Free, Fair or Flattery:
Political Participation and the Media

A case study of the NGO: Young African Leaders Initiative (YALI) and the Constitution Making Process in Zambia

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The idea of citizen participation is a little like eating spinach: no one is against it in principle because it is good for you.

Sherry R. Arnstein (1969)

Acknowledgements

Dedication:

To the memory of my Late Father, Don Fanwell Mafuta who died on 22nd May, 2012.

Abstract

Issues of democracy and the greater debate on development cannot go without an examination of the various agencies that play a role in the larger development agenda and in political participation in particular, including NGOs and the Media. Here media refers to both traditional media of television, radio and press and social media and WEB 2.0. The case of YALI and the constitution making process in Zambia, embedded in Jürgen Habermas' public sphere theory and Peter Dahlgren's civic cultures, illuminates how NGOs, when faced with threats, intimidation and censorship, strive to create a platform for civic engagement for citizens. The interaction and coming together of NGOs and the Media is of fundamental importance for a thriving democracy and for advancements of political engagement in Zambia. This thesis argues that given the dangers associated with getting involved in politics in Zambia due to threats and harassment by those in power, coupled with unfulfilled political promises, there is a decline in political participation. This study further demonstrates that the ideals of the civic culture circuit namely, knowledge, values, trust, spaces, practices and identities; as well as deliberative democracy, political participation, NGOs and the media, are all challenged in the case of YALI in Zambia.

Key words: democracy; political participation; media; public sphere; civic cultures; communication; human rights, WEB 2.0

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CHAPTER 1

1.0 Introduction

Media, communication and cultures are fundamental to understanding shifts and changes in society and everyday life, shifts in political, social and cultural spheres. Issues of democracy and the greater debate on development cannot go without an examination of the various agencies that play a role in the larger development agenda. Based on necessity to understand the interaction and coming together of two important and most effective instruments for public participation, that is, Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and the Media, this thesis has been formulated. The motivation which underlies this study is to investigate how NGOs work to integrate the public (citizens) into the decision making process, by using different types of media platforms for political engagement. Based on the case study of the Young African Leaders' Initiative (YALI), focus is mainly on the role that NGOs play, through the media, in helping ordinary citizens participate in decision-making processes, such as the Constitution Making Process in Zambia. Media here refers to both traditional media of television, radio and print and social media and the architecture of Web 2.0, characterized by its ability to break down barriers between production and consumption and allows for "broad social participation" (Dahlgren, 2009:158).

The case of the Young African Leaders' Initiative (YALI) is discussed in the coming chapters. YALI or the Initiative is an African-wide movement of young leaders established and launched by President Barack Obama in 2010 after the President's Forum for Young African Leaders held in Washington DC, USA. In Zambia, YALI's mandate as a Non- Governmental Organization and a part and parcel of the larger civil society is supporting democratic governance and promoting a human rights culture. YALI's main agenda in Zambia is democracy, participation and empowerment, with works also carried out in areas of education, human rights, entrepreneurship and governance issues (YALI 2013). YALI is funded by the US government State Department.

One particular area of major interest to this thesis is the role YALI has continuously been playing in mobilizing communities to take part in Zambia's Constitution making process.

Since 2012, YALI has been working closely with the technical committee drafting the Zambian Constitution in ensuring that as many Zambians as possible are mobilized and given a platform to participate in the process through workshops and seminars, and by utilizing various media channels to inform as well as mobilize communities to make submissions for the new constitution (YALI 2013). Some of the contentious issues with regard to the constitution is citizens' demand for a majority rule through the 50plus 1 vote, demand for the Bill of Rights which will guarantee such freedoms as freedom of the media, assembly, social and economic rights etc. Unfortunately those that are in power have not been kind enough to allow for that to happen as demonstrated through the interviews and subsequent analysis in chapters 3 and 4 respectively. Another issue is of stopping people from really participating in this process, as a result in 2012 the Minister of Justice had instructed the Police to have YALI leaders arrested for advocating for a new constitution, stifling the relationship between civil society and government.

1.1 Purpose and Research Questions

The main discussion in this thesis is centered on political participation and the media, in light of the role played by NGOs in general and YALI in particular in fostering this participation. In the next chapter, I discuss theoretical matters centered on two theories in which this study is embedded, namely, Peter Dahlgren's notion of Civic Cultures and Jürgen Habermas' theory of the Public Sphere. To lend also some empirical support to Dahlgren and Habermas' view on civic cultures and public sphere, I relate these theories to the case study of YALI in the coming chapters. The aim of this thesis as earlier mentioned, is to investigate how NGOs work to integrate the public (citizens) into the decision making process, by using different types of media platforms for political engagement. Based on the case study of YALI, focus is mainly on the role that NGOs play, through the media, in helping ordinary citizens participate in decision-making processes, such as the Constitution Making Process in Zambia. This aim will be achieved through the interviews conducted with 9 YALI employees (see methods chapter) and also through political analysis, website/news analysis as well as YALI Statements. A range of

questions informs this thesis's core interest in investigating and exploring the notions of political participation, media and NGOs in Zambia.

The following are the research questions:

I. What is the role of NGOs in political participation in Zambia?

II. What is the relationship between NGOs and the media in fostering participation of the public in decision-making processes in general and the constitution making process in Zambia in particular?

III. With regard to the constitution making-process in Zambia, how has YALI been utilizing the different media platforms, where and why? What has been happening on the ground through YALI's work in providing a platform for the public? What has been the response and what is the public saying?

IV. How does Dahlgren's notion of civic cultures illuminate the work of YALI and its role in political participation in Zambia?

V. In what ways is the continued acceleration in social media access by Zambians fuelling shifts in NGOs' agendas and activities with regard to the constitution making process? To what extent are YALI's working methods affected by developments in Information Communication Technology (ICTs) in Zambia?

1.2 Rationale, Justification and Methods

The Constitution, a Supreme Law of the land and the body of rules or laws written, is a document that has sparked a huge debate in Zambia. Zambia has been in a process of coming up with a new Constitution. Both the previous and current governments have promised Zambians a new constitution that will stand the test of time (YALI 2014), without realization of a lasting solution. As a result, Civil Society Organizations have been advocating for a new people driven constitution promised by the current Patriotic Front government prior to the 2011 elections. Being a Zambian, I find the role-played by Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in general and YALI in particular in this process, worth a discussion at this level.

Civil Society Organizations have been working on issues that border on good governance and public participation in decision-making processes in Zambia, all with varying aims and objectives. Of particular interest to this thesis is the role that YALI has been playing through collaboration with the media in creating an enabling environment for citizen participation in the constitution making process and indeed in issues that affect their lives. Another major aspect that validates this case study is the combination by YALI of traditional media avenues of television, radio and print and use of Web 2.0 and social media for political engagement in Zambia. I am thus particularly interested in studying this case.

Initially, methods chosen for analysis of this case study were interviews, and website /news analysis. However after conducting fieldwork, the results required a shift in the methods. This research is now a multi method case study due to the current shifts in the political arena in Zambia that has required changes in the Civil Society agenda, and consequently requiring that the data be addressed from other angles such as political analysis. With the (re) introduction of the NGO Act[1] in 2013 by the current Zambian government, evidence from the interviews conducted with 9 YALI employees suggests that the NGO movement could be threatened and could be at the brink of closure in Zambia. In response to continued calls for a new constitution, the set reaction by government to YALI and CSO groups and the consequent recurring events, require a change and shift in the data analysis. Details are discussed in the data analysis chapter.

1.3 Key terms
For operationalization purposes, the following recurring key terms have been defined.

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[1] An Act to provide for the co-ordination and registration of non-governmental organizations; establish the Non- Governmental Organizations' Registration Board and the Zambia Congress of Non-Governmental Organisations; constitute the Council of Non Governmental Organisations; enhance the transparency, accountability and performance of non-governmental organizations; and provide for matters connected with or incidental to the foregoing. ENACTED by the Parliament of Zambia in 2009.

The media refers to both traditional media of television, radio and print, and social media or WEB 2.0. Web 2.0, also referred to as the "architecture of participation"… (Gauntlett 2011; Olsson 2013). Civic cultures is an analytical framework intended to help illuminate the specific conditions that are necessary for participation, and which offer ports of entry for empirical analysis. Civic cultures comprise those cultural resources that citizens can draw upon for participation because they are available to them in their everyday lives (Dahlgren 2011:18).

The concept of public sphere, which presupposes freedom of expression and assembly, involves a space where issues that are of relevance to the public can be openly discussed and examined (Deane, 2005:178). A key aspect of the public sphere is that people are free and equal to speak their minds. This corresponds with the idea of deliberative democracy. However, deliberative democracy is a concept that is notoriously difficult to measure or define. This term goes hand in glove with political participation. Increasingly, contemporary versions of democratic theory render political participation as deliberation. Democracy, because of its concern with the inclusion of the people within political decision-making processes, (such as the constitution making process in the case of YALI in Zambia), is one of the key sites of the articulation of the concept of participation. The centrality of peoples' participation is described in Held's (1996:1) definition of democracy as "a form of government in which, in contradiction to monarchies and aristocracies, the people rule. Democracy as a result "entails a political community in which there is some form of political equality among the people" (Held 1996:1 cited in Carpentier 2011:15).

On the other side of the democratic balance is the notion of political participation, whose interpretation is an exceptionally broad concept, loose and quite slippery as Carpentier (2011) argues. This fashionable concept renders itself to various interpretations, and this thesis draws its definition from Dahlgren (2012:81) who argues that political participation is more than a feeling one has, but involves some "activity," which can take many forms

but often involves communication. Thus my interpretation of participation is that one needs to "do something" in a given political situation in order for it to qualify as participation. Another definition is that by Verba et al. (1995: 38; Verba and Nie 1987:2) who state:

> "By *political* participation we refer simply to activity that has the intent or effect of influencing government action – either directly by affecting the making or implementation of public policy or indirectly by influencing the selection of people who make those policies."

Carpentier sums up the definition of political participation to refer to the involvement of the citizenry within (institutionalized) politics. As Marshall (1992:10-11 cited in Carpentier 2011:16) explains in his discussion of political citizens rights, this not only includes the right to elect, but also the right to stand for election. However, these forms of participation are not total, but structured through institutional, legal and cultural logics (Dahlgren 2009 cited in Carpentier 2011:16).

An example is seen in this case of how Zambian citizens participate in the constitution making process by making submissions to government on what their wishes are in the new constitution. They are thus seen as participants and as actors that take part of their own community, not as spectators but as public citizens in deliberation (Gutmann & Thompson, 2004:3-5, 30-31). Paulo Freires' concept of conscientization grounded the critical understanding of historical and political context in which the participants act in the meaning that the knowledge that is created should be approachable to the participants (Greenwood & Levin, 2007:64-66). In this case, YALI uses community radio for engaging the public in local languages used in those specific regions in Zambia where they hold dialogue meetings and discussions on the constitution reform process. This allows for participants to understand the message and attach meaning to that knowledge being disseminated and consequently act upon that created knowledge.

Outline of study

An introduction of the concept of political participation, media and NGOs is presented in chapter 1. A systematic examination of the concepts and literature concerning media and political participation, plus the role of NGOs on the scene, would require a lengthy thesis. However, to introduce the theoretical framework in chapter 2, the thesis is confined to two works, one on public sphere, the other on civic agency, in order to set the stage for the relevant issues raised in them. The chapter begins with a discussion of the nature of NGOs, then elaborates on intellectual origins by paying special heed to the connection between Habermas' public sphere theory, and Dahlgren's civic cultures, an update of Habermas' work. The qualitative nature of the methodological approach taken in this study is discussed in chapter 3, as this case study relied on interviews, political analysis and website/news analysis as the main research methods for analysis, using qualitative data analysis (QDA). Chapter 4 is the analysis that begins with the political context of the case, and later the analysis relies on the dynamic circuit of civic cultures where knowledge, values, trust, spaces, practices and identities are seen as vital for a thriving civic culture and a robust public sphere. What follows is a discussion still in chapter 4, by pulling all elements of this thesis together. A conclusion follows in chapter 5, where it is argued that the ideals of the dynamic civic culture circuit, as well as deliberative democracy, political participation, NGOs and the media, are all challenged in the case of YALI in Zambia.

CHAPTER 2

2.0 Literature Review

An understanding of the concept of participation in this thesis requires an extensive literature review. The research questions presented are explained in light of the two theories that make up the theoretical framework of this study namely, the civic cultures theory and Habermas' public sphere. This thesis takes a stance similar to that of Peter Dahlgren, who argues that "civic agency or citizens' participation in politics cannot be

enacted in a vacuum; it must be supported by and integrated with a larger cultural milieu that has relevance for politics and enables participation" (Dahlgren 2009). This argument is also echoed in Habermas' pubic sphere theory, that "robust civic cultures are necessary prerequisites for participation and for the vitality of public spheres and, thus, for the functioning of democracy" (Habermas 1989, 1990). In this case, evidence from the data suggests that NGOs cannot thrive in a sphere that is threatened by the political elite and is not supported by an environment conducive for participation in Zambia. As we shall see later in the analysis chapter, NGOs are at the brink of closure in Zambia, fuelled by their continuous calls for government to release a people-driven constitution. Thus political engagement by the public is dependent on a thriving democracy, which cannot be attained without robust public sphere suitable for civic engagement.

2.1 Theoretical Framework

Focus in this chapter is to synthesize and evaluate the various sources of literature relevant for this discussion, embedded in the mentioned theories and guided by the research questions posed. This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section reviews NGOs, their nature and characteristics. The second section focuses on the two theories named above, while the third part is drawn from previous work on media (both traditional and WEB 2.0 or social media) and democracy; media and participation; issues of power and censorship. This is done in order to fully comprehend the phenomenon of political participation and the media, in light of the role played by NGOs in general and YALI in particular in Zambia. Although there is a vast amount of literature and data on this topic, the theories and concepts applied are chosen, as they are deemed more relevant for this discussion. Both the existing literature and people interviewed for this thesis use these concepts interchangeably because they are context specific.

NGOs: Nature and Characteristics

Interpretations provided by scholars about what NGOs are vary, yet they all point towards the same direction. They connote independent or private, non- governmental, non-profit seeking entities involved in development issues (Jönsson et al, 2012:125).

Desai (2008:525) identifies NGOs as ranging from large Northern-based ones such as Oxfam to self-help organizations based in the less developed countries with the will to better the lives of the downtrodden. There is collaboration between Northern and Southern NGOs. Partnership between Northern and Southern NGOs emerged when attention was brought to the creation of dependency of the global South on the North as a result of continual aid or resource flow from the latter to the former (Desai, ibid). There was a shift from designing projects, taking decisions and implementing policies for marginalized groups to including the affected groups in decisions, which affect their lives. Bottom-up approaches to development gradually gained prominence (Desai 2008:525). Northern NGOs perform tasks such as short-term relief and long-term rehabilitation and also mobilize resources used to build the capacities of Southern NGOs. Southern NGOs also serve as team leaders in the development process in the developing nations by providing the expertise (ibid).

United by a commitment to improve the socio-political and cultural conditions around the world, NGOs are otherwise represented by a great diversity of functions, structures and objectives. However, their role is also embedded in promoting democracy, good governance and social capital. They do these by employing tools or participatory techniques to mobilize community members for policy changes through their involvement in public interest politics (Hailey, 2001:90 cited in Desai, 2008:527). Although NGOs often occupy a difficult position in public life, both as potential sites for political participation, and at the same time, are subject to constraints from donors and the state; conclusions made by Hailey (2001:88 also Edwards 1999; Fowler 1997) suggested that the success of NGOs depends on the approval and support of the local community members.

Habermas' Public Sphere Theory

Public sphere is the term used for "*Offentlichkeit*" in the English translation of Jürgen Habermas' *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (1989) (Butsch 2007:2).

Published three decades after the original, the translation spawned a voluminous literature in English on this subject. Habermas' theory of the bourgeois public sphere is part of the tradition of Enlightenment liberal political philosophy. It addresses questions about what makes democracy work. Its primary focus is the origins of a bourgeois public sphere in eighteenth century social institutions and political philosophy, from which Habermas draws a normative model of the public sphere. Recent scholarship responding to Habermas is similarly rooted in the scholarly discourse on political theory and political philosophy, leavened with history (Carpentier 2011).

The public sphere, which presupposes freedom of expression and assembly, "involves a space where issues that are of relevance to the public can be openly discussed and examined" (Deane, 2005:178 cited in Butsch 2008:2). A key aspect of the public sphere is that people are free and equal to speak their minds. This corresponds with the idea of deliberative democracy, which is:

> …Structured by the ideal speech situation, where everybody with the competence to act and speak is allowed to participate, everyone can introduce and/or question any assertion, and express his or her attitudes, desires and needs, and no coercion is used during the process.
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> (Habermas, 1990 cited in Carpentier, 2011:35).

There is a second tradition of publics, rooted in social rather than political concepts and theory, framed in terms of different issues and questions, but also placing mass media at the center of the idea of publics. Unlike the liberal tradition of public sphere that focuses on deliberation, this tradition considers what actions follow from deliberation. This approach originated with French theorist, Gabriel Tarde, who contrasted publics to crowds in late nineteenth century theory of crowd psychology (Tarde, 1969 cited in Butsch 2008:2). About the same time as Tarde wrote, American sociologist Robert Park completed a German dissertation on the same subject, contrasting crowd and public (Park 1972 cited in Butsch 2008:2). Tarde and Park wrote at a time when the principle mass

medium was the daily metropolitan newspaper, and both considered it central to the functioning of a public. Returning to the US, Park founded the sociological field of collective behavior that included the study of crowds, publics and other collective gatherings. "Crowds were masses in action, and the tradition would turn increasingly to talk about masses – and *mass media audiences* – in contrast to publics, with the advent of radio" (Cantril, 1935, 1940).

The linking of publics to crowds emphasized a social rather than political approach, contrasting a constructive role in society for publics to the supposed destructive role of crowds. Related to this tradition is the American debate about publics between Walter Lippmann and John Dewey in the 1920s (Gary, 1999). Lippmann considered the mass incapable of performing its role as a 'true' public and in need of guidance through propaganda, i.e. mass media messages, by an educated elite (Lippmann, 1925). Dewey, on the other hand, conceived publics as the natural emergence of community efforts to solve shared problems, with solutions then institutionalized in government (Dewey 1927, 112–13, 149).

Both traditions of the concepts of publics and public sphere include media as a necessary element for public deliberation. But the media presumed in those traditions were subsidiary to the public sphere. By contrast, given the growth in media variety, size and convergence in the late twentieth century, media have become the primary focus and force for today's public sphere. We now find ourselves in a time of intense debate: What media provide what kind of public spheres? Scholars still disagree about the impact of existing media institutions on the public sphere, as well as about the ideal structure of the public sphere. However, "the relationship between the public sphere and the media is complicated, and the development of new ICT has created a more media-centric approach to the study of these concepts" (Carpentier, 2011:86).

The recent work on public sphere has generated numerous criticisms and multiple versions of the concepts of public and public sphere. Issues of the media and public

sphere revolve around the central axis of whether media enable or undermine a healthy public sphere with widespread participation. Debates about the good or bad impact of media institutions parallel past splits between political, economic and cultural studies approaches to media institutions and culture (Clarke, 1990 cited in Butsch 2008), and between mass culture critics and those who downplayed the effects of media. But what role media play and how effectively they do is still the subject of much discussion and few answers. The debates have produced fewer answers and no consensus on what is a public sphere, or whether or in what form it exists. It has generated relatively less empirical investigation into actually existing public spheres.

The rational view of the political and the civic has also been equally present in much research inspired by Jürgen Habermas's theory (Habermas 1962, 1989) of the *public sphere* (Calhoun 1992; Gripsrud and Moe 2010 cited in Miegel and Olsson 2012:3). Such analyses tend to depart from those parts of Habermas's work in which he stresses the importance of rational debates within the public sphere, where arguments and political points of view are presented and then thoroughly scrutinized by fellow citizens.

> In this context, media are supposed to play vital parts, both as sources of information inspiring the debates and as arenas for vibrant debates in themselves. Drawing on these lines of thought such research has analyzed, and above all criticized, contributions to the public sphere from "hard" media content, mainly various forms of "news" in TV, radio, and newspapers (Garnham 1990).

