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COLLABORATION WITH ZIMBABWE OPEN  
UNIVERSITY**

**CAUSES OF POLITICAL CONFLICTS BETWEEN PATRIOTIC FRONT  
(PF) AND UNITED PARTY FOR NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT (UPND) -  
2015 TO 2019.**

**BY**

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A dissertation submitted to the University of Zambia in collaboration with Zimbabwe Open University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of Master of Science in peace, leadership and conflict resolution.

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## **DECLARATION**

I, EMILY M. MUJUDA, do hereby declare that this dissertation is my original work and that all the works of other persons used in this dissertation have been duly acknowledged, and that this work has never been presented to the University of Zambia or any other university for an academic award.

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Date: .....

## **APPROVAL**

The dissertation of EMILY M. MUJUDA has been approved as a partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Science in Peace, Leadership and Conflict Resolution of the University of Zambia in collaboration with Zimbabwe Open University.

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## **DEDICATION**

This dissertation is dedicated to my husband Brian Manchishi, my children Sengu, Chipu and Mwiika for the moral support and encouragement which made it possible for me to complete this research work.

Finally, I would like to dedicate this publication to my friends and relatives for their encouragement rendered to me during the course of my studies.

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## ABSTRACT

Zambia has witnessed several political conflicts from the introduction of multiparty democracy such as disputed general election results, succession disputes in political parties, abuse of the Public Order Act, tribalism, among others. Efforts to resolve political conflicts have not been achieved, hence this study. The purpose of this study was to establish the causes of political conflicts between the Patriotic Front (PF) and United Party for National Development (UPND) between 2015 and 2019. The study objectives were to: establish the causes of political conflicts between PF and UPND between 2015 and 2019; establish the causes of inter-party conflicts between PF and UPND; examine the nature of inter-party conflicts between PF and UPND between 2015 and 2019; establish factors that lead to non-adherence to third party led conflict resolutions by both parties. A case study approach was adopted for this research which also employed a qualitative method. The population comprised members of the PF and UPND, the Church and Civil society. The sample size was 20. Purposive sampling was employed to select the participants in the study largely because the target audience for the study was pre-determined. The instrument for data collection was a semi structured Interview Guide. Data were analyzed thematically. The study revealed that conflicts between the then ruling PF and opposition UPND (now ruling) were due to unruly PF party cadres. PF party cadres were always in-charge and above the law. All the participants also linked the inter-party conflicts between PF and UPND to political leaders who were also unruly. The findings also revealed that the nature of inter-party conflicts between the two rival parties during the period under review was a result of selective application of the law, and politics of patronage. The UPND advocated for the rule of the law which was not demonstrated by the PF. Furthermore, the study revealed both parties did not use local third parties to resolve their differences and neither did they adhere to the Republican Constitution. The recommendations were that political parties, especially the party in power, should see to it that the rule of law should be followed; the party in power should not be selective in applying the law; all people should be treated equally regardless of one's political affiliation; and that conflict resolutions could be managed by the local third party organizations that may be familiar with political party conflicts.

**Key words:** *Political Parties, conflicts, Resolutions, Patriotic Front United Party for National Development, Lusaka, District*

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1 Introduction**

This chapter introduces the background to the study, the statement of the problem, purpose of the study, objectives of the study, research questions, and significance of the study, delimitation and limitations of the study, and key concepts associated with it.

#### **1.2 Background to the Study**

Zambia has witnessed a number of political conflicts since the re-introduction of multiparty democracy in 1991. These include disputed general election results, succession dispute in political parties, abuse of the public Order Act, tribalism, among others.

According to EISA (2008), a political party is defined as an organized group of people with at least roughly similar political aims and opinions that seek to influence public policy by getting its candidates elected to public office. Thus a political party, unlike an interest group, aims to capture state power and control the public policy-making process within the confines of the constitutional and legal framework of the given country. In other words, a political party is a group that seeks to elect candidates to public office by supplying them with a label - a "party identification" - by which they are known to the electorate. Therefore, it is a collection of people in a democratic setting with the unique objective of seeking control of government through nominating its candidates and presenting its programmes for endorsement via the electoral process in competition with other parties.

A political party can also be defines as a group of people who share a common ideology and conception of how and why state power should be organized and used. It differs from amorphous organizations by the fact that a party not only seeks to influence government policy but also undertake responsibilities for actually formulating and implementing the policy (Nnoli, 2000). This willingness to take governmental functions sets political party apart from trade unions and

interest groups. To Ayoade (2000), political parties, arguably, are symptomatic of a competitive political system. Their primary goal is the conquest of power or a share in its exercise as each party nominates candidates for elections, tries to win seats in parliament and forms a government if it wins an overall majority.

On the other hand, Abdullahi, (2007) observes that political parties are constitutionally formed to facilitate the establishment and sustenance of democratic rule. They are the instruments through which democratic process evolves. Their primary responsibilities are to, among other things, recruit and prepare candidates for elections. They check the excesses of government policies and programmes by serving as opposition to a ruling party. And importantly, they are involved in political education of the citizenry, especially in developing countries.

Furthermore, Abdullahi, (2007) observes that four characteristics that distinguish parties from other groups (including interest groups and social movements) include the following: parties aim to exercise government power by winning political office (small parties may nevertheless use elections more to gain a platform than to win power); parties are organized bodies with a formal card-carrying membership. This distinguishes them from broader and more diffuse social movements; parties typically adopt a broad issue focus, addressing each of the major areas of government policy (small parties, however, may have a single issue focus, thus resembling interest groups); and to varying degrees, parties are united by shared political preferences and a general ideological identity. It is worth noting that political parties can be either be democratic or authoritarian. Thus, whether they are the great tools of democracy or sources of tyranny and repression, political parties are the vital link between the state and civil society, between the institutions of government and the groups and interests that operate within society.

Although the defining features of political parties are principally the capturing of government power and control of public policy-making, their impact on the political system is broader and more complex. Thus, various functions of political parties can be identified. The six main functions of parties in any democratic system are as to aggregate and articulate needs and problems as identified by members and supporters, and socialise and educate voters and citizens in the functioning of political parties and electoral systems, as well as generating general political values.

