Young Politicians in Africa
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	United nation Fund for Population Agency
UNIP	United National Independence Party
UPND	United Party for National Development
WDC	Ward Development Committee
ZCID	Zambia Centre for Interparty Dialogue

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. Introduction: This is a study conducted by the PYPA Alumni with the technical and financial support from the Program for Young Politicians in Africa (PYPA) under the auspices of the Centre for Young Leaders in Africa (CYLA). This study investigated the factors which influenced the participation of young people in the electoral process. The intention of this study is to obtain information which will be used in the design of strategies which will be used to improve the participation of young people in the run-up to the 2021 General Election as well as more young people voting.

2. Literature review: The literature reviewed indicates that a large percentage of Africa's population is composed of young people, Zambia inclusive. Despite young people comprising a large percentage of the population in Africa and Zambia in particular, they are not fully engaged in the electoral process. This is evidenced by the number of young people who took part and voted in the 2016 General Election and Referendum and participated as candidates at different levels (mayoral/councilor/member of parliament). The literature reviewed notes that there are limited opportunities for young people to engage in the electoral process due to the insufficient knowledge and that the political environment is not supportive for the participation of young people in the electoral process.

3. Methods of data collection and analysis: This study used both qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection. This was complimented by a review of literature. It also used social media platforms (FACEBOOK) and phone-in radio programmes as a means of obtaining qualitative data while a survey of young people was conducted to obtain quantitative data. The young people were selected using purposive sampling from ten areas located in ten constituencies in Lusaka district.

4. Research findings and discussion: The research findings indicate that young people interviewed do not know the electoral laws even though some have attended civic education activities. Most young people interviewed stated that in the electoral process, most of them participate during the campaign period in the preparation of rallies and as "foot solders". Most young people said they did not vote because voting did not bring any change to their lives. Most respondents thought that there were no election related activities after voting. Most young people interviewed were of the perspective that the institutions managing elections which include the Zambia Police Service, Electoral Commission Zambia and the Anti-Corruption Commission were not effective in ensuring that an appropriate environment for democracy is in place.

5. Conclusion and recommendations: In conclusion there is either limited access to information or misinformation on the electoral process especially during campaigns. Young people get information which does not assist them to make informed decisions on their participation in the electoral process. Further, young people do not find some politicians to be good role models and they have a concern that most young people learn "wrong things" from some of these politicians. The traditional means of communicating with the young people, that is through the road shows, bill boards, television adverts has not been effective. These aspects need to be improved to encourage young people to participate in the electoral process.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

This is a report on the study conducted by the PYPA Alumni to investigate the factors which influence young peoples' participation in the electoral process. This study was conducted in partnership with the Program for Young Politicians in Africa (PYPA) supported by Green Forum through the Swedish Embassy.

The study was conducted in Lusaka district of Lusaka province in Zambia. The aim of this study was to identify the gaps and barriers that contribute to the poor participation of youth's in electoral and political processes in Zambia.   Value obtained from this study is expected to be achieved through recommendations that can be utilized by CYLA and PYPA in developing better programs of youth engagement in democratic governance. The **main objectives** of this study are:
1. To investigate the level of awareness of the electoral process among young people.
2. To examine the participation of young people in the electoral process.
3. To find out the opinions of young people of electoral institutions,
4. To identify the key political issues affecting the participation of young people in the electoral process.

The **research questions** thus are the following:
1. What is the level of awareness of the electoral process among young people?
2. What are the determinants of participation of young people in the electoral process?
3. What are the opinions of young people of electoral institutions?
4. What are the key political issues affecting the participation of young people in the electoral process.

1.2 About the Centre for Young Leaders in Africa

The Centre for Young Leaders in Africa is a brainchild of young people in political parties who saw the need to create a platform for youth engagement. It was born from an initiative funded by the Swedish Government through the Green Forum under an initiative called, "The Program for Young Politician in Africa".

The Centre is a consortium of eight political parties. It is registered under the Companies Act as a Non-Governmental Organisation limited by guarantee. Its vision is "*to see a Zambia in which young political leaders are empowered to advance social transformation, peaceful co-existence and the consolidation of multiparty democracy*" while its mission is "*to empower young political leaders through provision of a non-partisan multiparty platform to dialogue, advocate and mobilize for self-development and social transformation through partnerships, capacity building and networking*".

1.3 Organization of the report

This report is presented in five chapters. Chapter One, presents the background for this study. Chapter Two presents the literature review while Chapter Three presents methods used in the collection, analysis of data and report writing. Chapter Four presents the results and the findings of the study. And the last chapter, Chapter Five which presents the conclusion of this study and the recommendations to improve on the participation of young people in the electoral process.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This chapter reviews literature on the participation of young people in the electoral process. It in the first place defines the key terms used in the study and then reviews studies on young people's participation in the electoral process in Africa and in Zambia in particular.

2.1 Definition of key terms

2.1.1 Defining a young person

For the purposes of this study, the terms young person and youth will be used. The age of youth is defined differently between the United Nations and African Union. The United Nations[1] defines a young person as being of the age between 15 and 25 while for the purpose of this study, a youth is defined as a male or female person aged between 15 and 35 years, in line with Zambian policy and the African Youth Charter.

2.1.2 Defining the electoral process

An electoral process are a set of stages which determines how elections and referendum are conducted and how results are determined. These stages should be accessible to all citizens to ensure credible and democratic election. This process is important as it links the citizens of Zambia to how their leaders are democratically elected. The electoral process thus set out the mechanism of accountability, representation and political liability.
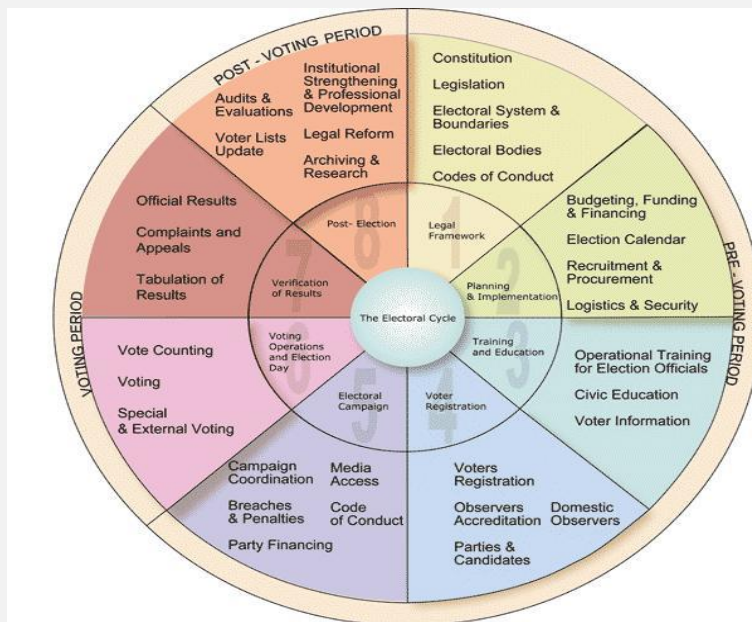
Figure 1: The Electoral Cycle

Figure 1[2] illustrates that the Electoral Cycle is divided into three components. The first is the Pre-voting period which includes the review of legislation supporting elections, voter education and registration and electoral campaigns. The second component is the voting period which encompasses the actual voting, vote counting and announcement of results and the post-voting period which includes the review of the elections and recommendations on how to improve the electoral process.

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[1] http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/youth/youth-definition/
[2] Sisk, T,D, (2017) **Elections, Electoral Systems and Party Systems: A Resource Guide**, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, Stockholm.

2.1.3 Defining democratic governance

Democratic Governance is defined as "… the traditions and institutions by which authority in a country is exercised for the common good. This includes

  (i)   the process by which those in authority are selected, monitored and replaced,
  (ii)   the capacity of the government to effectively manage its resources and implement sound policies, and
  (iii)   the respect of citizens and the state for the institutions that govern economic and social interactions among them"[3]

2.2 Population of young people

Africa has the youngest population globally, with people under the age of 35 years accounting for 65 percent of the total population[4]. Zambia, today's record **stands at 4.8 million** young people aged 15-35 [36.7% of Zambia's population] - the largest population of young people in its history - presenting an enormous opportunity to transform the future of the country[5].