During the past decade an especially great deal of research has been brought to analyze the Internet's potential contribution to the public sphere in this regard (Dahlberg 2007; Poster 1997). An essential aspect to recognize is that many of the social, cultural, political, and technological conditions for democracy are in transition. "Instead of holding on to historical notions, it is important that we

incorporate these realities into contemporary understandings of democracy" (Dahlgren, 2009:14). "The potential of the Internet in democratic processes has been thoroughly debated during the last two decades, where the expectations for its development were rather modest to begin with" (Dahlgren, 2009:160).

In contradiction to these first predictions, however, the Internet is emerging as a clear factor in promoting participation, and it has been suggested that political engagement increases with the spread of the Internet (Dahlgren 2009:170).

Although the initial Habermasian version of the public sphere might be somewhat outdated due to the fluidity of 'new' public spheres, both physical and virtual, it still represents a viable starting point in the debate concerning participation and democracy and will be used to explain current political developments in Zambia in this case. As Dahlgren (2009:12) points out:

Democracy in whatever concrete version it manifests itself…requires many conditions to be met…including a functioning legal system, genuine efforts to move toward universalism in the treatment of citizens and their rights. Further democracy also has social and cultural requirements…however; it is the engagement of citizens that gives democracy its legitimacy as well as its vitality, (Dahlgren 2009:12).

"Democracy" is not a panacea for all human problems but it offers the most compelling principle for legitimacy – "the consent of the people" – as the basis for political order (Held 2006 cited in Dahlgren 2009:14). In relation to the Zambian state of democracy and indeed in relation to this case, what Dahlgren and Held state, addresses the notion of public sphere and civic cultures in difficult settings in Zambia. Data from the interviews reveal that Zambians' participation in politics and their levels of civic engagement have

declined due to unfulfilled promises by those elected to govern as well as due to infringement of fundamental human rights of speech, assembly and media freedom. Although Zambia is said to be a democratic state, intimidation by those in power continues to create difficulties for civic engagement by NGOs such as YALI and by ordinary citizens, in this case due to their continuous calls on government to release a constitution that reflects the wishes of the people. As Dahlgren (2009:12) further adds, " for most people, most of the time… while the commitment to the principles of democracy remains solid, the realities of how it operates do not successfully beckon enough people to join in".

> In this case, these factors can generate a sense of personal powerlessness and despair over one's life circumstances, or perhaps a bitterness of having been abandoned or betrayed by the political elites. To feel for example, that the power elite continuously turn a deaf ear to one's efforts to intervene tends to undercut participation in the long run (Dahlgren 2009:16).

As "democracy is shaped by politics and politics by socio-cultural parameters" (Dahlgren 2009:26), without civic engagement and a robust public sphere there cannot be meaningful deliberation by citizens and the idea of democracy would be elusive. Thus at the heart of both Dahlgren's and Dewey's theories is the question of how to increase and improve people's opportunities for involvement, engagement, influence and impact in the democratic processes. That is, to strengthen the experience and sense of citizenship and to stimulate the emergence of what Dahlgren calls a civic culture among them. For both thinkers, a fundamental key to the answer lies in understanding the reasons behind *why* people become civically engaged (Dahlgren 2009, Dewey 1966). Arguing that this very process "adds important analytic dimensions to the sociology of democracy" Dahlgren (2009, 69), hints at the fundamental importance of a pedagogical dimension in the development of a democratic society that John Dewey (1916, 1966) has pointed out in his influential works on the relation between democracy and education. Dewey there argued

for a kind of participatory democracy encouraging people to develop communities, within which each single individual is given equal opportunity to actualize his or her particular abilities and talents through active participation in social, cultural, and political life.

Dahlgren's notion of Civic Cultures

Civic culture as a concept is not new, and Dahlgren's reformation carries over some traditional elements from political science/political communication along with the more culturalist components (Dahlgren 2009:104). Two American researchers Almond and Verba (1963, 1980), in the cold war era, tried to map democracy's cultural variables using larger scale survey techniques together with functionalist views on social integration (Dahlgren 2009:104, Chen and Rulska 2005[2]).

Through their project, Almond and Verba wanted to create a theory of civic culture, a political culture explaining the political involvement of citizens or lack thereof in democratic states. In their work, the authors discussed the historical origins of the civic culture and the functions of that culture in the process of social change. They compared and contrasted the patterns of political attitudes in five countries and contended that across states, "a democratic system required a political culture encouraging political participation" (Almond and Verba 1963, 1980). The theory employed by Almond and Verba was based on Harold Lasswell's personality characteristics of a 'democrat' including the following features: "open ego" (a warm and inclusive attitude toward other human beings; a capacity for sharing values with others; a multi-valued rather than a single-valued orientation; trust and confidence in the human environment; and relative freedom from anxiety (Almond and Verba 1963, 1980). Still, "civic agency or citizens' participation in politics cannot be enacted in a vacuum; it must be supported by and

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[2] Chen Jie, and Rulska Anna (2005) Essay on The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations: Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba 81963, 1980)

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integrated with a larger cultural milieu that has relevance for politics and enables participation" (Dahlgren 2009).

> Civic cultures, is an analytical framework intended to help illuminate the specific conditions that are necessary for participation, and which offer ports of entry for empirical analysis. Civic cultures comprise those cultural resources that citizens can draw upon for participation because they are available to them in their everyday lives. Moreover, in the modern world, civic cultures operate to a great extent via the media (Dahlgren 2009).

The framework seeks to specify the ways in which the media in this case actually can facilitate as well as hinder civic agency. However, as the discussion shifts to an actor's perspective, underscoring civic agency, the centrality of the media comes into view. "The forms, contents, specific logics, and modes of use of the media become the most accessible tools of civic cultures" (Dahlgren 2009). In terms of viability, civic cultures are both strong and vulnerable. They can shape citizens' sense of what is politically possible; they can serve to empower. Citizens, in turn via their practices, can influence the character of civic cultures. Indeed, it is not impossible that civic cultures can develop even in circumstances that may seem on the surface unlikely, as seen in several countries when the communist system began to collapse, and in the recent Arab Spring. Alternatively, the weaknesses or absence of civic cultures becomes disabling and undercuts citizens' capacities to act, and unfavourable circumstances can readily result in suppressed or atrophied civic cultures.

Dahlgren argues then that "robust civic cultures are necessary prerequisites for participation and for the vitality of public spheres and, thus, for the functioning of democracy" (Dahlgren 2009:104). Furthermore, in this case, "the view of public sphere is constructionist and materialist, rather than systemic" (Ibid: 104) "where the reality and production of knowledge is a construction of mind" (Richardson 1995: 199).

If the more familiar concept of the public sphere points to democracy's relevant communicative spaces, civic culture highlights those features of the socio-cultural world that serve as preconditions for peoples' actual participation in the public sphere and political society. In short, these pre-conditions involve cultural attributes prevalent among citizens that can in various ways facilitate democratic life (Dahlgren 2009:105).

The perspective of civic cultures is interested in the processes of how people develop into citizens, how they come to see themselves as members and potential participants in societal development, and how such empowered senses of self are maintained. In spite of all its compelling qualities, the perspective of the public sphere still leaves unclear a number of important issues. A key conceptual issue is that, "while it asserts that people should, from a normative perspective, participate in the public sphere, this theoretic horizon does not have much to say about *why* or *how* people actually participate in the public sphere" (Dahlgren and Olsson 2007). "The why- and how-questions are also specifically central to Dahlgren's notion of civic culture (Miegel and Olsson 2012: 3-4)". In the following chapters, this thesis, based on the evidence from literature and interviews, expands more on the why and how questions. The evidence suggests that using the maximalist form of democracy discussed in detail below, people can participate in the constitution making process in Zambia at micro-level in schools, communities, churches and family. *Why?* To give to themselves a people driven constitution that will stand the test of time and reflects citizens' wishes and desires.

Democracy and the Media
Democracy, because of its concern with the inclusion of the people within political decision-making processes, is one of the key sites in the articulation of the concept of participation (Carpentier 2011:15)."Democracy is being transformed as its social, cultural, and political foundations develop, and the evolving media landscape and the character of participation are part of these larger phenomena" (Dahlgren 2011:13).

Deliberative democracy in this aspect "tries to (re) balance the participatory and representative aspects of democracy…with the participatory moment located in communication". Deliberative democracy here refers to "decision making by discussion among free and equal citizens" (Elster 1998:1 cited in Carpentier 2011:35). According to Dahlgren (2011:13) this suggests that "any perceived lack of participation cannot be seen as simply a question of failed civic virtue, but must be understood in the contexts of the dilemmas of late modern deliberative democracy, more generally, and of the specific socio-cultural factors that shape the lived realities of various groups of citizens".

"Democracy is concerned with providing alternative political participation outside the realms of institutionalized politics" (Carpentier 2011). Carpentier argues for two forms of democratic participation, namely *minimalist-* and *maximalist forms of democratic participation*. "Maximalist participation with focus on both macro participation within the entire political imagined community, and micro; more local spheres like schools, community and family plays a key role, and is not restricted to an elite section" (2011:17). "'Democracy' is not a panacea for all human problems, but it offers the most compelling principle for legitimacy – 'the consent of the people' – at the basis of political order" (Held, 2006 cited in Dahlgren, 2009:14).

Within the notion of democracy it is possible to distinguish between *the political* and *politics*. The notion of the political includes participation as more heterogeneous and multidirectional as it moves away from institutionalized politics. Increasing not only the number of political actors, but broadens also the field of political spheres to include less traditional spaces for political participation, including the subjective and emotional, i.e. "the personal is political" (Carpentier, 2011:39; Reguillo, 2009:33, della Porta & Tarrow, 2005:13). "Talk is seen as constitutive of publics, is both normative and functionally vital for democracy" (Dahlgren 2009:86). The model of deliberative democracy follows through the traditional notions of public sphere and becomes extended via Habermas' investigations into communicative rationality (Habermas 1984; 1987 cited in Dahlgren

2009: 87)… "In that sense, the basic idea of *deliberative democracy* – or political deliberation, as its central activity, is as old as democracy itself" Dahlgren (2009:86).

> The dynamics of deliberative democracy are characterized by the norms of equality and symmetry; everyone is to have an equal chance of participation…. and serves to support the legitimacy of decisions that are taken, thereby enhancing the vitality of democratic institution (Dahlgren 2009:87).

Through the twentieth century, in scholarship and in public debate there have been recurring worries about the impact of mass media upon civic practice. Instead of enabling a public sphere, as print had done in the late eighteenth century, some argue that the new mass media of the twentieth threatened to subvert the public sphere and democracy (Butsch 2007:1). The role of the media in the modern era as providers of information, and as facilitators for public debate and political participation places the media firmly within the democracy paradigm. "We live in highly mediated societies, and much of our civic knowledge derives from the media, in a sense, the media bear some responsibility for our political involvement" (Dahlgren 2012:81).

Dahlgren states "alterations in the media have clear impacts on our notion of democracy" (2009:161). A perspective further emphasized by other scholars who add that political life has become so embedded within the domain of the media to such an extent that media is in fact transforming democracy (Castells, 1998; Meyer, 2002; Harnam, 2000 cited in Dahlgren, 2009:35). In relation to this case, discussing participation minus democracy and the media would be incomplete. Further discussion develops in the analysis chapter.

Situating Web 2.0 and Social Media
Recently, during the last couple of years, a lot of discussions concerning the Internet have made use of the concepts "web 2.0" and "social media". What these concepts have in common is an insistence on the argument, that the Internet today is very different from its previous versions (Gauntlett 2011: 185-217; Olsson 2014). "Both web 2.0 and social

media point to the fact that the Internet is both updated ("2.0") and more interactive than it used to be, and that it also, as a consequence, allows for more lively and varied interaction between users" (Olsson 2014). Hence, it also becomes a more "social" medium (Ibid).

During the last decade or so, authors have aired and identified new hope for the public sphere on the Internet (Malina, 1999; Slater, 2003 cited in Butsch 2008:198); on the other hand, skeptical analyses have concluded that the Internet is just another extension of corporate powers (McChesney, 1999 cited in Butsch 2008). Others argue that Internet is a device selling back to people the ability to interact; an opportunity that one-way media such as radio and television have stolen from them (Holmes, 1997 cited in Butsch 2008:198). These ideas whether critical or not – on the Internet's ability to contribute to a more vibrant public sphere have mostly been developed from theoretical reflections. Quite often it has been a case of 'reading off the effects' of the Internet by analyzing aspects of its form. It has, for example, been asserted that "the net's interactivity, co-presence of vertical and horizontal-communication, disintermediation, speed and its absence of boundaries" (Bentivegna 2002 cited in Butsch 2008) would foreground a new, different public sphere. Just a couple of examples from the by now quite encompassing literature on the subject (Hague & Loader, 1999; Axford & Huggins, 2001; Jenkins & Thorburn, 2003 cited in Butsch 2007:198) can under- score this point.

Historically however, broadcasting has been defined as fundamentally part of the public sphere. Its public service obligation and the news and public service programming that arose from it, framed broadcasting from the beginning as a technological extension of the newspaper in its role in the public sphere (Butsch 2008:81). Newspapers were essential to preparing the ground for this; historians and political theorists have labeled the press since the eighteenth century as central to the public sphere. In the United States, contemporaries as well conceived newspapers in these terms. Thomas Jefferson (cited in Butsch 2008:81) considered "a free press fundamental to a citizenry acting as a rational,

deliberative public". In 1787 he wrote:

> The way to prevent these irregular interpositions of the people [referring to Shay's Rebellion[3]] is to give them full information of their affairs thro' the channel of the public papers, and to contrive that those papers should penetrate the whole mass of the people . . . everyman should receive those papers and be capable of reading them…(Jefferson 1987).

Media Freedom vs. Censorship

"One can distinguish between democratization in and through the media, and the same can be said for participation in and through the media" (Carpentier, 2011:67). Participation *through* the media sees the media as a "public sphere where people can voice their opinions; engage in discussions and debates with other citizens" (Carpentier, 2011:67). As earlier mentioned, it is now a routine assumption in many societies that the media do have power (Corner 2011:14).

> The capacity of the media to contribute to the 'way things are' in society, to circumstances and events, as a result of the perceptions they encourage, the information they provide and the feelings they generate, whether directly or in combination with other factors, is essentially a form of 'soft' power (Corner 2011:14).

"Participation *in* the media becomes possible when citizens are involved in the production of media output and allows them to be active and put into practice their right to communicate" (Carpentier, 2011:68). In relation to this case, censorship and intimidation can act as barriers to this kind of participation. "The rights to freedom of expression and access to information in addition to the media's ability to operate

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[3] During the years 1786 and 1787, a series of confrontations took place between desperate debtor-farmers and state government Authorities in western Massachusetts. The events that became known as Shays' Rebellion came to symbolize the widespread discontent manifested throughout New England during the economic depression that followed the American Revolution.

independently are vital in any society. Especially a democratic society, as they protect other human rights such as the right to access clean water, better health facilities while they prevent bad governance and underdevelopment which are common in our country" (MISA Zambia 2014).

Notions of Power

Power here refers to both political power exercised by those who are entrusted to lead others, and also media power. A number of questions arise when discussing issues of power in Zambia in view of the continuous calls for a new people driven constitution from various sectors of the Zambia population. Questions arise such as: What power is left for CSOs…collective power? What alternatives do they have? What is the way forward on the constitution, and how can the use of media help CSOs such as YALI? Although they are not the aim of this study, these questions are very important in-order to understand the current state of play within the Zambia socio and political field and the power struggles existing therein.

> "The complex dynamics of power have generated a long history of elaborations…and the importance attributed to power in the debates on participation makes it necessary to briefly sketch some key elements of these theoretical elaborations" (Carpentier 2011:139).

Power is defined here according to Weber (1947:152 cited in Carpentier 2011:139) as "the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance". Corner (2011:1) argues that " in any given theoretical account or example, media power is seen to be "bad", something which our politics and our culture would be improved by having less of". Corner further states " as in many debates about power in other contexts, the idea of "good power" is often rather elusive, although the necessity of power itself is an implicit premise of any political and social order". "Bad" power or systemic level power is prone to being abused and can lead to a democratic process being hijacked by those with the power or political elites.

Power is perceived as providing the grounds of opportunity…it is power worth courting but there is also a risk of getting caught up in media power flows, which may be harmful (Corner 2011:15). However, "the power of the people is greater than the people in power" (Ghonim 2012). Further analysis of the power struggles in this case is provided in the coming chapters, in light of how the Zambian media landscape is shaped, and how issues of censorship and state control of public media is undermining NGO activities in the media and leaves them with an alternative of utilizing commercial media and community radio for political engagement and mobilizing communities for political activities. In relation to this case, another issue that arises is the power of YALI, as an NGO backed and funded by the USA. With YALI putting up a fearless fight for a new people driven constitution in Zambia, questions arise such as: is the US interfering in Zambia's internal matters, does that qualify to be foreign interference by the US, how much influence can YALI exert on government with the support of the US? It is evident from the interviews conducted that YALI is determined to keep pressing government for a new people driven constitution. How much power YALI can exert on government and the influence that YALI has over the process is yet to be determined as the process goes on.

NGOs, Political Participation and the Media

In order "to illuminate the role of the media in deflecting and enhancing political engagement, as well as contributing to new forms of political involvement and new understandings of what constitutes the political" (Dahlgren 2009), an integration of notions of participation and media dynamics is paramount. Politics and relations among individuals in society across the world are being transformed by (advancements in Information Communication Technologies: ICTs) new technologies for targeting individuals and sophisticated methods for shaping personalized messages (Dahlgren 2009). "The media is now said to be an environment, a fundamental part of our everyday

lives", (Silverstone 2006: 5). Silverstone further argues for profound significance in the way in which the world is, understood by its citizens and the media continuously plays a critical part in that aspect.

United by a commitment to improve the socio-political and cultural conditions around the world, NGOs are otherwise represented by a great diversity of functions, structures and objectives. With a role embedded in promoting democracy, good governance and social capital, they employ tools or participatory techniques to mobilize community members for policy changes through their involvement in public interest politics. (Hailey, 2001:90; Desai, 2008:527). Conclusions made by Hailey (2001:88; Edwards 1999; Fowler 1997) suggested that the success of NGOs depends on the approval and support of the local community members, gained through available media channels.

Conclusion
New ICTs represent a new form of mobilization tool or mobilization structure enabling both recruitment and participation through the Internet (Carpentier, 2011:120-121). Furthermore, new ICTs and the interactive media allows for many innovations where citizens are "making space" for democracy (Dahlgren, 2009:124). "This entails extending and transforming public spheres that used to be shaped in part by people's face-to-face encounters and the mass media, to include other civic spaces that provide communicative access" (ibid). As is dealt with extensively in the analytical part of this thesis, evidence from the interviews conducted with YALI employees demonstrates how social media is increasingly becoming a tool for political engagement as well as for drumming up support both from the local and international community. Although "traditional media is still the main channel of debate on the constitution making process in Zambia" (Ntewewe 2014), this demonstrates the vital role that social media continues to play.

As opposed to traditional understandings of politics as being a part of an institutionalized system with elite actors, a broad understanding of the political entails aspects of the

private life, such as family, schools, community – and most importantly oneself, facilitating maximalist forms of democratic participation. Additionally, for political participation to thrive in a country like Zambia, there should be an environment conducive for that kind of participation to take place, an environment, or civic sphere, free from threats by the political elite. "Civic agency or citizens' participation in politics cannot be enacted in a vacuum; it must be supported by and integrated with a larger cultural milieu that has relevance for politics and enables participation" (Dahlgren 2009); as "robust civic cultures are necessary prerequisites for participation and for the vitality of public spheres and, functioning of democracy" (Habermas 1989, 1990). Hence the major role performed by civil society such as YALI, through the media in civic cultures and in fostering democracy and deliberative democracy, is fundamental.

In concluding this chapter, it is imperative to state that the impact of these new technologies on political participation has been thoroughly debated and questions arise such as to what extent can the media, both traditional and social media and WEB 2.0, be given credit for political participation witnessed during the constitution reform process in the last 18 months in Zambia? By analyzing the case of YALI, this thesis sets out, with this theoretical framework in mind, to investigate the role of the media in providing a platform for political participation in Zambia.