They also aim at balancing opposing demands and convert them into general policies. Political parties are able to activate and mobilize citizens into participating in political decisions and transforming their opinions into viable policy options. They help channel public opinion from citizens to government, and recruit and train candidates for public office (Stokes, 1999; The Electoral Knowledge, 2021).

Weber (1971) observes that conflict is any action oriented intentionally to carry out actor's own will against the resistance of the other party or parties. He further asserts that conflict is an everyday normal on-going for institutionalized process that is natural of social reality. Furthermore, social conflict is a struggle over status, power and scarce resources in which the aims of the group in conflict are not only to gain the desired value but also to neutralize, injure or eliminate rivals. Generally speaking, conflicts entail struggle and rivalry for objects to which individuals and groups attach values. These objects can either be material (scarce resources, land, employment, promotion in public service, creation of new state or locality), or non-material (culture, language and religion). In view of this, political violence is informed by political conflict. At the extreme, it involves the use of machetes, rifles, clubs and guns to cause destruction.

Duverger (1980:179) observes that in political struggle, when men and organizations are in conflict they tend to employ different kinds of weapons. But the instruments they employ is absolutely influenced by the type of society, the type of government, the composition of groups in conflict as well as the period of history. He further stresses that, although politics is a conflict, yet it is a limitation to conflict. That is, when in politics, individuals confront each other with rifles, machetes and fists then, we are outside the boundary of politics. Once conflict turns violent, it becomes detrimental to the growth and stability of the system. However, Azeez (2005:20) comments that violent conflict is a particular kind of interaction marked by efforts at hindering rivals. Therefore, violence whether politically, religiously or ethnically motivated are means of identifying the imperfection of a plural society and of suggesting remedies to remove or solve the problems of inequality, marginalization, exploitation, misuse of majoritarian democracy and national government in a prejudicial manner.

Political conflict arises when different political parties with their own ideologies try to achieve their own interest. Political conflict occurs when there are difficulties in reconciling different interests or when there are disagreements over objectives (Pondy, 1967; Schmidt & Kochan, 1972; Gurr, 1980; Bush & Folger, 1994: 56).

Political conflict may also occur as a behavior where perpetrators behave in a confrontational way to promote their own interests and try to stop opponents from obtaining their objectives (Mack & Snyder, 1957; Fink, 1968; Deutsch, 1973).

This study concerns itself with causes of political conflict between the Patriotic Front (PF) and the United Party for National Development (UPND). The PF was party in government from 2011 to 20121, while UPND now the governing power, having won the August 12, 2021 general election. The study seeks to establish the root causes of political conflicts between the two parties, conflicts have led in some instances led to injuries and even death.

Sichone observes that the causes of inter party political conflict between the two political parties has been the implementation of the Public Order Act, appointment of UPND opposition members of parliament to ministerial positions, treason charges slapped on the UPND leader, the National Democratic Forum (NDF) that pushed for Constitutional amendments without broad stakeholder consultation.

### **1.3 Statement of the Problem**

Political conflicts have been rife in Zambia's democracy, and have resulted into injuries, deaths, death threats, and imprisonment. This has stifled political participation among the electorates as they feel insecure to participate in democracy. Efforts to resolve political conflicts have not been in vain. One example among such efforts was the Cathedral of the Holy Cross indaba of 2016 in Lusaka when the main political parties turned to the church for help following an increase in violent incidents. Hence the study will be of help to efforts aimed at finding a lasting solution to these never-ending conflicts.

## **1.4 Research Objectives**

### **1.4.1 General Objective**

To establish the causes of political conflicts between Patriotic Front (PF) and United Party for National Development (UPND) between 2015 and 2019.

### **1.4.2 Specific Objectives**

- i. To establish the causes of inter-party conflicts between PF and UPND
- ii. To examine the nature of inter-party conflicts between PF and UPND between 2015 and 2016
- iii. To establish factors that lead to non-adherence to third party led conflict resolutions by both parties.

## **1.5 Research Questions**

- i. What are the causes of inter-party conflicts in the patriotic front (PF) and the united party for national Development
- ii. What has been the nature of inter-party conflicts between PF and UPND between 2015 and 2016
- iii. What factors have led to non-adherence of third party led conflict resolutions by both political parties

## **1.6 Significance of the Study**

It is hoped that the findings of this study may help policy makers in the formulation to guide political parties on how to co-exist. Furthermore, it will also help political parties when formulating intra party guidelines to desist from engaging in violence. It is also hoped that the findings of this study may help stakeholders involved in conflict to come up guidelines to deal with political conflicts in the country. Lastly, it is hoped that the findings of this study will add new know knowledge to the already exciting body of knowledge on the same topic.

## 1.7 Scope of Study

The study will look at the two main political parties i.e. PF and UPND because these are the two largest political parties and have more representation in parliament and at council level as such, each party is interested to contest any election at any level. In the process, these political parties are at each other's throats or engage in political violence.

## 1.8 Conceptual Definition of Terms

**Character Assassination:** malicious and unjustified harming of a person's good reputation.

**Civil Liberties:** individual freedoms protected from arbitrary actions without due process of law

**Conflict:** a serious disagreement, typically a protracted one.

**Conflict Management:** process by which disputes are resolved.

**Conflict Resolution:** a way to find a peaceful solution to a disagreement.

**Co-existence:**

**Democracy:** a system of government in which power is vested in the people and exercised by them directly or through freely elected representatives.

**Multi-Party Democracy:** a system of multiple political parties that run for elections, and have the capacity to gain control of government, separately or in coalition.

**Negotiation:** discussion between two or more parties aimed at reaching an agreement.

**Political Party:** a group of persons organized to acquire and exercise political power.

**Political Patronage:** the use of state resources to reward individuals for their electoral support.

**Political Violence:** violence which is perpetrated in order to achieve political goals.

**Stakeholder negotiation:** discussion involving individuals who are selected to speak on behalf of a larger group and aimed at reaching an agreement.