2.3 Importance of participation of young people

Abraham Lincoln viewed democracy as a "*government of the people, by the people, for the people.*" By this he meant that there must be full participation and involvement of "the people" in order to achieve democracy. Based on this perspective it can be argued that a system of government owes its legitimacy to the role that its citizens play in its election and the carrying out of its duties. Thus, in a truly inclusive democratic society, everyone must be involved in the political process.

In Africa a large segment of the population remains marginalized, especially the young people[6]. This is in contrast to other parts of the world where young people have played a vital role in elections. In Africa, institutional and policy constraints have hindered young peoples' involvement in the democratic process[7]. Young people have long represented an important constituency for electoral mobilization in Africa. Today, as the region faces a growing "youth bulge" that is disproportionately burdened by unemployment and underemployment, electoral violence is rife[8]. The votes of young people are becoming more important than ever before. However, the participation of young people in the electoral process is mainly limited to be used as "cadres" in elections and do not have significant leadership positions in the political parties or in government nor are there opportunities provided for them to excel in their lives.

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[3]Definition of governance according to the World Bank

[4] AU, African governance architecture Youth engagement strategy on Democratic governance 2016–2018 (draft), Addis Ababa, Ethiopia,

[5] Muzira T, Njelesani M.C, Zulu J.J, (2013), The condition of young people: Signature Issues # 2. United Nations Country Team.

[6] Santos, Boaventura de Sousa (2005): Democratizing Democracy: Beyond the Liberal Democratic Canon. Verso: London and New York.

[7] UNDP (2010), Youth, Political Participation and decision making

www.un.org/esa/socdev/documents/youth/fact-sheets/youth-political-participation accessed 18/09/2018.

[8] Danielle R and Daniela C (2011). The Political Participation of Africa's Youth Turnout, Partisanship, and Protest; Working Paper No. 2011/56. United Nations University-WIDER Helsinki; Finland.

2.4 Participation of young people in the electoral process

<u>Knowledge of the electoral process</u>: It was concluded in a report that most young people in Zimbabwe had little knowledge on the whole process of elections[9]. The authors noted that most young people were not aware of the need for confirming their names in the voters' role before elections despite this being a requirement they could not afford to ignore. In a similar study which was conducted in Kabwe, Zambia, young people when asked on the key steps in the electoral process 42 percent were able to mention one or two stages and these included; the pre-election, election[10].

<u>Voter education</u>: Voter education is imperative in the conduct of democratic elections and that citizens should be informed in order to make rational decisions. It is difficult for young people to effectively participate in the electoral process when they do not know of the process. Most young people in Zimbabwe did not know the role of citizenship registration in the electoral process. They did not even know that voter registration was open every day during working days even if there are no elections to be held[11].

The Electoral Commission of Zambia in 2011 made deliberate efforts to increase young people to register as voters through broader civic education campaigns and voter education messages targeted to first-time young voters. However, only 50.1% of the total voters registered were young people, a decline from 2006 when 54.4 % young people registered to vote. This decline may indicate a level of apathy or disinterest among young voting age citizens in the political processes of today[12].

Considering the importance of the electoral process, it should be part of the school curriculum. In United States of America, a mock polling station are prepared and young people below voting age practice going to cast their votes so that when they reach voting age they will know how to vote[13]. Another case is that in South Africa, the Electoral Commission established a National Youth Dialogue on Electoral Democracy. This was a forum for youths to voice their concerns and opinions, and as a result election dates were changed so that they cannot coincide with school days to enable youths to vote[14].

<u>Voter registration</u>: For a young person to vote, they must register with the independent electoral commission. To do this one needs to produce citizenship identity documents in the case of Zambia the National Registration Card (NRC). In a study conducted in Zambia, most young people complained that NRCs were not easy to obtain due to many requirements. Therefore, for one to be able to participate in election, the government should make it easier to get an NRC[15].

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[9] Guzara T, Dube D, Madziwanzira P. Youth participation in Zimbabwean Electoral Processes. Journal of politics and Governance. Volume 6. No. 1 March 2017 pp. 11 – 23.

[10] Restless Development, BBC Media Action, the Queen Young Leaders (2016), Ishiwi – The Voice, A Baseline Study Report, Kabwe.

[11] Guzara T, Dube D, Madziwanzira P. Youth participation in Zimbabwean Electoral Processes. Journal of politics and Governance. Volume 6. No. 1 March 2017 pp. 11 – 23.

[12] Muzira T, Njelesani M.C, Zulu J.J, (2013), **The condition of young people: Signature Issues # 2**. United Nations Country Team.

[13] IDEA, (2010) BRIDGE Project (1992-2010): -Building Resources In Democracy, Governance and Elections. Stockham: Sweden

[14] Independent Electoral Commission (2014) IEC Annual Report 2014.Election Commission of South Africa www.elections.org.za accessed 20/09/2015

[15] Vicente P.C and Wantchekon L., Clientelism and Vote Buying: Lessons from Field Experiments in African Elections, April 2009 http://www.iig.ox.ac.uk/output/articles/OxREP/iiG-OxREP-VicenteWantchekon.pdf

There is also a concern that time frame given for voter registration was too minimal, in most cases the electoral commission opened for registrations few months towards elections. Be that as it may, voter registration exercise should be done anytime towards or after elections. However, ECZ gives reasons of lack of resources financially and human capital[16].

Young people are mobile that means they can change constituency at any time. It would however be much easier for young people to participate in electoral processes if the processes would be done online. Taking for instance, voter registration they point out that once one got his or her national identity card should be automatically to enter in the voter's roll[17].

Differences between young people in political parties and those who are not: Young people in political parties are vibrantly participating in youth structures such as youth leagues in mobilizing support in rallies, door to door and road-show campaigns. Given the fact that, electoral campaign is part of electoral processes, one is bound to agree that young people in political parties participate more in the electoral process than those who are not. Another form of participation mainly among young people in political parties is that some are appointed as electoral agents by their candidates during elections[18].

The active participation of young people in their parties during elections and the level of their involvement in governance after elections, however, does not tally. It means that young people are used by party candidates to win an election and after that nothing will be done for them[19]. In a study done in Kenya, young people only participate in political activities when KANU recruited them into the KANU Youth Wingers, an unstructured organization composed of stone throwers, hecklers, and young people engaged in anti-social behavior[20]. This is a concern which most young people also have in Zambia as participation in the electoral process is affected by the fear of violence especially when it is perceived that nothing was done to the perpetrators of the violence[21].

Election promises: It is common for party manifestos to state the creation of jobs for young people without showing how. The absence of youth centered sections in Manifestos is a proof that young people are used by political parties to win election[22]. In a case from Ghana, electoral outcomes are abound but little has been written about the contributions of party manifestos to shaping the electoral behavior of young people. The authors' further notes that parties did not do much to inform their young supporters of the contents of their manifestos.

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[16] Bratton, M., & Houessou, R. (2014). Demand for democracy is rising in Africa, but most political leaders fail to deliver. Afrobarometer Policy Paper No. 11. http://www.afrobarometer.org/publications/pp11-demand-democracy-rising-africa-mostpolitical-leaders-fail-deliver.

[17] [17] Guzara T, Dube D, Madziwanzira P. Youth participation in Zimbabwean Electoral Processes. Journal of politics and Governance. Volume 6. No. 1 March 2017 pp. 11 – 23.

[18] Guzara T, Dube D, Madziwanzira P. Youth participation in Zimbabwean Electoral Processes. Journal of politics and Governance. Volume 6. No. 1 March 2017 pp. 11 – 23.