CHAPTER 3

3.0 Methodological Approach

This thesis, as earlier mentioned is based on the case study of YALI and its work in political participation through the media in Zambia. This purely qualitative research or *soft research* focuses on interpretations of social (and political) realities (Bauer et. al. 2000:7) in Zambia. The first-hand data will be complemented by some second hand sources on public participation, NGOs and the media. A website and news analysis of

information found in online articles, newspaper articles is undertaken. Websites and facebook pages accessed include the Zambian Watchdog website and facebook page, the Zambian Eye website and facebook page, MUVI Television website, Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) television website. YALI website, facebook page and organization statements and briefs will be reviewed. Political analysis of the current political tensions over the constitution making process in Zambia is conducted. Finally 9 interviews have also been conducted with YALI employees. These various types of information will be reviewed due to the complexity of the case, requiring a multi-dimensional methodological approach and analysis.

All evidences gathered from the interviews will be analyzed and interpreted by use of a logbook of provisional summaries from the evidence or data gathered as detailed in this and the next chapter. All records have been reviewed for analysis purposes in order to understand and get a fuller picture through reflections of the realities of the case in point, since "reflecting on all evidences accessed is key in the development of this study" (Gillham 2000). The main aim of employing the logbook mode of analyzing data is to look for relations among all the evidence and to keep track of re-occurring terms and concepts. This process is known as "looking chain evidences" (Gillham 2000), a process so vital and crucial in case study.

3.1 Case Study Method

Case study has been defined variously but to mean an approach, design, strategy or method in social research (May and Perry, 2011). With the difficulty of studying a whole society, case study is adopted as a method to draw general conclusions about societies and development patterns (ibid). George and Bennett (2005:5) define the case study approach as the detailed examination of an aspect of a historical episode to develop or test historical explanations that may be generalizable to other events, while Yin (2009) defines case study research as a study of cases within real-life, contemporary contexts (Yin 2009 in Creswell, 2013:97). Case study method thus has wide applicability.

The case of YALI and the constitution making process in Zambia qualifies to be studied at such lengths and the focus of YALI as an organization and how it collaborates with the media in political participation activities in Zambia, fulfills the criteria for a case study as it requires "a detailed examination of the historical aspect" of the constitution making process and citizen participation in that process through time and space in Zambia. Case study can be seen as an instance of a class of events, where class here refers to a phenomenon of scientific interest, such as revolutions, types of government regimes, kinds of economic systems, or personality types that the investigator chooses to study. "It is a well-defined aspect of a historical event that the investigator selects for analysis, rather than a historical event itself" (George and Bennett 2005:18).

While structuralists may worry that case studies are more amenable to social and institutional theories than to materialist theories, …(George and Bennett 2005:9), this thesis, takes a social constructivist stance and welcomes the comparative advantage of case studies in addressing qualitative variables, *individual actors*, *decision-making processes* and historical and social contexts. Emphasis here is on individual actors who in this case, are the NGO YALI and decision-making processes embedded in the historical and social contexts in regard to constitutional issues in Zambia.

Pitfalls
Like every other research method, case study design method also falls short of being flawless. George and Bennet (2005) posit that one of the most problematic issues when it comes to case study research design is the case selection. However, as earlier mentioned in the introductory part of this thesis, this case has been selected for it's relevance and importance to me as the researcher, as it deals with an area of much interest in the current political landscape in Zambia, my home country.

3.2 Methods

Interview Method

Qualitative research renders itself to various ways of collecting data, including conducting interviews, aimed at gathering evidence beyond evidence that is stated on paper (documents and literature). "Interviews are highly useful for acquiring responses vital for narrative descriptions and analysis" (May 2001). Three types of interviews are commonly used; structured, semi-structured and unstructured interviews. Although different in technique, pre-interview planning, execution and analysis, these interviews aim to achieve one goal, get information from the interviewees (May 2001:149-152).

The goal of conducting semi-structured interviews in this study is to acquire "verbal data" which is seen as one of the major methodological approaches in qualitative research (Flick, 2009:211). Using what Flick (2009:156) terms as *Subjective theory,* "the individual knowledge that a person has about a certain topic" knowledge was thus extracted and utilized in this research setting through interviews, "to reveal existing knowledge in a way that can be expressed in the form of answers and so become accessible to interpretation" (Flick, 2009:160).

Semi-structured Interviews

For this study, face-to-face interviews, using the semi-structured interview method has been chosen. Subsequently for purposes of this thesis, an interview will refer to a face-to- face verbal interchange and interaction, in which one person, the interviewer (me), attempts to get information or expressions of opinion or belief from another person or persons (YALI employees). This definition comes from a widely cited review, Maccoby and Maccoby (1954: 449). A similar definition is found in Kahn and Cannell's (1957: 16) influential text: "interview refers to a specialized pattern of verbal interaction, initiated for a specific purpose, and focused on some specific content area, with consequent elimination of extraneous material.

Strengths

Unstructured interviews present an ability to make the interviewees give as much information as possible without being restricted to a questionnaire. Another reason is that the face-to-face interview will enable me to record the context of the interview and take notice of the non-verbal gestures of the respondents, which is the strength of this kind of interviews. As a result, unlike in the other methods; mail or self-completion interviews and telephone interviews, there is a visual interactional component between me and the interviewees or YALI employees. Fowler (1988: 107) states that the greatest advantage to face-to-face interviews is that it gives the ability to ask questions in a clear, standardized and concise way, to record the answers carefully in accordance with the survey instructions and maintain a rapport with the respondent.

In comparison with the other two interview methods mentioned above, this method yields a higher response rate, at a high cost depending on how many interviews are used, with a higher control of the interview situation, but at a slower speed. To obtain as much information as possible during the interviews, it was important to ensure that the questions asked and terms used were clear enough for the respondents to understand. Explaining the purpose of the study to YALI employees and the importance of their involvement was done, as it was vital that they understood the relevance of the whole process. Another advantage is that the semi-structured interview allows the interviewee to answer without feeling constrained by pre-formulated questions with a limited range of answers, (May 2011:132). Furthermore, use of this method enables comparisons, as there will be a variation in the quality of the information that is generated in each interview, hence my choice of this kind of interview type.

Weaknesses
Qualitative research interviews have been criticized for not being objective, due to the inherent human interaction necessary to conduct an interview (Kvale, 1996:64).

Researchers play a central role in data collection, consequently presenting a great deal of potential to influence the quality of data collected (Fowler 1988: 107). The limitations of this method also lie within the lack of possibility to generalize the results. The number of interviewees will never be high enough to ensure proper generalization. My pre-conceived ideas about the topic and my subjective view of the topic also pose as potential threats to the objectivity of the interviews. The solution to this lies within my writing, descriptive and analytical skills (of both primary and secondary data combined), and my abilities as the researcher (Creswell 2007:179).

Expert Interviews

It was necessary to make use of expert interviews given that this thesis is a multi-method case study as earlier mentioned, and "expert interviews are often used to complement other methods" (Flick, 2009:168) In this case, all interviews conducted were considered as expert interviews, as YALI employees are labeled in this case as "those persons as experts who are particularly competent as authorities on a certain matter of facts" (Deeke, 1995 cited in Flick, 2009:165), and "were more interesting on the basis of their knowledge on a specific topic, and less interesting as a person as a whole" (Flick, 2009:165). YALI employees provided in-depth data on political participation in Zambia as well as on issues of the constitution reform process in the country and the role of the media in this regard. The main challenge faced was to " get the experts to participate" (Flick 2009:168). What helped was that I had a relationship with the organization prior to my studying in Sweden. I worked as a volunteer for YALI in their communication department. This made it easier to gain access to the experts for interviews. Another limitation was selection and choice of group experts. All YALI employees were randomly selected except for the YALI President and Governance Advisor who were chosen in their capacity as lead roles in the study.

Another limitation is that "the group of experts chosen might be too narrow as they all represent the same group of experts" (Flick 2009:169). However, a solution was that the

information given was backed up by other analysis methods as well as theories applied and was countered by use of scientific analysis of the interviews through qualitative data analysis. Furthermore, conducting these interviews meant that as the researcher, I had to be abreast with the topic under discussion in-order to ask follow-up questions and to probe further when necessary (Ibid), "as the researcher is him or herself the research instrument" (Kvale 1996:147).

Ethical Considerations

"The greatest asset to a study is the researcher" (May 20011). To ensure honesty as the researcher as well as comfortability of the interviewees, issues of ethics were discussed at the start of the interviews. All respondents were assured of confidentiality of the interview. It was explained to them that the interviews would be used merely for the purpose of this study, which is purely academic and that although the interviews would be recorded; it would only be for transcribing purposes. This was done because "ethics are fundamental in maintaining the integrity and legitimacy of research in society and in protecting practitioners and participants in its practices" (May 2011:47). It was important to observe research ethics in this case, due to its politically sensitive nature. Taking an ethical position, as the researcher, I decided to be as careful as possible not to attach my "voice" to this study but to base the thesis on theory and data reviewed in relation to what various scholars say about this topic and how their work can be used to explain the complexity of this study.

The Interview Process

Using semi-structured interviews, an interview guide was employed in getting information from the YALI employees. During the interview, questions in the guide did not have to be followed strictly but both the interviewer and interviewees were free to ask or answer the questions in no particular order. This allowed for follow-up questions. The actual interview process followed through a few steps. The interview guide was formulated and revised several times to ensure that the questions were clear and simple,

bearing in mind the research questions, aims and objectives of the study (see attachment 2). All interviews were conducted face-to-face except one with the YALI Governance Advisor, due to his unavailability during the fieldwork period. As "there are no standardized procedures when conducting a research interview", many decisions were taken "on the spot" (Kvale, 1996:13). All interviews were recorded on two external recording devices and later saved on a computer for easy access and transcribing purposes and to ensure that none of the data was lost. This is also vital for validity purposes as one can always refer back to or re-listen to the recordings. Having transcribed the interviews, the final step in this process was data analysis.

News/ Website Analysis

Social media, generally understood as web-based services "that build on the ideological foundations of Web 2.0, and that allow the creation and exchange of User Generated Content" (Kaplan and Haenlein 2010:61 in Bredl et.al 2014:1), can be analyzed using various research methods and strategies. However every research method is exposed to various limits and opportunities, and social media analysis has not been spared due to diversity of content, activity and users on social platforms.

> A growing amount of content is published worldwide every day by millions
> of social users. Most of this content is public, permanent, and searchable; at
> the same time, the number of studies proposing different techniques and
> methodologies to exploit this content as data for researchers in different
> disciplines is also growing (Bredl et al 2014:5).

News that has characterized the Zambian media both online and traditional media for the last 18 months has revolved around the tensions that currently exist between the State and Civil Society. This period has been chosen for analysis as it the time when constitutional discussions have been more prominent within the Zambia media landscape since the Patriotic Front (PF) Government was ushered into power in 2011. The News is derived

from various online Newspapers, television and radio websites and facebook pages both public and private. The focus here is on the concept of power, discussed at its different levels including State power, what power CSOs have left in Zambia as well as the power of the media and how it can aid or work against Civil Society in general and YALI in particular, in Zambia. Using the power of the media discussed in the theoretical framework, YALI through the media both creates for themselves and others, a platform to drum up support locally and internationally on the constitution making process and the state of democracy in the country.

Zambia has three public media houses namely the Zambia Daily Mail, Times and Zambia and the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC). With these institutions being under state control, YALI and other NGOs rely on community media houses and private stations for coverage of their activities. Online media has also been a platform for political engagement, especially after the Zambia Watchdog leaked the draft constitution. However, most of YALI's outreach is done through community and private radio stations as "radio in Zambia has a huge impact in terms of outreach" (Choolwe). Another alternative has been the formation of the Grand Coalition on the constitution making process, a movement aimed at using the power of numbers to pressurize government to release a new constitution. Dahlgren (2009: 14) suggests that "citizen involvement is triggered by dissatisfaction", meaning that political participation can be sparked by discontent regarding the present situation (ibid). The formation of the Grand Coalition in Zambia aligns with Dahlgren's assertions.

Qualitative Data Analysis Framework
In order to search for patterns and relationships among the specific details obtained from the 9 interviews conducted with YALI employees, Qualitative Data Analysis (QDA) has been employed. The advantage of using this type of analysis is that it helps "to analyze data systematically; to organize, integrate, and examine" so as to "search for patterns and relationships among the specific details" (Neuman, 2011:507). To begin the analysis,

identifying key themes and reoccurring terms from the interviews conducted with YALI employees was done. By creating a table in Microsoft word, these themes were inserted into the table for analysis purposes. The data was then coded and categorized for reference's sake during the analysis, based on" repetition, metaphor, comparison" (Ryan & Bernard, 2003:89-91). The key and recurring themes identified from the interviews include: citizen engagement and political participation; community media as a platform for garnering local support; social media versus mainstream media; digital divide, intimidation and harassment, Grand Coalition and solidarity. The themes identified from the interviews were used as a starting point for the analysis. As Neuman points out:

"The themes are at a low level of abstraction and come from your initial research question, concepts in the literature, terms used by members in the social setting, or new thoughts stimulated by an immersion in the data" (Neuman, 2011:511).

On the other hand, "Codes serve to summarize, synthesize, and sort many observations made of the data (...) coding becomes the fundamental means of developing the analysis " (Charmaz, 1983 cited in Seidel, 1998:4).

After revisiting the research questions, the codes and themes had to be analyzed against the theories employed in the study, in order to establish a relationship between the data obtained and the theoretical framework. The research questions are: What is the role of NGOs in political participation in Zambia? What is the relationship between NGOs and the media in fostering participation of the public in decision-making processes in general and the constitution making process in Zambia in particular? With regard to the constitution making-process in Zambia, how has YALI been utilizing the different media platforms, where and why? What has been happening on the ground through YALI's work in providing a platform for the public? What has been the response and what is the public saying? How does Dahlgren's notion of civic cultures illuminate the work of

YALI and its role in political participation in Zambia? In what ways is the continued acceleration in social media access by Zambians fuelling shifts in NGOs' agendas and activities with regard to the constitution making process? To what extent are YALI's working methods affected by developments in Information Communication Technology (ICTs) in Zambia? During this phase, the questions were revisited in order not to divert from the core of this study and also to serve as a guide for the thematic phase.

This thematic phase made it possible to identify relevant themes from the interviews. During this stage "thematic analyses moves beyond counting explicit words or phrases and focuses on identifying and describing both implicit and explicit ideas within the data, that is, themes" (Guest et.al, 2012:10). "A series of decisions must be made regarding the process of transcribing as transcriptions are interpretive constructions" (Kvale 1996:163), and in order to "condense the general meaning of what is said" the interviews with YALI employees were not verbatim, but rather were used to extract concrete statements about political participation and the media in Zambia as well as YALI's role in the constitution making process. Since "social science research is all about interpretation" (Nietzsche, 1987 cited in Berger, 2011:14), this chapter provides a basis for the analytical part of this thesis.

CHAPTER 4

4.0 ANALYSIS

Political participation is a topic that has found itself on the agenda of many researchers, as seen in the theoretical framework chapter. The role of the media in providing a platform for civic engagement has been widely debated due to the perceived power that the media possess. This is further elaborated on below. As the aim of this thesis is to investigate political participation and the media, through a case study of YALI, this

chapter is divided into three parts. The first part reviews the political context of this study followed by a discussion of the case of YALI. The second part focuses on an analysis of this case through Dahlgren's dynamic circuit of knowledge, values, trust, spaces, practices, and identities. Focus here is on the first three parts of the circuit in relation to the case of YALI and political participation in Zambia. The latter three circuits are also discussed, as they would not thrive in a country like Zambia without the former. This chapter ends with a discussion in the third part. A brief description of the Constitution making process in Zambia is presented below to provide a backdrop to the analysis. Seeing as how the objective of this thesis is to be able to draw general conclusions about political participation and the media in Zambia, through a case study of YALI, description of the case will be limited while focus will be on the data and how it has been interpreted and analyzed.

The Constitution in Zambia: Brief background

The route of coming up with an acceptable or people-driven Constitution has been a long one in Zambia. It is now over 20 years since Zambia started making attempts, some of them very costly, at developing a democratic Constitution, which meets the aspirations of her people. On 16th November 2011, the President of the Republic of Zambia, Mr. Michael Chilufya Sata, using his executive powers vested in him by the current Republican Constitution, appointed a technical committee to draft the new Zambian Constitution. The Technical Committee on Drafting the Zambian Constitution started sitting on 1st December 2011 (http://zambianconstitution.org).

Figure 1. Shows the Key events in the Ongoing Constitutional Process in Zambia

Dec 2006	President Mwanawasa initiates the fifth constitutional review process by presenting a 14step roadmap for constitutional reform spreading over 258 weeks.
Apr 2007	Civil society headed by the OASIS Forum presents an alternative roadmap spreading over 71 weeks and creating a deadlock in the process
May 2007	Political parties engage in internal consultations to seek ways of breaking the deadlock and establishing a compromise solution with their rank and

	file in the provinces.
June 2007	Stakeholders during the Summit of the Presidents agree to compromise road map calling for a National Constitutional Conference (NCC).
July 2007	A Draft NCC bill is presented to the stakeholders for input by the Minister of justice
Sept 2007	Bill establishing NCC is adopted
Dec 2007	Members of parliament, representatives of political parties, local councilors, NGOs, professional bodies, traditional leaders, special individuals, the judiciary, state institutions and the civil service were sworn in as members of the National Constitutional Conference.
Apr 2008	The parties jointly organized regional consultative platforms to discuss content issues.
Aug 2008	President Mwanawasa dies
Sept 2009	President Rupiah Banda grants the NCC a four-month extension to fulfill its mandate. Pressure has been mounting from opposition political parties and civil society groups for the NCC to complete its work so that the next general elections in 2011 can be held under the new constitution.
Nov 2011	Newly elected President Michael Chilufya Sata appoints a Technical Committee consisting of 17 members, to draft the Zambian Constitution. He promises Zambians a new constitution within 90 days of assuming office.
2012	President SATA and his government state that the final submissions from the technical committee will be presented to government and the public simultaneously for scrutiny, after which the document will be subjected to a nationwide referendum
Dec 2013	Government informs the nation that only 10 copies of the draft constitution will be printed by the technical committee and submitted to government
Dec 2013	Opposing statement: Minister claims Government is studying the draft constitution from the technical committee and that it was a good document while Vice President says Government is still awaiting the technical committee to hand over the document
Jan 2014	Zambian Watchdog "leaks" the draft constitution on their facebook page purported to be the document that the technical committee handed over to government.
Mar 2014	President SATA announces that Zambia does not need a new constitution and that government should ignore those that are "yapping" for a new constitution
Apr 2014	Civil Society in Zambia continue pressing government to give Zambians a new people- driven constitution as promised prior to the 2011 elections

Source: National Constitutional Commission http://www.ncczambia.org/index.php

4.1 Political Context and Analysis

"We don't need a new constitution and we should not pay attention to those advocating for a new one"- PRESIDENT SATA, (MUVI TV Facebook page 2014) is a news headline that has rocked the Zambian media in the recent past. The recent history of it begins when the infamous Zambian Watchdog, a privately and anonymously run online media house, on January 15th, 2014 leaked the eleventh copy of the constitution to the general public. Millions of Zambians downloaded and printed the draft copy. This came after Government insisted that only ten copies be printed and submitted to government by the Technical committee assigned by the President (www.zambianwatchdog.com). This has resulted in political tensions rising among Civil Society Organizations, the opposition as well as ordinary citizens. Having promised to deliver a new constitution within 90 days of assuming office and having u-turned on that promise 18 months later, what alternative does that leave with NGOs such as YALI? How can the media be a partner in this cause?

Zambia, reported "serious human rights abuses during the year 2013" (Human Rights Report 2013), among them press freedoms. Two of the country's three most widely circulated newspapers were government-run, while the third was perceived by many to be pro-government. The government-owned Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation is the principal local content television station with nationwide coverage. One private television station gained coverage and viewership during the year 2013, (Human Rights Report 2013). With no access to public media, citizens and civil society alike are faced with a political situation where they are not free to express their views on constitutional issues.

