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The Survival of Political Parties in Consolidating Democracies:

A Qualitative Case Study of Zambian Political Parties 1991-2015

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Abstract

The Third Wave of Democratization brought with it strong ideals of representative democracy. This meant that countries had to create political parties as vehicles of electoral democracy through which people would constantly participate in political processes. Many countries experiencing the current wave of democratization are not yet consolidated which gives challenges to political parties' functioning. Many consolidating democracies have been experiencing the formation of many political parties that do not last long in the political environment because they usually die in their early stages and those that manage to persist in all environments. There has not been much attention given to explain this variation in the survival of political parties. This thesis is a qualitative case study examining factors affecting the survival of political parties in consolidating democracies using Zambian political parties. The thesis has used an in-depth content analysis since it sought to problematize previous research findings in order to answer the research questions.

The thesis specifically examines how successful selection of leaders and intra-party democracy affect the survival of political parties in Zambia with reference to theory of party institutionalization. Empirical results show that all political parties in Zambia suffer from the effects of lack of successful leadership selection and intra-party democracy but some parties do survive while others fail to survive. The thesis learnt that the difference in access to funds needed in party organisation is what explains why some parties survive while others keep dying out in Zambia. The results further showed that the theory of party institutionalisation does not fit to explain variations in parties' survival in consolidating democracies.

Key Words: Intra-party democracy, Leadership selection, Survival, Political parties, Consolidating democracies, Zambia, Party Institutionalization

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List of Acronyms

AZ:	Agenda for Zambia
ECZ:	Electoral Commission of Zambia
MMD:	Movement for Multiparty Democracy
MP:	Member of Parliament
NCC:	National Citizen's Coalition
NP:	National Party
PF:	Patriotic Front
UNIP:	United National Independence Party
UPND:	United Party for National Development
ZADECO:	Zambia Democratic Congress
UP:	United Party
UPP:	United Progressive Party
ANC:	African National Congress
ZANC:	Zambia African National Congress
FODEP:	Foundation for Democratic Process
NIMD:	Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy
NDI:	National Democratic Institute

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1. Introduction

Political parties have been an indispensable element of many consolidated democracies such as the USA as well as consolidating democracies. This is because political parties are the vehicles through which citizens of any given country unite in freely campaigning for public office, articulate their interests and demands as well as determining what their respective societies need in order to lead meaningful lives. While there are many political parties without democracy, it can certainly not be doubted that there can be no meaningful democracy in the absence political parties in any society. There may be imperfect Political Parties in many countries, but the fact still remains that political parties are a central precondition for democratic governance to thrive (Salih, 2003, NIMD, 2004; Mainwaring and Mariano, 2006).

The Third Wave of Democratization brought with it strong need for representative democracy which resulted in many countries creating political parties as vehicles of electoral democracy. Many countries experienced a major shift from one-party authoritarian regimes to multiparty politics with relative respect to political freedoms where people could exercise their rights to form political parties and be voted for as well as voting for their preferred candidates and political parties. Many competitive multiparty elections in the early 1990s were held in Sub-Saharan Africa owing to this political shift. Although these elections were held in many countries only a few managed to oust the liberation parties from power. The outstanding development however was that all the countries except absolute monarchies allowed political parties to legally exist. Zambia stands out as a different case in Southern Africa as she managed to remove the party that liberated her from colonial rule from office through the first competitive multiparty elections in 1991. Many of her neighbours are still being governed by the liberation parties, parties that also practiced One-Party politics. From 1991 to present the country has continued to witness the formation of many political parties some of which have been serious contenders for power while others have not survived (Randall and Svasand, 2001; Erdmann and Simutanyi, 2003).

Following the successful adoption of multiparty politics in Africa in the early 1990s, many studies have been conducted in different fields of democracy such as civil society organisations' roles, decentralisation, elections and electoral systems and many others. However, little attention

has been given to the development of internal organisation of political parties which are the main drivers of representative democracy. Many scholars have examined external factors such as electoral rules, external support, unfair political environment, lack of political interest among electorates to mention but a few, to be the chief cause of parties' failure to survive. For instance, some scholars have argued that political parties in consolidating democracies mainly fail because they all focus on gaining control over state resources as well as tilting their base towards ethnic support (Ndulo, 2000; NDI/FODEP 2003; Salih, 2003). This thesis however sought to examine how the internal organization of political parties in Zambia is actually done, that is, how intra-party democracy and institutionalised way of selecting party leaders from different classes in society impacts the chances of parties to survive in all environments.

Specifically in Zambia, the 1991 multiparty elections succeeded in ousting the former one-party UNIP regime from its 27 year rule while the 2011 elections managed to end the 20 year rule of the MMD. However, despite the country having experienced 7 democratic elections, the extent to which stable opposition parties have been able to win elections is seen to be very low. This is because many political parties that have been formed since 1991 have only succeeded in contesting elections once and died out while others have just been endorsing other candidates in elections. Zambia has More than 50 registered political parties but very few parties have been stable and participated successfully in all electoral cycles from their time of formation (Momba, 2005). Various scholars on party politics have argued that parties' abilities to survive heavily depend on their party institutionalization levels, that is, the extent to which parties have created stable structures around the country thorough which every member is able to participate freely (Panebianco, 1988; Randall and Svåsand, 2002; Rakner, 2011). This thesis therefore seeks to establish the extent to which party institutionalization affect the survival of political parties in Zambia.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

At independence in 1964, UNIP started out as a stable and strong political party with massive nation-wide support. However, after the abandonment of the one-party system, the party lost power with reduced representation in Parliament. The party never managed to stabilize itself until it lost all its seats and currently has no representation in parliament. Further, like UNIP, the

MMD equally started as a stable and strong party with countrywide support winning more than 75% of the 1991 elections (Simutanyi, 2005). However, after 20 years, the party's strength had declined as the party had reduced electoral support and reduced representation in parliament until it lost power in the 2011 national elections. UPND had also emerged as a strong party when it first contested elections in 2001 coming out second to MMD. However, after the demise of founder president Anderson Mazoka, the party's strength declined as can be seen in the 2006, 2008 and 2011 elections' performance in which the party came out third. Over 50 political parties have been formed after 1991 where some have contested presidential and parliamentary elections at least once between 1991 and 2015 and many others have not taken part in any electoral process and cannot be traced anymore.

Therefore, although most political parties seem to exhibit strong characteristics of party stability at their inception such as intra-party democracy, attractive party messages as well as strong and charismatic leaders, over time their stability seem to decline while others even cease to exist. What therefore, are the factors that account for the survival of political parties in Zambia?

1.2 Research Objectives

1.2.1 General Objective

- To establish factors that account for the failure of Political Parties in Zambia to survive.

1.2.2 Specific objectives

- To assess the extent to which lack of intra-party democracy affects the survival of political parties.
- To determine the extent to which leadership selection process affects the survival of political parties.
- To establish the extent to which the theory of party institutionalization explains the variations in the survival of political parties in Zambia.

1.3 Research Questions

- How does intra-party democracy affect the survival of political parties?
- How does the process of leadership selection contribute to the survival of political parties?

- To what extent does party institutionalization explain the variations in the survival of political?

These are very significant questions because they provided the thesis with answers that were useful in understanding the important factors that explain variations in the survival of political parties. This thesis argued that external factors such as fair political environment, electoral systems, educated populace etc are important for growth of parties; however without internal organization vis-à-vis successful selection of party leadership and intra-party democracy, parties would greatly struggle to survive. The questions helped this thesis to understand if indeed the lack of party institutionalization is indeed the adequate explanation to why some parties in Zambia have failed to survive.

1.4 Significance of the Study

Marshall and Rossman (2011:70-73) write that any research should convince the reader why the study is significant and worth to be undertaken. Any research must show significance for knowledge, significance for solving practical and policy problems as well as significance for action to emphasize its relevance. Therefore this research is important because its findings are very useful to researchers and scholars in the areas of survival of political parties in many consolidating democracies around the world as it builds on existing literature and knowledge of how to make political parties stable institutions that survive in different environments. Furthermore, this study is very vital due to the following reasons: The first being able to provide sufficient explanation of the factors which have impeded or enhanced the survival of political parties in Zambia. This is also helpful to researchers to search for alternative theories that are effectively able to explain the variations in political parties' survival; and this helps to design further viable interventions which would improve the effective organization of political parties in Zambia. Lastly, both the new and already existing political parties stand to greatly benefit from the findings of this thesis in order to have a clear understanding on how to make their parties survive in all environments.

1.5 Defining Party Survival, Leadership Selection and Intra-party Democracy

In the quest to maintain high validity and reliability of the thesis it is imperative to define how the core concepts of the paper were operationalized. By survival of political parties this thesis meant the process by which parties acquire stability to effectively stay active in any political environment and participate in all electoral processes during and after elections. This is determined by the consistent participation in all political processes from the time the parties are created. The constant failure by parties to field candidates in all elections, that is, local government, parliamentary and presidential elections leads to the death of political parties (NIMD, 2004).

Leadership selection is very much related to intra-party democracy. However, in this thesis the use of successful leadership selection entails the ability for a political party to select sets of leaders with different qualities, that is, old men, women and the youth. A principle which presumes the inclusion different sets of leaders in political parties is that the parties will find it easy to be supported by different groups of electorates (Huntington, 1968; Basedau and Stroh, 2008). The process of selecting leaders would qualify to be called successful if all groups in society such as old men, women and the youth are represented in party leadership. However, a party can have such a balanced representation leadership without following democratic procedures and this is why this thesis has separated leadership selection from intra-party democracy.

Intra-party democracy in this thesis refers to the actual practice of democratic processes within political parties. This was seen in how party programmes are executed as well as how fair political participation is within political parties. For effective intra-party democracy to be realised therefore, the thesis established if all leadership positions are elective in all parties. Further, effective intra-party democracy is a stage of democracy in the party where every member of the party from the bottom structures to top party leadership has the right to take part in the decision making processes. Parties that respect democratic principles also allow divergent opinions to exist within the parties. Therefore, this thesis examined if parties provide an environment where there are increased possibilities of everyone taking part in party programmes.

This in practice should mean the absence of intra-party factions that may be against the party leadership as those holding different views are not persecuted since they are entitled to freely contribute their ideas to the party. Intra-party democracy is therefore, a very broad term describing a wide range of methods for including party members in intra-party deliberation and decision making. Parties using internally democratic procedures were examined by seeing those that were able to select capable and appealing leaders; have more responsive policies, and, as a result, enjoy greater electoral success. This thesis measured intra-party democracy by examining if parties had structures representing the party at all levels of society (i.e. national, provincial, district and ward levels); and if they played any vital role in the continued participation of political parties in all political processes (Ferdinand and Fernando, 2016; Basedau, 2005).

1.6 Organization of the Thesis

This thesis is organized in six chapters. The first chapter is the introduction of the thesis. Chapter two reviews theoretical and empirical studies related to the topic of the survival of political parties in consolidating democracies. Chapter three is methodology which explains the design and the various methods used in gathering and analyzing data; chapter four is the presentation of the research findings/results. The fifth chapter analyses and discusses the main findings of the thesis based on the research questions. Finally, chapter six gives out the conclusions and offers recommendations for a possible further research.

2. Previous Research

Marshall and Rossman (2011:76-79) stress the importance of reviewing literature before undertaking research as this builds a logical framework for the research as well as demonstrating the main assumptions of the general research questions. Marshall and Rossman further write that literature review shows that the researcher has sufficient knowledge about the related research and the scholarly traditions that support his/her research. Furthermore, the researcher is able to identify the gaps in previous research which justifies the need for research to be undertaken in order to fill those gaps. Finally, through literature review, a researcher will refine or adjust his research questions upon examining a number of studies within the tradition under which the research falls.