[19] Dodo O (2012), "Youth Unemployment and the Question of Insurgency: A Case of Zimbabwe." International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Vol. 2 No. 13

[20] Imoite J (2007), Youth Participation in Kenyan Politics: Challenges and Opportunities; in Youth and Politics in Conflict Context; Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD)-People, Kenya: 2000

[21] [21] Muzira T, Njelesani M.C, Zulu J.J, (2013), **The condition of young people: Signature Issues # 2**. United Nations Country Team.

[22] Guzara T, Dube D, Madziwanzira P. Youth participation in Zimbabwean Electoral Processes. Journal of politics and Governance. Volume 6. No. 1 March 2017 pp. 11 – 23.

2.4 International conventions

International conventions give impetus to young peoples' participation in government and governance issues. Zambia is a signatory to international conventions that promote young people's participation in democratic processes. These conventions form the basis for young peoples' participation in electoral processes. These include the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) Article 21 which codified everyone's "right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through free chosen representatives. Further, in 1996, the UN General Assembly adopted the World Programme of Action for Youth to the Year 2000 and beyond, which is still an international benchmark document concerning youths. Priority 10 is concerned with the "full and effective participation of youth in the life of society and in decision-making

In 2006 the African Union passed the African Youth Charter. Article 11 on youth participation which specifies that every young person has the right to participate in all spheres of society. Zambia who is a signatory agreed to: "*guarantee the participation of youth in parliament and other decision-making bodies in accordance with the prescribed laws; Facilitate the creation or strengthening of platforms for youth participation in decision-making at local, national, regional, and continental levels of governance,*"

2.5 Electoral laws and the participation of young people

Zambia reviewed and then repealed various pieces of legislation meant to improve the conduct of elections. Primarily, the Government amended the Constitution and this introduced various provisions, which changed the requirements and the conduct of elections in Zambia.

2.4.1 Constitutional amendments
The major changes in the Amended Constitution of 2016 comprised new educational qualifications for candidates, the number of supporters required at nomination of a candidate, and how the President and Mayors are elected. With the Presidential election, the winning candidate must receive more than fifty per cent of valid votes cast and must having a running mate. 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. Further, the Amended Constitution of 2016 provides that a general election shall be held, every five years after the last general election, on the second Thursday of August.

2.4.2 Subsidiary legislation
Subsidiary legislation on the electoral process is prescribed in the Electoral Process Act No. 35 of 2016 and the Electoral Commission Act No. 25 of 2016. The Electoral Process Act No. 35 of 2016. Article 113 (1) gives ECZ the mandate to constitute conflict management committees for the purposes of dealing with elections related conflicts. The Act under Article 113 explicates the functions and the membership of the committees. The Act appreciates the need for a collaborative approach to conflict management. Deriving its power from Article 110 (2), the Commission has cascaded the responsibility to disqualify political party or candidates who breach the code of conduct to the committees. In this sense, the committees are only allowed to recommend to the Commission for disqualification of any party or candidate who breaches the code of conduct[23]. Other pieces of legislation, which had an influence on the 2016 General Elections and Referendum, were the Penal Code Act No. 5 of 1972 (as amended) and the Public Order Act No. 10 of 1959 (now No. 30 of 1996 as amended).

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[23] Adapted from Electoral Commission of Zambia, Post-Election Review of the Electoral Dispute Resolution Mechanism in Zambia. Supported by the UNDP Support to Electoral Cycle in Zambia Project, March 2017.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODS OF STUDY

The study first conducted a desk review of various studies related to the participation of young people in democratic governance and in particular the electoral process and then used a combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches to collect data. These are discussed in detail below.

3.1 Literature review

Literature review preceded and anchored the field data collection for this evaluation. The documents included studies conducted in Africa and in particular Zambia on the participation of young people in democratic governance and in particular the electoral cycle. Other documents reviewed were the policy and legislation supporting the participation of young people in the electoral cycle.

3.2 Primary data collection

3.2.1 Qualitative data collection

Two qualitative methods were used in the collection of primary data. These include interviews with key informants, interacting with the young people on social media (FACEBOOK) and phone-in radio and television programmes.

Interviews with key informants: Key informants were purposively selected based on their role in the electoral process. This was to get one on one in-depth discussion on youth participation from different points of view. All key informant interviews were conducted by the CYLA Team. The key informants were from Ministry of Justice (5), Ministry of Youth, Sports and Child Development (2), Electoral Commission (4), Ministry of National Development and Planning (1), Foundation for Democratic Process (1) Governance Elections Advocacy and Research Services (1) and member political parties.

Use of Facebook: Facebook as a social media was used to obtain perspectives of young people on the electoral process. The Facebook page was designed only to interact with young people in Zambia between the ages of 18 and 35 years. A total of 1, 028 respondents were recorded.

Radio and Television programmes: A total of four phone-in radio (UNZA Radio, ZNBC Radio 2, Pan African and Christian Voice) and three television (MUVI TV 1, Q TV 1 and ZNBC TV 1) programmes were conducted. These were used to interact and get perspectives of young people on their participation in the electoral process. The recordings from both the radio and the television programmes were transcribed and themes were obtained as qualitative data.

3.2.2 Quantitative Data Collection:

The sample size and sampling procedure: A questionnaire was applied to a sample of young people in Lusaka districts. The sample size was 350 and was divided by 7 constituencies which translated to 50 respondents per constituency. Within the Constituency, a two staged sampling process was conducted.

1. The first step was to select the Ward and then secondly, within the Ward select a Section where 38 young people were purposively sampled.
2. The Ward and the Sections within each constituency was randomly selected by the CYLA Research Team. The names of the ward per constituency were put in a box and randomly selected.
3. Once the ward was selected, it was delineated into sections in which one was randomly selected.

4. The young people were purposively selected in each Section from the public places such as along the road, the shops and the churches.

Table 1: List of constituencies/wards/areas where the young people were sampled from.

	Constituency	Ward	Area
1.	Kabwata	Libala	Libala Stage One
2.	Kanyama	Ward 10	Makeni Villa
3.	Mandevu	Roma Ward 7	Chipata/Roma
4.	Matero	Kapwepwe Ward 25	Matero
5.	Munali	Mutedere/Chainda	Kaunda Square/Chudleigh/chainda
6.	Lusaka Central	Bauleni	Nyumba Yanga
7.	Chawama	John Howard	John Haward

Data collection tools: A questionnaire was designed to obtain quantitative data. Pre-testing was done to ensure reliability and validity of the questions. The questionnaire was designed based on the one used for the baseline study for enabled comparison.

3.3 Research Assistants selection and trainings

Seven (7) PYPA Alumni members were engaged as Research Assistants to assist with quantitative primary data collection. Each Research Assistant collected data from one constituency. A two day orientation of the Research Assistants was conducted. The focus of this orientation was to answer the following questions:
1) What is the purpose of the research?
2) What are the responsibilities of the researchers and those of the Research Assistants?
3) How do we conduct the data collection and what tools do we use?

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3.4 Analysis of data

The qualitative data was analyzed manually using content and themes. From the information recorded in each discussion, major and sub-themes were developed that were conducted with a view to gaining deeper insights into the subject matter while quantitative data analysis used SPSS to generate descriptive statistics. The statistics which were used were percentages.

3.5 Ensuring data quality

Quality of data collected was improved by daily meetings between the researchers and Research Assistants to correct errors. Daily reviews of the interviews with informants were also a means of improving the quality of data collected. The quality of data collected from media programmes was also improved by reviewing the programmes every time they aired.

3.6 Ethical issues

The study took into consideration the following ethical issues:
1) *Voluntary participation.* Participants had the right to retract participation during the data collection period if they felt that their participation could cause them harm.
2) *Informed consent.* Informed Consent of the intended respondents was obtained in writing.
3) *Privacy or Anonymity.* To preserve anonymity in this research, participants remained nameless. Their identities are protected from disclosure and remain unknown.
4) *Confidentiality.* For this purpose, this research has presented data only in aggregate form.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents and discusses the findings from the study taking into consideration the research questions.