> …Unfortunately, looking at what is happening around us, it would seem to us, that the ideals of a politically plural society have not been fully understood and appreciated by those that aspire for political leadership in our successive Governments. This can be seen by the high levels of political intolerance that continue to characterize our political environment, (Zambian

Eye, Pastoral Statement: January 27, 2013)

"In addition to government-controlled radio and television stations, numerous private radio stations, including community radio stations, broadcast largely without interference" (Human Rights Report 2013). However, the government revoked newly issued nationwide licenses for QFM and Radio Phoenix, the government claimed the stations gave the opposition too much coverage. Some local private stations broadcast call-in programs on which diverse and critical viewpoints were freely expressed (Human Rights Report 2013), as echoed in YALI's work revealed in the interviews:

Currently in Zambia, the most popular media is the public media, followed by the private media, with a number of people accessing social media. The problem is that it is the public media that covers the entire country but is heavily controlled by the state; as a result, whatever YALI says whether positive or negative, will not be covered by the public media (Charles).

We use community and commercial radio stations for our programmes, some of which are paid for programmes while others are held at the invitation of the stations themselves. Most Zambians are illiterate so by using community radio stations, we communicate the right message to the right people and remove the risk of having or message distorted. We have not been able to access public media as we are seen to be anti-government (Choolwe).

When we have radio dialogues, we ensure that they are carried live on radio so that people out there can participate by phoning-in or via text. E.g. we just came back from Kasama where we had a prayer meeting over the constitution that was broadcast live on Radio Mano (community radio station). In terms of mainstream media, the Patriotic Front have been very undemocratic such that

the public media has been compromised and is not running independently as the government is dictating what makes news and what should not (Andrew).

This has resulted in an unfavourable political climate, where issues of violence and harassment have been reported. "Although the government stated that it tolerated negative articles in newspapers, several journalists reported receiving threatening phone calls urging them not to print critical information". "Police arrested journalists more frequently than in previous years. Pro-government political activists and state agents often subjected journalists to physical attack, harassment, and intimidation" (Human Rights Report 2013).

In Zambia, civil society is not free due to government harassment…and even being jailed whenever they speak out against government (Charles).

There has been a lot of militia attacks e.g. when a person is on the radio discussing how certain government policy is not working, they are then threatened by government. E.g MISA Zambia Chairperson was abducted after being guest on a radio programme discussing government policy and he pitched up two days later and could not disclose what had happened to Him. Political participation by citizens is there but critical voices are beginning to go down maybe we need a new brand of leadership to begin to speak out against the government because this government thrived on the people that were critical of the previous government but the current government is very adverse to any advise and are intolerant and not welcome to divergent views (Choolwe).

On censorship and content restrictions, the government remained sensitive to media criticism. The Media Institute of Southern Africa (Zambia Chapter) criticized police in June for disregarding the 2010 Whistleblowers Act and attempting to censor journalists

covering stories the government might perceive to be negative (Human Rights Report 2013). "The issue of harassment and intimidation of journalists and arrests on trumped up charges where even notepads of journalists are used as evidence in court, have been rampant in Zambia" (Ntewewe).

> There have been double standards in how the police are handling these cases and have been very quick to arrest journalists from independent media because government is controlling them. E.g Richard Sakala of Daily Nation newspaper case vs. the People where MacDonald Chipenzi made a statement on lack of transparency in the police recruitment system and he was charged for "alarming the nation" but the pro-government Post News Paper although privately owned also published a similar article but they were not prosecuted (Ntewewe).

Although access generally was not restricted and individuals and groups could freely express their views via the Internet, the government targeted and blocked some online publications. For instance, the government blocked access to the antigovernment online publication the Zambian Watchdog on all but one Internet service provider (ISP). Two other online blogs, Zambia Reports and Barotse Reports, were also blocked, although both were available on Facebook and through non-Zambian ISPs (Human Rights Report 2013).

However, regarding the constitution making process, pressure has since continued to mount on President Sata to state what happened to the 10 draft constitution copies that the Technical Committee handed over to him. Attempts to deny that they never received the document have since been universally rebutted and the government seemed stuck with how to proceed on the matter (Zambian Eye Website 2014). In relation to this case, with the current hype on the emergence of WEB 2.0 and Social media (Olsson 2013) in the Western world, in Zambia, data from the interviews reveals that traditional media;

especially community radio is key for political engagement. With no access to public media, NGOs such as YALI are left with the option of utilizing community radio and commercial radio and television for their political engagement and community mobilization, in the face of heightening harassment and intimidation.

> "A significant number of the population has no access to Internet, and YALI depends on television, radio and goodwill and support from the local and international community for political participation and civic engagement" (Ntewewe 2014).

Given a population of 13 million Zambians, (CSO 2010) there were approximately 2, 100,000 mobile Internet users at December 2012, with another 92,000 registered as fixed line Internet subscriptions (ZICTA 2014). Both forms of subscriptions show a growth rate of approximately 86% as compared to a growth rate of 48% in 2011 (ZICTA 2014).

The Case: Young African Leaders Initiative (YALI)
An Introduction

The Obama Administration's Young African Leaders Initiative (YALI) is a signature effort to invest in the next generation of African leaders. President Obama launched YALI in 2010 to support young African leaders as they spur growth and prosperity, strengthen democratic governance, and enhance peace and security across Africa (http://www.yaliafrica.org). Through YALI, the United States has invested significant resources to enhance leadership skills, spur entrepreneurship, and connect young African leaders with one another and with Americans (http://www.yaliafrica.org).

YALI and Political Participation in Zambia
YALI's mandate as a Non- Governmental Organization in Zambia and a part of civil society is supporting democratic governance and promoting a human rights culture.

YALI's main agenda is democracy, participation and empowerment, with works also carried out in areas of education, human rights, entrepreneurship and governance issues (YALI Policy Statement 2013). In Zambia, CSOs, YALI included have formed a Grand Coalition and have taken government to task over the stalling constitution making process, by engaging citizens to participate in this process, and relying on the power of numbers to make their voices matter and be heard.

> Never before in history have there been so many opportunities to access, comment upon and challenge governing authorities. But never before, at least in democratic history, has the public felt so frustrated and disappointed about its lack of ability to make any difference to the policies and decisions of government (Coleman 2007:14).

At organizational level, YALI, with regard to the constitution making process has firmly reaffirmed its commitment to the cause regardless of intimidation by political elites. Democracy, according to Dahlgren (2011:12) is not a universal and static phenomenon as its specific character varies under different and evolving circumstances. The vitality and even the very survival of democracy in Zambia cannot be taken for granted. "It is an historical project, criss-crossed by contestations among those forces that would in various ways constrict it and those that seek to broaden and deepen it, not least of which by enhancing the participation of citizens" (Dahlgren 2011:12). Democracy does exist, however, existing "democracy" does not automatically guarantee universal participation, as there are always mechanisms at work that can delimit participation. Thus, such participation is always contingent on structural circumstances, Dahlgren 2011:13. This explains the need to engage people to participate in the democratic process of drafting a new constitution that reflects the wishes of the people above all else. YALI's role is echoed by its activities in schools, town halls, media sphere etc., all in a bid to get Zambians on board.

"The biggest problem is that the constitution making process has been so much politicized by politicians. They are demanding the 50plus 1 vote, the Bill of Rights which will guarantee such freedoms as freedom of the media, assembly, social and economic rights etc. Unfortunately those that are in power have not been kind enough to allow for that to happen. Another issue is of stopping people from really participating in this process, you recall that in 2012 the Minister of Justice had instructed the Police to have YALI leaders arrested for advocating for a new constitution" (Andrew). With the tensions in the political arena, this suggests that any perceived lack of participation cannot be seen as simply a question of failed civic virtue, but must be understood in the contexts of the dilemmas of late modern democracy, more generally, and of the specific socio-cultural factors that shape the lived realities of various groups of citizens.

4.2 A Dynamic Circuit of Civic Cultures

To aid this analysis, the dynamic circuit of civic cultures explains the case in point. "This framework is intended to help to analytically and empirically study the factors that can shape civic agency and thereby impact on citizens' engagement and participation in a democracy" (Dahlgren 209:102). The 6 dimensions of civic cultures discussed below include knowledge, values, trust, spaces practices and identities. Focus here is on the first three elements of the circuit in relation to case of YALI and political participation in Zambia, because they involve politics, and in this case will be used to analyze the problems and tensions with knowledge, values and trust in a political system with characterized by censorship, intimidation and lack of a free press.

The aim of analyzing this thesis through the 6 mentioned dimensions is to specify empirical entry points from the interviews, political analysis and news/website analysis, on citizens' engagement and participation with an emphasis on the media and the role of NGOs in this regard. In moving further and as earlier mentioned in the theoretical framework, it is imperative to reiterate that, like Dahlgren (2009:104), the view of culture in this thesis is constructionist, "where the reality and production of knowledge is a

construction of mind" (Richardson1995: 199). The following are the 6 dimensions and in relation to this case, they are useful for analysis as they can be studied in concrete circumstances (such as this case) to highlight their dynamic interaction and to examine how they might serve to promote or hinder engagement (Dahlgren 2009:108).

Knowledge

"That citizens need knowledge in order to participate politically is obvious and basic, people must have access to reliable reports, portrayals, analyses, discussions and debates about current affairs if they are to become civically engaged" (Dahlgren 2009:108). To speak of knowledge here includes knowledge acquisition and what better channel delivers this knowledge to citizens than the media. In this case government threatens this acquisition of knowledge; and access to information for relevant civic engagement, in the constitution making process. As the interviews reveal that lack of knowledge and education is a key barrier to civic engagement by majority of Zambians.

> One of the things we have seen in this country is participation in the electoral system. But recently the participation of Zambians in the recent past has declined and citizens are not so active in the democratic system of their country. E.g in the recent by-election in Katuba, less than 15% of registered voters turned up to vote for a new area Member of Parliament. When it comes to participating in constitutional issues, the problem is that the majority of Zambian citizens are not educated. There are high levels of illiteracy in this country, especially people in rural areas. When we go around talking about the draft constitution, people don't even know what a constitution is, and these are the majority of our citizens in rural areas (Mundia).

> Participation in this process has not been made easy by government. E.g. the copies of the draft constitution were printed in English but we have people who cannot read in English and they have not had access to these copies

either given the poor distribution process. Only a few privileged and literate individuals have had access and these are mainly found in urban areas. Another thing is that this draft can be accessed online but again there are very few Zambians who have access to internet and so people would be able to participate more if they had access to the draft constitution to enlighten them on it's provisions in order for them to make new submissions on what should be contained in the new constitution (Victor).

 "We deal with young people who want to participate but don't know how" (Andrew).

Thus this dimension of knowledge is strongly related to the dimension of practices and skills, where some degree of literacy is important; and people must be able to make sense of that which circulates in public spheres, and to understand the world they live in. Education in its many forms will thus always retain its relevance for democracy and citizenship, even if its contents and goals often need to be critically examined (Dahlgren 2009:109). In this case:

Citizen participation is crosscutting, with the elite who are knowledgeable about the constitution, while the majority of the population is illiterate. There are a number of barriers because for each organism to work efficiently, each cell needs to work efficiently but in our case in Zambia, we have the government who have the duty to provide a constitution for Zambians. However, government has been asking people to choose between being given food or a new constitution. This is a very serious challenge for the majority of Zambians who are poor and illiterate (Charles)

YALI has appealed to President Michael Sata to provide leadership on the stalled constitution making process as opposed to making mocking statements on the issue.

In a statement, YALI emphasized that President Sata's recent statement questioning whether the current constitution is an animal driven constitution for people to continue demanding for a people driven constitution is disappointing (QFm News: 24th February, 2014).

> The way forward is for the people of Zambia to stand up and demand accountability. Laws cannot be changed if people are not active so our goal is to have citizens that demand their rights and say enough is enough (Andrew). As a result, "YALI is focusing on empowering youths with knowledge and education to participate in governance, democracy and human rights issues…" (Melinda).
>
> "We have also been mobilizing citizens in rural communities especially through our rural outreach programmes where our coordinators speak the native language in that region or area. We train our coordinators to explain constitutional issues to citizens and how they can be involved"
> (Mundia).
>
> "We have engaged citizens and youths countrywide and we were threatened and where at risk of being deregistered by the Minister of Justice just because we were engaging people" (Choolwe), as "government claims that YALI should not hold such meetings without government knowledge. But as YALI, we have gone ahead with our meetings on the constitution because we believe it is our constitutional right" (Isaac).

Values

Democracy will not function if such virtues as tolerance and willingness to follow democratic principles and procedures do not have grounding in everyday life (Dahlgren 2009:110). The opposite is true in this case:

> There's intolerance. If I want to talk about the constitution, give me chance to

talk about the constitution and let me feel safe that I will not be attacked when I go home. When the opposition members of parliament protested over the constitution, they were threatened that they would be dealt with by lynching and if MPs can be threatened like that what about me? We want free debate, can members of the PF come on board and tell us why there is this shrewd secrecy surrounding the constitution. We want public fora e.g. townhall discussions on matters of the constitution affecting people. We don't want a clique of people to draft the constitution for 13 million Zambians. We need every Zambian in villages to participate. We also need a public media that has freedom for everyone in the country to have access to air their views (Choolwe).

Although shared values mentioned earlier, put people within the common communicative culture, they do not prevent antagonisms, and Mouffe (2000, 2005 cited in Dahlgren 2009:111) argues for the notion of shared values as a common point of departure for the playing out of political conflicts; but only if such a generalized loyalty takes precedence over particular group interests will democracy be able to function. In relation to this case, the issue of whether the Zambian government is upholding democratic values raises much concern. Having promised Zambians a new constitution within 90 days of assuming office, government has since reneged on that promise. The Zambian Eye website reports in a news article quoting renowned political activist Mbita Chitala: "Following the completion of the work of the Technical Committee on the Constitution, the view held by some of our compatriots that our cabinet must first deliberate on it and produce a White Paper is not only against the consensus we have made as a united people since 1991 but is also unnecessarily provocative," (Mbita Chitala: Activist). "The consensual view is that the only role of those who are governing us is to facilitate and subject the draft constitution together with all clauses where there was no consensus, to a referendum of our people. The attempt to subvert this process is an exhibition in

dishonesty and is unnecessarily divisive " (Zambian Eye Website 17th Jan, 2014).

To be able to thrash out such conflicts without violence, striving for some practical compromise in situations where consensus is elusive is a key task for a democratic society (Dahlgren 2009:111)…through laws that strive to facilitate minority group accommodation. Their realization and efficacy however, are dependent upon a respect from all sides…(Ibid). YALI in particular and Civil Society as a whole in Zambia seem to be entangled in this conflict with government over the constitution, as demonstrated through the interviews. Dialogue with government has proved futile, and presents a difficulty in realization of meaningful consensus on this matter.

> " We want to engage government as well but the problem is when you write a letter to government, they have a tendency of writing back to citizens by saying 'we have received your useless letter' so it doesn't make sense to engage government but we still hope to engage them in some way with regard to the constitution" (Choolwe).

Meanwhile, Council of Churches (CCZ) in Zambia, in a statement established that "the church believes that the constitution making process is a justice issue and the Zambian people demand nothing but justice, honesty, righteousness, fairness, credibility and integrity to all people and by all people" (Zambian Eye, December 19, 2013). As Dahlgren (2009:113) states, "democratic value and commitment is not simply a rational cognitive choice, but also involves an element of passion". Thus values in this case play a vital role for the upholding of democratic tendencies, for respect of human rights as well as tolerance of divergent views. As earlier stated, democracy will not function if such virtues as tolerance and willingness to follow democratic principles and procedures do not have grounding in everyday life (Dahlgren 2009:110), in this case by both those governed and the governed equally.

An intense enthusiasm for democratic values can evoke response, stimulate

engagement and generate action. This passion for democratic values is, in a sense, the foundation of civic virtue, the guidelines that define ideal civic behaviour (Dahlgren 2009:112).

This means that in this case, without values and passion to uphold those values by government, democracy and human rights cannot be guaranteed, as "it is both unethical and immoral for any person or group to sit on the draft Constitution" (Zambian Watchdog Website: January 24th, 2014). "Zambia has a population of over 14milion people and the 10 copies to be printed are a pure mockery of people of Zambia and reducing Zambian's democratic space by closing up Citizens participation in democratic process such the Constitutional reform process" (YALI Facebook Page: Jan 6, 2014).

Trust

When the Patriotic Front Party was campaigning in 2011, most of the messages resonated very well with Civil Society then, particularly the issue of the Constitutional making process. "The PF promised the Zambian people that they would deliver a new constitution within 90 days of getting into office, raising hopes among Civil Society for a new constitution" (Andrew). The PF also promised the Zambian people that they would actually review the NGO Act and so most CSOs went to bed, so to say with the PF. This built some sort of trust in the PF by the citizens who thus turned out in huge numbers and voted the PF into office. Thus the issue of trust is fundamental to this case. "But what actually happened was that after PF won the elections in 2011most NGOs became a little bit relaxed, there was a lot of inertia because they were waiting for this political party that they helped get into office to deliver on its promises" (Andrew).

But talking as of present, what has happened is that there has been an awakening because all of a sudden CS has realized that government and the PF in particular do not mean well on either the constitution making process or on the NGO Act or laws that are meant to promote human rights for all

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human beings. It seems that the PF government has turned back on most if not all of the promises that they made. So there has been an awakening where CS realizes now that we have to play a very important role in ensuring that we can provide checks and balances and in ensuring that our citizens are mobilized to demand accountability and ensure that there's adequate sensitization not only in urban but rural areas also to ensure that our people are well informed and are well aware about the issues that affect them and ensure that then a platform is created for their participation (Andrew).

In short, people have lost trust in government. Trust is an important component for democracy and has been presented as a self-evident "good thing" – the more trust, the better, and declines in trust signal trouble (Dahlgren 2009:112). Since "we operate to a large degree via trust" (Dahlgren 2009:113) trust here referring to trust among or between groups of citizens (Tonkiss, Passey, Fenton, and Hems 2000 cited in Dahlgren 2009:112), when that trust is lost, people lose interest in political engagement and upholding their civic duties.

There was a lot of activism and participation before the 2011 elections, but due to the disillusionment that a lot of our people have had to suffer after the 2011 elections, you notice that the participation has gone down. One example I can give you is that you will notice that when you have a by-election the participation is less than 30%. There is already about 8 by-elections to come and we have had over 20 by-elections since PF came into power. This is unprecedented number of by-elections. This is also due to fatigue and inertia by the people who feel cheated by the PF and feel that even if they participate they don't gain anything (Andrew). "This has been challenge even in constitution reform process where we as CSOs go out there and say can we have so much activism and ask people to participate but they have lost trust and hope in the government" (Andrew).

Putnam (2000:136 cited in Dahlgren 2009:112) distinguishes between "thick" trust, based on established personal relationships, and "thin" trust, the generalized honesty and expectations of reciprocity that we accord people we don't know personally but with whom we feel we have a satisfactory exchange. In this regard then, "in getting a grasp of the complex character of trust in democracy, (Warren 1999 cited in Dahlgren 2009:113) notes that while trust is usually accorded a positive role in democracy, there are some paradoxes at work". "Politics involves conflicts of interests…which insert an element of mistrust…thus even in politics, we cannot grasp all our possible vulnerabilities and we choose to trust atleast to some extent", as in the case of Zambian citizens and the "thin" trust they placed in the current government prior to the 2011 elections. "It can be argued however that it is patently foolish to blindly trust political institutions as there is simply too much we don't know about their work, who is doing what and for what reasons within them and so on" (Dahlgren 2009:114). In relation to this study, the evidence suggests "most Zambians are being reluctant due to disappointment by government, because prior to the lections the PF promised Zambians more jobs and a new constitution but they have not delivered" (Melinda).

"So we were duped. Again it has come to light that there was no political will to enact a people lead constitution. The very sad thing is that we spent so much when we could have done other things with the money. The list of broken promises grows" (Zambian Eye Facebook Page: February 12, 2014).

For some time now, news bulletins on radio and television as well as newspapers have been carrying demands by a cross section of Zambians calling for unity and common purpose among civil society organizations (Zambian Eye Website: January 24th, 2014). Violation of human rights, abuse of power and corruption has become prominent in everyday life (Human Rights Report 2013). "Zambians are suffering because PF has

refused to honor its promises including the promise of more money in people's pockets. This scenario has convinced our people that PF got into government through the window and not the door because they lied to get votes" (Bwalya, Zambian Eye Website: January 24th, 2014). This highlights the abuse of trust that Zambian citizens entrusted in those whom they elected to govern.