**Violence:** an act of physical force that causes or is intended to cause harm.

## **1.9 Summary**

This chapter presented the contextual background of the study, statement of the problem, purpose and significance of the study, objectives of the study, research questions, and limitations of the inquiry, and operational terms used in the research. In the background of the study, available literature has shown that efforts to resolve political conflicts have not been in vain, as there have instances when parties to the conflict have sometimes sought help from third parties. But despite that, political violence has not been eliminated.

## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter is a review of previous research on the causes of political violence and related studies. The chapter is organized according to the objectives of the study.

#### 2.2 Empirical Review

In order to get a broader view on the causes of political conflict, the researcher reviewed studies done in other African countries.

#### 2.3 Causes of Inter-Party Conflicts

According to Weber (1971) conflict is any action oriented intentionally to carry out actor's own will against the resistance of the other party or parties. He further asserts that conflict is an everyday normal on-going for institutionalized process that is natural of social reality. Furthermore, social conflict is a struggle over status, power and scarce resources in which the aims of the group in conflict are not only to gain the desired value but also to neutralize, injure or eliminate rivals. Generally speaking, conflicts entail struggle and rivalry for objects to which individuals and groups attach values. These objects can either be material (scarce resources, land, employment, promotion in public service, creation of new state or locality), or non-material (culture, language and religion). In view of this, political violence is informed by political conflict. At the extreme, it involves the use of machetes, rifles, clubs and guns to cause destruction.

Furthermire, Duverger (1980:179) observes that in a political struggle, when men and organizations are in conflict they tend to employ different kinds of weapons. But the instruments they employ is absolutely influenced by the type of society, the type of government, the composition of groups in conflict as well as the period of history. He further stresses that, although politics is a conflict, yet it is a limitation to conflict. That is, when in politics, individuals confront each other with rifles, machetes and fists then, we are outside the boundary of politics. Once conflict turns violent, it becomes detrimental to the growth and stability of the system. However, Azeez (2005:20) comments that violent conflict is a particular kind of interaction marked by efforts at hindering rivals. Therefore, violence whether politically, religiously or ethnically motivated are

means of identifying the imperfection of a plural society and of suggesting remedies to remove or solve the problems of inequality, marginalization, exploitation, misuse of majoritarian democracy and national government in a prejudicial manner.

Political conflict arises when different political parties with their own ideologies try to achieve their own interest. Political conflict occurs when there are difficulties in reconciling different interests or when there are disagreements over objectives (Stokes, 1999).

According to a study by Omodia (2010) in Nigeria, he discovered that politics is conceived as an investment. The politician, having invested colossally on campaigns and others political activities, coupled with the existing system of winner takes all, would want to win at all cost. And the need to employ the use of thugs and touts to destabilize and rig elections becomes inevitable especially when such politicians become unpopular or are not. Furthermore, the orientation of political parties in Nigeria is that the political system belongs to any political party that occupied the system. This has encouraged political parties to divert from the principle of democracy by introducing thugs into politics because every party wants to win the election by all means. The other causes revealed was a situation in which a political party tries to hold on to power. In an attempt to hang on to power, parties often create a regime of violence, conflict, political thugs, hooligans and scavengers to sing their praise, intimidate and kill opposing political parties' member if they become intransigent.

Inter-party conflicts are often around elections. Elections are a competition and therefore cause conflict. Parties compete for space for their campaign. Lack of clear rules, systems (including conflict management systems) can escalate conflict to a destructive conflict. These rules have to do with: access to media; ruling party's use of state resources for campaigns; parties' use of ethnicity or other social factors as divisive force; character assassination; constitutional changes (party's changing of national constitution; without proper consultations and procedures to suit its goals, thus threatening democracy). Furthermore, a study by Matlosa (2008) revealed that the 1998 election results triggered tension between the ruling Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD) and the opposition parties, who believed that the LCD had rigged the elections. This led to a protest and a sit-in at the Royal Palace grounds.

In pursuit of knowing causes of political conflict, Schwart (2001) did a research which was as a result of a regional conference themed 'Political and Electoral Violence in East Africa' held in May 2001. The conference was attended by representatives of the three Electoral Commissions in East Africa, representatives of both the main opposition and ruling political parties in the region, non-governmental organizations as well as academics and scholars in the field of conflict research management. The main countries under study were Tanzania, Uganda and Kenya. The study found that political conflict was mainly as a result of the lack of faith in what is ideally taken to be electoral commissions and a tradition of thuggery during politics to instill fear in the other group to lose confidence in themselves.

It was revealed that in most African states/countries the electoral commission boards were appointed by the republican presidents who were also the chairmen of the ruling party making the opposition parties view the electoral commission as partisan and partial to the ruling party. Opposition political parties then resorted to violence as a way of protesting to protect their votes. The political violence as a result of thuggery in countries under study involved assault, beatings, attempted murder, murder, battery, damage of property, arson, fighting, disruption of public meetings and campaign rallies, and bombings (only in Tanzania). The study also revealed that difficulty in securing an electoral petition, selective application of the law between the ruling and opposition parties, political repression by the party in power, poverty and incitement by political party leaders to defend their votes through violence caused political conflict. The study recommended that the electoral commissions be independent, national constitutions be reviewed to allow for free and fair elections, equality in the application of the law and that the national police should be used to combat electoral violence and arrest perpetrators of such (ibid).

A study Azar (1990) in South Africa observed that inter-party conflicts are often around elections. Elections are a competition and therefore cause conflict. Parties compete for space for their campaign. Lack of clear rules, systems (including conflict management systems) can escalate conflict to a destructive conflict. These rules have to do with access to media, the ruling party's use of state resources for campaign, and use of ethnicity or other social factors by parties as divisive forces. Others issues included character assassination, Constitutional changes where the party in power changed the national constitution without proper consultations and procedures to suit its

goals, thereby threatening democracy. Furthermore, during National Party (NP) rule in South Africa, many would argue that the NP government was the aggressor. While this is undoubtedly true, it has to be pointed out that it does not follow that the aggressor is always the stronger and the defender is perpetually the weaker party. Furthermore, for instance, there is evidence that shows that the Apartheid regime for a long time was the aggressor.