4.1 Background of the respondents

4.1.1 Sex of the respondents

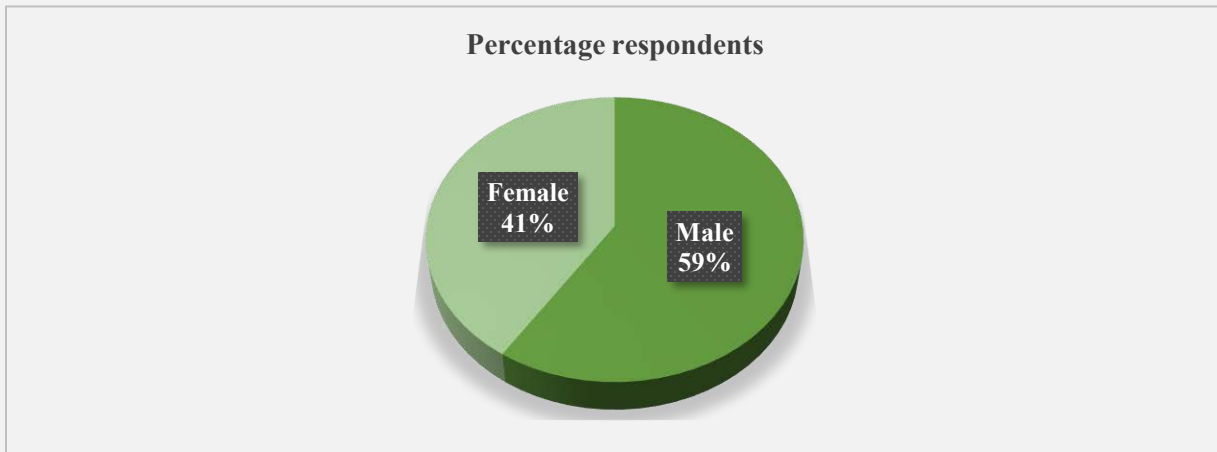Figure 2: Sex of the respondents

Source: Field Data Collection (N = 350)

As indicated in Figure 2, 59% of respondents were male an only 41% were female. Three key informants noted that although women are more than men in numbers, they are fewer who participate in politics due to social, religious and economic reasons. Key informants went on to say that most young women did not want to participate in political activities because they did not want to be considered as "*prostitutes*".

4.1.2 Age of respondents

Figure 3: Age of respondents.

Most (46%) of the young people interviewed were of the ages 18 to 25 years and as illustrated in Figure 3, 28% were in the ages 26 – 35 years and 26% were in the ages 15 – 17 years.

Age is a determinant of participation in politics. Persons below the age of 18 years are mostly in school and are also not eligible to vote while those in the ages 18 to 25 years are the ones who are political cadres and involved in violence.
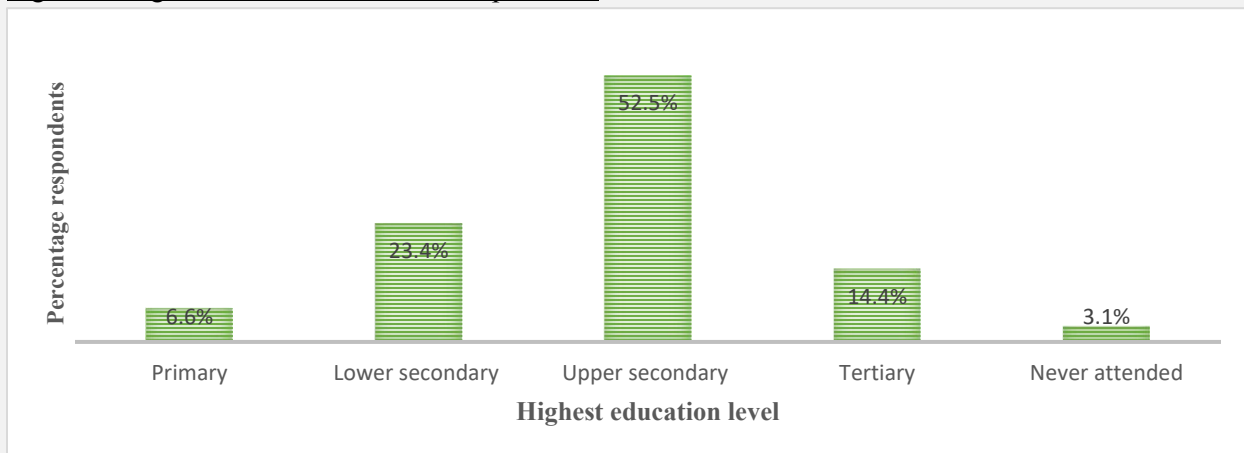
4.1.3 Place of residence

Among the respondents 59.0% were in the medium density areas such as Libala in Kabwata Constituency, 25.6% were in the low density areas such as Woodlands in Lusaka Central Constituency and 15.4% were from high density areas such as Mutendere in Munali Constituency.

The place of residence has an influence on access to information. In the words of one key informant, "most political rallies are held in the high density areas because politicians believe that is where they will get a lot of votes. Those in the low density areas depend so much on social media"

4.1.4 Highest educational level of respondents

Figure 4: Highest educational level of respondents

Source: Field Data Collection (N = 350)

Most respondents (52.5%) had upper secondary school education while 23.4% had lower secondary school education. A total of 14.4% had tertiary education and 6.6% had primary education as their highest educational level. Only 3.1% had not attended any formal education.
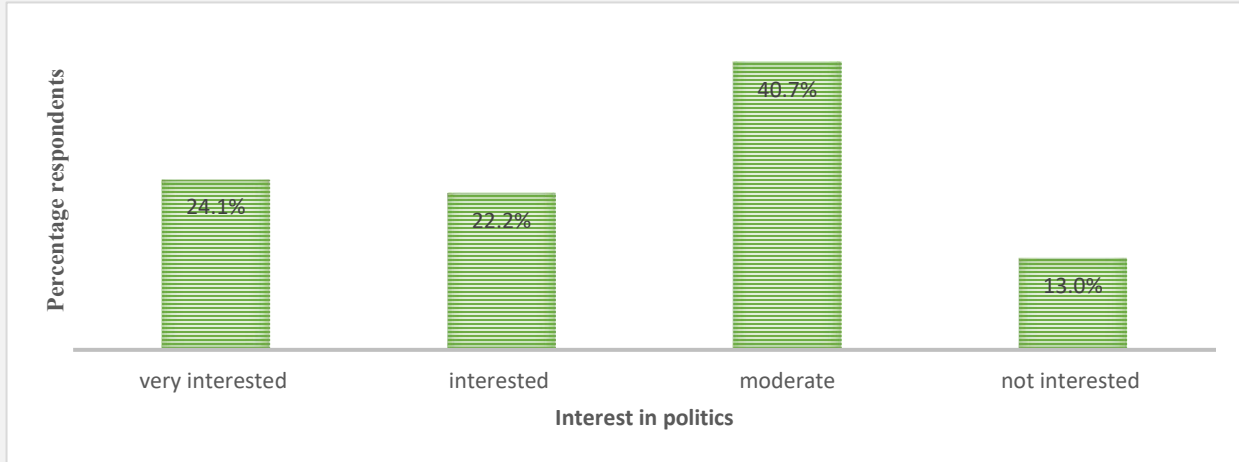
During the phone-in radio programmes, some callers noted that the level of political violence which is being perpetuated by cadres who most of them are young people is as a result of limited education. The level of education plays out in two ways, in the first place at most young people have no secondary education and they cannot find employment and secondly as in the words of one key informant, they do not understand the essence of politics and thus can easily be used by some politicians.

4.1.5 Occupation of the respondent

Most (46.7%) respondents were unemployed while 32.2% were employed or being self-employed in shops, barber shops, managing internet cafes or working in bars. The rest of the respondents, 21.1% were in-school young people at lower or upper secondary school.