> However, civil society organizations reiterate their demands for a people driven constitution until President Michael Sata listens. YALI Executive Director Andrew Ntewewe said when he featured on Muvi TV's the Assignment programme that it was unfortunate that Zambians had been taken in a web of lies over the draft constitution (Zambian Reports Website: January 20, 2014; MUVI Television Website 2014). "Against this background, we demand honesty and accountability from the Patriotic Front in the current constitution making process" (Bwalya, Zambian Eye Website: January 24th, 2014).

Having talked about trust among citizens, another interesting dynamic is that of trust among political elites or those in power. After the Zambian watchdog purportedly leaked the draft constitution, issues of trust and mistrust arose among government officials and the technical committee tasked by the President to draft the new constitution.

> The public but government controlled television station ZNBC reported that State House challenged the Technical Committee on Drafting the Constitution to come out clean on claims that the final draft constitution had been leaked and is circulating on online media. But Technical Committee Drafting the Republican Constitution Spokesperson Ernest Mwansa said the committee does not know anything about the leaked Draft Constitution (ZNBC Website: January 18, 2014).

Meanwhile, government is disappointed that NGOs are causing commotion over the draft constitution. The Vice President explained that there is no new constitution and that what has been leaked is just a Report on recommendations for the document (ZNBC Website: January 18, 2014).

The Lusaka Times Website (January 18, 2014) reported that government would probe the Technical Committee Drafting the Zambia Constitution to find out who leaked the draft copy to the online media; as it was against the terms of reference that were given to the Technical Committee.

Some people within the Technical Committee leaked the document to online media. "The leaking of the document to online media was totally wrong and we aware that no outsider had a privilege of having looked at the document but it is within the panel of the Technical Committee who leaked that information to media," (Lusaka Times Website: January 18, 2014).

In summary and in relation to this case, it is imperative to state that "trust with a built-in antenna of skepticism seems prudent", "low trust in institutions can be ameliorated if they do a better job in telling the truth, keeping their promises, and acting with fairness and solidarity" (Dahlgren 2009:114). Or alternatively, trust can be enhanced by a growth in positive civil society experiences among citizens, thereby expanding the cultural disposition to expect positive performance…In regard to institutions and their representatives, trust operates in an ambivalent manner for civic cultures. Some degrees and forms of trust will always be necessary, but the optimal ratio of trust/mistrust has to be worked out according to specific circumstances (Dahlgren 2009:114).

With regard to this case, the meaning of what Dahlgren advances is that civil society organizations such as YALI and citizens alike, need to leave room for

disappointment, as Dahlgren argues, a bit of skepticism seems prudent especially on the constitution making process, a process that has stalled for over 30 years (see figure 1) regardless of various attempts by previous governments to give Zambians a new constitution. As earlier mentioned "Zambia is driven by politics to a large extent" (Choolwe) thus civic engagement in the public sphere is almost unavoidable, and requires knowledge and access to information, upholding of values and tenets of democracy and also important, trust among civic players.

Spaces

Civil society and its public sphere still offer many situations where people can talk to each other and the political can potentially still rear its head in many such encounters (Dahlgren 2009:115). The understanding is that "for democracy to happen, citizens must be able to encounter and talk to each other, they need access to each other to develop their collective political efforts, and contexts in which they can act together (Dahlgren 2009:114). Space here also refers to physical space of what Carpentier calls micro participation in the spheres of school, family, workplace, church and community, a maximalist form of democracy. While macro participation relates to participation in the entire polis, country or political imagined community (Carpentier 2011:17). The case of YALI and political participation in Zambia highlights that Zambians are given a platform or political space to meet each other, dialogue and participate in the constitution reform process through various platforms set by YALI and the Grand Coalition of Civil Society in Zambia.

> YALI has been hosting townhall meetings with people from various backgrounds and various parts of Zambia where we meet and discuss issues that affect us in the constitution; we put these issues on paper and present them to the relevant offices. YALI has invigorated a platform for civic participation in Zambia (Niza).
>
> YALI has been providing a platform for citizens to exchange ideas and also to

ensure that the voices of the people are heard. E.g we had consultative meetings… We have held a number of workshops…we have also been mass mobilizing citizens in rural communities especially through our rural outreach programmes (Mundia).

What YALI does is that we host dialogues around the country in all the 10 provinces in Zambia…We host roadshows because our constituency deals with young people...We realized that music, drama and poetry is one aspect where young people are really keen and get interested so we have adopted that as one way of getting people to participate (Andrew).

However, the US funded and backed YALI has provided this space for political engagement at a cost. For instance "YALI has been threatened by the Minister of Justice over the dialogue meetings we are holding across the country…but as YALI we have gone ahead with the meetings because we believe it is our constitutional right" (Isaac). "We have engaged citizens and youths countrywide and we were once threatened and, where at risk of being deregistered by the Minister of justice because we were engaging people" (Choolwe). Although the law does not require a permit to hold a rally, it requires organizers to notify police seven days in advance. The government with pro-government groups used this mandate frequently to block and disrupt meetings, public rallies and activities of opposition political parties and civil society organizations (Human Rights Report 2013).

On May 31, a group of suspected PF supporters entered a Lusaka church and assaulted religious leaders, journalists, and civil society members attending a peaceful prayer protest against the government's removal of subsidies on maize meal and fuel... (Human Rights Report 2013).

We have also seen the deadly NGO Act that the PF government is trying to implement which is direct threat to the survival of NGOs in Zambia because

government says those who wont register under this Act will be deregistered. This has instilled fear across the NGO movement and many organizations are leaning back on providing checks and balances on government (Mundia).

"This will be a recipe for anarchy in our country. If this violence continues, Zambians will be justified to form militias to defend themselves against state sponsored criminals," …"We want to state categorically that the reason why those PF criminals acted with impunity is because they have the backing of the top leadership in the PF-led government" (Father Bwalya: Zambian Eye Website, June 1, 2013).

Lacking a favorable political environment and space for face-to-face or physical deliberation and civic engagement in Zambia, the media become an alternative space for political engagement and participation by civil society and citizens. As Dahlgren (2009:115) argues, "with the media, ofcourse, the conditions for civic engagement expand". Media here refers to both traditional media, and social media.

"We use ICTs on our webpage we have a platform where people can debate and participate in various issues…to ensure that people participate and we get multitudes of young people (Andrew).

"With a number of young Zambians on social media, referred to as the 'good generation' that is shaping the country's political landscape" (Isaac), social media and it use in political deliberation cannot be completely ruled out in Zambia. "We have an active facebook page with over 5000 members who are active in trying to debate issues of the constitution…" (Isaac).

However, the greatest challenge with social media in Zambia is the digital divide. Another challenge is that although access to social media and WEB 2.0 was generally not restricted and individuals and groups could freely express their views via the Internet, the government targeted and blocked some online publications (see political context above).

With very few Zambians with an online presence, media space in this case becomes community radio, followed by commercial radio and television, and to a lesser extent the press. In summary, a keynote is that " the availability and accessibility of suitable communicative spaces – physical and virtual – is central…as knowing where to find and use these spaces…are part of the practices and skills that enhance civic cultures" (Dahlgren 2009:116).

Practices

"Practices can and are learned, they often require specific skills, especially communication competencies...engaging in practices contributes to experience and in turn serve to empower citizens" (Dahlgren 2009:116). They require an education for one to be able to read, write, speak, or work a computer, all seen as important competencies for democratic practices (Ibid). Closely linked with knowledge, education as stated above, will always play a key role in nurturing democracy. Although such practices help generate personal and social meaning to the ideals of democracy, they cannot be useful without knowledge and education. This is because " practices interplay forcefully with knowledge, trust, and values; practices also involve defining, using, or creating suitable spaces and foster civic identities" (Dahlgren 2009:117).

In relation to this case, it is reiterated that illiteracy remains a challenge to political deliberation on the constitution making process and YALI has been providing knowledge and information to citizens on constitutional issues.

> "Our role was to explain to citizens some of the contentious issues in the constitution that were under high levels of distortions around communities and debates due to illiteracy" (Mundia).

> YALI has been playing a key role from the beginning of the process. We have had dialogues with other CS players, with government to ensure that we have

a constitution that is fully people driven and not bulldozed by power bearers in our country. As YALI we embarked on a campaign and went o all parts of Zambia to engage citizens not only in urban but in rural villages, colleges and Universities as well to explain to people what this process was about and how they could participate (Wilson).

At individual level, participating in elections is usually seen as the paramount concrete practice for democracy's citizens, in Zambia however, "there is apathy from citizens" (Victor). Thus the role of YALI has been embedded in informing, educating and mobilizing people to not only restrict their civic engagement to voting, but that they can participate in politics as groups or networks. As Agre (2004:7 cited in Dahlgren 2009:117) argues, " the key practice for civic engagement is not developing or joining networks…but rather the capacity to use networks to connect to specific issues" in this case connecting specifically to issues of the constitution. However:

Equally with political participation in Zambia, it is just not happening as the ruling calls the shots and expects everyone to just follow and agree with them, making civil society and its work hard to conduct in this country (Charles).

Identities

By identifying oneself with a cause and a larger social network people are part of a civic culture, which is made up of individuals, and is less reliant on the state. "Identities, the theme of peoples' subjective view as members and participants" (Dahlgren 2009:118) "is the foundation for agency and can be seen as the centerpiece of civic cultures (Castells 2000 cited in Dahlgren 2009:119), with the other five dimensions contributing, reciprocally, to shaping the conditions of its existence (Dahlgren 2009:119). In this case therefore, pursuing the issue of the constitution by the use of civic skills that in turn

reinforce identities is futile. As pointed out by Dahlgren although "the salience of civic identities can vary enormously among individuals, for most people it is low" (Dahlgren 2009:119).

> …There is fatigue and inertia, people feel cheated by the PF and feel that even if they participate they don't gain anything. This has been challenge even in constitution reform process where we as CSOs go out there and say can we have so much activism and ask people to participate but they have lost trust and hope in the government.

Talking about identities in a political climate where levels of illiteracy are high, values and other tenets of democracy are not upheld and where trust is almost non-existence, embodied in particular spaces via practices, is far fetched.

> Participation by Zambians in the recent past has declined and citizens are not so active in the democratic system of their country. E.g. in the recent by-election in Katuba, less than 15% of registered voters turned up to vote for a new area Member of Parliament (Mundia).
>
> Now we are struggling with poor health and education systems…the rate of civic engagement by youths is not that much…people have more or less given up and there's apathy when it comes to political participation" (Niza).
>
> When it comes to participating in constitutional issues, the problem is that the majority of Zambian citizens are not educated. There are high levels of illiteracy in this country, especially people in rural areas. When we go around talking about the draft constitution, people don't even know what a constitution is, and these are the majority of our citizens in rural areas (Mundia).

Conclusion

To pull the discussion together, it is vital to recall that there are many factors that can impact on civic cultures. Using the 6 elements of the dynamic circuit of civic cultures explains the case in point and was intended to help to analytically and empirically study the factors that can shape civic agency and thereby impact on citizens' engagement and participation in a democracy. From the preceding discussion, the 6 dimensions of civic cultures of knowledge, values, trust, spaces practices and identities are seen to be closely intertwined, and in fact to pull them apart and identify them individually may convey a misleading impression of their individual independence. In conclusion it is noted that with high illiteracy levels among Zambians and political tensions fueled by intimidation and harassment of those who engage in civic activities, coupled with a state controlled media, NGOs such as YALI are threatened. With lost trust and credibility in government due to unfulfilled promises, Zambian citizens have developed apathy and in inertia for civic engagement including voting. It remains for those in power to restore citizens' trust in political institutions, by upholding values, creating knowledge and education and creating spaces where civic engagement can thrive.

4.3 Discussion

The space for political participation in Zambia, both physical and mediated space is shrinking due to intimidation and media censorship by those in authority. Having u-turned on its campaign promise to deliver a people driven constitution, the government's response to those advocating for the release of the document has not been favourable, as revealed in the interviews and news analysis.

> A lot of Zambians want to participate as Zambia is driven by politics to a large extent. But there has been a lot of intimidation of citizens by government and intolerance is on the rise, where people are now even afraid to speak out as freely as they used to in the previous government (Choolwe).

Unfortunately, the current situation and environment around NGOs is not enabling. In an ideal and free society, you expect to have an independent state, government and civil society, which should all compliment each other. However in Zambia, civil society is not free due to government harassment (Charles).

I cannot blame the civil society because the platform and environment for their operations is not conducive (Niza).

Creating a sphere for public engagement and participation has been YALI's main role since the start of the constitutional making process under the current government (Andrew). However:

It has been tricky because under this Patriotic Front regime, a number of instrumental NGOs have been compromised and are aligned to the new government. We have seen the President appointing some of these key persons in the civil society sector to high government positions. This has threatened civil society in the country. We have also seen the deadly NGO Act that the PF government is trying to implement which is direct threat to the survival of NGOs in Zambia because government says those who wont register under this Act will be deregistered. This has instilled fear across the NGO movement and many organizations are leaning back on providing checks and balances on government (Mundia).

Regardless of the threats and intimidation, YALI continues to play a vital role in shaping democracy in Zambia and is fast becoming powerful actor in both social and political complex environments. While NGOs cannot be expected to solve all of humanity's problems, the new environment that these agencies of change are increasingly working in in Zambia, provides a platform for a much faster two-way engagement in the public sphere and in political participation. The role of NGOs is embedded in promoting

democracy, good governance and social capital by employing tools or participatory techniques to mobilize community members for policy changes through their involvement in public interest politics. (Hailey, 2001:90; Desai, 2008:527). The success of NGOs thus depends on the approval and support of the local community members (Hailey2001: 88; Edwards 1999; Fowler 1997).

In this case:

> YALI employees have been working to build a rapport with the local community members, to garner support for the constitution making process, as well as to inform and share information. Being a part of the Grand Coalition, a network of CSOs in Zambia advocating for government's release of the new constitution, "YALI has been providing a platform for citizens to exchange ideas and to also ensure that the voices of the people are heard (Mundia).

As this research has demonstrated, the role of the media in the modern era as providers of information, and as facilitators for public debate and political participation places the media firmly within the participatory paradigm in Zambia. We live in highly mediated societies, or mediated public spheres and much of our civic knowledge derives from the media. "In a sense, the media bear some responsibility for our political involvement" (Dahlgren 2012:81). As NGOs across the globe are reshaping their communication strategies in a bid to send their messages across to the intended target, YALI has not been left out.   YALI's activities rely on media output for disseminating information, mobilising communities and action as well as to receive feedback.

> "Our aim as YALI has been to ensure that our work is out in the public and the best way to do that is through the media" (Wilson).

"We believe that in Zambia, radio has a huge impact in terms of outreach…only 300, 000 Zambians have facebook accounts according to a 2011 survey" (Choolwe).

"The issue of the constitution is not only our battle as YALI, but is the duty of all citizens including media personnel, who before they are reporters, they are citizens" (Mundia).

Although there has been inevitable competition between proponents of particular participatory techniques and formats, the empirical evidence suggests that different approaches are suitable for different situations. Rather than seeking to identify one ideal setting for public deliberation – online or offline; there is a need for a broad and critical understanding of the potential opportunities and limitations of diverse methods. As earlier mentioned, YALI employs various participatory methods for political engagement in general and with regard to the constitution making process in particular. As stated above, the media is a platform that YALI heavily relied on for this cause and various media channels are used.

Currently in Zambia, the most popular media is the public media, followed by the private media, with a number of people accessing social media. The problem is that it is the public media that covers the entire country but is heavily controlled by the state; as a result, whatever YALI says whether positive or negative, will not be covered by the public media (Charles).

Here media refers to both traditional media and social media or WEB 2.0. Zambia faces democratic challenges, fuelled by the constant calls from Civil Society organizations and other stakeholders on government to release a new constitution. Deliberation is a vital key here and expands knowledge to include self-understanding and a collective understanding of other citizens; and calls for cooperation in a democratic society such as Zambia. Various methods of deliberation are employed by the Grand Coalition on the constitution and by YALI

as an individual organization. As stated above, community radio stations are vital for information sharing with ordinary citizens on constitutional matters.

> We use community and commercial radio stations for our programmes, some of which are paid for programmes while others are held at the invitation of the stations themselves. Most Zambians are illiterate so by using community radio stations, we communicate the right message to the right people and remove the risk of having or message distorted. We have not been able to access public media as we are seen to be anti-government (Choolwe).

> We have programmes in about 18 community radio stations dotted across the country, where we get young people to come and debate issues that affect them. We have spot ads where we show President Sata's clip promising to give Zambians a constitution and another clip now where we says we do not need a new constitution. We use traditional ceremonies as a platform to get people to participate and make them aware of their possibilities (Andrew).

Dahlgren argues that "civic agency or citizens' participation in politics cannot be enacted in a vacuum; it must be supported by and integrated with a larger cultural milieu that has relevance for politics and enables participation" (Dahlgren 2009). In reflecting on YALI's work in political participation in Zambia, it can be argued that a stable political environment, where the freedoms of citizens are respected, is conducive for a thriving democracy and motivated civil society. As demonstrated through their mission and vision, YALI operations are dependent on a public sphere in which deliberation is key. When deliberation fails, NGOs such as YALI rely on the media, especially social media and WEB 2.0, as seen in the case of the Zambian Watchdog and it's leaking of the constitutional on facebook. In this instance, online platforms become vital for activism and are an alternative sphere for civic engagement by citizens and NGOs alike.

The relationship of YALI and the Grand Coalition on the constitution is fundamental for gaining attention and shedding light on crucial issues as the voice of the social movement is arguably facilitated through NGOs (della Porta & Tarrow, 2005). Resistance is not just about your ideas, but rather how to communicate these ideas to a wide public (Smith, 2008:134), by partnering with the Grand Coalition and media YALI creates a platform for citizen participation. This is reflected in Dahlgren's notion of Civic cultures, comprising those cultural resources that citizens can draw upon for participation because they are available to them in their everyday lives. Moreover, in the modern world, civic cultures operate to a great extent via the media (Dahlgren 2009).

Networks of Solidarity: Why Voice Matters
Voice, according to Nick Couldry (2011:1) does matter and is crucial to the legitimacy of modern democracy; but having a voice is never enough, unless people know that their voice matters. Knowledge and education as discussed above, then play a key role in this aspect. "Voice as a value; the act of valuing and choosing to value those frameworks for organization human life and resources" (Couldry 2011:2) is of vital importance in in this case. In the sphere of politics in Zambia, YALI has joined a consortium of CSOs who have since formed the Grand Coalition on the constitution reform process (Zambian Eye Website 2014; YALI Facebook Page 2014). " What we are doing is simple…to bring our efforts together to mount pressure on government and achieve our goal as a united civil society coalition" (Isaac). To garner international support, YALI has complied a report highlighting human rights abuses under the current government.

> " We plan on submitting the report to all regional and international bodies such as the UN, SADC, African Union. It is not like the international community do not know what is going on in Zambia, they are aware" (Choolwe). As Smith (2008) argues; "By appealing to the international arena, activists are more likely to impact on the policies of their governments as international ties are seen as important as

they enable exchange of skills, resources and people that can be very beneficial for all actors involved" (Smith, 2008).

Agre adds "identifying issues that are coming to prominence, researching and analyzing them, staking out public positions on them, and building social networks of other citizens who have associated themselves with related issues…is central to politics…" (Agre 2004:7 cited in Dahlgren 2009:117).

The development of new technologies and the increase in social media sites such as Facebook and Twitter represent channels in which local movements can connect to their solidarity networks (Dutta, 2012:212). In the analysis chapter, it is elaborated that there is a growing number of young people in Zambia accessing social media platforms for civic engagement and consequent political participation in the debates on the constitution reform process. A new NGO Act was passed in 2009, but is criticized for investing a government-dominated NGO registration board with too many powers, and for placing stringent requirements on NGOs, including the obligation to report on their funding, activities and the assets of their personnel, which could deter smaller Organisations from registering as NGOs (http://socs.civicus.org). As a result "Civil Society and NGOs in particular are facing uncertainty at this time especially that the current government is trying to operationalize the NGO Act of 2009, which will limit the way in which civil society operates" (Isaac).