There is also evidence that points to the fact that in the early sixties, the African liberation movements, although described as defenders according to the model, became the aggressors, particularly when, through their armed wings, they started underground operations. Negotiations between these groups with the government were fruitless as the government only made platitudinous statements regarding freedom that never translated into action. The last resort was the use of violence by the liberation movements as shown in the photograph above. The National Party government then strengthened its police and the defense forces in order to withstand the challenge of the liberation movements and clamp down its activities in defense of the status quo (ibid).

Katz and Mair (1994) discovered that the continuity of the spirals produces changes in the political and socioeconomic spheres of the parties involved in conflict. This makes it difficult for conflict to be managed because both sides become even more determined to continue with the conflict, particularly when they have incurred loss of lives and property. The structural change model explains the effects of the protracted conflict emanating from the conflict spirals and escalations, as explained in the previous models. Under this model, people's and groups' perceptions change, and hostile and competitive goals develop within these communities. The aim becomes to punish, discredit, defeat and destroy the other party. The negative perceptions discourage conflict settlement and promote its escalation. Once escalation happens, the process repeats itself, as has been said earlier, and the structural changes also persist. This then has a direct effect on the human relationships.

Skoog (2015) in his study aimed at understanding 'Political conflicts and the mechanisms behind the concept' in Kenya derived two (2) main questions which he wanted to answer at the end of

the research; what caused (party) political conflicts in local politics and what the effects of (party) political conflicts in local politics were. In order to answer the research questions, he used both theoretically derived definitions of different forms of political conflicts in Swedish local governments. He used a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. The quantitative data were based on surveys to all elected political representatives in Swedish municipalities in 2008 and 2012. Findings of the study were that political conflicts were caused by what he termed as 'antagonistic behavior'. Antagonistic behavior was defined as the political climate and how parties behaved towards each other. A high degree of antagonistic behavior according to the study referred to situations where parties actively tried to stop other parties from exerting political influence which would lead to a negative and disrespectful climate among political representatives.

A similar study was done in Sub-Saharan Africa used Afrobarometer survey data which was conducted in 17 countries between March 2005 and February 2006 aimed at identifying and measuring citizens' perceptions of dimensions of state weakness and explored how those particular attitudes shaped perceptions of the use of violence for political purposes. To test the robustness of the findings, the study used participation in demonstrations and protests as a second dependable variable (Ochonu, 2014).

The study found that lack of state legitimacy and group grievances had the potential to cause political conflict between the ruling party and opposition parties. A state of legitimacy diminishes a country's potential for economic growth as it distorts government's choices of policies which damages the quality of governance. The result of damaged quality of governance is the adverse effect of the behavior of citizens who no longer follow rules or commands of the state. Opposition political parties then take advantage of that and entice citizens to cause conflict. When it comes to grievances, the study found that they had a great potential to cause conflicts. An example of the conflict between supporters of Christian political leaders and those of a Muslim political leaders in Nigeria showed that group grievances can cause political conflict (ibid).

## **2.4 The nature of inter-party conflicts between political parties**

For any democratic society to experience development, the principle of democracy must be put in place. Citizens must not be disfranchised; they must be allowed to express their interest. Civil

liberty and individual rights must be respected. Although conflict is bound to happen in every society, but once it is becoming too much, it will definitely lead to the underdevelopment of that particular society. The intention of political parties to rule at all cost has created too much conflict in many countries of the world. Political party's crises have altered the affection of an average person towards party's activities which have not only affected the legitimacy of the elected incumbent political heads but also the citizen belief in democracy as a sustainable model of government (Dode, 2010).

According to a study by Cohen (2006) in Nigeria, it was discovered that inter-parties conflict creates insecurity of life and properties on democracy. Many people died, while some lost valuable properties in the course of political violence arising from various inter-parties and other crises across the country. IN any democracy that is full of inter-parties conflict as witnessed in Nigeria, fundamental human right will always be denied, and rights to vote and to be voted for definitely eroded, it will be difficult for citizens to elect the right candidate of their choice, and unqualified people will occupy political power within the political system and mismanage the available resources in the political system (ibid).

A study by Mukunto (2019) which analyzed the relationship between 'Electoral Violence and young party cadres in Zambia' shows that negative socio-economic conditions and leadership manipulation caused political conflict among political parties especially between the PF and UPND. The researcher argued that throughout 2016 the cadres from both PF and UPND were participants of political conflict and that such acts were retaliatory. He cited an event in May 2016 where UPND cadres attacked PF offices in Lusaka's Matero area because they were provoked by the PF carrying pangas, machetes and axes who disrupted their youth meeting in the area. The following day in retaliation PF cadres attacked UPND offices in Rhodes Park within Lusaka. He emphasized that if cadres from either political party did not retaliate, they were seen as weak from their top leaders and hence the retaliation.

In line with Mukunto's findings, Adolfo et al (2012) asserted that uncertainties associated with losing political power, among other aspects, were responsible for electoral violence. For this empirical review, the study analyzed stories of electoral campaigns by *Lusaka Times* which is owned by one private online news platform. This platform was chosen due to its balanced news

coverage between the ruling PF and the UPND, the research mainly focused on events that took place between January and December 2016.

Cohen (2006) further observed that political violence is a collective violent action of a group of people against the government to highlight its discontent. It may be a protest against a particular policy of the government, it may be used to remove a particular government from power, or it may be taken recourse to for the change of political system. Aggression and violence have been a part of human history since long because men take to violence and aggression to secure things that they did not possess or to preserve things that they possessed. Normally, political violence is directed against the state, its property and men who manage its institutions.

Political violence may begin with rioting or mass demonstrations. But it is always possible that it assumes different forms. Aristotle was the first political scientist who discussed the nature and causes of political disorder. He pointed out that change in the balance of social forces in a particular state was responsible for political disorder. The Indian political thinker Kautilya (Chanakya) was of the opinion that change in the attitude of one's own people is revolt. It results from a wrong policy of the government and immodest behaviour of the king. Thus, since ancient times, political violence had caused disorder in the state and in modern times, the problem of political violence has become more marked and complex (ibid).