4.1.6 Interest in politics

Figure 4: Interest of the respondents in politics

Source: Field Data Collection (N = 350)

Most respondents (40.7%) had a moderate interest in politics while 24% and 22.2% respectively were very interested and interested in politics. Only 13.0% of the respondents stated that they were not interested in politics. Most respondents stated that they were interested in politics because it affected their lives.

Although the survey of the young people indicates that most of them have an interest in politics, most key informants stated that "*the problem is that most young people only know how to drink beer and playing, this is why we avoid them. When young people are asked to come for political meetings, they will ask you, how much are you going to give us?*"

4.2 Electoral registration and delimitation of constituencies
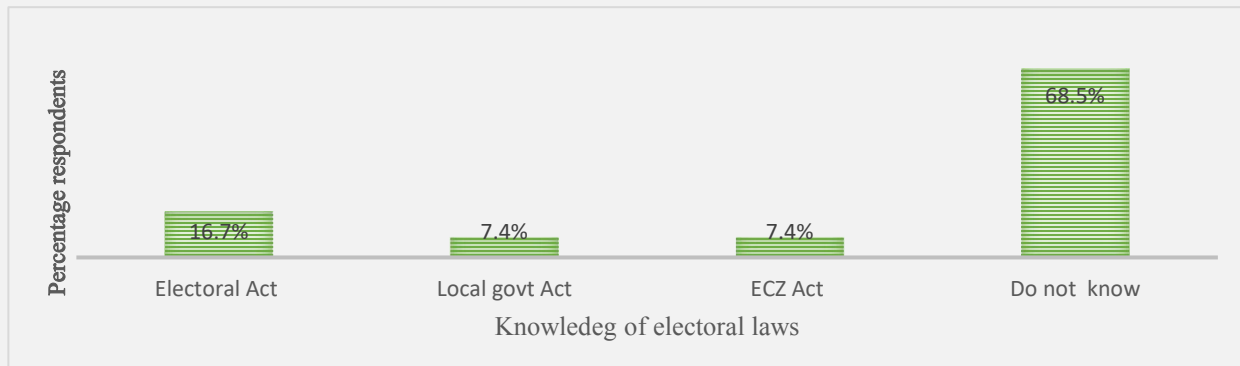
4.2.1 Respondents knowledge of electoral laws

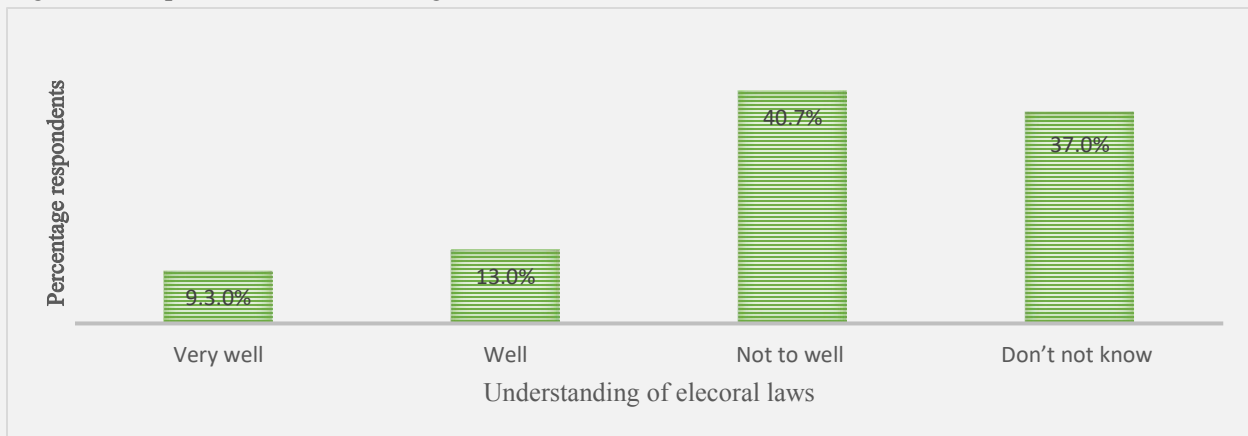Figure 5: Respondents knowledge of electoral laws

Source: Field Data Collection (N = 350)

Among the respondents, most (68.5%) of them had no knowledge of any electoral laws. Among the 31.5% who had knowledge of electoral laws, 16.7% had knowledge of the Electoral Act while 7.4% had knowledge of the Local Government Act and another 7.4 had knowledge of the ECZ Act.

As indicated in these findings, most young people do not know the existence of laws which govern the electoral process. Thus there is need for more concerted effort to ensure that young people are in a position to know the sources of the procedures and practices of the electoral process. In the words of one caller during a phone-in programme "*how do you expect the young people to stop election related violence if they do not even know the Electoral Code of Conduct and what it provides*".

4.2.2 Understanding of electoral laws
Figure 6: Respondents understanding of electoral laws

Source: Field Data Collection (N = 108)

Among the 31.5% of respondents who had knowledge of the electoral laws, 40.7% did not know the laws too well while 37.0% had only heard of the electoral laws but did not know any of the contents. Figure 6 illustrates that 13.0% knew the electoral laws well and only 9.3% said they knew the electoral laws very well.

Therefore the results show that there is little understanding of the electoral laws. Successful voter education will ensure that young people have the knowledge which will enable them to be ready and willing to participate fully in the election process as part of the democratic processes. Voter education is essential to ensuring young people are well-informed and can effectively exercise their voting rights and express their political will on Election Day.

4.2.3 Access to civic education and main sources of information
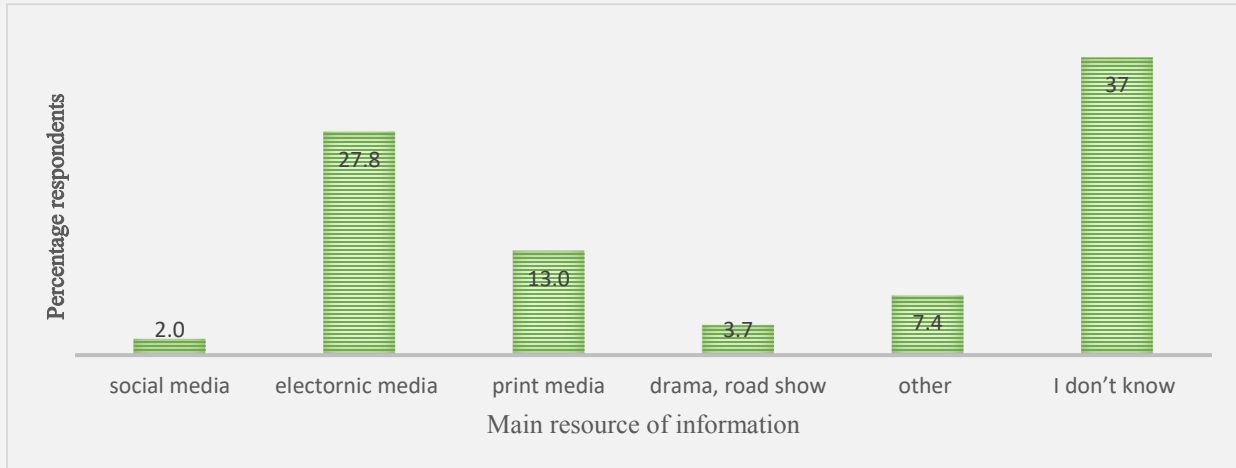

Figure 7: Main source of information

Source: Field Data Collection (N = 350)

A total of 48.1% compared to 42.6% had participated in a civic education activity conducted either by ECZ or by a particular CSO. However, when asked which their main source of information was, most (27.8%) of the respondents mentioned electronic media, meaning radio and television while 13.0% stated print media and in particular newspaper.

Among the respondents, 7.4% mentioned that their main source of information were billboards, flyers, community conversations and from friends and relatives. Figure 7 indicates that very few (2.0%) respondents stated that social media was their main source of information. There was no response from 37% of the respondents. Although a lot of young people are on social media such as Whatsapp or Facebook, most of them use them on other things than gaining information on politics and the electoral process.