2.1 Previous Empirical Research

A point of departure of this thesis was to compare parties' survival in consolidating democracies to those in consolidated democracies. Many scholars have argued that some political parties in consolidating democracies have ideological similarities with parties that were established many decades ago in consolidated democracies (Mainwaring and Mariano, 2006). However, the dilemma still remains with regard to why many political parties in consolidating democracies fail to survive while those in consolidated democracies remain stable. It is argued that although political parties in consolidated democracies easily adapt to new environments they find themselves in for example during and after elections, they have not been immune to effects of party disorganisation and other uncertainties that have come their way. This however does not result in the extinction or death of political parties that find themselves in such situations. The parties adjust and find alternative ways of organising themselves and continue pursuing the aims for which they were established. For instance, Lupu and Riedi (2012) write that parties in consolidated democracies have faced uncertainties that come with development such as the advancements in technology which allow people to detach themselves from direct contacts with parties' structures but participate in political processes through social media and improved radio and television broadcasting. This affect party mobilisation and party competition as the interaction between parties and voters is now done through the media. This poses a challenge for the parties to effectively have a membership that they can easily influence and control. However, with evidence from parties especially in Western Europe, it can be seen that parties are able to persist these shocks and effectively survive. This helped this thesis as it provided a case where parties in developed democracies face periodical difficulties in party organization but manage to survive whereas parties in consolidating democracies fail to adjust when faced with any major shock in the political environment and subsequently fail to survive. Finding the reasons that explain this gap in party organization is very necessary for the development of political parties in consolidating democracies.

Lupu and Riedi (2012) further observed that political parties in consolidating democracies are relatively new and often depend on the sister parties' ideologies from their former colonial powers. As such they argue that democratic age affects the organisation of parties and how to respond to external shocks that come as the world develops and subsequently fail to survive.

They further argue that failure to contain mobilisation challenges, inadequate financial muscle to use during and after elections and lack of concise party rules partly explain why political parties in consolidating democracies fail to survive. Lupu and Riedi's findings helped this thesis to understand the factors that affect the survival of political parties in Zambia more especially when compared with factors falling within internal sphere of party organization, that is, the process of funding strategies and strict observation of intra-party democracy in all programmes of the parties.

Similarly, Ferdinand and Fernando (2016) have written that structural changes in European liberal democracies have negatively impacted on the organization of political parties. They argue that the relationship between political parties and society has negatively been affected by increased levels of higher education in society; new value orientations and a weakening class structure have weakened the bond that has for a long time connected political parties to the voters. These trends have further proved to have severe implications on political parties' organizational abilities in society as well as the ability to aggregate citizens' different interests and needs into programmatic platforms. Furthermore, the decline of social rootedness has equally presented negative effects on parties' strategies to mobilise voters during electoral campaigns and maximise their chances to recruit more voters. This has resulted in declined party membership as well as a reduction in parties' income necessary for party organization. However, regardless of these challenges, political parties in developed European democracies have persisted and continue to exist without disintegrating. This therefore helped this thesis understand why many political parties in consolidating democracies fail survive when faced with various organizational challenges as well as how they can adjust to different political environments and continue to survive.

The Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD, 2004) further observed that political parties in consolidating democracies seem to be engrossed in a lot of challenges. Some of them have survived for only a short period and have not had the necessary abilities needed to play their primary roles of mobilizing and representing citizens' aspirations. The institute suggests that political parties often do not provide citizens with a sense of meaningful political identity and participation due to similarities in parties' goals; and failure to institutionalize democratic principles within them. Even in cases of a number of older parties, links with the

general citizenry are often uncommon. This thesis used these observations to ascertain how this disconnection between the parties and the electorates (if any) in Zambia affect the survival of political parties in Zambia.

Writing on party growth and survival in Ghana, Sakyi et al. (2015) examined the impact of funding sources on internal party politics on Ghanaian political parties. They write that there is a variety of sources which help in financing political parties. The most notable and common ones include party membership fees, fundraising through party programmes, donations by party sympathisers as well as profit accruing from properties and businesses owned by a political party. Membership fee is seen to be the most reliable and attractive source of the party finances. These funds are voluntarily given and are not means through which individuals should influence party decisions or claim party positions. These membership fees have the potential to offer members a certain degree of influence in internal affairs of the party without giving individuals or groups an incentive to dominate party politics. Nonetheless, qualifying membership fee as an effective source of party finances is rather questionable because this is determined by the size of the membership base of each party. In the case of Ghana Sakyi, et al. (2015) found that membership fee does not contribute much to party financing as many parties still relied on individual funders which affect the internal party politics. This thesis therefore sought to establish the effects of party funding on intra-party democracy and how this affects the survival of political parties in Zambia.

Salih (2003), in the introduction of the book *'African Political Parties', Evolution, Institutionalization and Governance*, writes that political parties in African politics have been institutionalized through both internal and external pressures. He writes that the parties have failed to live up to their responsibility for democratizing state and society, and that the institutionalization process seen in a few parties could be described as a 'face value' institutionalization where the search for African alternatives is slow in coming. He further argues that political leaders focus on one function of political parties, that is, the opportunities they offer them to gain control of state resources and civil service personnel. This, he argues, makes African political parties far less occupied with the fundamental problems that confront the African peoples, in terms of economic development, poverty alleviation, public policy reforms, to mention but a few in their organization strategies and this detaches them from the expectant

electorates. Salih, further writes that new political parties still face old governance predicaments such as how to adjust and coordinate the interests of power seekers blinded by the illusion of power; how to secure inclusiveness within the existing differentials in social and political interests, how to contain the coercive authority of the state and the unpleasant effects of majoritarian tyranny vis-à-vis the minorities (social, linguistic, gender, ethnic and regional). Although, Salih generalizes his findings across Africa, he forgets to acknowledge that even in the process of democratization among African states, there are differences in the way political parties operate in each country due to different reasons. This thesis employed Salih's general conclusions about African parties to understand the specific reasons why some political parties in Zambia fail to survive and others survive.

Furthermore, Basedau and Stroh (2008) conducted a research on the institutionalisation of political parties in Anglophone Africa. They observed that since the mid-nineties, most sub-Saharan countries have been holding periodical elections, with a number of candidates and parties taking part in these elections. They discovered that Africa's political parties have however had their deficits more pronounced, such as a weak organisation, loose membership, the dependence on personalities of 'big men', a lack of programmes and intolerance to opposing views within the parties' structures. These deficits when put together would simply be termed as low institutionalisation. This further gave rise to the following basic questions: To what degree are certain parties in African countries stabilised? Is there a connection between stability and the degree to which democracy has been realised? In answering these questions they distinguished four dimensions of party stability and institutionalisation in the name of a *high degree of societal integration; the party's appearance as an independent organisation; a high level of organisation, and coherence and cohesion*. They argued that the degree to which political parties are institutionalised differs greatly depending on their level of organization. This study helped this thesis to discover the factors that specifically explain variations in the survival of political parties in Zambia.

Rakner (2011) writes that in 1991, Zambia experienced a peaceful transfer of power from the one-party government of UNIP in a multiparty election and served as a model of African democratization: An electoral turnover without violence, in which the incumbent party was replaced by a cross-ethnic pro-democracy movement, MMD. The opposition's surprising success

in the first multiparty elections has been attributed to the organizational reach and mobilizing success of trade union structures, Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) (Rakner, 2011; Lebas, 2011). But while the trade union movement provided the organization base for the MMD, the democratic transition in Zambia was characterized as a broad pro-democracy structure united on the desire to oust the one-party government from office. The research argued that the success of MMD in the 1991 transition elections also hinged on its ability to incorporate a wide range of societal actors, such as students, churches and business interests. In part, the complex societal base of MMD also contributed to its fragmentation. Rakner further observed that leadership succession problems and executive dominance appear to drive political party formation because intra-party dialogue seems to be overrun by the desire of senior party members to be at the helm of the party leadership. Recounting the partial stability of the MMD, Lebas (2011) writes that the top-down character of party policy making witnessed in MMD is a reflection of the way the party was organised from the beginning; he argues that lines between local structures and top national leadership were ad-hoc, the local activists were not involved in making national policies. Lebas' research shows that the inability by the parties to involve local activists in national policies contributes to the significant splits that have been witnessed within the Zambian political parties. This thesis broadened the scope by scrutinising an increased number of Zambian political parties in order to establish if the factors affecting the survival of parties can be generalised in all cases to be caused by the failure to incorporate a wide range of societal actors and top-down organization approach; and how these affect party survival.

Momba (2005) in the Electoral Institute of Southern Africa (EISA) Research Report No 17 examined the external regulations and environment under which Zambian political parties operate. The research also examined functioning and internal organisation of four political parties. The research found that there were no legal or administrative inhibitions to freedom of association; however, the way the Public Order Act had been applied greatly disadvantaged the opposition political parties. It was discovered that a number of critical state institutions, such as the public media and at times the police service, had acted to the disadvantage of opposition political parties in Zambia. Further, the study revealed that there was a general decline in the membership of most political parties over time for both the ruling party and opposition parties. The research also revealed that lack of differences in party ideologies and lack of proper accountability of funding by party members impacted negatively on democracy and party

performance. Since this research focused only on 4 parties and mainly external factors affecting the operations of political parties, that is, external regulations and environment, this research sought to increase the number of political parties to examine and focused on internal factors directly related to intra-party democracy; and how these affect the survival of political parties in Zambia

Previous research has shown that parties fail to survive mainly because they are suffocated by factors such as failure to control individual power seekers who fail to unite parties' members to work together and appeal to more voters; the use of top-down approach in party organization is said to block intra-party democracy to thrive and detaches parties from the electorates; failure to incorporate a wide range of societal actors and inadequate finances among others. This thesis however is not disagreeing with these scholars but seeks to build on their findings by trying to establish why regardless of such general challenges in the political environment some political parties keep surviving while others keep dying out in consolidating democracies and Zambia in particular. The thesis compared how the parties respond to intra-party democracy's demands and establish if indeed it is the major explanation to why some parties survive or fail to survive in the case of Zambia.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

This thesis used the theory of party institutionalization to understand if it indeed accurately explains the variation in the survival of parties based on how many scholars have developed and applied the concept of party institutionalization; employing Zambian political parties as a case (Huntington, 1968; Panebianco, 1988; Randall and Svasand, 2002; Basedau and Stroh 2008).

Huntington's conception of institutionalization has been instrumental in studies that encompass the survival and organization of political parties. Huntington defines institutionalization as "the process by which organizations acquire value and stability" (Huntington 1968:12). He identified four dimensions of measuring institutionalization namely adaptability, complexity, autonomy and coherence. These dimensions have further been developed by other political scientists examining the stability of political parties as organizations as well as those examining the stability of party systems around the world (Lindberg, 2007; Kuenzi and Lambright, 2001).

Randall and Svasand (2002) have built on the concept of institutionalization by developing four dimensions that are, *systemness*, *value infusion*, *autonomy* and *party reification* as important determinants of party institutionalization which are in practice similar to those identified by Huntington (1968) and Panebianco (1988). Panebianco (1988) writes that the level of party institutionalization is greatly dependent on how party-building has been created or developed. Panebianco, building on Huntington's measures of institutionalization, argued that a party that has been strongly established through the process of *penetration* from the centre to the periphery has greater chances to institutionalize and survive in different situations than the one that concentrates only at the centre. Panebianco further encouraged *diffusion*, where the party emerges through spontaneous germination from below but eventually manages to grow strong up to the centre; this he argues, leads to party-building. This thought has however been criticized by Randall and Svasand (2002) who argue that it is unrealistic to apply the combination of penetration and diffusion in consolidating democracies as the combination reflects Europeans experience of party-building. Randall and Svasand argue that party creation and institutionalization in consolidating democracies is mainly characterized by inconsistencies which may not support successful penetration of organizations from the centre to the periphery. Randall and Svasand (2002) further argue that in many consolidating democracies general party development has been regularly interrupted by inadequate access to needed financial resources for party creation and party-building (Randall and Svasand, 2002).

Randall and Svasand (2002) stress value infusion as a way shaping internal attitudes of members within parties so as to ensure party stability and guarantee parties' future. This happens when the party has managed to identify itself with a membership that is based on certain common beliefs. This is highly visible when a party is deeply rooted in society based on specific societal cleavages that links parties to societies. They make reference to European mass-based parties which are closely associated to certain cleavages that connect them to party supporters. This, they argue allows the party supporters to freely participate in internal party politics and contribute to party survival.