Violence is in built in the institution of the state. It has the monopoly of coercive power in its hands. The state exercises this power with the help of its repressive agencies such as the army, the police, jails and courts. It can punish people who do not obey its orders and who disturb law and order. The state claims authority to rule and it secures authority with the help of legal sanctions or popular sanctions. When the state exercises power, it is entitled to use legally sanctioned violence to enforce its order. More often than not, the state uses coercive methods, which are not sanctioned by law. The degree of use of violence differs from state to state, because ultimately it depends on the ability of the state to secure compliance of its order without using coercion. Modern states are increasingly using violent methods because they want to bring about political integration of the country as well as to hasten the process of economic development (Nigam, 1996).

Matlosa (2008) in his study observed that the state is an institution of society and its prime function is to bring about social and political integration of the people. Ancient and medieval states allowed co-existence of multiple autonomous political authorities. The modern state wants to establish its total authority over people and the territory under its jurisdiction. In every state, there exist distinct cultural and ethnic groups and it is a desire of every state authority to amalgamate these cultural groups into a single political unit under a single central authority. Historically, this process has, with a very few exceptions, been one of extreme violence which has varied from the physical murder of whole sections of cultural minorities to their forced deportations, their forced religious and cultural conversion and large-scale population transfers. This violence has been exercised by states on their own citizens or those it claims are its citizens and violence has been employed as an instrument of policy.

Furthermore, Matlosa (2008) pointed out that the purpose of this policy was to extend state's political authority upon those who for one reason or another do not accept its authority as legitimate. The modern state was built upon the demise of feudal and tribal communities, which were autonomous entities. Once this integration was achieved in West Europe, attempts were made there to control the arbitrary exercise of state violence by agencies of the state such as the army and the police and their immediate controllers: Kings, ministers, generals and bureaucrats. At present, most of the countries of Asia and Africa are undergoing this process; therefore, politics in these states is the most violent.

## **2.5 Factors leading to non-adherence to third party led conflict resolutions by both parties**

Stephen Ryan (1990:50) asserted that too often conflict resolution is used as a cover-all term that fails to face up to the different processes involved in the reduction or elimination of violence. This statement seems to be very evident of the African conflict situation especially when scholars and practitioners alike refer to the handling of conflict in Africa. Therefore, it is necessary to explore the main features of conflict resolution and conflict management.

A study by Cohen (2006:2) revealed that efforts in African conflicts in the last two or three decades of the 20th century brings out main trends in regard to the main actors or agencies and the intervention approaches involved. The main actors intervening in African conflicts were almost

entirely from outside of Africa. These were individuals, countries, groups of countries, institutions and organisations. Furthermore, until 1993 Africa was almost totally dependent on outside entities for conflict management. Some of these outside entities or actors included former colonial masters, international organizations like the United Nations, the European Community, and the United States of America, as well as regional efforts like the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) in East Africa, and a number of non-governmental actors such as former Presidents. The second strong idea that emerges from intervention literature is the increasing emphasis on conflict management rather than resolution as the intervention approach in Africa.

Fumpa-Makano and Mukanda (2016) conducted a Participatory Action Research (PAR) to investigate ‘Prospects for Electoral Conflict Prevention in Zambia.’ The study comprised 521 participants from all political party leaders that participated in the 2016 general elections from all the ten (10) provinces of Zambia. The conflict theory was utilized in the study which states that ‘society is in a state of perpetual conflict because of competition for limited resources’ (Chappelow, 2020). It emphasizes that those with power in a country or society try by all means to hold on to power by suppressing the poor and the powerless which in the long run has the potential to cause violence. Objectives of the study were to understand the causes for interparty political violence and identifying solutions to address the same.

The findings of the study showed that major drivers of political conflict and violence included a deep-rooted tradition of practicing politics of intimidation to gain political mileage, political players’ ignorance about electoral laws, weak law enforcement and poverty. When asked why they tended to employ violence during elections, political parties both from the ruling and opposition party narrated that political violence was used to cause fear to their opponents and that it increased their chance of winning elections. The research also revealed that unemployed youths were mostly used in political violence by politicians in a desire to earn a living. On top of that, researchers also found conflict analysis to be a cause of political conflict if not handled well. They revealed that some participants tried to use the data collection process to blame the PF and UPND as main culprits perpetrating violence but that was later resolved as researchers explained that the process

was about addressing political violence as a common enemy and not blaming political parties that were involved in violence.

Warner (1999) observed that resolving structural conflicts was a fundamentally more difficult task than resolving conflicts directly attributable to development pressures. Structural conflicts, by definition, can only be resolved at the national or regional level, through short-term policy or legal reform, or longer-term education, wealth creation or peace-building programmes. However, it is not necessarily the case that structural causes have to be resolved in order to remove conflict as an obstacle to sustainable. One of the key strategies promoted by the methodology is consensus-building, an alternative to the inequalities inherent in confrontational forms of stakeholder negotiation. Consensus building seeks to build the capacity of people to develop a dialogue with each other, either directly or indirectly, to find a way forward based on consensus which generates mutual gains for all parties with the minimum of compromise and trade-off. Other descriptions of processes of negotiation based on the same principles of mutual gain and could include alternative dispute resolution, alternative conflict management, and conflict transformation.

Furthermore, World Bank (1998) observes that Withdrawal is an approach to conflict management suited to those parties whose desire to avoid confrontation outweighs the goals they are trying to achieve. The power (either positive or negative) of withdrawal should not be underestimated, not least since it can be used as a threat to force reluctant and sometimes more powerful parties to negotiate in a more consensual fashion. There are occasions when one party in a conflict situation values a strong and continuing relationship with one or more of the other parties above the attainment of its own specific goals. In these cases, a party may elect to accommodate the other parties' goals, conceding to all or most of their demands. Although such outcomes may look as though they have been the result of force, the difference is that rather than losing outright, the accommodating party perceives itself to have gained by way of securing good relations, accompanied perhaps by an element of good will and the option to achieve some greater goal at a future date.