4.3 Registration of voters and Candidate nomination

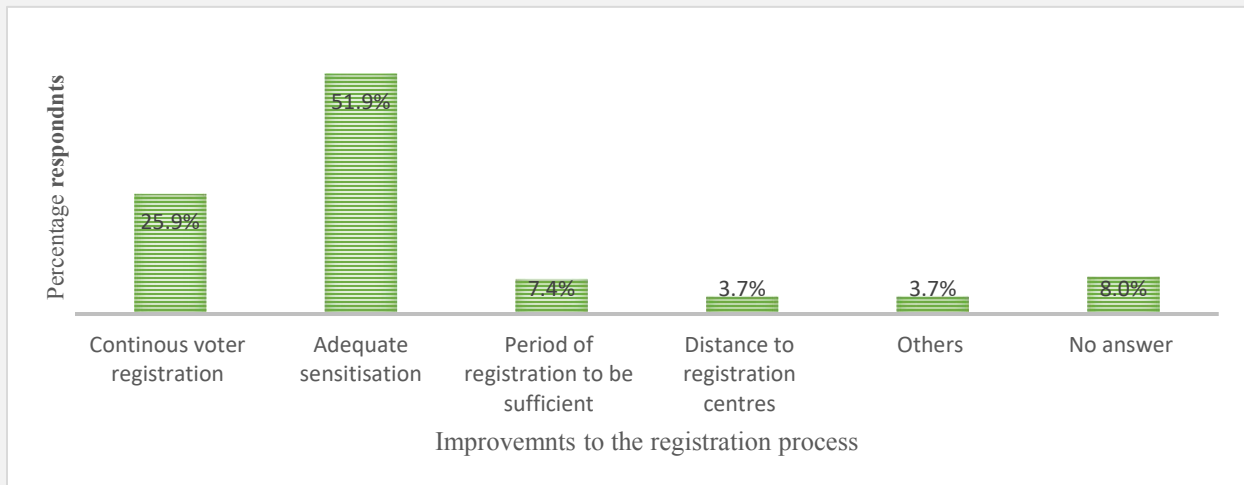### 4.3.1 Registration as voters

Figure 8: Registration as voters.

Most respondents (63.0%) stated that they had registered as voters while 37.0% said they did not. Among those who did not register as voters, the reasons they gave as tabulated in Figure 8 below. 25.9% stated that they did not qualify to vote because they were too young or that they did not have an NRC.

A total of 20.4% said that they did not register to vote because they were not interested while 16.7% said that the registration centre was too far. There was no response from 37.0% among those who had not registered as voters.

4.3.2 Improving the registration process

Figure 9: Improvements to the registration process

The young people interviewed stated that there was need to improve on the registration process for them to be voters. Most (51.9%) of them stated that the period of sensitization that the registration process has started was too short and that most young people did not know about it.
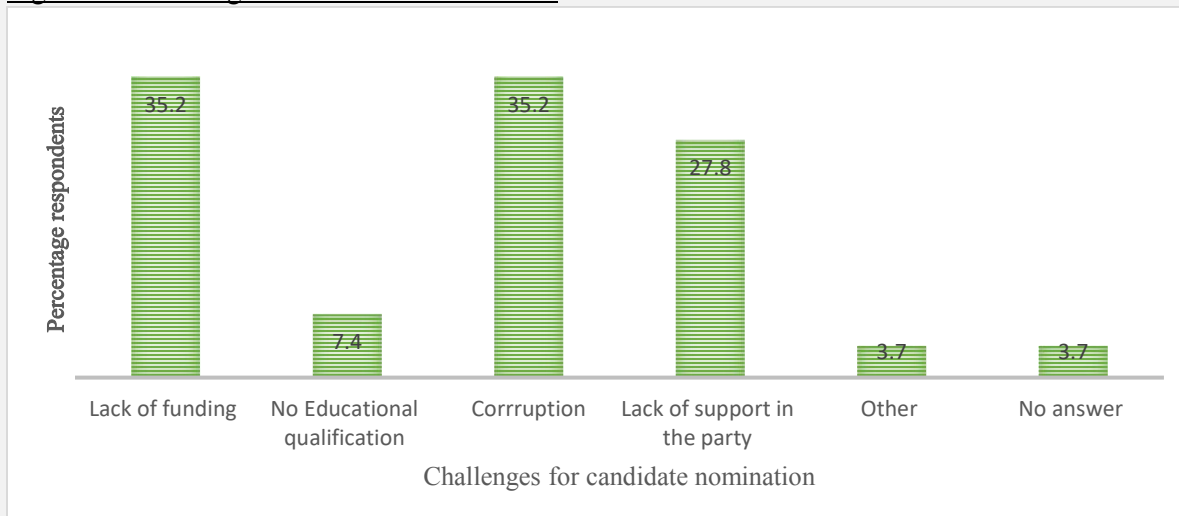
A total of 25.9% said that there was need for continuous voter registration. In the words of one respondent "*a person attains the voting age everyday but they cannot even vote during a by-election*". Figure 9 gives the details of the responses. Key informants and callers in the phone-in radio and television programmes noted that the challenges with voter registration were that a lot of young people did not vote in the last election because they were not able to register as they did not have national registration cards (NRC). This was because there was no harmonization between the National Registration and the ECZ to ensure that eligible voters had timely access to NRC.

4.3.3 Young people participation in the nomination process
The key informants noted that because nominations are at the district level for Mayoral/council chairperson candidates, at the Constituency level for the National Assembly candidates, and at the Ward level for Local Government Councilor election candidates, provides an opportunity for young people as they do not have to incur a lot of costs and being able to get supporters. However, during the survey of young people, the following challenges were identified.
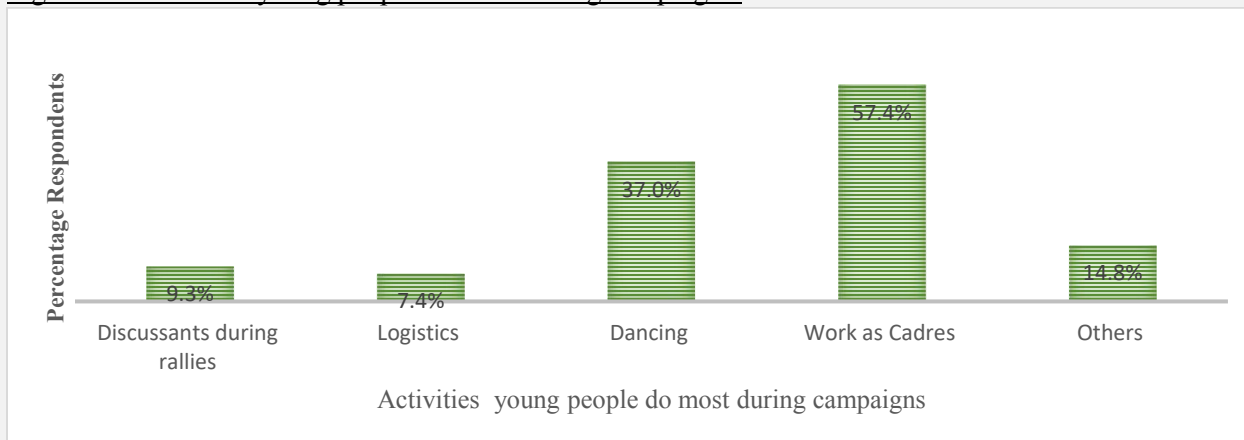
The main challenges young people find in being nominated as candidates at the mayoral/council secretary, councilor and member of parliament was that of corruption (35.2%) and lack of funding (35.2%), the political party hardly supports young people (27.8%) the others are that of lack of the required educational qualification (Grade 12 or its equivalent). Figure 10 provides the details.