However, European political parties were formed on different reasons compared to most political parties in consolidating democracies. Even the cleavages were greatly divided; other parties were formed on the basis of developing agriculture and industry, others on environment, others on

narrowing the economic gap between the workers and capital etc. This in practice meant that people would vote for parties they share similar interests with. However, consolidating democracies present an interesting case where cleavage voting is based mainly along ethnic or religious lines. Ideologically, all the parties seem to be built around the platform of development which cannot be distinguished from all the parties. This eventually makes the survival of parties with similar agenda is highly questioned. This is because these similar parties may have difficulties to offer party messages to the electorates as they may fail to distinguish what the parties stand for.

Furthermore, Randall and Svasand (2002) have argued that party's autonomy in decision making is a third criterion for measuring party institutionalization where the party is expected to be independent from external actors. Parties that are heavily influenced by external factors in making party decisions have very weak leadership and organization structures. This is because the leadership of the party is just on paper as loyalty is paid to powers outside the party structures. This means the sources of leadership is from the external institutions and this impact negatively on the internal leadership of the party. Randall and Svasand (2002) further identify party reification as the fourth dimension of party institutionalization. This explains the degree to which the party is connected to the people at all levels in society; and how the behaviour of party leaders is perceived by the electorates. The historic roots that parties have in society as well as values that they represent greatly determine the level of party institutionalization. This entails that a comprehensive ideology has to be firmly crafted and be instilled in the minds of supporters as this will make them remember the party at anytime. This thesis thus benefited from Randall and Svasand as it managed to establish if the lack of party institutionalization is the adequate explanation to why some parties survive and others fail in the case of Zambian political parties.

Similarly, Basedau and Stroh (2008) have developed four dimensions of party institutionalization which they explain in the index of institutionalization of parties (IIP). Basedau and Stroh tested their index on 28 parties drawn from five Anglophone countries which includes Zambia. They developed the *level of organization, internal coherence, autonomy and roots in society* as measures of party institutionalization which are quite identical to Randall and Svasand's four dimensions of party institutionalization. Basedau and Stroh (2008) further argue that a strengthened *political will* within a political party encourages coordination of party programmes

from the bottom to the top party leadership and this has greater effects on the longevity of parties. When parties consider themselves democratic it is imperative that they be in the forefront respecting principles of democracy. Decisions made by the party leadership must be coordinated with various party structures and reflect the involvement of all other party members. Crafting party policy decisions that are legitimate and truly represent the ideal of the party require the bottom-up approach where everyone is part and parcel of the party programmes. For internal democracy to thrive, it is imperative that all decision making processes must be coherent and transparent to all party members at various structures of the party. Furthermore, there should be strict adherence to party rules and regulations by every member of the party regardless of the position each member may be holding within the various structures of the party (Randall and Svasand, 2002; Basedau and Stroh 2008). This theoretical framework helped this thesis to employ the measures of party institutionalization identified the proponents of this theory to understand if the theory indeed clearly explains why some parties survive and others fail in consolidating democracies and Zambia to be specific. This further served as a bench mark for the analysis of the findings of this thesis.

3. Methodology

3.1 Case Selection

This thesis focused on organisation and survival of political parties in consolidating democracies using Zambia as a case. Zambia was selected as a case because of her experience after political independence; the country has witnessed 3 different political parties form governments as well as the formation of many political parties where some have become defunct without attaining the aims for which they were formed while others still exist and perform the functions of political parties in political processes (Rakner and Svåsand, 2005). A single case (Zambia) was chosen because of the many political parties that have died out from 1991 to date. Furthermore, many countries in sub-Saharan Africa seem to have what could be termed as ‘autocratic multiparty’ systems where the same parties that formed the first independent governments have constantly been in power and the opposition have little or no chances of winning presidential elections. For instance, many consolidating democracies especially within Southern Africa have not experienced a case where the independence liberation parties have been defeated in competitive

multiparty elections. Therefore this thesis found that it would be a difficult task to compare multiple cases with different characteristics within twenty (20) weeks. Moreover, the many political parties in Zambia to be considered in this thesis qualify a single case to be used as it provided more in-depth information on the survival of political parties.

3.2 Research Design

This thesis is a descriptive single case study. It is descriptive because it provided an account of factors that enhance and hinder the survival of political parties in Zambia. The benefits of focusing on one country are that it was possible to do an in-depth examination, and by this the thesis highlighted the major aspects of party organization among Zambian political parties. Yin (2009) supports the use of case study approach because it allows the researcher to illuminate complex phenomena in a real time context within a limited scope with regard to available resources; and also allows making an in-depth investigation of relationships on a subject where there is limited knowledge. The problem with this approach is that it challenges the ability to generalize the results to a larger sample. However, in choosing Zambia as a case this thesis was able to thoroughly examine the theory of party institutionalization, and the findings from this thesis were very helpful in determining the position of intra-party democracy and the theory in explaining why the variations in party survival in consolidating democracies.

3.3 Sample Size and Sampling Strategy

Eight (8) political parties were purposively sampled and be examined. These comprised of four (4) parties namely MMD, UPND, UNIP and PF that have consistently participated in all electoral processes from the time of their formation, one party (1) that has participated only twice in electoral processes and failed to persist, that is, AZ that only participated in the 1996 where they won two seats and 2001 elections where they lost the seats they had won earlier. Three (3) more parties that only managed to contest in one election and failed to participate in others were considered, these were NCC which only contested the 2001 elections and ceased to exist as well as ZADECO and NP which only contested the 1996 elections and won some parliamentary seats but never managed to contest other elections that followed. The thesis has selected the above parties based on the period in which they were formed and how they performed in terms of their participation in political processes. UNIP for instance was formed in colonial times and it was in power for 27 years; it is also a mother of many political parties formed between 1991 and 2001

as the leaders of these parties were once UNIP members. MMD has been selected because it was in power for 20 years and also a mother of many other parties that broke away starting from 1993 to 2011. PF and UPND were selected because they first contested the national elections at the same time and UPND started better than PF but PF formed government first. ZADECOS, NP and AZ have been selected because they all broke away from the MMD around the same time and died around the same time. Finally, NCC has been picked because the party was formed differently by former church pastor basing his party on Christian principles but died just after losing the first contested elections and its president has ended up being the only politician to head three different political parties between 2001 and 2015 (NDI/FODEP, 2003; Tobolka, 2013; Ndulo, 2000). Thus, the selected parties have different traits qualifying them to be used as cases in this thesis.

As Marshall and Rossman (2011) write, samples in qualitative research are generally purposive which means that they are selected because they are likely to generate useful information for the topic at hand. The selected parties have the potential to provide this thesis with findings that can be generalised to all political parties in Zambia in terms of the strategies they employ to select leaders. The cases also helped the thesis to assess the levels of intra-party democracy among them by comparing their adherence to some of the provisions provided in their constitutions. It should be mentioned that although UNIP boycotted the 1996 elections when the new government amended the constitution which disqualified the party president to contest for presidency, this thesis calls the boycott of elections as normal participation in political processes. Further, the party has equally participated in many other political processes that followed.

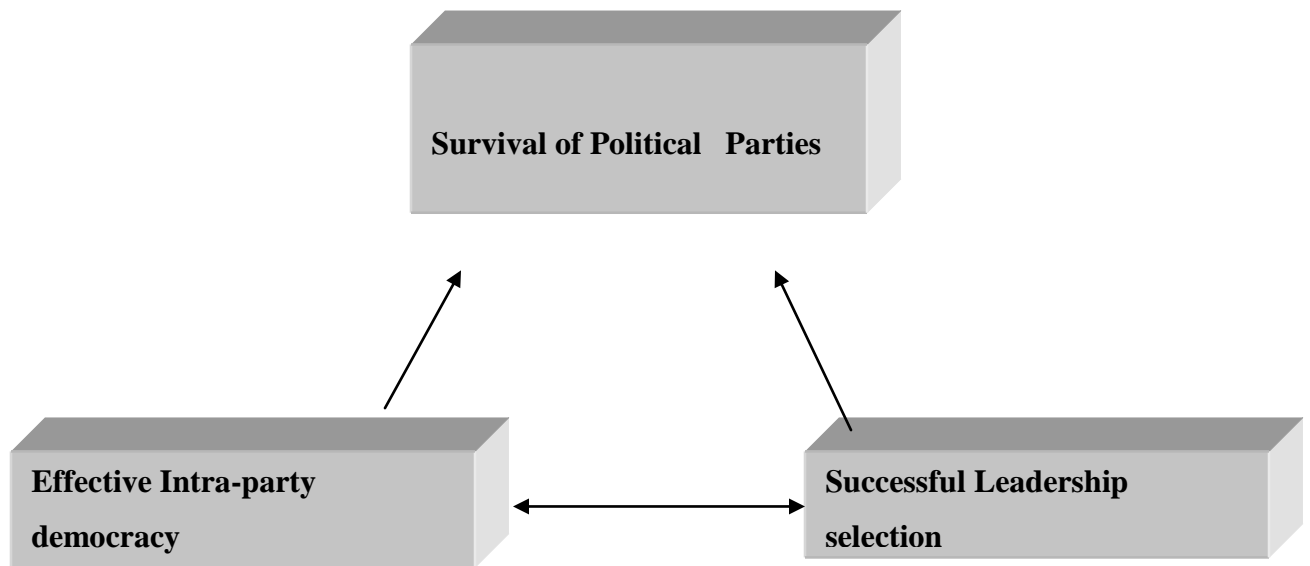
3.4 Data Collection Instruments and Procedure

Ordinarily, case studies demand that a researcher makes a decision in terms of a design that uses old and new information in his/her research. Since this study is a single-case study focusing on organizations (political parties) in one country, it entails that multiple methods can be used to collect data. Thus, this thesis collected data from different sources, the process which Marshall and Rossman (2011) call triangulation in order to ensure validity, credibility and trustworthiness of the findings. The thesis used qualitative data collection techniques to collect both primary and secondary data. Secondary data was collected from documents. These included reports,

published research articles, books and media messages regarding political parties' activities. Primary data was collected from parties' official documents in the name of party constitutions. This is rich source of qualitative data and as such it provided this thesis with rich information on the survival of political parties in Zambia which was enough for the thesis to be credible, scientific, generalizable as well as trustworthy.

3.5 Data Analysis

In terms of analysis, the research used a qualitative approach of content analysis. Since this was a case study focusing on organization(s), it analyzed strategies that parties use to organize themselves internally. The thesis employed the theory of party institutionalization as espoused in theoretical framework theory; focusing on how the dimensions of party institutionalization relate to intra-party democracy and successful selection of leaders in order for political parties to survive. Large amount of data collected from documents allowed this thesis to use content analysis; content analysis helped in organizing, categorizing and simplifying the data materials. Information collected from documents was categorized into themes which eventually emerged and later analyzed. The significance of multiple documents ensured that the study remained scientific because the research focused on credible previous literature that has received positive and negative critics from various writers. The analysis was also deepened through the use of comparisons of party constitutions and how each party implements its programmes. The analytical framework below guided the analysis by examining how leadership selection and intra-party democracy affect the survival of political parties. Intra-party democracy being a strong base for the theory of party institutionalization also assisted the thesis to establish the extent to which the theory is a valid in explaining factors responsible for party survival in Zambia.