Notions of Power
Dynamics of power of the State, Media and CSO come into play in this case. A number of questions arise when discussing issues of power in Zambia in view of the continuous calls for a new people driven constitution from various sectors of the Zambia population. Questions arise such as: What power is left for CSOs…collective power? What alternatives do they have? What is the way forward on the constitution, and how can the use media help CSOs such as YALI? Although they are not the aim of this study, these

questions are very important in-order to understand the current state of play within the Zambia socio and political field. However, "the complex dynamics of power have generated a long history of elaborations…and the importance attributed to power in the debates on participation makes it necessary to briefly sketch some key elements of these theoretical elaborations" (Carpentier 2011:139). Power is thus defined here according to Weber (1947:152 cited in Carpentier 2011:139) who argues as "the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance". This kind of systemic level power is prone to being abused and can lead to a democratic process being hijacked by those with the power or political elites. Civic culture is all about resources for engagement and media is one great resource that civil society relies on. Faced with a shortage of resources for political engagement, the US backed YALI and other civil society agencies, in a bid to bypass the political system and censorship, are determined to provide information by giving knowledge to citizens, mainly via radio and face-to-face meetings. But in the constitutional crisis civil society is argued to resort to creating their own public spaces to spread information about government power and its threats to democratic values, e.g. the leaking of the constitution on facebook by Zambian Watchdog.

The Public Sphere
Zambia has the highest recorded civic participation rate of all countries profiled (State of Civil Society Report 2013). However, participation is assessed to have declined from its peak in the early 1990s, when there was heavy mobilization in support of multiparty democracy. Furthermore, high poverty levels erode the time available for voluntary activities, and test confidence in the ability of the political system to meet pressing socio-economic needs. Key challenges that civil society seeks to address are corruption, poverty and poor governance. The major internal issues that face the sector are heavy donor reliance, limited scope for policy dialogue with government and the personalization of many organizations (Ibid). Working in such a public sphere or political

space, YALI with the support of the media and other stakeholders maintains its mandate of being a voice for the voiceless and creating a sphere where all citizens are equal and free to participate in political activities. As seen above, faced with limited opportunities for political participation due to high poverty and illiteracy levels that erode the time for participation, Zambians are still given a space to engage in political deliberation through maximalist forms of participation mentioned in the analysis chapter. YALI does this both through the media platform, which represent alternative public spheres as well as use of face-to-face discussions at community, village and national levels. Access and participation still represent a vital part of deliberation and is crucial within the public sphere (della Porta, 2009:2); "a space in which there is freedom of expression, and where issues relevant to the public can be discussed" (Deane, 2005:178).

A more critical note

Dahlgren (2009) suggests that citizen involvement is triggered by dissatisfaction, meaning that political participation can be sparked by discontent regarding the present situation (2009:14). However, the situation in Zambia with regard to participation shows otherwise. "Participation in the political sphere both by civil society organizations and by ordinary citizens has been marred with inertia and fear, as well as intimidation by those in authority" (Andrew). Zambians have lost trust and credibility in politicians due to unfulfilled campaign promises as demonstrated in the analysis of the interviews conducted as well as the various online website and facebook pages analyzed. " NGOs in Zambia are quiet dormant…because the platform and environment for their operations is not conducive" (Niza), and a number of instrumental NGOs have been compromised and are now aligned to the current government. "We have seen a number of key people in the NGO movement being appointed to high government positions, this has threatened civil society in the country" (Melinda).

Dahlgren argues that the engagement of citizens is what gives democracy its legitimacy and vitality (2009:12). He differentiates between *received citizenship* and *achieved*

citizenship where the latter is based on *political agency* and suggests that it is when things are not working as smoothly as we might like that it triggers larger citizen involvement (2009:62; 14). However, the evidence from the interviews suggests that Zambia's democracy has been blurred by threats and intimidation of those perceived to be opponents of government. Due to unfulfilled promises by politicians, Zambians are a bit reluctant to take part in political activities. "Zambia is driven by politics to a large extent, but due to intimidation of citizens by government and a rise in intolerance, people are afraid to speak out on the constitution making process" (Choolwe). As deliberation aims for citizens to participate in their own life and development and claims that the principles of democracy should reflect the whole society…(Gutmann & Thompson, 2004:12; 95-98), it is without a doubt that upholding the tenets of democracy and safeguarding the fundamental human rights is key for a thriving democracy in Zambia.

CHAPTER 5

5.0 Conclusion: Revisiting the Research Questions

The motivation which underlies this study is to investigate how NGOs work to integrate the public (citizens) into the decision making process, by using different types of media platforms for political engagement. Based on the case study of the Young African Leaders' Initiative (YALI), focus has mainly been on the role that NGOs play, through the media, in helping ordinary citizens participate in decision-making processes, such as the Constitution Making Process in Zambia. Media here refers to both traditional media of television, radio and print and social media and the architecture of Web 2.0, characterized by its ability to break down barriers between production and consumption and allows for "broad social participation" (Dahlgren, 2009:158). This thesis has been characterized by a discussion of the various notions including political participation, (deliberative) democracy, power, and maximalist forms of democracy. Concluding this

study without revisiting the research questions would be futile. The following are the research questions posed at the start of this thesis: I. What is the role of NGOs in political participation in Zambia? II. What is the relationship between NGOs and the media in fostering participation of the public in decision-making processes in general and the constitution making process in Zambia in particular? III. With regard to the constitution making-process in Zambia, how has YALI been utilizing the different media platforms, where and why? What has been happening on the ground through YALI's work in providing a platform for the public? What has been the response and what is the public saying? IV. How does Dahlgren's notion of civic cultures illuminate the work of YALI and its role in political participation in Zambia? V. In what ways is the continued acceleration in social media access by Zambians fuelling shifts in NGOs' agendas and activities with regard to the constitution making process? To what extent are YALI's working methods affected by developments in Information Communication Technology (ICTs) in Zambia?

In addressing the research questions, it is vital to state that "democracy emerges as a result of political struggle and rarely occurs as a gift to the people from the powerful circles" (Dahlgren 2009:2), and NGOs are vital in shaping democracies given their various mandates, aims and goals, and are fast becoming powerful actors in both social and political complex environments. The role of NGOs in Zambia has been to provide checks and balances on those in power, and to provide a platform for people to engage in civic activities through the media and face-to-face meetings. In Zambia, with the formation of the Grand Coalition, the aim is to use the power of voices to lobby government on behalf of citizens on issues of political importance. While NGOs cannot be expected to solve all of humanity's problems as earlier stated, the environment that these agencies of change are increasingly working in provides a platform for a much faster two-way engagement with the public. But in Zambia government control through the NGO Act threatens the role of NGOs in the country.

This thesis has demonstrated that there exists a mutual relationship between the media and YALI as seen in YALI's work of providing a platform for ordinary citizens to participate in the constitution making process in Zambia. The use of both mainstream media to a large extent and social media and WEB 2.0 to a lesser extent still underscores the fact that all media is vital for YALI to reach various audiences with a specific message. In a country where the digital divide and high illiteracy rates make it difficult for the majority of citizens to access social media, the alternative for YALI has been use of community radio stations, commercial radio and television. Through townhall meetings, village level discussion groups, community debates as well as debates at tertiary learning institutions and high schools, by complementing digital platforms with the traditional public sphere characteristic of face-to-face encounters the challenges caused by the digital divide are addressed.

Although they do not have nationwide coverage, YALI relies on community radio for informing, educating and mobilizing communities to participate in the constitution making process. This is mainly due to state control of the public media, which has a wider coverage but where YALI cannot have access as the NGO is perceived to be anti-government. Using these platforms, the mediated public sphere becomes a channel in which YALI and Zambians make their voices heard on issues that matter to them in general and on the constitution making process in particular. However, they continuously face threats and intimidation from government, as shown in the preceding discussion. The political climate is Zambian is marred by threats, intimidation and harassment of those deemed to be anti-government, by those in power. Media control is the order of the day and YALI has resorted to use of community media and social media. As highlighted earlier in this research, power can be challenged by use of alternative media platforms in a state where the public media is highly censored and heavily controlled by those in power. Advancements in ICTs as earlier demonstrated have affected YALI's working methods to a lesser extent. Although there is a continued acceleration in social media access by Zambians, this has required very minimal shifts in NGOs' agendas and

activities in general and YALI in particular with regard to the constitution making process, due to the digital challenges demonstrated in this study.

In illuminating the work of YALI and political participation in Zambia, it has been established that the work of YALI in political participation in Zambia has been to advance democracy according to the NGO's policy statement. The focus of the NGO, its work, activities and programmes has been on providing a platform for civic engagement, without which there cannot be a robust public sphere or meaningful deliberation by citizens and the idea of democracy would be elusive. As "democracy is shaped by politics and politics by socio-cultural parameters" (Dahlgren 2009:26), without civic engagement, Zambia, which is largely driven by politics as reflected in the interviews, could be at the brink of political turmoil.

This thesis argues that given the dangers associated with getting involved in politics in Zambia due to threats and harassment by those in power, coupled with unfulfilled political promises, there is a decline in political participation. Based on the preceding discussion and analysis, it can be concluded that the ideals of the civic culture circuit namely, knowledge, values, trust, spaces, practices and identities; as well as deliberative democracy, political participation, NGOs and the media, are all challenged in the case of Zambia. Political participation cannot be enacted in a vacuum, as it requires a platform for citizen engagement and deliberation. The interaction and coming together of two important and most effective instruments for public participation, that is, NGOs and the Media is of fundamental importance for a thriving democracy and for advancements of political engagement in Zambia. However, as demonstrated already, threats, intimidation and harassment make this participation difficult for both NGOs such as YALI and citizens as the environment and political setting is not ideal for political participation.

Further Research

Although this research demonstrates that traditional media, especially community radio is more useful for political engagement by Zambians, there arises a need for future research

into how NGOs such as YALI can balance offline and online interaction, to take advantage of the growing number of Zambians accessing online media, a valuable tool for garnering support and solidarity for political activities.

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APPENDICES

Attachment 1. Coding and main themes identified from the 9 interviews conducted with YALI employees in Lusaka, Zambia in March 2014.

CODE	THEME
Democracy Fear Intimidation NGO Act Inertia Dormant Harassed Government vs. the opposition Active participants	Government promised Zambians a new constitution but after being elected to power they u-turned on most if not all of their promises. Anyone who speaks against government is threatened and intimidated. Resulting in fear and NGOs and opposition being dormant. Zambia's democracy has been blurred by human rights abuses. The NGO Act of 2009 is a direct threat to the survival of civil society and democracy. NGO leaders have appointed into high government positions and now are compromised.
Traditional media Online media Private and public media Community media Non- independent media – highly compromised Mainstream media vs. social media Facebook	1. Community radio stations have been the main platform for engaging citizens in the constitution making debate. Disadvantage of community media is limited coverage 2. Lack of access to public media controlled and run by government 3. Digital divide: Many Zambians do not

Website Reporting Media support and engagement "Good generation"	have access to social media so main stream media still main platform for public debate and political participation for majority of Zambia 4. A number of young Zambians who are on social media is a "good generation" that is shaping the country's political landscape.
Participation Politics Engage Dialogue Awakening Civil society movement Compromised Grand coalition Non-violence Mobilize Apathy Disseminate Tensions Unfavourable political space	1.Civil society has seen some of it's key leaders being appointed to government positions. NGOs have been compromised and threatened by extinction as a result. 2. Grand coalition has been formed to utilize the power of many voices and press government for new constitution as a collective rather than individual 3. Educate citizens on non-violence and political participation apathy by mobilization local support. There is an awakening among NGOs to work together by forming Grand Coalition
Constitutional dialogue Explaining Discussion Share information	1. Process of constitution making has been hijacked by political elites. After government u-turned on its promise for a new constitution, many Zambians are not participating in political debates and

Government	information sharing.
Power	2. Their involvement has been reduced to merely voting.
Political elite	
Physical participation	3. Rally public interest and get citizens to participate through townhall meetings, radio and television programmes (recorded and live phone-ins).
Mobilize and inform youths on contents of draft constitution	
	4. Garner international support through online media (facebook, website). We have not explored twitter so much as Zambians are generally glued to facebook.

Main themes:

1. Prior to the 2011 general elections the then opposition Patriotic Front promised Zambians a new constitution, a document that had eluded the nation for more than 40 years. NGOs went to bed, so to say, with that promise and helped get the PF into power. They government has since u-turned on that promise.

2. As a result of unfulfilled promises by politicians, Zambians have developed an apathy and inertia towards political participation, making NGO work in that area more challenging.

3. The digital divide means many Zambians have no access to Internet so mainstream or traditional media is the main platform for information sharing, disseminating and engaging citizens into politics.

4. Public media is highly compromised due to government control. Alternative that YALI has is to be pay for programmes on privately owned television and radio stations. Community radio stations have proved to be a vital channel for political

engagement. We have travelled to all parts of Zambia and have featured on many community radio stations to engage locals on the constitution making process. We have not accessed public media as we are seen to be anti-government.

5. A "good generation" Garner international support through online media (facebook, website). We have not explored twitter so much as young Zambians are generally glued to facebook.

6. 2009 NGO, a direct threat to NGOs in Zambia and a tool for political intimidation by the state on those perceived to be anti-government

7. Grand Coalition – "the movement" for joining forces and voices to pressurize government to release constitution.

Attachment 2. Interview Guide

1. Could you kindly tell me about your work at YALI?

2. How would you describe the current situation around NGOs in Zambia?

3. How would you describe the current trend of political participation by Zambian citizens? Elaborate by giving some examples.

4. How does YALI work in areas of political participation in Zambia? Please give some examples.

5. What role has YALI been playing in the constitution making process? Kindly give some details.

6. To what extent is the media PART OF YALI's work on the constitution making process? What works and what does not work for YALI? Kindly give specific examples (By media I refer to both traditional media and social media such as facebook and websites).

Follow-up: What kind of response are you getting from the public through various media platforms? Comparisons.

7. What in your view are ways people can participate in the constitution making process and what do you perceive as the barriers to citizen participation in the constitution making process in Zambia?

8. With examples, could you please highlight some of the best practices from Zambia's democracy?

9. What kind of issues has characterized the constitution making process? What is your reflection on these issues?

10. What is the way forward for YALI in the fight for a new people-driven constitution?

Attachment 3. Interviews

Chisulo, Niza (07.03.2014), YALI Member, Lusaka, Zambia

Hakoola, Mundia (28.02.2014), YALI Board Secretary, Lusaka, Zambia
Maxwell, Melinda (07.03.2014), YALI Volunteer, Lusaka, Zambia

Mweene, Choolwe (07.03.2014), YALI Lead Researcher, Lusaka, Zambia

Michelo, Charles (28:02:2014), YALI Information Specialist, Lusaka, Zambia

Musonda, Wilson (07.03.2014), YALI Information Assistant, Lusaka, Zambia

Mwanza, Isaac (18.04.2014), YALI Governance Advisor, Phone Interview

Ntewewe, Andrew (27.02.2014), YALI President, Lusaka, Zambia

Zulu, Lovemore (07.03.2014), YALI Information Assistant, Lusaka, Zambia

Interview 1: Andrew Ntewewe - YALI President
Q1. Could you kindly tell me about your work at YALI?
Andrew: Am the President of YALI. My role entails that I oversea all the activities that YALI is actually implementing. Am the head of the secretariat and I ensure that our programmes team is up to date and also do the administrative aspect as well ensuring that our administrative team is up to date with all that is happening in meeting our obligations to our programmes and our partners.

Q2. Could you describe the current situation around NGOs in Zambia?
Andrew: There has been an awakening. At the very onset when the PF took over power in 2011, what happened is that most NGOs were not very active, partly because when PF

was campaigning in 2011, most of the messages resonated very well with Civil Society then particularly the issue of the Constitutional making process. The PF promised the Zambian people that they would do within 90 days and that was a call by CS that we could have the constitution. The PF also promised the Zambian people that they would actually review the NGO Act and so most CSOs went to bed, so to say with the PF. So what actually happened is the fact that after they won the elections in 2011most NGOs became a little bit relaxed, there was a lot of inertia because they were waiting for this political party that they helped get into office to deliver on its promises. But talking as of present, what has happened is that there has been an awakening because all of a sudden CS has realized that government and the PF in particular do not mean well on either the constitution making process or on the NGO Act or laws that are meant to promote human rights for all human beings. It seems that the PF government has turned back on most if not all of the promises that they made. So there has been an awakening where CS realizes now that we have to play a very important role in ensuring that we can provide checks and balances and in ensuring that our citizens are mobilized to demand accountability and ensure that there's adequate sensitization not only in urban but rural areas also to ensure that our people are well informed and are well aware about the issues that affect them and ensure that then a platform is created for their participation.

Q3. Talking about participation, how would you describe the current trend of political participation by Zambian citizens?
Andrew: Again this is an area where we need a lot of awakening. What has actually happened is the fact that there was a lot of activism and participation before the 2011 elections, but due to the disillusionment that a lot of our people have had to suffer after the 2011 elections, you notice that the participation has gone down. One example I can give you is that you will notice that when you have a by-election the participation is less than 30%. There is already about 8 by-elections to come and we have had over 20 by-elections since PF came into power. This is unprecedented number of by-elections. This is also due to fatigue and inertia by the people who feel cheated by the PF and feel that even if they participate they don't gain anything. This has been challenge even in constitution reform process where we as CSOs go out there and say can we have so much activism and ask people to participate but they have lost trust and hope in the government.

Q4. How does YALI work in the area of political participation in Zambia? Please give some examples.
Andrew: What YALI does is that we host dialogues around the country in all the 10

provinces in Zambia. For instance the issue of justice and judicial reforms that we ought to anticipate, issues of minority groups and rights we also debate that where we go to people and ask them to participate and also constitution issues. We host roadshows because our constituency deals with young people, who want to participate but don't know how. We realized that music, drama and poetry is one aspect where young people are really keen and get interested so we have adopted that as one way of getting people to participate. We have paid-up programmes in about 18 community radio stations dotted across the country, where we get young people to come and debate issues that affect them. We have spot ads where we show President Sata's clip promising to give Zambians a constitution and another clip now where we says we do not need a new constitution. We use traditional ceremonies as a platform to get people to participate and make them aware of their possibilities. We use ICTs on out webpage we have a platform where people can debate and participate in various issues. We use all those as advocacy tools to ensure that people participate and we get multitudes of young people.

Q5. From what you've explained you have actually gone ahead of me I was going to ask you on the role of the media in YALI work. By media I mean traditional media such as television, radio, newspapers and social media such as facebook, websites? And what has been the response from both traditional and social media?

Andrew: We have used the media adequately to ensure that the information goes out. You know most people when we hold a dialogue we only have like 60 young people which does not really help, as there are multitudes of young people out there. When we have radio dialogues we ensure that they are carried live on radio so that people out there can participate by phone in, text etc. e.g we just came back from Kasama where we had a prayer meeting that was being broadcast by the media live on Radio Mano (community station). In terms of mainstream media the PF have been very undemocratic such that the public media has been compromised and is not been running independently as the government is dictating what is making news and what should not.

Post Newspaper, which was once independent although privately owned is now pro-government. The other issue is the harassment of journalist and arrests on trumped up charges where even notepads of journalists are used as evidence in court. There have been double standards in how the police are handling these cases and have been very quick to arrest journalists from independent media because government is controlling them. E.g Richard Sakala of Daily Nation newspaper case vs. the People where MacDonald Chipenzi made a statement on lack of transparency in the police recruitment system and he was charged for "alarming the nation" but the pro-government Post News Paper although privately owned also published a similar article but they were not

prosecuted. However, for YALI, the response has been very good as we have a number of young people online. We have over 5000 people on our facebook and we have an active twitter page and we use out websites also for debates and discussions and for radio and television like mentioned earlier, people text in and phone in to our programmes.