Figure 10: Challenges to candidate nomination

4.4 Youth participation during campaign period

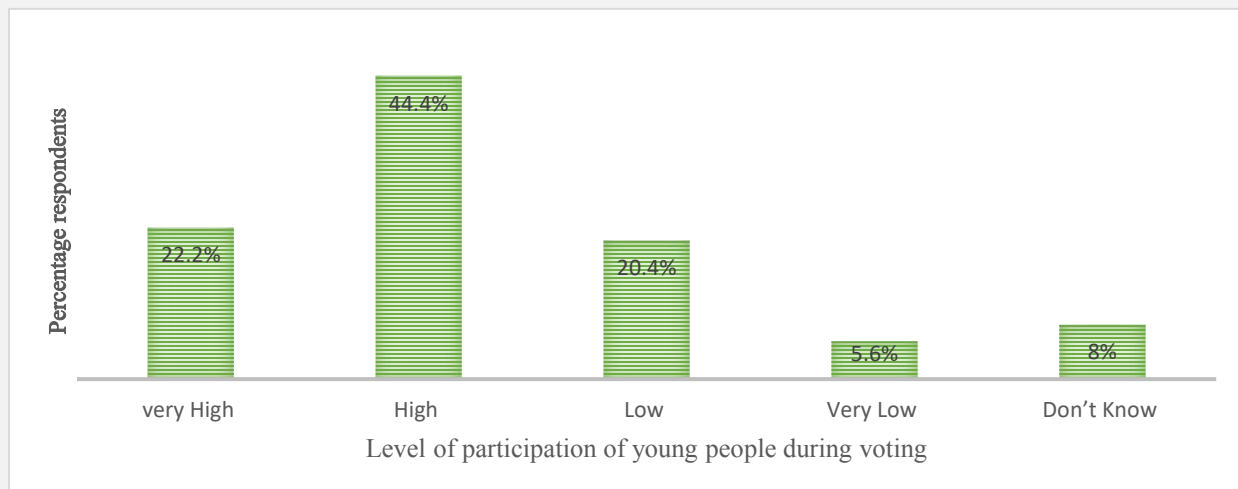Figure 11: Activities young people do most during campaigns.

Source: Field Data Collection (N = 350)

The respondents (57.4%) stated that most young people during campaigns are involved as cadres while 37.0% said most young people are used as dancers for elderly politicians. Figure 11 noted that the respondents (9.3%) said that young people are used as discussants during rallies and 7.4% said that young people were used to organize logistics. A total of 14.8% said young people during campaigns were involved in voter education and election observation.

4.5 Youth participation in voting

4.5.1 Level of participation of young people voting
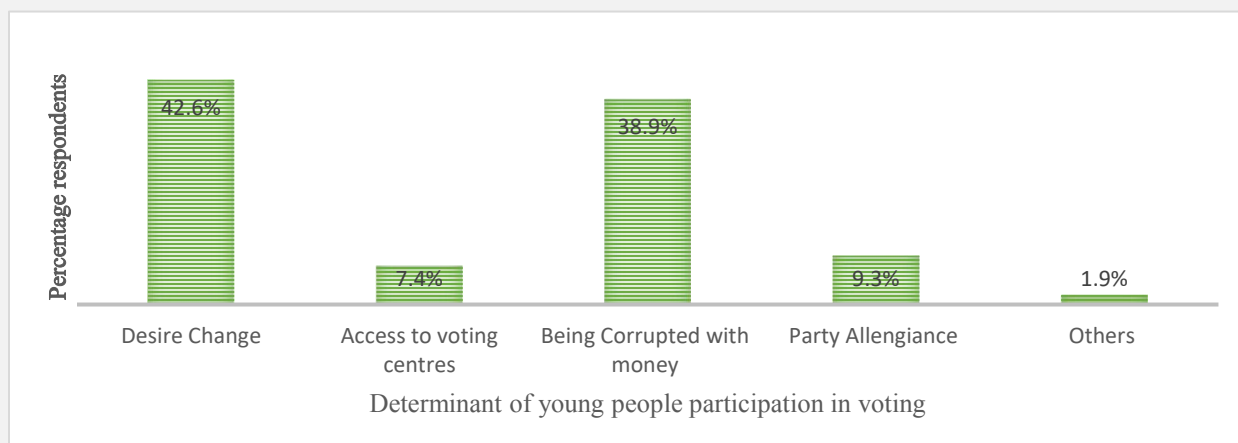Figure 12: Level of participation of young people in voting

Source: Field Data Collection (N = 350)

 Most (44.4%) respondents stated that the level of participation of young people during voting was high while 22.2% said it was very high. They stated that young people were involved especially in election observation during the voting, the counting and announcement of results. As stated by some key informants "*have you ever seen an elderly people working as an election observer in a polling station, all of them are young people*". However, 20.4% of the respondents stated that the participation of young people in the voting was low and 5.6% said it was very low. On the other side, key informants noted that young people on voting day were in the fore-front of perpetuating violence especially when they notice that their party or candidate is not winning.

4.4.2 Determinants of young people participation in voting
Figure 13: Determinants of young people participation in voting

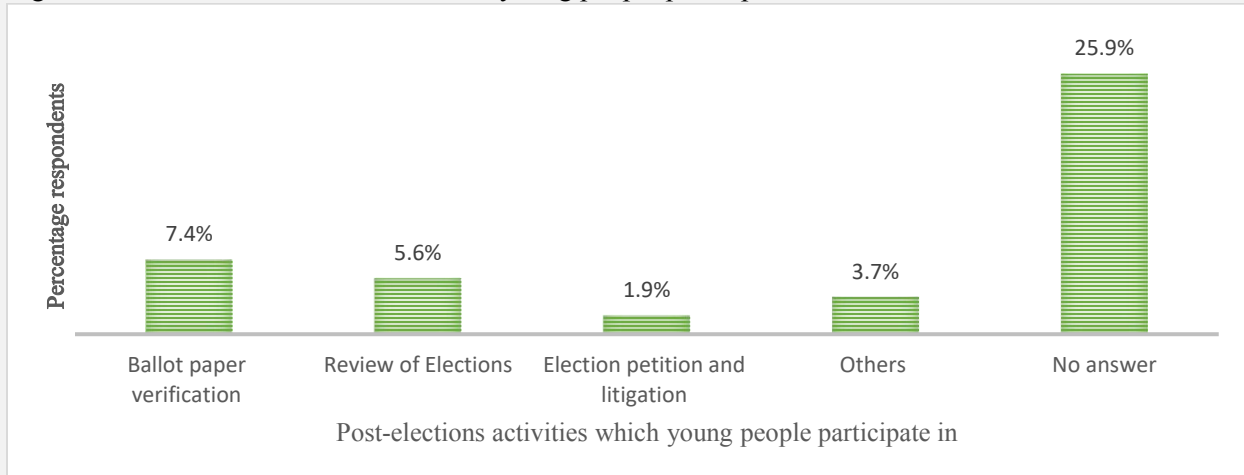Source: Field Data Collection (N = 350)

It was stated by 42.6% of respondents that the reason young people participated in voting was their desire for change in the governance of the country while 38.9% stated that the only reason young people participated in voting was that they had been given or promised money. Among the young people surveyed, 9.3% said young people participated in voting due to party allegiance. Figure 13 provides the details on the distribution of responses.

4.6.1 Youth participation in post-election Activities
Half of the respondents (50%) said that although they knew about the post-election activities, they did not participate in any of them while 35.2% said that they thought that elections ended with voting. Only 15.7% said that they participated in post-election activities.

Figure 14: Post-elections activities which young people participate in.