3.6 RELEXIVE DISCUSSION

Alvesson and Sköldbberg (2009:9-12) write, an unreflective research does not produce reliable and scientific findings. Therefore, it is important to acknowledge that completing this thesis was not without challenges. The thesis was expected to be conducted in Zambia this year (2016) which is an election year for the country. This means that there was a high possibility that it would be difficult to get hold of respondents who in this case are party leaders as they would be busy conducting their campaigns. This is the reason why this thesis did not use interviews and key informants as they were involved in election campaigns and would not offer enough and balanced information. The thesis found that it would be difficult for them to trust the purpose of the study and they may also be trying to protect the image of their respective parties more especially that they will be focusing much on winning elections. This may affect the reliability and validity of the study. It must be mentioned here that efforts were made in the initial stages of the study to contact some of the expected interviewees about the research through emails but none of them responded which made the thesis to consider using other sources of data. Other methods of data collection such as direct and participant observations would have been ideal to guarantee the actual involvement of the researcher in data collection but the time that this research is expected to conclude did not easily allow for such data collection techniques. Furthermore, it would have been helpful to follow Yin's recommendation of doing a pilot case study because it helps in developing, testing or refining questions and procedures but time in which the thesis should be completed was very limited (Yin,2009). Nevertheless, the previous

research and official documents still provided necessary information needed to undertake a credible study that can be generalized in many settings. Furthermore, reaching a conclusion is a task that is not easy in research as there are a lot of factors to consider before concluding a study such as too much data that may be difficult to sort. However, as Marshall and Rossman (2011: 205-212) write, after all the analytic procedures had been exhausted such as organization of data, immersion in the data, generating categories and themes, and searching for alternative understandings, the research was able to have credible interpretation of findings in its report which qualified it to conclude. This is the stage that is called theoretical saturation and no more information was needed to continue writing the thesis.

4. Presentation of Results

This section highlights the main findings that have been realised from the examined literature regarding how intra-party democracy and leadership selection has affected the survival of political parties from 1991 to 2015. Firstly, the section shows the brief historical background about the formation and organization of political parties. The thesis also gives an insight to the legal framework that guides the functioning of political parties in Zambia and finds that is not difficult to meet the legal requirements to form a political party. Lastly, the thesis examines how parties handle leadership selection and what role intra-party democracy plays in party survival. The thesis found that all political parties fall short of intra-party democracy which equally affects the manner in which leadership selection is conducted in the parties examined; this means that intra-party democracy does not explain the variations in the survival of political parties in Zambia. The thesis found that the theory of party institutionalization does not explain why some parties survive and others fail to survive in Zambia. This is because none of all the political parties examined is institutionalised to meet the standards that is recommended by the proponents of institutionalization theory (Randall and Svåsand, 2002; Basedau and Stroh, 2008). The main finding of this thesis that explains the variations in the survival of political parties is the difference in their financial capabilities. Parties that have leaders with enough funds and assets were found to be active and consistent in all the political processes from the time they were formed to date while those with limited financial abilities have only participated in one or two electoral processes and died afterwards.

4.1 Formation of Political parties in Zambia 1991-2015

The development of political parties in Zambia dates back to the colonial days around the 1930s where the initial parties originating from the Europeans and representing European interests were organised. However, political parties got real recognition from colonial government in the 1950s and only a few of them could represent the interests of Africans up to 1962. In 1962, a great deal of political development happened, Africans for the first time gained universal suffrage through the first multi-racial elections that were held. African National Congress established in 1948 as an offshoot of the Federation of African Societies in Northern Rhodesia (as Zambia was called before independence), emerged as the first African Party in Zambia. The party was relatively inexperienced. It experienced internal differences regarding leadership selection and policy strategies that were necessary to attain political independence. This resulted in the first faction that broke away and formed a new party called Zambia African National Congress (ZANC) 1958. ZANC equally faced leadership and policy challenges and the colonial government found it easy to ban it without difficulties. This led to the formation of another party in 1959 called United National Independence Party (UNIP), a party that eventually led Zambia to her political independence on October 24th, 1964 under the leadership of Kenneth Kaunda (NDI/FODEP, 2003; Simutanyi, 2005).

Simutanyi (2005) further writes that at independence in 1964, Zambia was a multi-party state. UNIP encountered relative opposition from a small but persistent party, African National Congress (ANC). There were two other smaller parties that were formed between 1964 and 1972; these were the United Party (UP) and United Progressive Party (UPP). These parties did not however survive for long as they were outlawed on the basis that they were organised on ethnic lines which threatened the unity of the country. ANC was integrated into UNIP in 1972 when the government declared the country as a one-party state in 1973. The outlawing of political parties meant that only UNIP was legally allowed to exist and operate as a political party in Zambia.

With victory of Capitalism over socialism in the early 1990s, pressure grew that one-party authoritarian regimes adopt multi-party democracy in which all political and civil rights would be respected. International financial institutions such as the IMF and World Bank played a big role in pressing for these political reforms by threatening to stop providing financial aid to

authoritarian regimes. Consequently, pro-democracy groups started emerging in Zambia defying the one-party state regime. People from different backgrounds such as academicians, University students, churches, trade unions and businessmen came together and formed a pressure group called Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) in 1990. This movement pressured government to hold a referendum in which people would vote whether to abandon or continue with the one party state. Eventually, in 1990, the UNIP government succumbed to the pressure and avoided the suggested referendum by amending Article 4 of the constitution to legally allow other parties to be formed and compete in multiparty elections. MMD then changed from a pressure group to a political party that eventually ousted UNIP from power in the first multiparty elections in 1991. This was the rebirth of multiparty politics in Zambia. There are currently over fifty registered political parties out of which less than eight tend to be active at each electoral cycle (Ndulo, 2000; Momba, 2005, Momba and Madimutsa2009).

4.2 Political Developments in Zambia from 1991-2015

Generally, Zambia has perpetually enjoyed peace from the time she gained her political independence from Britain in 1964. Whereas many countries that experienced authoritarian rule after their independence experienced certain amount of anarchy and civil wars after adopting multiparty politics, Zambia has never experienced any such conflicts despite having experienced 27 years of authoritarian regime. This is one of the reasons why the country has experienced smooth and peaceful political transitions in the 1991 and 2011 national elections. Even after experiencing deaths of two sitting presidents the country has always maintained peaceful succession processes. Political differences have from time to time surfaced but constitutional provisions have always been employed to deal with such political misunderstandings. This has enabled many citizens with ambitions to lead the country to freely form political parties whenever they see the need to do so (Tobolka, 2013).

4.3 Legislation Governing the Formation of Political parties in Zambia

The country has enacted many laws that govern political parties. The Societies Act (Cap 119 of the laws of Zambia) is the most important piece of legislation that governs the formation of all societies including political parties, and determines the conditions under which political parties should exist and function. The Societies Act provides that within 28 days of its formation, a

political party should make an application to the registrar of societies for registration. Upon registration, the registrar issues a political party with a certificate that is a prima facie evidence of registration. A society (political party) must have a headquarters in Zambia and at least one of its officials and members be based within Zambia. In line with the provisions of article 9 of the Societies Act, registration can however be rejected if:

- It appears to the registrar of societies that the terms of society's (political party) constitution are in conflict with the provisions of Zambian laws.
- If the society (political party) does not comply with the provisions of the Societies Act.
- The name under which the political party is registering is identical or resembles an already existing political party which is likely to confuse the members of the public.

There are also other pieces of legislation that affect the operations of political parties in Zambia namely:

- The Electoral Act which governs the management and process of elections
- The Public Order Act which regulates the holding of public meetings and/or processions of other public political gatherings. This is enforced by law enforcement agencies such as the police service.

4.4 Parties' Internal Functioning and Structure

Zambian political parties present a characteristic that is easily identified in all of them; this is because the parties show remarkable similarities in how they function and how they have structured their parties and procedures. Although they have programmatic differences that they try to demonstrate in their manifestos, these have given difficulties to the general populace when it comes to differentiating them. In terms of policies, the key policy term in all the parties is *development*, a concept largely connected to the word 'improvement' and understood in terms of 'modern' infrastructure and state services such as salaried employment, piped water, improved road networks, building more schools, building more hospitals and improved health care, good houses and improved sewerage system, good communication system etc. It is extremely easy to attain membership to any of these parties. Party members have hardly any obligations and previous membership in another party need not be cancelled. The parties' structures are always ready to welcome any member from other parties and as such, all the parties have not placed any

sanctions on those leaving them as they all play the game of switching membership from one party to another whenever it suits them to do so (Ndulo, 2000; Momba and Madimutsa, 2009; Tobolka, 2013).

The organization of political parties in the new multiparty era has been largely influenced by the way UNIP was organized. The national congress which is the highest party organ had been meeting every five years to elect national leadership in the name of the Central committee an administrative organ of UNIP. This is equally reflected in all well established parties formed after 1991 as their constitutions clearly stipulate that the National Congress/Convention/Conference will be the highest organ of the parties. UNIP another body called the National Council which performs duties of national congress between congress meetings. The National council meets once every two years. Membership to the national council is composed of all elected party officials from the district level to the central committee (Momba, 2005, NDI/FODEP, 2003, Simuntanyi, 2005). The constitution of the MMD (2011) equally provides for an additional body to the national convention called national executive committee (NEC). This same trend is reflected in the constitutions of PF and UPND. According to the parties' constitutions, the leadership of parties at the grass root level, intermediary and national level must be assumed through periodical elections. Many political parties have two national bodies namely; the National convention/conference that elects national party leadership and an administrative body exercising supremacy in terms of executing party policies and programmes. However, many political parties have not adhered to their own party regulations as they have gone for many years without national conventions to choose party leaders. For instance, the PF had to wait for 10 years to hold their first general conference, UPND had to wait for the death of its founder president to hold their first national convention, UNIP has not held a national convention from the time it was defeated from power in 1991. Many other emerging political parties have exhibited similar trends to those seen older parties. This can be seen in how AZ, NCC and ZADECO do not have a history of having any elections for any party structure before they disintegrated. This makes senior party officials (Mainly party founders) to be everything in a party where they perform all party functions from the top to grass root level in the country (UNIP, 2001; MMD 2011; UPND 2011; PF 2011). This thesis sought to understand why some

parties have survived and others have not when evidence shows that almost the same leadership and party organization strategies are applied in all political parties.

4.5 Intra-Party Democracy

Mainwaring and Mariano (2006) write that intra-party democracy is very important component of party organization that allows every party member to be actively involved in the programmes of parties. This entails that parties should be impersonal; everyone must respect the laid down party rules and regulation regardless of the position or economic status. All leadership positions within the party structures must be assumed through democratic procedures such as transparent elections. The composition of party leadership positions should reflect the inclusive characteristics of the population, meaning all the voices of party members should be heard. This in harmony with what Basedau and Stroh (2008) have written that respecting different opinions among party members is a strong indicator of the existence of intra-party democracy and this makes the party to stabilize and survive all environments. This in practice means that the political parties should create a *political will* within them and this in practice encourages bottom-up approach to party organization, that is, party decisions and programmes should emanate from the basis to top party leadership. In this way, parties aiming at growing their roots in society and be guaranteed of their survival need to respect the democratic principles in the process of executing party policies and programmes.

Regarding intra-party democracy among parties in Zambia, Momba (2005) found that all political parties have in their constitution well attended to these issues though the effort seem to be very effective only on paper. This is because in reality certain individuals who seem to be economically advantaged have dominated the political party leadership and to a certain extent the crafting and execution party programmes. For example, UPND has been dominated by one president for 10 years; PF had the same leader for 13 years until he died, UNIP has had the same leader since 2001. The main observation is that these individuals seem to have invested a lot of their financial resources and party members believe party organization can only succeed with these people at the helm of their parties. It is seen that Party survival is greatly dependent on these individuals, moreover party survival is equally challenged when unforeseen occurrences such as death befall these parties since they have all depended on individual's finances to run their parties (Randall and Svasand, 2001; Matlosa, 2007; Simutanyi, 2005).