Q6. You have talked about the sad parts but are there any best practices in Zambia's democracy?
Andrew: Unfortunately I have nothing to talk about in terms of best practices. Am sorry to say because the best practices that we enjoyed such as freedom of expression, assembly all those have gone to wind and people have to watch over their shoulders whatever statement they make they have to check who is listening. Things are not the same as they were two years ago. Freedoms of assembly, expression are under attack, the watchdog is no longer operating and government wanted to close facebook but after a lot of pressure the government has given up, and now actually the President himself is on facebook maybe that's the best practice I can talk about. But another issue is the coming in of the Independent Broadcasting Act and the President is on record as having bragged in Parliament about setting it up but the sad part is less than one month its like you take one step forward and two steps backwards.

Q7. Going back to the constitution making process, what in your view are ways in which people can participate?
Andrew: There are several ways through ICTs, dialogue community and town hall meetings, radio and television programmes and we have been asking people to write letters to their members of parliament and demand on issues that affect them.

Q8. What are some of the key barriers to this participation by Zambian citizens?
Andrew: The public order Act where people cannot freely meet to dialogue on the constitution issues. People now always have to look over their shoulders.

Q9. What issues have characterized the constitution making process in Zambia?
Andrew: The biggest problem is that the constitution making process has been so much politicized by politicians. They are demanding the 50plus 1 vote, the Bill of Rights which will guarantee such freedoms as freedom of the media, assembly, social and economic rights etc. Unfortunately those that are in power have not been kind enough to allow for that to happen. Another issue is of stopping people from really participating in this process, you recall that in 2012 the Minister of Justice had instructed the Police to have YALI leaders arrested for advocating for a new constitution.

Q10. My last question, what is the way forward for YALI in the constitution making process?

Andrew: The way forward is for the people of Zambia to stand up and demand accountability. Laws cannot be changed if people are not active so our call is to have citizens that demand their rights and say enough is enough. Constitution process has gobbled over 100Billion Kwacha that's a lot of money for a poor country such as ours so we are advocating for civil disobedience, peaceful demonstrations and effective engagement with government that they will ultimately give us the constitution.

Interview 2 conducted via phone: Isaac Mwanza - YALI Governance Advisor
Q1. Could you kindly tell me about your work at YALI?
Isaac: I am the Governance Advisor responsible for advising YALI on issues of human rights and democracy in the country and to share information with other stakeholders on the same issues.

Q2. When you look at the situation around NGOs in Zambia, how would you describe the current situation?
Isaac: Civil Society and NGOs in particular are facing uncertainty at this time especially that government is trying to operationalize the NGO Act of 2009. This Act is going to limit the way in which Civil Society operates because government will be interfering with operations of NGOs, resulting in government control and loss of autonomy of NGOs in Zambia.
Follow-up: but where does YALI stand in this situation?
Isaac: As YALI we have maintained that we will not register under this NGO Act. We are still registered under other legislative Acts (Societies Act and Companies Act) that are still in force. Until these Acts are repelled, making our organizations non-existent we will not register under the NGO Act, other wise it will be difficult for government to enforce it.

Q3. How does YALI work in areas of political participation? Please give some examples.
Isaac: In 2011, we conducted a non-violence campaign targeting political parties because we noticed that prior to and during elections, there's violence among different political stakeholders.

Q4. How would you describe the current trend of political participation by Zambian citizens? You can elaborate with some examples?

Isaac: In Zambia citizens are a bit docile when it comes to political participation, reason being that Zambians feel cheated by politicians and their fake promises. E.g the ruling party Zambians that they would deliver a new constitution within 90 days of getting into power but after being elected they have refused to give Zambians a new constitution, which they promised. As a result, people feel cheated.

Q5. What role has YALI been playing in the constitution making process in Zambia?

Isaac: As YALI, we have been going round the country, mobilize and educate youths on contents of the draft constitution so that they could make informed submissions to the technical tasked by the President to draft a new constitution. We held workshops, seminars and dialogues of about 60 youths in each province, who then came up with their own resolutions that YALI facilitated and helped them submit to technical committee. But this came with a price ofcourse. For instance, YALI has been threatened by the minster of Justice over the dialogue meetings we are holding across the country, as government claims YALI should not hold such meetings without government knowledge, but as YALI we have gone ahead with the meetings because we believe it is our constitutional right.

Q6. To what extent is the media part of YALI's work on the constitutional making process? That is both social media and traditional media.

Isaac: The media are an integral part of our work, we have television and radio programmes organized by our media person. We pay for some programmes while other news items we have been involved is at the invitation of the media houses themselves. YALI has active facebook page with over 5000 members who are very active in trying to debate issues of the constitution and governance. We have not explored twitter so much as Zambians are generally glued to facebook. We have been constantly monitored debates on other social platforms run by other organizations.

Follow-up: If you compare social media and traditional media, what kind of responses is YALI getting from the public?

Isaac: A number of young Zambians who are on social media is a good generation that is shaping the country's political landscape. For instance when Zambian Watchdog website was closed down by government, Zambians switched to the Zambian Watchdog facebook page. As for radio and television, we have phone in programmes as well as recorded programmes that give the audience a chance to participation live on the programmes and we get immediate feedback as well.

Q7. In your view, how can ordinary citizens participate in the constitution making process and what do you perceive as key barriers to this participation?

Isaac: Zambians can participate in various ways one being that Zambians must constantly rise and press government to deliver on its promises. They can do this in schools and churches etc. But then the key barrier is lack of political will by the Zambian government which can be seen in their delay to release the final copy of the draft constitution, meaning people cannot debate on what they have not seen.

Q8. With some examples, could you just highlight some of the best practices from Zambia's democracy?

Isaac: Part of the best practices includes the electoral reforms carried out since 1991. Our democracy has been growing and we have a new electoral Act, which provides a very conducive environment for democracy to flourish, despite its flaws.

Q9. What issues have characterized the constitution reform process in Zambia and what is your reflection on these issues?

Isaac: There's been the question of the 50 plus 1 vote for the President and the Presidential running mate clause. The rights of citizens and minority rights and how government should be held accountable for their provisions is another issue in the constitution debate. The President of Zambia has too many powers in the constitution as a result people have been calling to a limit of these powers.

Q10. What is the way forward for YALI in the fight for a new people driven constitution?

Isaac: As YALI we must continue to press government to release the draft constitution. We will first continue to engage in dialogue with government, if that fails we will mount pressure through legal means to achieve our aims. When dialogue fails, we will engage citizens and ask them to join us to press government.

Follow-up: I understand that YALI is part of the Grand Coalition on the constitution reform process, what is your comment on that?

Isaac: Yes YALI is part of the Grand Coalition and what we are doing is simple, to bring our efforts together and mount pressure on government and achieve our goals as a united Civil Society Coalition. We are conducting campaigns and awareness on the constitution to citizens all over the country. We are asking people to help us rescue the constitution that has bee held hostage by government. I think the future of this process will have to be driven by Zambians themselves. This process has been delayed for too long and we need leaders who can put this to an end by providing a new constitution that reflects how

people wish to be governed.

Interview 3: Choolwe Mweene - YALI Lead Researcher
Q1. Could you kindly tell me about your work at YALI?
Choolwe: We do quiet a lot of stuff, basically am into research from leadership to entrepreneurship to civil and political leadership in Zambia and how it impacts youths out there.

Q2. Could you describe the current situation around NGOs in Zambia?
Choolwe: To speak independently and not to give a YALI perspective, I think that the CSO movement in Zambia have been very instrumental and have done some tremendous work for the past 10 years. When you look at the state of democracy in Zambia, you can't leave out the non-state actors as they have done very well. But currently am sad to say that I have not been so happy because I believe that there was so much hope that came in with the current government and the NGOs worked closely with the opposition then that when the government came into power both CSOs and government lost truck due to familiarity with each other such as criticizing government for a good cause has become difficult. Objectivity has become difficult and has been lost to a large extent. Also a lot of people in the NGO movement have been appointed to government positions so the NGO movement has been compromised.

Q3. Talking about participation, how would you describe the current trend of political participation by Zambian citizens?
Choolwe: A lot of Zambians want to participate as Zambia is driven by politics to a large extent but there has been a lo of intimidation of citizens by government and intolerance is on the rise where people are now afraid to speak out as freely as they used to in the previous government. There has been a lot of militia attacks e.g. when a person is on the radio discussing how certain government policy is not working, they are then threatened by government. E.g MISA Zambia Chairperson was abducted after being guest on a radio programme discussing government policy and he pitched up two days later. Political participation by citizens is there but critical voices are beginning to go down maybe we need a new brand of leadership to begin to speak out against the government because this government thrived on the people that were critical of the previous government but the current government is very adverse to any advise and are intolerant and not welcome to divergent views.

Q4. How does YALI work in the area of political participation in Zambia? Please give

some examples.

Choolwe: YALI has been engaging a lot of youths because we belong to the Civil Society Coalition and we work well with the coalition and have been working well with other NGOs in terms of politics and highlighting some of the issues and evils that have been persistent. So we have done and are doing our best. The main issue is when you have a movement where a huge percent is compromised, you run a risk of being vocal, as YALI we have been consistent on many issues, on the constitution, on governance issues and youth policies but when other institutions hold back, its becomes a dangerous thing to do you are not on firm ground.

Q5. What issues have characterized the constitution making process in the country?

Choolwe: We have engaged citizens and youths countrywide and we were once threatened and where at risk of being deregistered by the minister of Justice because we were engaging people. There have been contentious issues such as the presidential running mate, appointing cabinet outside parliament so we have gone out to the people and told them what the draft constitution says and what alternatives we have. We use communities by targeting youths from high schools and Universities to let people participate.

Q.6 To what extent is the media PART OF YALI's work on the constitution making process? What works and what does not work for YALI? Kindly give specific examples (By media I refer to both traditional media and social media such as facebook and websites)

Choolwe: Mostly what we have done is more of our outreach has been radio work as we ensure that all our constitutional debates and educational policy debates, we buy media space and bring out those issues discussed at the dialogues held. As part f the executive team we believe that in Zambia radio has a huge impact in terms of outreach. You will know that facebook in Zambia only has 300, 000 people that have facebook accounts and we don't know if all of them are active according to the 2011 survey unfortunately we don't have latest statistics. But we still use facebook because it's a constituency that we can make use of. But it is easy for us to use radio and people in Zambia most of them are illiterate and have a bad reading culture and we face the risk of the messages being distorted is high but when we use radio we feel strongly that we communicate the right message to the right people. We use community and commercial radio. We have not been able to access government or public radio because we are seen as being anti-government.

Follow-up: What has been the response from the public?

Choolwe: Radio tops them all. There are four pro-government newspapers in Zambia and if you say something against government they will not capture it but now there is the privately owned Daily Nation which seems to be anti-government and they will cover anything we say that does not favor government. We have not been able to access state-run television even if we want to pay for our programmes we are not given time. On radio we have a high volume of calls coming in during our phone in programmes that in itself is what I can use as a measure that there is response from the public.

Q7. Going back to the constitution making process, what in your view are ways in which people can participate?
Choolwe: There's intolerance. If I want to talk about the constitution, give me chance to talk about the constitution and let me feel safe that I will not be attacked when I go home. When the opposition members of parliament protested over the constitution, they were threatened that they would be dealt with by lynching and if MPs can be threatened like that what about m? We want free debate, can members of the PF come on board and tell us why there is this shrewd and secrecy surrounding the constitution. We want public fora e.g townhall discussions on matters of the constitution affecting people. We don't want a clique of people to draft the constitution for 13 million Zambians. We need every Zambian in villages to participate. We also need a public media that has freedom for everyone in the country to have access to air their views.

Q8. You have talked about the sad parts but are there any best practices in Zambia's democracy?
Choolwe: In 50 years we have had 5 Presidents and they have all legitimately handed over power to their predecessors in a very smooth transition instead of abusing the constitution by holding on to power. From a political perspective, we are on the right track. We have been enjoying a bit of freedom of expression e.g we can access commercial radio stations and air out views. What we need is to enhance that freedom however, we are not allowed to assemble, no freedom of assembly.

Q9. What kind of issues has characterized the constitution making process? What is your reflection on these issues?
Choolwe: Secrecy and too much controversy and the current state of the constitution is not right. We need a constitution that not only favors the government in power. E.g before the elections the President has issues with the draft constitution but now 2.5 years after elections he says the draft constitution is ok in its current state Zambians do not need a new constitution. The Bill of Rights is another issue that has characterized this

debate. Zambians deserve a decent living with proper water and sanitation and there were strong recommendations such as the 50% plus 1 majority vote for the president made by Zambians submitted to the technical committee but that has not resounded well with the current government. We thus want such issues addressed as we live in the 21s century where democracy is thriving.

Q10. What is the way forward for YALI in the fight for a new people-driven constitution?
Choolwe: We want to do as much as we can. We want support from different stakeholders, from the international community, its not that they don't know what's going on here. If you have read the 20013 human rights report by the US State Department, it will show you glaring abuses that have happened in Zambia. We want freedom of the press where the national broadcaster is delinked from government. We want YALI to be able to sensitize people as we are in the business of sensitizing people. We need a free press with not restrictions.

Follow-up: What specific action is YALI going to take as a way forward on the constitution?
Choolwe: We have started writing; we are concluding research on political and civil liberties to highlights what's going on in the country.

Follow-up: How do you plan on using on suing that report?
Choolwe: We want to submit it to the US Department, UN, SADC, AU and all regional bodies and highlights what's going on in the country on civil and political liberties in the country. We want to compile to all the media recordings we have had and get views of citizens and piece a document together and submit it to various stakeholders. We want to engage the government as well but the problem is when you write a letter to government highlighting these issues, they have a tendency of writing back to citizens by saying we have received your useless letter so it doesn't make sense to engage government but we still hope to engage them in some way with regard to the constitution. We are also engaging with members of parliament and we belong to a larger Civil Society Coalition and we are going to continue to press government and if the current state of affairs continues then civil disobedience is eminent.

Interview 4: Melinda Maxwell - Volunteer at YALI
Q1. Could you kindly tell me about your work at YALI?
Melinda: I joined YALI 3 years ago as a volunteer after attending one of their meetings

in Lusaka.

Q2. Could you kindly describe the current situation around NGOs in Zambia? Please give some examples

Melinda: Most of the NGOs are not active, as the government has silenced them, or someone working for the government runs them. So they cant run any issues that speak on corruption or the constitution. But I have seen that some e.g on the constitution making process NGOs are uniting and coming together in a coalition where YALI is a part of.

Q3. How would you explain the current trend of political participation by Zambian citizens?

Melinda: I think that most of Zambians are being a little bit reluctant due to disappointment because prior to the elections the PF promised Zambians more jobs, a new constitution but they have not delivered. But from his first day in office, President Sata abused the constitution by appointing 10 MPs instead of 8 as provided for in the constitution. On the constitution the PF has not told us when the constitution will be ready and most projects they are talking about where inherited from the previous government. But people and NGOs are vocal about it we have been on radio talking about the constitution and we will keep on being vocal.

Q4. How does YALI work in the area of political participation in Zambia? Please give some examples.

Melinda: YALI is focusing on empowering youths with knowledge and education to participate in governance, democracy and human rights issues as well as poverty reduction and development. YALI has been running radio programmes and debates and high school dialogues to create platform for youths and ordinary Zambians on how government should run things.

Follow-up: How often are these programmes held?

Melinda: They are weekly. YALI has been very active in the constitution making process and YALI has spearheaded the discussion because the freedom of speech is compromised under this government and people are afraid of being arrested and for fear of intimidation by government. But YALI has been consistent e.g. we are talking to the University of Zambia students to join us in a peaceful protest and boycotting the forthcoming Youth Day Commemoration.

Q5. You have talked about the sad parts but are there any best practices in Zambia's democracy?

Melinda: The media plays a very bigger role in sensitizing people and YALI is on facebook, twitter and we have a webpage. We have support also from commercial and community radio stations but we don't have access to public media because YALI is seen as being against the government. We can sit here and talk about how we need the new constitution but without he media no one will hear us so the media has been important in sending out information. We have thousands pf people commenting and responding on our programmes most of which are phone in and facebook. 8 out of 10 people who call in want the new constitution.

Q7. Going back to the constitution making process, what in your view are ways in which people can participate and what are some of the barriers to this participation?

Melinda: Most people are living in fear and people are afraid of participating but what we suggest is for people to participate on facebook and twitter. We do not advocate for violence but people are welcome to hold peaceful protests. The coalition is helpful and is a platform where people can join in and push for the constitution. Key barrier is fear. Zambians need to unite and not fear being arrested.

Q8. With examples, could you kindly you highlight some of the best practices in Zambia's democracy?

Melinda: I love the way Zambians came together to vote out the previous government that was unity and democracy that we wanted. If only we could continue united that way we can go a long way. In a democracy when you see something wrong you need to correct it by speaking out.

Q.9 What issues have characterized the constitution making process in Zambia and what is your reflection on those issues? **Respondent chose not to answer this question.**

Q10. My last question, what is the way forward for YALI in the constitution making process?

Melinda: As much as we are part of the coalition, government is not listening and we will not stop until they listen so now our new strategy is to bring student bodies and unions on board to help us protest until government gives in. We believe that we cannot get this done by ourselves we need to work with other people as well to get government to release the new constitution.

Interview 5: Victor Lovemore Zulu - YALI Information Assistant

Q1. Could you kindly tell me about your work here at YALI?

Victor: My work involves collecting information on behalf of YALI. I go to schools, local communities and other places. E.g. when am tasked to get information on youth participation in the constitution making process, I go out in the field and ask questions either by using a questionnaire or by simply bringing a recorder with me to record the interviews and discussions conducted.

Q2. When you look at the current NGO movement in Zambia, how would you describe it?

Victor: We are going somewhere. I have seen NGOs coming and working together by forming the coalition and pressing government to release the draft constitution.

Q3. How would you describe the current trend of political participation in Zambia?

Victor: I think the level of participation is very poor. There's a lot of apathy and when there's something going wrong in our political circles, people don't want to speak out. E.g with regard to the constitution making process, this is when we need people to speak out but citizens seems to be relaxed.

Q4. Ok coming to YALI, how does YALI work in areas of political participation in Zambia?

Q5**. (This question was answered in question 4 by the respondent):** To what extent is the media PART OF YALI's work on the constitution making process? What works and what does not work for YALI? Kindly give specific examples (By media I refer to both traditional media and social media such as facebook and websites)

Victor: YALI tries by all means to assist especially the youth by being the voice of the voiceless. We host debates in high schools and tertiary institutions on political issues that are affecting our country e.g. on the Bill of Rights, to try and help youths know more about the political situation in the country. YALI also uses the media to engage people on issues that affect them. We use print, electronic and social media. We have a facebook page, which is constantly updated with information, so the media is important in our work.

Follow-up? What kind of feedback and response are you getting from people on your debates through the media, on your facebook page, what kind of debates and issues are people bringing out?

Victor: As usual we have different opinion from people some don't agree with us but many people agree with what we are doing and saying. YALI is just not an individual but a group of people with common beliefs and interests. So I would say that the majority of people agree with what we say and do and the media is very helpful. They always want to hear what YALI has to say on something e.g. a Ministerial statement. That shows that YALI is considered as an influential organization.

Q6. With regard to the constitution making process, what role has YALI been playing? Kindly give some details.

Victor: YALI has been very active in this process. Since government announced that the constitution making process would begin, YALI has organized various debates and dialogues on the same all over the country both rural and urban. YALI has distributed over 1500 copies of the draft constitution to all parts of the country in high schools and colleges and communities.

Q7. How do you think ordinary Zambians can participate in this process? What in your view are some of the key barriers to participation in this process?

Victor: I will start by saying that participation in this process has not been made easy by government. E.g. the copies of the draft constitution were printed in English but we have people who cannot read in English and they have not had access to these copies either given the poor distribution process. Only a few privileged and literate individuals have had access and these are mainly found in urban areas. Another thing is that this draft can be accessed online but again there are very few Zambians who have access to internet and so people would be able to participate more if they had access to the draft constitution to enlighten them on it's provisions in order for them to make new submissions on what should be contained in the new constitution. The other barrier is the strategy used. Some meetings held by the technical that was asked to draft the new constitution were aired on the national broadcaster but some Zambians don't have access to television. Also the composition of that technical committee was not so representative. The chose prominent people instead of including people like traditional chiefs who when they learnt something, would then go and share that information with their subjects in the rural areas and villages but that was not the case. Many people don't have knowledge or information about what the draft constitution contains and how they can participate.