According to Muna Ndulo a Professor of Law in an article he wrote on 'Political Violence in Zambia and State Responsibility', political violence was mainly caused by the PF government in

Zambia and that the victims (opposition political parties) were only defending themselves. He disclosed that those perceived to be opponents of the government were attacked, assaulted and their meetings disrupted while the state police did nothing. He added that some civil society groups, prominent citizens, organizations and church leaders were afraid to blame the violence to the rightful owners and hence called for restraint on both sides in fear of being accused of being partial or even be arrested. In this study, the researcher used International Human Rights Instruments to which Zambia is a signatory of to fulfil the objective of the study (Ndulo, 2013).

Namaiko and Etyang (2017) with support from the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) did a Conflict Structural Vulnerability Assessment (SVA) whose objectives were; to identify structural causes and potential triggers of conflict, to identify actors in conflict and their specific roles, and to find entry points for programming and policy intervention. A participatory approach as well as interviews were used to achieve these objectives that included a focus group discussion with array of respondents in the ten (10) provinces of Zambia. The study found that militarization of political cadres was the major cause of conflict in Zambian politics. The study found that both the ruling PF and UPND had political cadres who were used by top leaders to cause violence especially during elections. The researchers established that party cadres operated like a military wing with distinct uniform and function and they possessed weapons such as, knives, machetes and even guns which even made the state police officers be afraid of them.

It was also revealed in the study that political party cadres abused drugs especially cannabis which made them fearless and engaged in political violence which did not only affect the two parties but other members of the public too. It was also revealed that ferrying of cadres, hate speech among political leaders, selective application of the Public Order Act, poverty, unemployment and easy money that political leaders offered to cadres made caderism attractive.

In conclusion, the study recommended that the government should strength conflict management committees which should be nonpartisan, reactivate the political liaison committee, and implement robust fiscal policies that would target women and youths who were in most cases vulnerable to conflict, and to encourage public dialogue (ibid).

## **2.6 Research Gap**

Although above studies provide a useful understanding about the causes of political conflict among political parties, they have only concentrated on what causes political conflict and measures needed to curb such. In above reviewed studies it has also been discovered that third parties such as religious and non-governmental organizations have made efforts to resolve political conflicts, but these conflicts have not ended in Zambia. Therefore, this study, among other objectives, was aimed at established factors that led to non-adherence to third party led conflict resolutions by both the ruling PF and the opposition UPND. Other researchers have not put much concentration on that aspect.

## **2.7 Lessons Learnt from Previous Studies**

From the above reviewed studies, the researcher found that the main causes of political violence in Africa were; lack of faith in the electoral commissions (which caused leadership manipulation according to opposition political parties) (Schwart, 2001), (Mukunto, 2019), a deep rooted tradition of practicing politics of intimidation to gain political mileage (Fumpa-Makano & Mukanda, 2016), enticement by opposition political leaders to protect their votes through violence (Schwart, 2001), grievances between or among certain groups who use political violence to settle them (Kirwin & Cho, 2009), militarization of political cadres by political leaders (Namaiko & Oita, 2017) and oppression of opposition political parties by the government in order to silence them and hold on to power (Muna).

From the findings above it is clear that different researchers found different results from their respective studies. Others blamed opposition political parties for inciting their members to cause violence, others blamed the government for the conflict and violence, and others found that both the parties in power and opposition political parties had the role to play in causing political conflict.

## **2.8 Theoretical Framework**

This study used the Cycle of Violence theory.

### **2.8.1 The Cycle of Violence Theory**

The cycle of violence theory is referred to as the repeated and dangerous acts of violence as a result of revenge. In politics the Arab Philosopher Khaldun (2013) identified a cycle of violence in which successive dynasties (governments) took control of the state and established social cohesion which enabled them to have more powers and expand to the limit. The theory asserts that long term factional disputes in which parties involved did a tit-for-tat act of aggression continued for generations as current politicians saw it normal to have conflicts or violence, especially during elections as they inherited such acts from their predecessors. Such acts were said to continue if not addressed.

### **2.9 Summary**

The studies reviewed in this chapter show the main causes of political violence in Africa were lack of confidence in the electoral commissions, traditional of intimidation to gain political mileage, the need for the opposition to protect their votes using violent means and settle scores, and attempts by government to silence them to allow the ruling party cling to power. Thus, the knowledge gap appears to be that most of the studies on political and electoral conflicts in Zambia have emphasized causes and measures to curb conflict. Efforts by Civil Society to help end conflicts between the ruling parties and the opposition have not led to a final solution. Therefore, this study was aimed at established factors that led to conflict between the PF and UPND.

## CHAPTER THREE

### METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1 Introduction

This section outlines the research design, methods, tools and sources of research data collection, targeted groups and organizations where data was collected. It further discusses how the data was processed and the tools that were used in the analysis, as well as ethical considerations.

#### 3.2 Research Design

Punch (2005) observes that a research design is used as the plan that holds all research project elements together. It is used to structure the research and to show how all major parts of the research projects are structured together to address the central question in research. This study used a case study design and employed a qualitative design to collect data from the respondents. Qualitative method was used to collect non-numerical data because it assisted in understanding behaviour, beliefs, perceptions and experiences of the participants.

#### 3.3 Target Population

The Target population refers to the total group of individuals from which the sampling frame for the study may be drawn (Creswell, 2012). The target population for this study comprised representatives from two political parties, namely, PF and UPND, church mother bodies and Civil Society organisations.

PF	UPND	NON-POLITICIANS	TOTAL
1.Secretary general 2.Youth chairperson 3. Political party ordinary members 4	1.Secretary general 2.Youth chairperson 3. Political party ordinary members 4	1.3 church mother bodies .1.representative from each of them 5. Civil society organisation (one representative from each of them).	20

### **3.4 Sample Size**

A sample is defined as a subset of the population. According to Singh (2006) the study of a population is not possible and it is also impracticable in any research endeavor, hence the need to undertake sampling. Furthermore, White (2003) defined a sample as a subset of a population that was used to represent the entire group as a whole. In this study, the sample size involved twenty respondents (20). The study used a Purposive sampling to select only participants with information relevant to the research. In Purposive sampling, the researcher identified a group of people believed to be reliable for the study (Punch, 2005). Also, under this sampling method it was assumed that the selected participants had information relevant to the study.