Similarly, Ndulo (2000) writes that it is a common characteristic for emerging parties in consolidating democracies tend to rely on individual (charismatic) leaders in their process of party-building. A strong ideological alignment or a decidedly policy-oriented party leadership is usually absent. This eventually leads to perpetual absence of intra-party democracy as the execution of party functions is left to a few individuals who may end up serving their personal political ambitions; this also means that the individuals will invest more of their resources which guarantee them to control party programmes. For instance, internal party elections within various party structures at all levels are either not held at all or in cases where they are held, they are conducted under undemocratic and controversial circumstances. The nominations of candidates do not reflect the choice of party members at grass root level but instead the top party leadership select the candidates depending on the loyalty of the candidate. There have been cases where the party president personally makes decisions to expel members and decides who to replace them with without the decision coming from the party leadership and members. For instance, in 2009 MMD and republican president Rupiah Banda decided personally to fire two deputy ministers from the government lack of showing allegiance to him as the appointing authority. Much as he had the powers as leader of government to fire his ministers, the party president further went on to have the two members expelled from the party based on his individual decisions going against collective decision making in internal party politics. However, regardless of the absence of intra-party democracy some parties like the MMD have still survived while others have died out (Tobolka, 2013).

When it comes to selecting leaders who should actually lead the parties, it has been found that all the political parties in Zambia in their infant stages preach about democratic ways to be employed in choosing leaders and promise to hold elections through national convention. However, very few live up to these promises to deliver a democratically elected party leadership. In its 27 years in power for instance, UNIP ensured all positions in the party structures were assumed through elections as the constitution clearly stipulated that all positions within the party structures except for the presidency were all elective. Being the mother of all political parties in the independent Zambia, this provision was eventually reflected in the parties that were formed after UNIP. Most parties that were formed between 1991 and 2001 such as AZ, NP, MMD, were created by former UNIP politicians and members. The only difference between UNIP and many parties formed after 1991 is that they made it clear in their constitution that even the position of

party president was supposed to be acquired through competitive and fair elections. However, few times that parties have held national conventions, the party electoral rules have not been respected as some positions such as the presidency and other top leadership have been not been contested just like it was in UNIP (Ndulo, 2000; UNIP, 2001; Erdmann and Simutanyi 2003; Momba 2005; MMD, 2011; PF 2011; UPND 2011).

The PF was formed in 2001 but waited for ten years to hold its first national conference. However, like UNIP, the position of presidency was never challenged at the national convention. The party first had the position of party presidency contested after the death of the founder president who had been at the help of the party for over thirteen years. The convention produced controversial results where two candidates emerged winners from two parallel conventions until the courts of law had to settle the matter on behalf of the party. UPND party was formed in 1998 and the first national conference where the party presidency was contested was after the death of the founder president. The results of this convention that produced a new party president were not different from what happens in many other parties, the party vice president and secretary general were among many senior party members to leave while others formed their own political parties. The same trend happened in UNIP; Kaunda was the leader for 27 years until the party was defeated in 1991 he was never challenged for party leadership. His (Kaunda) Son has been at the helm of UNIP since 2001 without a national convention and many members have left the party to join other parties. MMD had conventions when it was in power but for as long as the party president remained in power as the president of the country his position in the party was never challenged. The case of NCC, AZ, ZADECO and NP presents a record of never holding any intra-party elections throughout the time they existed. The founding leaders solely excised leadership without being challenged by other party members mainly because they were the ones who had invested their resources to form parties, and also because they did not have enough membership (Ndulo, 2000; NDI/FODEP, 2003; Tobolka, 2013).

UNIP was formed by a group of Zambians that shared the idea to be independent from colonial administration although along the way the party adopted authoritarian approach of governing. MMD was formed by prodemocracy movements and supported by the international community that shared the ideas of having a democratic country that respects individual and civil liberties. This means that UNIP and MMD are the only parties to be formed by a group of people with

shared agenda as opposed to the parties that were formed after 1991 by individuals with their personal agenda. From evidence that ZADECO, NP and AZ present in terms of their existence, it is plausible to suggest that parties that breakaway from the ruling parties usually have difficulties to establish themselves as well as surviving. The main observation has been that they face problems to organise adequate funds needed to meet party mobilisation activities. PF seem to be a success story for breakaway parties for now because it attracted a lot of veteran politicians that had served in MMD government for 20 years and had acquired enough resources to meet personal political goals. UPND has been led by two wealthy individuals who have been able to consistently spend their resources in all electoral processes. These observations run in contrast with the assumptions of the theory of party institutionalisation which says that any party without intra-party democracy cannot survive; this is because some parties have actually survived for two or more decades without any intra-party democracy (NDI/FODEP, 2003; Momba and Madimutsa, 2009).

4.5.1 Selection of Candidates for National Elections

The process of selecting candidates to contest in national elections equally has a bearing on the abilities for political parties to survive. The selection process has been the same across all parties but their survival still varies. In the case of UNIP which stands to be the ‘mother’ to many other political parties, the constitution of the party states that the party president is ordinarily eligible to represent the party as presidential candidate in national elections provided s/he is a paid up member of the party for a period not less than five years. The presidential candidate must formally be adopted by the central committee and his/her candidature ratified by the National Council. In the case of parliamentary candidates the central committee determines who contests the parliamentary seats in respective constituencies (UNIP, 2001). However, after 1991 this has not been the case as the party has struggled to follow procedures stipulated in the party constitution. This trend appears in all the parties though they have constitutions stipulating competitive and fair selection of presidential candidates. In reality party presidents tend to be party founders and these provisions in the constitution tend not to apply to them in practice. With the exception of MMD, all parties have fielded party founder presidents as presidential candidates in national elections. For instance, Mazoka founded UPND and was the sole candidate to represent the party in national elections without any challenge from party members. Sata founded PF and represented the party in four presidential elections without any challenge to

his party presidency until his death. Dean Mung'omba founded ZADECO and represented his party without any challenge from party members until the party became defunct. The same happened in NP, NCC and AZ where the founders were sole candidates to represent their respective parties in presidential elections. However, from the observations revealed in NDI/FODEP report show that most of the parties did not even have enough members who could contest for party leadership positions but some of them have managed to survive and others have died out. What does this in itself mean about the impact of intra-party democracy on party survival (NDI/FODEP, 2003; Basedau, 2005; Momba and Madimutsa, 2009; Tobolka, 2013).

Looking at the parties' constitutions, they also prescribe transparency in selection of candidates to contest in parliamentary and local government elections where every member eligible to contest in parliamentary elections should have an equal chance to be adopted on party tickets. However, like presidential seats, parliamentary seats have been dominated by certain individuals who tend to possess their respective constituencies and are not challenged especially those who win the seats. For instance, some parties like the UPND and MMD have had many members of parliament representing same constituencies in more than three consecutive national elections. Although they apply to the party structures for adoption the process seem only to be a mere formality. Scholars argue that this is because those candidates have accumulated enough financial and material resources enable them to dominate because they stand a chance to effectively campaign using their resources for the parties' names and this in itself makes such parties active and survive during and after elections (Rakner and Svåsand, 2005). This shows that some parties have survived without institutionalising intra-party democracy as recommended by party institutionalization proponents (Panebianco, 1988; Randall and Svåsand, 2002).

4.5.2 Lack of Administrative Offices

Ndulo (2000) has written that parties have higher chances to survive if they have fixed offices for party operations with necessary means of executing party programmes is important. However, all parties are constantly facing this challenge of not having official party offices. Tobolka (2013) observes that parties with individuals who have more financial and material resources manage to effectively operate the party on a day-to-day basis than those who financially disadvantaged. With inadequate offices for party organization around the country, parties are deprived of an opportunity to successfully select leaders that may effectively attain their respective goals and

survive. Most parties have however overcome this problem by using personal properties of parties' leaders such as house rooms for office space as well as personal furniture among others to execute party administrative functions. Problems arise in an event that the leader dies or switches party membership, the party's access to such materials is over and practically the party dies at that particular moment in that particular area. Although some major parties like UPND, MMD, PF, and UNIP seem to have formal staff at national level, the offices they use are somehow connected to a few top parties' national leaders and such resources in fact keep these parties alive and active in all the political processes (Matlosa, 2007).

Furthermore, Tobolka (2013) observes that using properties owned by individual party members presents serious challenges on party organization though on the other hand this contributes significantly to the strength of parties. For instance, the MMD had used the properties of one politician located in the heart of the capital city as party offices for Lusaka district leadership and the party's presence in the city was strong. However, when this politician defected to the PF it meant that the MMD could no longer use his premises for party programmes and the party became weak until it later lost elections. The offices were now used by the PF district leadership. The same politician defected from the PF party and joined the opposition UPND and now his offices house UPND and the presence of the party is strong in the city. This in practice makes owners of properties dominate parties' programmes because of their properties that are essential to party organization. Tobolka further argues that much as this is a problem for democracy to thrive in parties, this has not been discouraged by parties because it gives them an advantage over others when they have members with enough finances to help the party stay active in electoral processes.

4.5.3 Membership Recruitment

Rakner and Svåsand (2005) write that for a party to survive it should have credible leaders who should come from well developed parties' structures around the country. This means that membership recruitment must be a continuous process exercised by every member. All parties' constitutions (MMD 2011; UPND 2011; PF 2011; UNIP 2001) stipulate that party members have a duty to recruit new members to their respective parties. However, Ndulo (2000) writes that many political parties in Zambia are dominated by individuals who want to be president and members of parliament; this makes these individuals to tend to spend personal resources in order

to attract public support. This affects the ability of party members to effectively recruit genuine party members from whom genuine party leaders would come. Many new members always expect gifts from party leaders and in an event that they are not given any of their expectations they switch party membership to other parties. The controversy in membership recruitment is confirmed in the NDI/FODEP (2003) which found that most parties could not provide accurate membership but just made assumption about membership figures in most districts they conducted their research. However, because of these individuals with enough resources to give to party supporters, the parties have been managing to contest elections and those parties without such individuals usually stay away from political processes.

Furthermore, writing on the strong base of parties, Posner (2005) has argued that Zambian political parties are in tendency to tilt their existence to certain regional groupings where they think they would easily get electoral support. For instance, He writes that when AZ was formed in 1993, the founder was from Western province and the party was well organized in the province and managed to win the only two seats it had in parliament in 1996 from the same province. However, when the UPND was formed with its leader who was financially advantaged than AZ, the party easily won voters' support in Southern and Western Provinces where they hold most seats in parliament today and that was also the end of AZ. PF has dominated the northern region and has more parliamentary seats from there. This trend is seen in all parties being considered in this thesis except for MMD which was formed as formed originally as a pressure group before transforming itself into a political party with backing of trade unions, students, academics, businessmen, churches as well as former politicians who had left UNIP to join the new party (MMD). The MMD found it easy to penetrate in all parts of the country because having total control over state resources. Ordinarily, it can be seen that when a new party is formed from the same region with relatively attractive resources to the voters the result is that the already existing political parties automatically get replaced and their leaders easily switch parties. For example when UPND was formed, the AZ could hold on to the support base it had in the southern and western regions prior to the 1996 national elections which made many AZ members to join the UPND and ruling MMD; the same trend happened to MMD when they lost power, some of their stronghold areas specifically those places where the party presidents came from like the Copperbelt and Northern provinces shifted support to the new party in

government PF. This result shows that for parties to keep surviving in Zambia they do not necessarily need structures around the country but from the evidence seen so far, a party survives even if it does not have any representative provided leaders have enough resources to keep in contact with electorates during and after elections (Basedau, 2005; Matlosa, 2007; Paget, 2010).

4.5.4 Women and Youth Representation in Party Leadership

There has been contentious debate on how certain groups of society are perceived to be marginalised and how this affects the survival of parties. Basedau and Stroh (2008) in their index of institutionalization of parties (IIP) have identified *level of organization* as one of the dimensions that guarantees party institutionalisation. This dimension has built on Huntington's measures of institutionalization which call for the inclusion of different sets of leaders encompassing the old men, the women and youth. NDI/FODEP (2003) observed in their findings that almost all major parties have included women in their parties' structures by establishing women and youth wings. However, much as these wings exist, national leadership did not reflect the involvement of women and youth in senior leadership positions. Furthermore, very few women and youth get the support to be adopted as parties' candidates in parliamentary and local government elections. This is evidenced in the number of women elected to parliament and local councils. However some political parties like MMD have explicitly stated that 33% of all leadership positions be left for women. This has however not materialised in reality as women still remain marginalised and are not motivated to compete for party positions or to be nominated as candidates in national elections. Ndulo (2000) has further written that despite having provision for legal equality recognized in the Zambian constitution, and the widespread movement towards democratization within and outside the country, Zambian women and youth remain underrepresented at most levels of parties' structures, especially in top party policy-making bodies because they do not have enough financial resources to compete with their male counterparts. Although the PF has managed to appoint a female party vice president as well as republican vice president, the situation still remains the same as the position was only given through a presidential appointment.