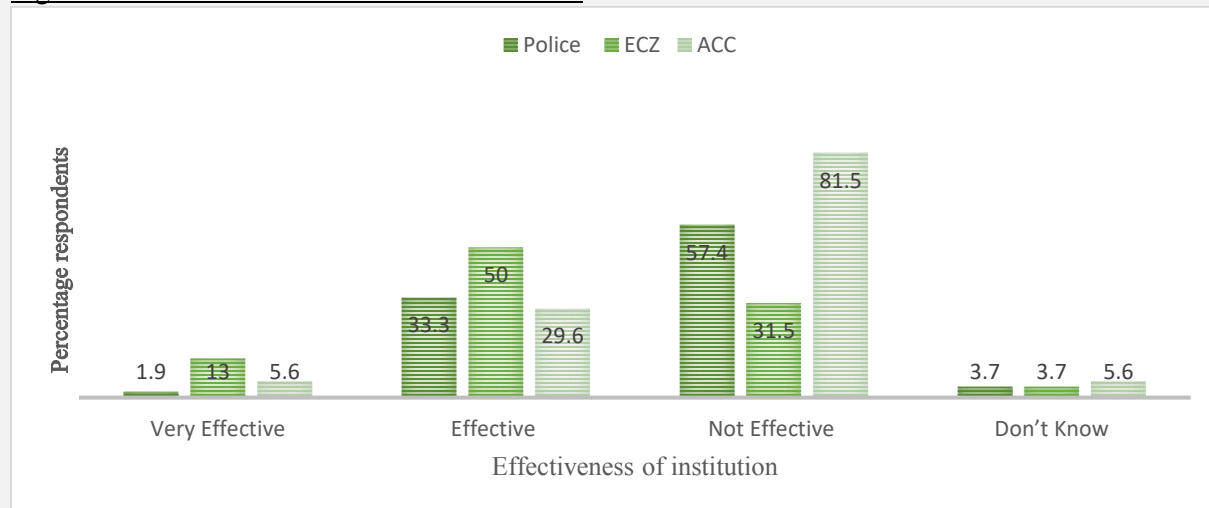Source: Field Data Collection (N = 55)

Among the 15.7% of respondents who said they participated in post-election activities, 7.4% participated in Ballot Paper Verification while 5.6% participated in the review of elections. Only 1.9% of the respondents said that young people participated in election petitions and litigation. There were 3.7% respondents who stated that young people were engaged in for taking down posters while there was no response from 25.9%. Figure 14 gives the illustration.

4.8 Electoral institutions

The respondents were asked to rate the effectiveness of electoral institutions i.e. the Zambia Police Service, ECZ and the ACC. Among the respondents, 81.5% and 57.4% found the ACC and the police service not effective while 31.5% found the ECZ not effective. However, compared to the other two institutions, 50.0% of the respondents found the ECZ effective.

A total of 33.3% and 29.6% of the respondents found the police service and the ACC are effective. Half of the respondents who found the ECZ effective stated that they have, since there formation have managed the elections very well and that is why despite the problems they have, the elections are considered free and fair by the international observers. The other half noted that the ECZ could be more effective if they were given more powers and autonomy to manage the elections. The respondents did not find the ACC effective because "they are not able to control the corruption during elections". In the words of a key informant, the "corruption start at the nomination and goes to the counting of votes but how many people have been prosecuted". As for the police service, the respondents noted that they did not find them effective because they are not able to control the electoral related violence. Figure 15 provides the details on the responses.

Figure 15: Effectiveness of electoral institutions.

Source: Field Data Collection (N = 350)

4.9 Key political issues affecting young people

The respondents were asked to identify the single most important political issue which affects the participation of young people in the electoral process. The respondents indicated that one of the issues which affected the participation of young people in the electoral process was that they had little knowledge of the process of the laws governing elections. This was mentioned by 57.4% of the respondents while 48.3% stated that young people were affected by their inability to raise sufficient funds to get nominated and manage a political campaign. Electoral violence was mentioned by 45% of the respondents who stated that young people were in the first place used in the violence as perpetuators but they were also victims of the same violence.

A total of 39% said that there were a lot of unfulfilled promises from politicians and this has led to a lot of apathy from young people especially during voting. Other key political issues affecting young people in the electoral process which were identified were corruption (25.6%) and gender issues such as women who participate in political activities being looked down upon by society and having low morals. This was identified by 17% of the respondents.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter considers the review literature, the survey of young people in the constituencies, analysis of the Facebook and radio and television discussions and key informant and discussions to make conclusions and recommendations on improving the participation of young people in the electoral process

5.1 Conclusion

Level of awareness of the electoral process: The levels of awareness of the electoral process by young people is low. Most young people have knowledge that there are political campaigns and that there is voting but they have little understanding of the other activities of the electoral process especially those in the post-election phase. Young people do not also have sufficient understanding of domestic legislation supporting the electoral process such that even when they engage in election related violence, they do not understand that they are violating the Electoral Code of Conduct.

Participation of young people in the electoral process: There is certainly a difference between young people in the participation in the electoral process by those who are active in politics and those who are not and between young men and young women. Those who are involved in politics have opportunities to be involved in the preparation and execution of election campaigns and being engaged as election agents. Young women are less involved in politics. women are considered subordinate to men both in the family and in the society. Many young women are reluctant to run or participate in political activities as they will be seen to have "*low morals*". The promises which are given to improve the lives of young people by the politicians and are not fulfilled have a negative effect on the participation of young people in the electoral process. Politicians during the campaigns make a lot of promises and even include the support to young people in their manifestoes that once they win they will be able to improve their lives but this does not happen.

Effectiveness of the electoral institutions: The perspective of young people on the effectiveness of the institutions supporting elections is moderate. Young people are of the perspective that these institutions need to improve so that elections can be seen to be free and fair for all. The perspectives of young people on the institutions supporting elections has an influence on their participation in the electoral process. When the young people have this perspective that their vote will not "count", they are less likely to participate

Key issues affecting the participation of young people in the electoral process: The key issues which affect the participation of young people in the electoral process were that young people had little knowledge of the electoral process and this affects their participation. Their limited knowledge on the laws which relate to elections means that they are at times engaged in vices which are contrary to democracy. Further, young people cannot effectively lodge in their nominations as they do not have the necessary fees. Corruption is higher in the nomination process and during the campaigns. This hinders young people from being engaged in the electoral process as politicians.

Election related violence is noted as one of the contributing factors which limit the participation of young people in the electoral process especially going for campaign rallies and in certain cases even going to vote. Another issue which discourages young people from participating in the electoral process especially in voting is that of unfulfilled promises. Young people get discouraged to vote as during the elections the politicians make a lot of promises which are not fulfilled afterwards. This means that in the next elections fewer young people go to vote.

Young women are discouraged in participating in the electoral process as they are faced with prejudices because there is an assumption that leadership is not only but also that religious institutions and leadership may have a negative impact on women's status in society and limit their opportunities in politics and public life. In most religions, power and authority is believed to divinely belong to men hence subjugating women. Another gender factor is that the media coverage continue to hinder women's chances of ascending to political positions.

5.2 Recommendations

Based on the conclusions, below are the recommendations:
1. Young people must have access to adequate, accurate and timely information during the electoral cycle. Appropriate modes of communication should be designed depending on the profile of the young people.
2. More open information in the public domain on aspects of politics, culture and development that directly impact young people's lives, and the relaying and translating of that information through schools, libraries, sport and community centres, to reach young people in usable form, will ensure they make more optimal use of the information received.
3. The elderly politicians need to project a good image of politics and of themselves so that the young people can see them as role models. This would encourage them to fully participate in politics and the electoral process. Further, elderly politicians should be mentors of young people so that they can be good leaders.
4. Facilitating youth networks, providing young people access to leaders and institutions including to their government, and ensuring 'safe spaces' for dialogue among young people.
5. Responsible engagement with modern information and communication technologies open up a world of opportunity and knowledge, including networking across the world with peers. Today's world is a global market place of ideas, jobs and leadership potential.
6. Support to young people to improve their participation in the electoral process needs to take into consideration the gender aspects.
7. Voter education should be part of the school curriculum so that young people can start to learn of the electoral process at a young age.
8. The Government should establish an annual National Youth Dialogue on Electoral Democracy. This will be a forum for young people to voice their concerns and opinions.
9. Political parties need to design their messages to accommodate and promise to address youth's plight. This information should not only be stated in the party manifestoes but also in their party constitutions.

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