### **3.5 Data Collection**

#### **3.6.1 Primary Data**

In depth interviews using structured guided interviews were conducted on 20 respondents drawn from the PF and UPND, church mother bodies and Civil Society organisations. This was meant to gain a full understanding of the circumstances leading to conflicts and what has been done to stop these conflicts

#### **3.6.2 Secondary data**

Secondary data was obtained from published research articles, country reports and other official documents such as the Republican Constitution, bills and Acts of Parliament. These were rich sources for background information.

### **3.6 Data analysis**

Data analysis method was the systematic examination of raw or secondary data for emerging themes, facts, observations that are used to answer research questions (Saunders et al., 2009). Primary data was analyzed thematically. Thematic analysis was a method of analyzing qualitative data. The goal of a thematic analysis was to identify themes, i.e. patterns in the data that are important or interesting, and use these themes to address the research or say something about an issue (Creswell, 2012). Since the study was qualitative, the data that was gathered from the

interviews categorized into themes and arranged accordingly to key concepts which corresponded with research questions. Data was checked for correctness

### **3.7 Ethical Considerations**

The participants were informed of who the researcher was, where she was coming from, and the purpose of the study. The participants were assured that the data they would give shall be made anonymous meaning that their names were to be removed so as to protect their identities as the research was purely academic. The participants were also informed that participation was voluntary and that no incentives were to be given to them for taking part in the research.

Participants were further be informed that they have the right to understand what the researcher was doing. For confidentiality, the researcher ensured that field notes, all recordings and transcripts did not contain personal identifiers. Clearance was obtained from the Directorate of Research and Graduate Studies at the University of Zambia prior to the commencement of the research.

### **3.9 Summary**

This section described the research design that was employed, target population, sample size, sampling procedures, instruments used to collect data, data collection procedures, data analysis and ethical issues that were considered in the study.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### PRESENTATION OF THE FINDINGS

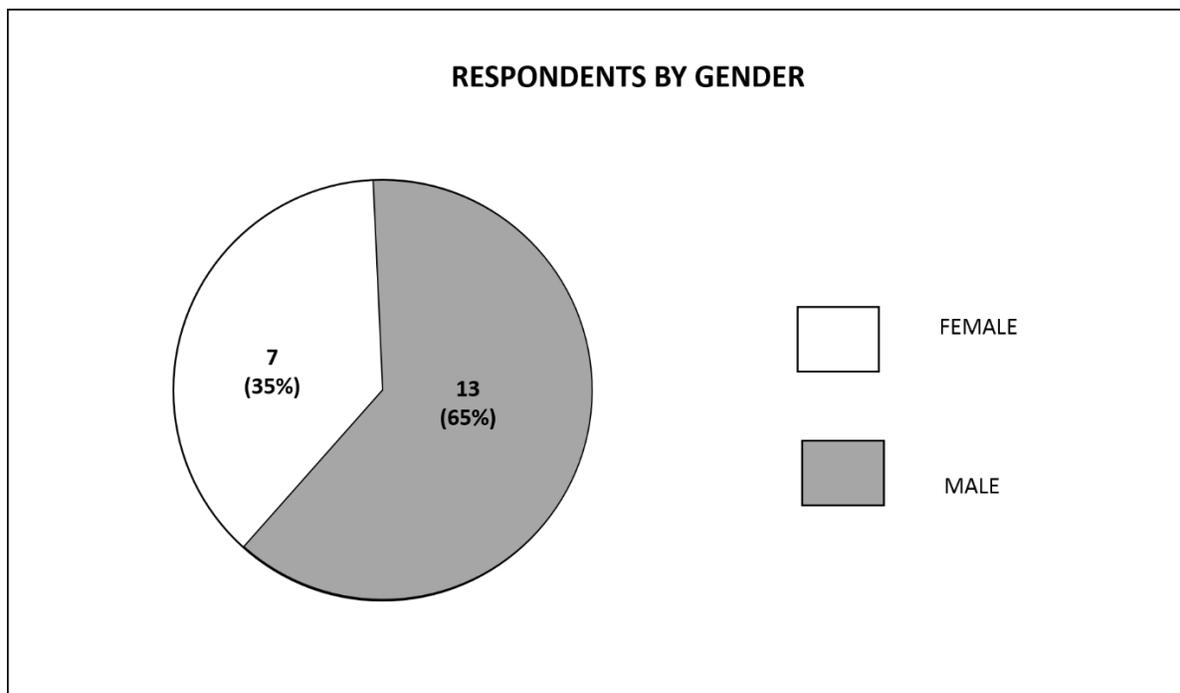
#### 4.1 Introduction

This Chapter presents the findings of the study. These findings are presented in line with the study objectives which were to: establish the causes of political conflicts between PF and UPND between 2015 and 2019; establish the causes of inter-party conflicts between PF and UPND; examine the nature of inter-party conflicts between the two parties; establish factors that lead to non-adherence to third party led conflict resolutions by both parties.