Rakner (2011) however writes that the survival of political parties depends on people who in practice are male, female and the youth with more financial capabilities to drive their own political aspirations within their parties. He argues that the composition of parties' leadership has

little or no impact on the survival of political parties in Zambia as can be seen in the parties that do not have adequate women and youth in leadership but they are still surviving. There have been political parties headed by women and the rate at which they receive (electoral) support is extremely low. For instance, Agenda for Zambia (AZ) in 2001 was represented by a woman candidate in presidential elections and she only polled 0.57% of the total national vote. This in reality entails that the issue of sidelining women from political leadership is not there but all political parties are guaranteed of survival if their leaders have funds that will keep their messages alive and attract supporters to sympathise with them. All the parties have had fewer women in the top party leadership mainly because they cannot fairly compete with men having more funds. For example, the ruling party PF's Central Committee has 56 members out of which only 12 are female and the rest (44) are males. MMD has 21 females against 44 males in the national executive committee. However, regardless of having few women and youth representation in all parties' structures some parties have kept on surviving and others keep dying.

4.5.5 Non-Adherence to Party Statutes

Tobolka (2013) has written that non adherence to statutes is one of the major problems that political parties perpetually face. The parties' constitutions are usually there but not followed when executing party programmes. For instance, Tobolka gives an account of a case where two PF leaders were not re-elected to their positions during a provincial conference. However, they petitioned the central committee which decided to nullify the vote and reinstated them because they had spent a lot of funds on party activities in their area. The legally elected local officials complained and the matter was resolved by the party vice-president who personally created two positions for those two officials without referring to the party constitution. When AZ and NCC merged with MMD in 2001, it was only the party presidents who made the decisions as they are the only one who had the direction of their parties and without their resources the parties could not survive in anyway. The only time regulations are followed is when they do not hinder influential party officials from attaining their desired goals. When the statutes are seen as impediments to the goals of party officials, they are usually overlooked and party membership does not protest against such conduct (Randall and Svåsand, 2002; NDI/FODEP, 2003).

A good measure of adherence to formal procedures in political parties is usually reflected in the holding of national party conventions. Since in all Zambian parties the national convention/conference is the highest organ, conventions must be held at the time prescribed in the party constitution so that everyone is involved in the adoption of the constitution and electing the national party leadership. However, Ndulo (2000) and Momba (2005) write that at inception of many parties, all structures remain interims until their first convention. Most party constitutions state that a convention shall be held every five years (UNIP, 2001; MMD, 2011; PF 2011; UPND 2011,). In reality however, political parties do not hold conventions as prescribed in their respective constitutions; even in the case where the parties hold a national party convention many senior positions such as the presidency are reserved and not declared up for competition. PF took ten years to organize its first convention and to approve the constitution. ZADECO, NCC, NP and AZ, did not hold any party convention before they disintegrated. The UPND held a convention after the death of the founder president in 2006 to choose his successor and has not organized another any after that. MMD tried to hold a few conventions during the 20 years it was in power though the democratic nature of the conventions would be greatly questioned as the correct schedule was not followed. Numerous political parties emerged as breakaways from the MMD on account that the party leaders were not adhering to party statutes where others like PF have survived and others like AZ and NP failed to survive. This thesis has however observed one striking thing, which is that parties' still survive when they have enough resources needed to firmly organize their parties' activities even without respecting to party statutes as can be seen with the parties that have are still surviving (Randall and Svåsand, 2001, Matlosa, 2007).

4.5.6 Weak Leadership and Intolerance to Opposing Views

NDI/FODEP (2003) has also written that the major organizational challenge that political parties in Zambia have been facing since the rebirth of multiparty politics is said to be the nature of leadership. Most political parties are formed by individuals with strong personal desires to become president and as a result parties have tended to be dominated and heavily identified by these individuals. This means that political parties that are heavily dominated by individuals' desires lack representation at different levels in the country because they have not allowed other leaders to exercise leadership as they perceive them to be threats to their personal ambitions. They therefore tend to handpick preferred people to run the parties structures. The handpicked

leaders in all the existing party structures only preach the ideas of the person that appointed and funds them. This even influences parties' leaders to dictate provisions to include in their constitutions which give them an upper hand to dominate party activities. For instance, the PF constitution (PF, 2011) gives powers to the president to appoint and fire the party secretary general. This means that the secretary general has to please the appointing authority if s/he has to stay long in that position. Parties are synonymous with the names party leaders, for example UPND was identified with Mazoka before his death and now it is identified with Hichilema who is the major funder of the party. PF was identified with Michael Sata; ZADECO with Mung'omba; NCC with Nevers Mumba while NP with its founding leader Humphrey Mulemba. This idea of party dominance by founders has justified that the resources that the leaders of the parties invest in party programmes greatly contributes to party survival as parties are able to effectively participate in all electoral processes which would not be possible if no one sacrificed their resources (Momba, 2005; Rakner and Svåsand, 2005).

Furthermore, owing to weak leadership this thesis has found that in almost all political parties there have been high levels of intolerance to divergent views. Although it is expected that all members ought to show loyalty to the party president and national leadership, it is often that those that hold different views have been expelled from parties and this fuel further party defections and resignations. The idea of not expecting divergent views have tended to vary, those members who do not usually contribute much resources to the party are not considered a threat even if they leave parties while those with enough resources are encouraged to dialogue with the rest of parties' leadership. This finding allows this thesis to argue that parties' failure to survive apparently revolves around problems concerning funds as parties are able to exist effectively when those with enough resources still remain in the party. This can be seen in UPND the party that was formed by one of the wealthiest Zambian and the moment he died another wealthy individual succeeded him and managed to keep the party active despite other leaders resigning and defecting to other parties in protest over rise to party presidency. Other parties that never had succession challenges after the death of party founders but had no one with funds to take the parties further resulted in the instant death of parties as can be seen with what transpired in NP and ZADECO. AZ and NCC equally did not have enough resources to conduct nationwide party mobilization which forced them to join the ruling party. This thesis finds that keeping the parties active during and after elections demands adequate resources and not necessary strong

leadership. Parties like MMD, UPND and PF have experienced massive defections and expulsions but because they have leaders who are committed to spending their resources on party activities parties have successfully survived. This again is a result contrary to the recommendations of the theory of party institutionalization that demands strong leadership in internal party politics (Erdmann and Simutanyi, 2003; NDI/FODEP, 2003; Tobolka, 2013).

The table below shows founding parties' leaders that were never subjected to elections but were on ballot papers as presidential candidates. The striking observation is that despite using the same leadership approach, only two parties have been able to survive consistently from the time they were created. These are PF and UPND and they all first contested the national elections in 2001 and from that time they have always been contesting the elections that have taken place; and PF finally managed to form government after winning the 2011 presidential elections.

Table 1

Names of Party Founder	Political Party	National Elections
Anderson Mazoka	UPND	2001 until his death
Dean Mung'omba	ZADECO	1996 until his death
Michael Sata	PF	2001 until his death
Humphrey Mulemba	NP	1996 until his death
Akashambatwa Mbikusita Lewanika	AZ	1996 until he joined MMD in 2001
Nevers Mumba	NCC	2001 until the party joined MMD

Source: Author's compilation based on parties' records

All the cases considered above except for UNIP and MMD, appear to be monopolised by individuals who initiated their formation. The parties' aims and goals reflect the desire of the party funders (founders). However, the major question is why do other parties manage to survive and others die despite having leaders with same desires to stay in top leadership without being challenged in elections. Tobolka (2013) has offered two explanations to why parties do not have intra-party elections; he argues that because of not having enough members willing to contest for leadership or the members not having the financial capabilities to compete with those who are

financially advantaged has allowed certain individuals to constantly dominate the parties (Ndulo, 2000, Randall and Svåsand, 2002).

Furthermore, another table below summarizes how intra-party democracy has been approached in all political parties from 1991 to 2015. This helps in showing factors that explain the variations as to why some parties have survived and others have failed. The table shows that MMD is the only party that has partially tried to observe intra-party democracy with regard to electing party presidents while the rest have the same procedures of running their party programmes. The puzzle then is why do some parties survive whereas others fail to survive? This thesis argues that MMD has managed to elect leaders because of the manner in which the party was formed as a mass movement without any single leader claiming ownership or to be behind the formation of the party. The party from 1991 to 2011 the party had enjoyed access to state resources which made it possible for the party to keep holding these elections successfully. However, with regard to tolerance to opposing views, the table shows that in all political parties there is high intolerance to differing opinions; this has mainly resulted in the formation of many political parties by those who defect or expelled from the parties (NDI/FODEP, 2003; Simutanyi, 2005; Sakyi, et al. 2015). These parties that start as breakaway like those that broke off from the MMD again vary in their survival; the argument of this thesis is that the leaders that have enough financial resource easily manage to expand their parties and attract more followers whereas those that did not have enough resources could not manage to sustain their parties for long. This contrasts with the theory of party institutionalization and some previous studies that argue that parties fail to survive because they are not institutionalized.

Table 2 *Summary of Intra-Party Democracy 1991-2015*

Political Party	Does the party constitution stipulate holding regular party congresses/conventions?	Does the party sticks to this schedule of conventions?	Does party say party leader must be elected?	Is the Party leader actually elected?	Does the party tolerate opposing views?
UNIP	• Yes	• No	• Yes	• No	• No
MMD	• Yes	• No	• Yes	• Yes	• No
UPND	• Yes	• No.	• Yes	• No	• No
PF	• Yes	• No	• Yes	• No	• No
NCC	• Yes	• No	• No	• No	• No
ZADEC	• Yes	• No	• No	• No	• No
O					
NP	• Yes	• No	• No	• No	• No
AZ	• Yes	• No	• No	• No	• No

Source: Author’s compilation based on parties’ records on intra-party democracy.

4.6 Party Funding as an alternative explanation

So far the thesis has found that intra-party democracy which is supported by the theory of party institutionalization to be the main explanation that support the survival of political parties does not vary in all the parties examined in this thesis and yet survival does vary. Thus this thesis argues that the theory of intra-party democracy does not well explain party survival in Zambia. What other variables could explain this? It is imperative that I should now turn to explore one possibility that repeatedly came up during the research: this is the difference in parties’ financial capabilities. Having examined the party programmes and their historical backgrounds, it has been seen that Zambian political parties especially those in opposition face problems of shortage of funds needed to enhance party operations (Randall and Svåsand, 2002; Matlosa, 2007). Most

parties depend on voluntary contributions from members which are so low that they never meet the parties' operation costs. Membership cards that are supposed to be given to members at a fee are usually given out freely and most parties encourage those who defect from other parties to exchange membership cards which they get for free. This has crippled the operation costs of the opposition parties and often presents them with great difficulties in meeting election fees and other expenses such as buying media space for their campaign messages to be sold out to the entire population. This has made many parties resort to endorsing other parties that are able to manage to meet their election and other political processes' costs. This is in harmony with the findings in previous research done in Ghana by Sakyi, et al. (2015) that parties fail to survive because they constantly fail to secure enough funds needed to meet all the organizational needs during and after elections.

Furthermore, having examined all the electoral cycles and the parties that participate (see appendix), the variations in individual party leaders' financial strength are more visible and seem to play a significant role in explaining why parties struggle to survive. In each election there is one or parties failing to re-contest and one or more new entrants participating in the elections for the first time (Erdmann and Simutanyi, 2003; Momba, 2005; Matlosa (2007) further writes that party leaders that have acquired enough financial resources are advantaged to do better party organization than those that have not personally acquired anything to use for parties' programmes which results in the death of their parties. For instance, UPND has been consistent in participating in all electoral processes because the founder president and the current party president have been quite wealthy Zambians. UNIP acquired assets such as buildings which the party rents out to different businesses as a means of fundraising has kept the party alive because the leaders also benefit from the party resources; in case of PF, its founder president was a senior politician in UNIP and MMD governments and had acquired enough resources for himself which enabled him to sustain his party in the opposition for ten years as well as attracting other veteran politicians with their own resources to organise the party activities. This was not the case with ZADECO, AZ and NP whose founders were in MMD cabinet for less than three years and did not accrue enough resources whereas NCC founder was only clergyman relying on the support from Christians (NDI/FODEP, 2003; Momba, 2005; Paget, 2010).