Q8. With examples, could you please highlight some of the best practices from Zambia's democracy? Kindly elaborate with some examples

Victor: With regard to Zambia's democracy, I would talk about freedom of information but now am questioning it myself. I don't like the way the judiciary is being run as they are being controlled.

Q9. What has been the debate around the constitution making process, what sort of issues have characterized this process? Please give some examples

Victor: This process started in 2011 if am not mistaken when the PF came into power. They promised the Zambian people that they would deliver a new constitution within 90 days of assuming office. After 90 days this did not come to pass and was just a lie. A lot of Zambians have been disappointed and a lot of money has been spent on this process already. And now the President is on record saying Zambia does not need a new constitution after spending millions of taxpayers' money on the process. This has resulted

in opposition MPs boycotting parliament by just chanting constitution slogans outside parliament buildings or just absconding from parliament business. The vice President is also on record as having said that Parliament can run without the opposition MPs that in itself suggests a one-party system just like in the UNIP era. That is a bad statement from the head of state, there's need for proper dialogue on this issue. I don't know what's with power, the people of Zambia voted for a new party hoping they would deliver on their promises but to my disappointment, the current government has been worse than the previous governments. Zambians are too peaceful I wouldn't encourage violence but peaceful demonstrations. People need to stand up for their rights.

Q10. My last question, what's the next step for YALI with regard to the constitution making process in Zambia?
Victor: YALI will continue pressuring government by being the voice of the voiceless. We need to stand and continue fighting for our rights.

Follow-up? How will you do that?
Victor: The same way we have been doing it. We will continue using the media and organizing peaceful protest. I know there's one protest being organized by the opposition UPND Party. This peaceful protest is aimed at picketing parliament to pressurize government to release the new constitution and will be held outside parliament building. YALI can also do that, educate the youths on the importance of the new constitution. Let's have more voices speaking.

Interview 6: Wilson Musonda - YALI Information Assistant
Q1. Could you kindly tell me about your work at YALI?
Wilson: Am involved in YALI Public Relations and event organization. E.g. last week I organized a dialogue with the albino foundation to spread word on issues affecting young people in Zambia. Next week we have organized another discussion with Evelyn Hone College students on the same issues.

Q2. When you look at the NGO movement in Zambia, how would you describe the current situation around NGOs in Zambia?
Wilson: Firstly there's great effort from the NGOs to ensure that what they lobby for is fully brought out into the public, the main challenge for many NGOs is funding issues. There are many organizations against a small number of funders. I also think that most NGOs in Zambia do not stick to their objectives, maybe that's the way their secretariat is structured. Nowadays it's more about money and not service for many in the civil society.

Q3. How would you describe the current trend of political participation by Zambians? Kindly give some details.
Wilson: Zambians do not participate fully regardless of which party is in power.

Politicians, who manipulate the constitution for their own gain, always infringe upon our rights. E.g. University of Zambia students had a peaceful demonstration over the new constitution but government instructed the police to clump down on the students by shooting live bullets at them. That's intimidating.

Q4. How does YALI specifically work in areas of political participation in Zambia? You can give some examples.
Wilson: As YALI we have been there and have been fully participating in the constitution process. E.g when we heard that the MPs had started protested and boycotting parliament to pressure government to release the new constitution, as YALI we openly showed our support by going to parliament in support of what the opposition MPs were championing for. YALI also joined in the peaceful protests held by Civil Society organizations outside parliament to pressurize government on the same. Another constitutional issue is the NGO Act and how it is structured so we have networked with other NGOs to lobby government to change its provisions. Under the current NGO Act of 2009, government has more say on the operations of NGOs in Zambia. You cannot run your organization freely and operate without government interference under this Act.

Q5. What role has YALI been playing in the constitution making process?
Wilson: YALI has been playing a key role from the beginning of the process, since the President announced that we would start the process of coming up with a new constitution, YALI has been active. We have had dialogues with other CS players, with government to ensure that we have a constitution that is fully people driven and not bulldozed by power bearers in our country. As YALI we embarked on a campaign and went o all parts of Zambia to engage citizens not only in urban but in rural villages, colleges and Universities as well to explain to people what this process was about and how they could participate.

Q6. To what extent is the media part of YALI's work? By media I mean traditional media such as television, radio and newspapers as well as social media like facebook, twitter, websites?
Wilson: Our aim as YALI has been to ensure that our work is out there in the public and the best way to do that is through the media. Every project we have done has always gone to the media. We have a facebook page and website and we use radio stations such as Yatsani a community radio station. At the end of the day we have people who appreciate our work and some who don't but the best we do is forging on and knowing our objectives at the end of the day.

Q7. Coming to democracy in Zambia, what examples can mention that pinpoint best practices in Zambia's democracy?
Wilson: I don't see any best practices.

Q8. What are some of the ways in which people can participate in the constitution

making process and what do you perceive as some key barriers to this participation?
Wilson: if the government can make more effort to dialogue with the ordinary people. Let people dialogue with their own local leaders to ensure that they fully participate in the constitution making process. Another way is through civil society organizations such YALI, government should network with CSOs and community leaders such as councilors at local level and make sure that those communities form groups or forums where people meet to discuss at these forums and discussions where people are enlightened on what is provided for in the draft constitution and what they would like to change or keep, before taking the draft constitution to a referendum.

Q9. Ok coming to my second last question, what kind of issues has characterized the constitution making process in Zambia? What has been the debate and what are people saying. Kindly give your reflections on this.
Wilson: There have been several issues and debates going on. The first thing has been the promise itself where the President stood up and promised Zambians a new constitution within 90 days of forming government. But when he saw that he would not meet that deadline, the best thing would have been to come back to Zambians to inform them that that would not be possible within 90 days and that government should be given more time. Instead he said we should just amend the old draft constitution instead of coming up with a new one. The other big debate is on the huge sums of money spent on this process under the PF government, there's a lot of lies being told in the political field.

Q10. What is the way forward for YALI in the fight for a new people driven constitution? Have you mapped out a strategy on what you do next because now government says Zambians don't need a new constitution but YALI feels tat there's need for one, so what will do about it, what's the next step?
Wilson: As YALI we wont sit back and relax we will always stand out and speak on behalf of Zambian people as you know it's not everyone can go to State house to speak to the President but as YALI we will continue to use our platform to make peoples' voices are heard. On the strategy and plan for the next move, I may not be the best person to answer unless if you talk to the YALI President or board secretary.

Interview 7: Niza Chisulo - YALI Member/ Economics Student University of Zambia.

Q1. Could you kindly tell me about your work at YALI?
Niza: Working at YALI, I have been involved in programmes on the constitution, health and environmental issues as well as educational issues.

Q2. When you look at the NGO movement in Zambia, how would you describe the current situation?

Niza: From a scale of 1-10 I would give them 3 or 4 because as compared to other countries, NGOs in Zambia are quiet dormant, lack of diversity and the creation of NGOs for the sole purpose of personal benefit and not service to the people. In terms of being active and responding to issues affecting the country, NGOs are not doing much. Maybe I cannot only blame the civil society because the platform and environment for their operations is not conducive. For most NGOs, its either they are always running their mouths against the government or they are sponsored by foreign organizations with their own agendas and interests, not totally for the benefit of the country.

Q3. How would you describe the current trend of political participation by Zambian citizens? You can elaborate with some examples.
Niza: Once recent stride that has tried to improve political participation by Zambians can be seen from the last general elections that we had where people realized that they actually have a right to a way of life that they would like to pursue. People also realized that they could vote and that their votes actually counted. The only problem is that people are suppressed by people tat we elect as our leaders. Zambians voted for change and were desperate to change government regardless of who took over but the change Zambians wanted is not what they are getting now. Now we are struggling with poor health and educational systems and the Kwacha is loosing value against the major currencies. But the rate of civic engagement by youths in Zambia is not that much and there is potential to do better but again people have more or less given up and there's apathy when it comes to political participation but there's still hope.

Q4. When you look at YALI, what role has it been playing in the constitution making process in Zambia? **Respondent answered both questions 4 and 5 in one.**
Q5. What role has YALI been playing in the constitution making process in Zambia?
Niza: I have been a member of YALI since inception and the one thing that YALI has been doing is providing an opportunity for people to play a role in their own country. YALI has been hosting townhall meetings with people from various backgrounds and various parts of Zambia where we meet and discuss issues that affect us in the constitution; we put these issues on paper and present them to the relevant offices. YALI has invigorated a platform for civic participation in Zambia. Unfortunately the downside to it is that not everyone is happy about that.

Q6. To what extent is the media part of YALI's work on the constitution making process? By media I mean traditional media and social media?

Niza: YALI has a website and facebook page that is up and running. But in terms of social networking, there's not much being done on social media but I believe that's a purely administrative issue because we haven't reached that stage where we can spread out information on social networks to an extent like we saw in the Arab Spring uprising. There have been improvements with use of television and radio programmes where not only have they been running programmes in Lusaka but in rural areas as well. The media plays a pivotal role in YALI work as it acts as a means of disseminating information on a large scale. The limitation comes when only a small section of the population gets ahold of the message because people are not turned into radio or television all the time. The use of English on these programmes is also a barrier in a country with 72 local languages, with the majority of the population not well endowed in the English language.

Q7. How can an ordinary citizen participate in this process and what do you see as some of the barriers to this participation?
Niza: By virtue of being Zambian, every citizen has a right to participate, it's not something we have to ask for, and it is something we have to do when we feel that we need to do it. We have a government, which promises one thing and does the other, which to me is very treacherous. The rights of people in terms of freedom of information, and assembly are being infringed on. In this country if you want to hold a meeting of let's say 500 people or more, you need a police permit and government has a way of blocking that from happening. The unfortunate thing is that people don't realize that citizens have the power. We can help by demanding for our rights to be recognized by government with regard to the constitution. A lot of resources have been wasted over the constitution making process, which could have been channeled towards development.

Q8. Can you highlight some of the best practices from Zambia's democracy?
Niza: As compared to other African countries in Africa, it is not common to have a peaceful transfer of political power after an election. That is good democracy. Another thing is that people in Zambia now realize that the right to vote is something very essential in every democracy. Zambians are now able to speak out for them selves and exercise their freedoms even though the government sometimes tries to muzzle these freedoms.

Q9. What issues has characterized the constitution making process in Zambia? What has been the debate and what are people saying. Kindly give your reflections on this.
Niza: The biggest issue is the huge amounts of money spent on this process not only with the PF government but with the previous ones as well. It is very sad that taxpayers' money is being spent without any fruitful results at the end of the day. The President

promised Zambians a new constitution within 90 days of forming government but he has since u-turned and said Zambia does not need a new constitution. This has resulted in huge debates on the good will of government and shows how politicians take us for granted.

Q10. What is the way forward for YALI in the fight for a new people driven constitution?
Niza: If Zambia is to get a new constitution, what YALI is doing is spreading the word. We have to re-strategize and come up with a SWOT analysis for YALI in terms of succeeding in this process. We have the support of other non-Zambians organizations that are interested in Zambia's democracy. One issue we will focus on is dialogue with the people who matter, the ordinary Zambians. For example if we had a good constitution in Zambia, it would attract foreign investment due to confidence on the political stability of the country. We need t engage the media more to ensure that our messages are spread to the population.

Interview 8: Mundia Paul Hakoola: YALI Board Secretary
Q1. Could you kindly tell me about your work at YALI?
Mundia: Am in charge of coordinating the various programmes that YALI runs in terms of human rights and advocacy. E.g we work to protect rights of minority groups such as albinos and the physically challenged. We are also documenting human rights abuses taking place in the country. As am speaking the document for the year 2013 is ready we should be able to avail it to the public as of next month.

Q2. How would describe the current situation around NGOs in Zambia?
Mundia: It has been tricky because under this Patriotic Front regime, a number of instrumental NGOs have been compromised and are aligned to the new government. We have seen the President appointing some of these key persons in the civil society sector to high government positions. This has threatened civil society in the country. We have also seen the deadly NGO Act that the PF government is trying to implement which is direct threat to the survival of NGOs in Zambia because government says those who wont register under this Act will be deregistered. This has instilled fear across the NGO movement and many organizations are leaning back on providing checks and balances on government.

Q3. How would you describe the current trend of political participation by Zambian citizens? You can give some examples.
Mundia: One of the things we have seen in this country is participation in the electoral system. But recently the participation of Zambians in the recent past has declined and citizens are not so active in the democratic system of their country. E.g in the recent by-election in Katuba, less than 15% of registered voters turned up to vote for a new area Member of Parliament. When it comes to participating in constitutional issues, the problem is that the majority of Zambian citizens are not educated. There are high levels

of illiteracy in this country, especially people in rural areas. When we go around talking about the draft constitution, people don't even know what a constitution is, and these are the majority of our citizens in rural areas.

Q4. How does YALI work in the area of political participation in Zambia? You can give some examples.
Mundia: YALI works with various stakeholders such as young people in tertiary institutions, political parties and other NGOs. We have held a number of workshops on non-violence electoral processes. We have also been mass mobilizing citizens in rural communities especially through our rural outreach programmes where our coordinators speak the native language in that region or area. We thus train local language coordinators to explain constitutional issues to citizens and how they can be involved. We use townhall meetings and discussion forums and mass mobilization in churches and other religious affiliations regarding the constitutional reform process.

Q5. What role has YALI been playing in the constitution making process specifically?
Mundia: YALI has been providing a platform for citizens to exchange ideas and also to ensure that the voices of the people are heard. E.g we had consultative meetings carried out by government through the technical committee, our role then was to explain to citizens some of the contentious issues that were under high level of distortions around communities and debates due to illiteracy. YALI has on the other hand been demanding for a transparent constitutional review process with a timeline provided for in a legal framework.

Q6. To extent is the media part of YALI's work in the constitution making process. By media I mean both traditional media as well as social media.
Mundia: When you go to our facebook, website and twitter, every activity that YALI has undertaken, we have posted on social media to raise awareness among young people who have access to Internet. We have had media breakfasts, caucus meetings where we have brought the media to our various fora where we invite the media to cover our meetings. We believe the issue of the constitution is not our battle as YALI but is a duty for all citizens including media personnel who before they are reporters, they are citizens. So we have had headlines in the media because of the advocacy we have put into the media. The media in Zambia is very small and needs to grow e.g. we have two state owned newspapers plus the privately owned but pro-government Post newspapers. Recently we have seen the emergence of the Daily Nation Newspaper. We need more of print and electronic media in the country. In terms of response from the public, we have received positive feedback from the public with regard to our outreach on the constitution making

process.

Q7. Ok could you kindly comment on some of the way that Zambians can participate in the constitution making process and what do you perceive as barriers to this citizen participation?

Mundia: An average Zambian can participate if they are informed and educated about this issue. Opposition political parties should take it upon themselves to inform their followers on the importance of this document and not try to take political mileage out of the constitution issue. This process should not be politicized, as it is a social, political, cultural problem. When this is done, then people can participate through dialogues and debates, because attaching politics to the constitution has made this process drag further and failed in this country.

Q8. Ok with examples, can you kindly highlight some of the best practices in Zambia's democracy?

Mundia: The best practices so far includes is when the former president handed over power peacefully in the last elections. That is a good democratic practice because elections are simply a competition to serve. And Zambia has had a trend where the past 4 presidents are leaving office after losing an election by handing over power peacefully. As you know one of the pillars of democracy is holding elections at a periodical time and when that time passes, leaders should hand over power and we have seen that in Zambia and it's a benchmark that need sot be upheld.

Q9. What issues have characterized the constitution making process and what is your reflection on these issues?

Mundia: This process has been around for years and the issue is that when politicians are in the opposition, they promise a new constitution but when they come into power, they change their minds. Opinion pols conducted by various media houses like MUVI Television has shown that 90% of Zambians want a new constitution but our leaders are denying us this right. Throughout the whole process the issue is that Zambians want a people driven constitution and the current government have an opportunity to deliver and should not use this issue as a chance to fix their political opponents and those who oppose them.

Q10. What is the way forward for YALI in the fight for a new people driven constitution?

Mundia: YALI will use every other legal means t demand for a new constitution. YALI supports the disruption of parliament by opposition MPs over the constitution; we will conduct peaceful demonstrations around the country on the constitution because this is

our document as Zambians. Government is not compelled to provide for social and economic rights because we do not have a constitution that shows wishes of the people. E.g In South Africa there is a case where government stopped supplying drugs that prevent mother-to-child HIV transmission. South Africans sued the government in the constitutional court and their government was compelled to provide the drug. This is what the constitution gives, power to the people.

Interview 9: Charles Michelo – Information Specialist/ Lead Researcher
Q1. Could you please kindly tell me about your work at ALI?
Charles: I basically handle the research department.

Q2. How would you describe the current NGO movement in Zambia?
Charles: Unfortunately, the current situation and environment is not enabling. In an ideal and freer society, you expect to have an independent state, government and civil society which should all compliment each other. However, in Zambia civil society is not free due to government harassment and even being jailed whenever they speak out against government.

Q3. How would you describe the current trend of political participation by Zambian citizens? You can give some examples.
Charles: Equally with political participation in Zambia, it is just not happening as the ruling calls the shots and expects everyone to just follow and agree with them. Opposition political parties are harassed and threatened by the state, making civil society and its work hard to conduct in this country.

Q4. With regard to the constitution making process, how can ordinary Zambians participate and what do you perceive as some key barriers to that participation? You can give some examples.
Charles: Citizens participation is cross cutting, with the elite who are knowledgeable about the constitution, while the majority of the population is illiterate. There are a number of barriers, for each organism to work efficiently, each cell needs to work efficiently but in our case in Zambia, we have the government who have a duty to provide a constitution for Zambians. However, government has been asking people to choose between food and a new constitution, which is a very serious challenge for majority of Zambians who are poor and illiterate.

Q5 and Q6. How does YALI work in the area of political participation in Zambia

generally and in the constitution making process in particular? What has been YALI's role?

Charles: Am not trying to blow YALI's trumpet, but if you ask various stakeholders, they will tell you that as YALI, we have a tried to champion the democratic process in Zambia. For instance, when the President tries to mislead people on constitutional issues and other issues, YALI challenges the President. YALI is seen as acting as the mouthpiece for Zambians and other organizations as well.

Q7. To what extent is the media a part of YALI's work, by media I am referring to both traditional media channels of radio, television and print, as well as social media such as facebook, twitter, websites etc.?

Charles: Currently in Zambia the most popular media is the public media and private media with a number of people accessing social media. The problem is that it's the public media that covers the entire country but is heavily controlled by the state. As we result, whatever YALI says, whether positive or negative, will not be covered by the public media. The private media is trying to give YALI a platform but they have limited coverage.

Follow-up? What has been the response from the public?

Charles: Now more than ever, it has become very tough highlight some issues affecting our nation as we are threatened with arrests and lawsuits. But there are people who always applaud YALI's work out there. E.g the Grand Coalition was holding a prayer meeting in one of the churches in Lusaka over the constitution and supporters of the ruling party came and beat up people in that church that should not be condoned in a democracy.

Q8. Could you kindly highlight some of the best practices from Zambia's democracy?

Charles: From a democratic point of view, it has been the peaceful transition of power from one political leader to another after losing in a Presidential election. Zambia is a model of peaceful elections in the region.

Q9. Ok my second last question, what kind of debates and issues have surrounded the constitution making process sin Zambia and what is your reflection on these issues?

Charles: Those that have been entrusted to give Zambians a new constitution are holding on to it because they have realized that if they release the constitution, it will shot them in the foot, e.g. if the new constitution is enacted according to the wishes of the people, the President will have less powers than he has now and that is what government does not

want. People in Zambia don't have a direct say in what affects them, that's why we need the new constitution so that people can realize their full potential.

Q10. What is the way forward for YALI in the fight for a people driven constitution?
Charles: We will continue with our advocacy and strategic activities, we will press on. Most NGOs have been threatened with deregistration or being banned from operating in the country and they have now held back a bit but as YALI, we will continue with our campaigns of peaceful protests, engaging youths, student bodies and partnering with other Civil Society organizations in championing for the release of a new constitution. Definitely the press is needed for us to push such an agenda, however the public media, which has nation-wide coverage, is not accessible to due to government control. We will continue to use private media but the problem is that they have limited coverage.