Furthermore, Posner (2005) has argued that Zambia, having 73 ethnic tribes with 73 different languages presents political parties with complex problems of organizing themselves and be supported countrywide as the vastness of tribes/languages makes it hard to reach out to all electorates. This calls for intensive presence of parties' structures in different parts of the country probably with different messages translated in the languages that that spoken in those areas in terms of printed manifesto, paid media space in print, radio and television broadcast media. Posner argues that this demand parties to have dedicated members and financial capabilities to keep their structures active during and after elections. The problem of funds is a finding so important in party survival that has not been stressed in the theory of party institutionalization which focuses much on the promotion of intra-party democracy (Ndulo, 2000; Randall and Svasand, 2001; Posner, 2005; Tobolka, 2013; Sakyi, et al. 2015).

5. Analysis and Discussion of Results

The objective of the thesis was to establish factors that account for the failure of Political Parties in Zambia to survive. The thesis specifically sought to answer how does intra-party democracy and leadership selection affect the survival of political parties. The thesis also sought to establish if indeed lack of party institutionalization is the adequate explanation to why parties fail to survive in Zambia. Firstly, leadership selection was examined and discussed regarding its relevance to the survival of parties with reference to the selection approaches that have been applied in the eight political parties being considered in this thesis. Secondly, how intra-party democracy is actually applied in parties was discussed in order to understand its relevance to party survival. Finally, the result of party funding that appeared repeatedly in almost all the findings was further considered in terms of how it affects the conduct of party activities; this even proved to have a great bearing on the survival of political parties This led to arguments that show why this thesis concluded that absence of intra-party democracy and lack of party institutionalization is not the reason behind the failure of political parties to survive in Zambia.

5.1 Selection of Parties' Leadership from 1991-2015

After examining the developments that have taken place within political parties since the reintroduction of multiparty politics in 1991, this thesis has seen that leadership selection challenges have been the same in all parties yet some manage to survive while others keep dying.

Since 1991 there have been many political parties that have been formed mainly because the conditions set by the legal framework for a political party to be registered are not difficult to meet (Societies Act 9).

This thesis has learnt that the parties seem to know what should be done in order to have stable political parties that would successfully survive in all political environments, that is, in government and opposition. However, they have overlooked one important aspect that enables all the principles of intra-party democracy to succeed, which is the issue of party financing. UNIP's trend of organizing party leadership is seen to be transmitted to new political parties that were formed after abandonment of the authoritarian one-party politics. Because UNIP had not faced funding problems as party in government riding on state resources for 27 years the party had not thought of prioritized party fundraising activities. The party rather focused on organization of the party just in terms of leadership in party's structures around the country. This now has effects on contemporary political parties as they all have constitutions stipulate that the party should change leaders or leaders should seek re-election by the national convention after every five years. The idea behind this provision is to legitimize party leadership so that every member would recognize party leaders and be willing to work under their guidance. However, reality shows that all these provisions are not adhered to by all political parties. Coupled with financial challenges, emerging parties are suffocated just in their early days of formation as they cannot manage to exhaust all the provisions that they focus on in their constitutions. The thesis has learnt that those parties that ignore these procedures enshrined in their constitution but commit the resources of individuals to party organization have been able to survive as evidence from PF and UPND has shown. This means that the reason behind the failures of some parties to survive is not necessarily about failure to observe and respect party rules by the members as Basedau and Stroh (2008) have written. The differences in financial capabilities among parties stand to be a strong explanation to why some parties survive and others fail. This can be seen in the table below that shows the parties' participation patterns in the electoral cycles. The table shows visible differences in terms of how consistent and inconsistent some of these parties have been in terms participating in all the political processes.

Table 4 Duration of Political Parties and their Participation in Election cycles 1991-2015

Political Party	Year Formed	1991	1996	2001	2006	2008	2011	2015	Is the Party Well Funded?
UNIP	1959	Yes	boycotted	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
MMD	1991	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
UPND	1998			Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
PF	2001			Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
AZ	1996		Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
ZADECO	1995		Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No
NP	1993		Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No
NCC	1998			Yes	No	No	No	No	No

Source: Author's compilation based on official election results from the ECZ database

The above table shows that only three parties have been consistent in participating in all electoral cycles from the time they were formed, that is, MMD, PF and UPND. UNIP has been trying to participate but not a consistency basis. AZ managed only to participate in two election cycles before the party officially ceased to exist. ZADECO, NP and NCC only managed to participate in one election cycle and never made it to participate in other electoral cycles that followed. The findings of this thesis have shown that the parties really face the same problems with regard to leadership selection and this has affected the survival capabilities of political parties. However, what seem to be a befitting explanation to why some parties have survived while others have not, seem to be revolving around the differences in funding among parties. The first four parties in the table have 'yes' response on funding because they have been able to meet election costs since the time they were formed. The issue of financial problem seems to be very huge in parties that have failed to participate in all electoral cycles. For instance, UNIP had acquired some properties in the capital city and other urban areas of Zambia which it rents out to businesses the party has been able to participate in some electoral processes. The MMD was formed as a movement and funded by different local and international organizations and formed government at first attempt. However, after twenty years in power the party seem to be heading in the UNIP direction considering its performance in the presidential by-elections where in won only 0.87 percent of

total votes (ECZ, 2015). UPND has been able to be active because the founder president and his successor have been financially stable as they have been some of Zambia's wealthiest individuals. PF was formed by an individual that who had served in both UNIP and MMD governments and had acquired enough resources to keep the party active and now that it is in power all seem to be ok for the party. ZADECO, NP and AZ had been formed by former MMD cabinet ministers who had only served less than 3 years and had not served enough resources needed to expand their parties and keep them active. This could equally be extended to NCC which was formed by the former church priest. Thus, parties cannot institutionalize in cases where they are financially not stable; this has made parties headed by wealthy individuals to keep surviving as they are able to attract more candidates to contest on their party tickets than parties that struggle financially (Momba, 2005; Matlosa, 2007; Tobolka, 2013).

The thesis learnt that women and the youth tend to be marginalized and only used as tools of propaganda for the privileged male counterparts mainly because they are financially disadvantaged to compete favorably with men with enough resources. This results in the youth and women who in many cases are the majority to stay away from these parties' activities in all parties. Although this stand in contrast with the institutionalization theory advanced by Randall and Svasand (2002) who argue that parties stand high chances to survive when the composition of leadership is represented by groups in society, some parties however still manage to survive and manage to actively participate in all political processes while others die out. This shows that lack of party institutionalization is not the reason behind parties' inability to survive but inadequate funds greatly hinders some parties' abilities to penetrate through all parts of the country so that they can sell their manifestos to the voters. This is in practice entails that party institutionalization cannot be achieved if the party does not have enough financial resources to make every member equal in the parties. Thus, parties that have leaders with more funds continue to survive even in the absence of intra-party democracy because they are able to stay in touch with the electorates during and after elections (Salih, 2003; Basedau and Stroh, 2008).

Furthermore, although parties have experienced defections and resignations due to misunderstandings, evidence shows that the parties that died did not die as a result of defections or resignations. Even the parties that have survived have constantly faced resignations and breakaway parties getting formed by their former members. This thesis argues that parties still

survive provided the parties' members are able to meet the demands that all political processes require. The case of NCC, AZ and ZADECO did not die as a result of defections of individuals but by the decision to take the whole parties to the ruling party in the case of AZ and NCC. This leads this thesis to the most striking observation where defections that have taken place in Zambia between 1991 and 2015 are usually going in one direction, where they defect either to ruling parties or parties that financially stable parties. This can be seen in why AZ, NCC, NP and ZADECO never received defectors from UNIP or MMD but the opposite happened where even the entire parties defected to the ruling party. The only parties that attract new members are those with good financial standing and this greatly contributes to the survival of such parties and their autonomy. Moreover, even if party members resign or defect as can be seen in the defections that happened in MMD in 1992 and 2001 when many senior party officials left the party to start their own parties, the MMD did not fall apart because it still had total control over the state's resources. Similar events took place in the UPND during the elections to choose a successor to the late founder president but the winner of the elections still managed to hold the party together and it is still strong all because of his personal funds. This is strong indication that funding dictates the how long the party will survive in Zambia. This conflicts with the recommendations of the theory of party institutionalization that stress on internal coherence that is supported by intra-party democracy as well as the finding by Salih (2003) that party survival is usually affected by external factors such as repressive regimes (Erdmann and Simutanyi, 2003; Basedau and Stroh, 2008; Paget, 2010).

Proponents of party institutionalization have argued that parties fail to survive due to founders' strong desire to be presidents of the country as this drives them to hurry to participate in national elections before they fully institutionalize. For instance, ZADECO was formed in 1995 less than a year before the 1996 elections; AZ was formed in 1995 just months before the elections; NP was formed in 1993 and also rushed to contest the elections before recruiting party members. However, this argument is challenged when we consider PF which was formed three months before national elections but has managed to survive and eventually formed government. In the cases where parties rushed to contest elections but did not manage to field candidates in all constituents for parliamentary elections and local government seats, this thesis argues that it is because they did not have enough funds to attract more and better candidates. This justifies this thesis' argument that if the parties had enough resources to meet the demands of party

mobilization activities and attract more candidates, all these parties could have survived. The cases of PF and UPND show that if parties have adequate resources their survival is guaranteed regardless of how much time they have to organize and prepare themselves for elections (Randall and Svåsand, 2001; Basedau, 2005; Momba, 2005; Matlosa, 2007).

This thesis has also learnt that the democratic selection of party leaders to stand as candidates in national election does not account for why some parties survive and others die. Ndulo (2000) has argued that parties' founders in Zambian parties have always dictated their way until their names appear on the ballot papers in presidential elections. The trend is the same in all parties, where parties' founders tend to handpick parliamentary candidates who are in good books with parties' founders and mainly financially stable without consulting with other party leaders. This makes constituents to be monopolized by same individuals and leaves a good number of genuine party members with no option but to stay away from the electoral process. This thesis argues that the differences in the income levels of the party leaders has a great impact on the survival parties as can be seen with parties that managed to have adequate representation in parliament are still in existence today which is in contrast to the theory of party institutionalization. This also confirms Lupu and Riedi's findings that a strong financial muscle is very important in internal party politics if parties are to survive (Rakner and Svåsand, 2005; Paget, 2010; Lupu and Riedi, 2012).

Further, the thesis observed that all parties lack enough administrative offices around the country where party leaders should be able to conduct their administrative tasks from because of not having adequate funds. This shows that almost all political parties except the ruling party struggle to systematically mobilize voters in order to secure survival because they do not have operation offices at grass root level. The parties seem to be only properly organized at national level where they are able to rent or use leaders' personal houses as offices whereas at other levels of party organization offices are not there. This has resulted in the failure by parties to choose good party leadership as they cannot provide them with the means needed to organize parties such as computers, files, phones and other materials needed to help in successful party mobilization. However, regardless of facing similar challenges some parties have managed to survive while others have not. The idea of using personal properties as offices gives an advantage to those parties that have such leaders over those who do not have any. Consequently, this has helped parties to keep surviving and participate in all electoral cycles (NDI/FODEP,

2003). This is in conflict with party reification identified by Randall and Svåsand (2002) as a measure of party institutionalization through which the party is supposed to stay connected with the people at all levels in society. This proves that parties do survive when faced with such organizational challenges for as long as some individual leaders have some resources that can be used in party organization.

A thorough examination into party membership recruitment processes also highlighted that all the political parties in Zambia have flexible recruitment provisions that allow for easy party membership. This makes it easy for party members to keep switching party membership from one party to the other searching where their expectations could be met. Momba (2005) shows leaders that resigned from the MMD established stable parties but the other parties such as AZ and NCC found it hard to establish themselves and easily resorted to (re)join the MMD in 2001 because it had enough financial incentives that attracted these politicians. Thus parties or candidates with enough funds easily attract a lot of members to join them which gives them the strength to continue surviving. This makes the theory of party institutionalization vulnerable as parties have survived without creating formal structures and rules that should regulate party leadership and membership (Erdmann and Simutanyi, 2003; NDI/FODEP, 2003; Basedau, 2005).

5.2 The Impact of Intra-Party Democracy and Funds on Party Survival 1991-2015

Having examined the organization of all parties, the thesis learnt that perpetual non-adherence to party statutes is not a major problem that affects the survival of political parties in Zambia. The party constitutions have stipulated that they should hold the conventions after every five years but none of them adhere to such provisions and reality shows that some political parties keep surviving and others die. NDI/FODEP report shows that only MMD has been holding conventions but not in accordance with the party constitution. For instance, the second convention was held in 1995, four years after the first convention while the second one was held after six years in 2001 and it has been surviving. UNIP has not held any convention from the time the party suffered election defeat and it still survives. The PF had its first convention after 10 years of its formation but the position of top three leaders, that is, party president; vice president and secretary general were not challenged but the party never died. This shows that

intra-party democracy does not account for the survival parties, this is because all parties considered in this thesis have seriously overlooked party statutes but some keep surviving other parties like AZ and ZADECO have not survived. Thus, the only explanation supporting party survival falls within the boundary of funds that keep parties' activities active during and after elections. The moment the founder leaders lose elections but are capable to keep funding themselves, parties will still survive like it was witnessed in 2014 for the PF; the party was greatly shaken as the performance in the elections show that the party had reduced electoral support after the death of the founding leader but because party was in power it was able to survive (ECZ, 2015; also see Appendix). On the other hand, in situations where leaders lose elections and are not capable to fund themselves like witnessed in ZADECO, NCC and AZ, the parties died when their presidents lost elections and some parties' presidents got government (UNIP, 2001; NDI/FODEP, 2003; PF, 2011; UPND, 2011; MMD, 2011; Tobolka, 2013).

The continuous problem of shortage of finances needed to enhance party operations has greatly affected the organization of political parties. However, the puzzle has been that all parties face funding challenges but other parties manage to survive and participate in all the electoral cycles while others fail. The main difference here as Simutanyi (2003) writes is that those parties with more representatives in parliament have higher chances to continue participating in electoral processes for as long as they remain in parliament. Although MPs with regular income become untouchable in the parties as they usually perpetrate clientelistic politics, the parties keep surviving as a result of the funds that such MPs invest in their campaigns. Furthermore, the lack of funds presents political parties with great difficulties in meeting election fees and other expenses such as buying media space to sell out campaign messages to electorates. This has made many parties that cannot manage to raise these funds die or resort to joining other parties capable of meeting such costs. For instance, AZ only managed to field 11 parliamentary candidates in 2001 elections because the party had no members with enough funds even the party president could not sufficiently meet her election costs which prompted her to take the entire party to the ruling party (Ndulo, 2000; Momba, 2005; Tobolka, 2013).

Furthermore, after examining the performance of two former ruling parties (MMD and UNIP) in election, this thesis learnt that parties that form governments after having great opportunities of using state resources to their advantage equally struggle to survive upon losing power. This

thesis has learnt that party fundraising activities are ignored because the ruling parties tend to be carried away with the privileges they hold through executing government projects thinking people take them to be party projects. Upon losing power and direct access to state resources, these parties become vulnerable to financial shocks as they are not used to using party's resources for their own activities. This results in losing touch with voters at grass roots who now shift attention to the new party in government providing services to them. For example, UNIP suffered massive disorganization after suffering election defeat; the MMD suffered disorganization within 3 years of losing political power in that more than half of its MPs defected to other parties. Thus, this thesis argues that parties' failure to devise stable funding strategies hinders the attainment of parties' goals as well as party survival; and that the theory of party institutionalization has failed to acknowledge that funds are essential if all the dimensions of institutionalization such as having structures at grass root levels are to be realized (Randall and Svåsand, 2001; Rakner and Svåsand, 2005; Basedau and Stroh, 2008).

Finally, scholars such as Posner (2005) have argued that political parties tend to lean towards ethnic cleavage support and this limits the success of intra-party democracy. He argues that this is because members from different ethnic groupings tend not to compete fairly for party leadership even if they may belong to one party. The failure to broker ethnic alliances makes these parties fail to survive according to Posner. However, this thesis argues that in a country with 73 ethnic tribes and a fertile legal environment for a formation of many political parties coupled with majoritarian electoral system, only those parties with strong financial capabilities would manage to appeal to the electorates and manage survive. All political parties only have temporary survival when they identify themselves with a particular region and when a new party with relatively more resources is formed within the region voters easily shift their support to the new party which leads to the death of the old parties faced with financial challenges. This can be seen in how AZ lost its strength in the western and southern part of Zambia the moment UPND was created prior to the 2001 national elections (Posner, 2005). This equally questions the accuracy of the party institutionalization theory that a party will survive if it establishes itself at grass root levels and has a systematic routine of executing party programmes (Randall and Svåsand, 2002; Basedau and Stroh, 2008). This qualifies thesis to argue that it is not possible for a party to institutionalize without adequate funds to successfully mobilize parties' activities. The theory of party institutionalization does not fit in parties in consolidating democracies where

survival depends on personal resources. Intra-party democracy cannot make parties to survive if they have no funds to meeting the demands of the entire political processes during and after elections. However, parties can survive and have survived in Zambia without intra-party democracy but with funds mainly from individual party leaders and also from state resources in the case of ruling parties.

6.0 Conclusion and Further Research

The general objective of this thesis was to establish factors that account for the failure of Political Parties in Zambia to survive. Specifically, the thesis sought to understand how the selection of party leadership and intra-party democracy affect the survival of political parties. Further, the thesis sought to establish if the theory of party institutionalization adequately explains the variations in parties' survival. The thesis found that leadership selection has been dominated by party founder presidents; selection of candidates for national election has been dominated by the same persons; mainly because of their financial abilities to meet the election costs and funding activities using personal resources. The thesis also discovered that all parties lack administrative offices and other means of executing party programmes but that does not affect parties' survival. The thesis learnt that what exactly matters in the survival of parties are funds by leaders that are capable to meet electoral costs in all environments. The thesis further discovered that the marginalization women and youth in top party leadership does not account to why some parties survive and others fail. They are not in leadership because they usually do not have enough resources to effectively compete with old men with more resources who actually use their personal resources to keep parties active. This has resulted in parties being dominated by old men and these men are able to lead these parties for as long as they have resources and when they are no more parties eventually die. Thus, the general argument of this thesis is that all parties face the same problems regarding leadership selection but parties with leaders that have adequate funds survive because they are able to meet the demands of the electoral processes.

Regarding the state of intra-party democracy, the thesis learnt that despite all political parties having provisions in their constitutions that promote intra-party democracy, parties do not adhere to party statutes. The parties fail to survive not because leadership structures are weak; but because many parties do not have individuals with a lot of resources to spend on behalf of the

parties in all electoral process. The thesis has also discovered that there is high intolerance to divergent opinions within all parties which leads to resignations and defections; however this does not affect the survival of political parties if remaining party leaders have stable resources to keep parties' activities going. Poor funding strategies in all parties has affected the parties' abilities to exhaust all party activities such as holding national conventions which leads the party to be dominated by the same few leaders who generally are the reasons parties keep surviving. Therefore this thesis concludes that the issue of funding is strong in explaining why some parties survive and others fail as opposed to the lack of intra-party democracy which is supported by proponents of the theory of party institutionalization. Parties can be personalized but if they are well funded they would still survive as it is not possible for any party to institutionalize or exhaust all democratic procedure within the party without adequate funds to meet all the organizational needs.

Furthermore, after examining the theory of party institutionalization and previous research that has been conducted on parties in consolidated European democracies, this thesis has learnt that the theory does not explain the variations in party survival in Zambia, let alone consolidating democracies. It is a theory that is valid in consolidated democracies where political parties are institutionalized and are not run by individual's desire to satisfy personal interests. It is for this reason that this thesis suggests that it would be interesting to still conduct a similar study in other consolidating democracies regarding how they handle issues of leadership selection and intra-party democracy and establish if this has a bearing on the survival of political parties. Doing a similar study in other countries would make it easy to compare findings of this thesis and possibly help in discovering new theories to help in explaining why parties fail to survive. A further aspect worth studying would be how individual behavior and income inequality among electorates affects the survival of political parties. Do electorates desire to have system where political parties are established on different ideologies and what role does income inequality play in their choice of parties to support?

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Appendix

The tables below briefly show the performance of political parties in national elections since the rebirth of multiparty politics in 1991. The tables show both presidential and parliamentary elections and all the parties that have taken in part in these elections since 1991. The most striking observation is that in almost all elections have taken place there is one or more new political parties contesting the elections for the first time and also one or more parties failing to re-contest the elections. The tables show the parties shaded in yellow as the parties that come as new entrants in each election starting with the 1991 election. As the findings of this thesis explained above, this unpredictable patterns of parties to survive and make it in all electoral cycles revolves around the issue of inadequate funds needed for party organization

Presidential Elections 1991-2015

1991		1996		2001		2006		2008		2011		2015	
Parties	Votes (%)	Parties	Votes (%)	Parties	Votes (%)	Parties	Votes (%)	Parties	Votes (%)	Parties	Votes (%)	Parties	Votes (%)
MMD	75.76	MMD	72.59	MMD	29.15	MMD	42.98	MMD	40.09	PF	41.98	PF	48.33
UNIP	24.24	UNIP	-	UPND	27.20	PF	29.37	PF	38.13	MMD	35.42	UPND	46.67
		ZADECO	12.75	FDD	13.17	UDA	25.32	UPND	19.70	UPND	18.17	FDD	0.92
		NP	6.66	UNIP	10.12	HP	1.57	HP	0.76	UNIP	0.36	MMD	0.87
		AZ	4.71	HP	8.09	APC	0.76			HP	0.17	NAREP	0.36
		MDP	3.29	ZRP	4.92					ADD	0.94	HP	0.34
				PF	3.40					NMP	0.23	FRP	0.38
				NCC	2.24					NAREP	0.38	CDP	0.20
				SDP	0.59					ZED	0.08	FDA	0.12
				AZ	0.57							GPZ	0.08
				NLP	0.55								

Source: Author's compilation based on ECZ election results database


Yellow represents new political parties at each election since 1991

Parliamentary Elections 1991-2011

1991		1996		2001		2006		2011	
Parties	Seats	Parties	Seats	Parties	Seats	Parties	Seats	Parties	Seats
MMD	125	MMD	131	MMD	69	MMD	72	PF	60
UNIP	25	UNIP	-	UNIP	13	PF	43	MMD	55
		ZADECO	2	AZ	0	UDA	26	UPND	28
		NP	5	LPF	0	HP	0	HP	0

	AZ	2	NP	0	NDF	1	FDD	1
	MDP	0	PF	1	ULP	3	UNIP	0
	NLP	0	ZRP	1	APC	0	NGP	0
	NC	0	SDP	0	RP	0	ULP	0
	LPF	0	FDD	12	PUDD	0	FDP	0
	PPP	0	NLD	0	NGP	0	NP	0
	RDP	0	ZAP	0	FDP	0	ZDDM	0
			HP	4	ZDDM	0	NRP	0
			NCC	0			UPDD	0
			LPF	0			NAREP	0
			ZUDP	0			NMP	0
			DP	0			ZCP	0
			ZPP	0			APC	0
			UPND	49			ADD	1
							ZED	0
							CDP	0

Source: Author's compilation based on ECZ election results database

 Yellow represents new political parties at each election since 1991