#### 4.2 Demographic characteristics of the Respondents

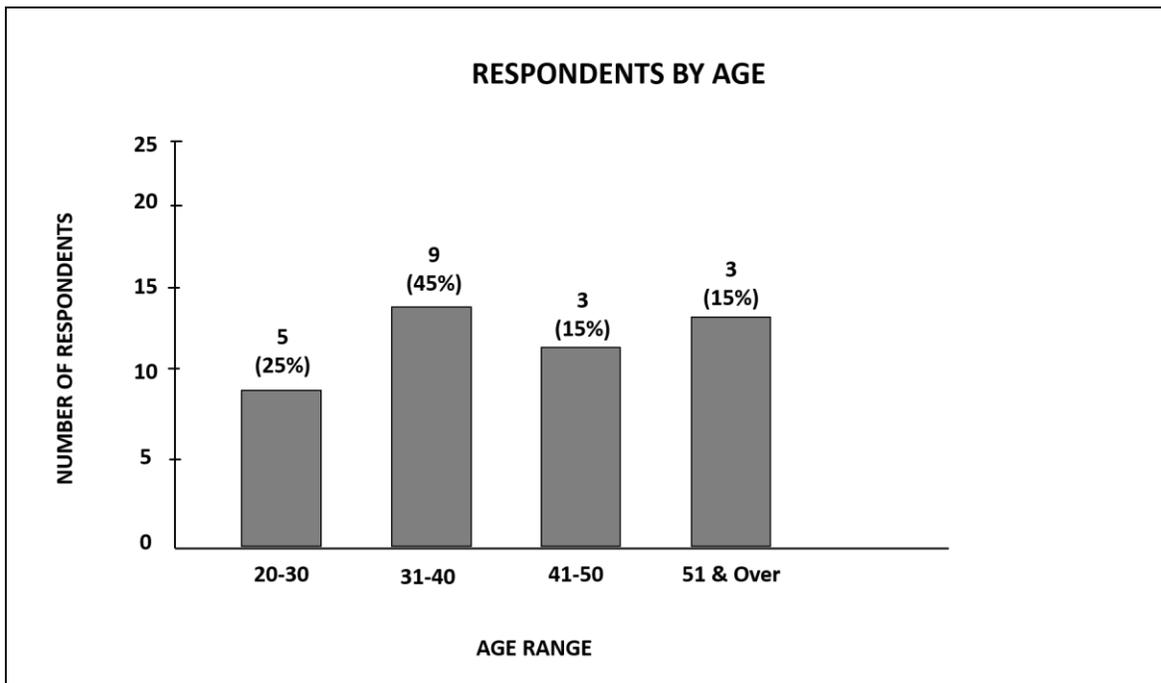
There were 7 (35%) women and 13 (65%) men who took part in the study. This could be an indication that these organizations were yet to improve gender parity in terms of leadership positions, though they had managed to achieve the minimum threshold of 30% suggested in the National Gender Policy.

*Figure 1 Respondents by Gender*

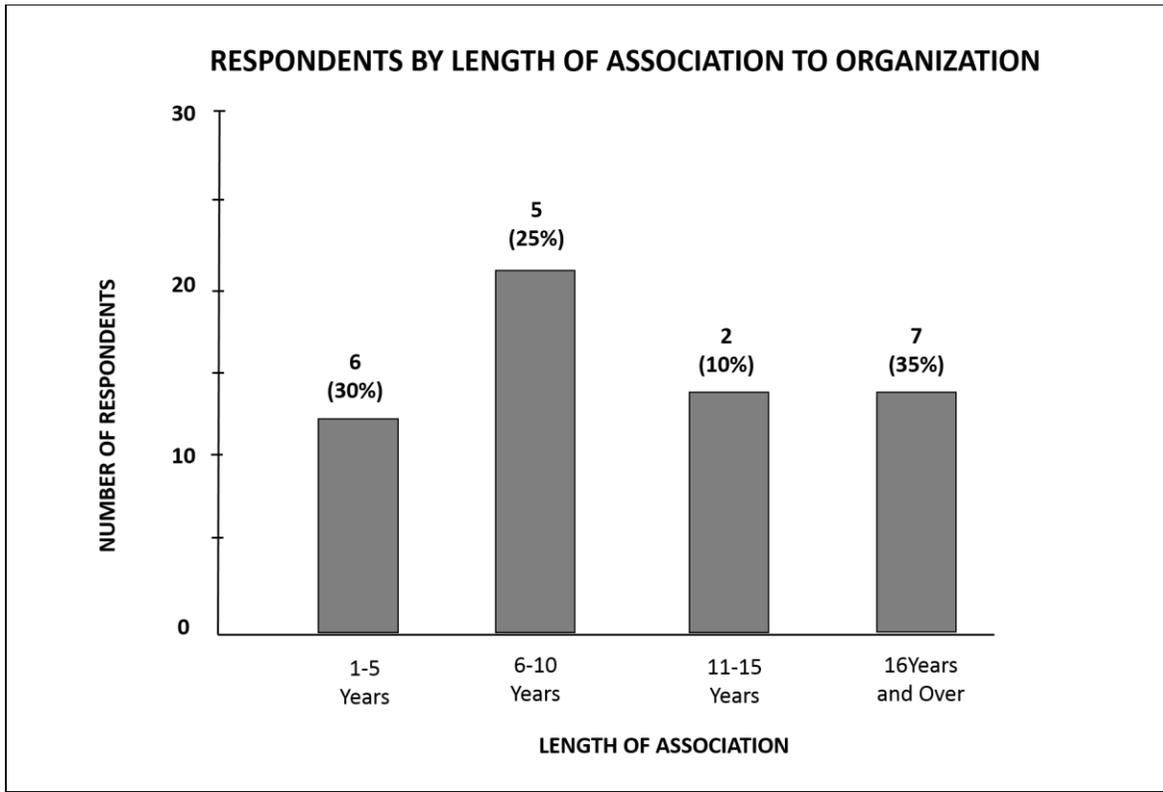


Of the 20 respondents, 5 (25%) were aged between 20 and 30 years, 9 (45%) were aged between 31 and 40 years, 3 (15%) were aged between 41 and 50 years, and 3 (15%) were aged 51 years and over. Of the 20 respondents 6 (30%) had served respective organizations for 1 to 5 years, 5 (25%) has been there for 6 to 10 years, 2 had served between 11 and 15 years, and 7 (35%) had served 16 years and over. This showed that the majority of the respondents (75%) were mature enough and experienced persons to understand the phenomenon being investigated.

**Figure 2 Respondents by Age**



**Figure 3**      *Respondents by Association with Organization*



### **4.3 Causes of inter-party conflicts between PF and UPND**

The researcher asked the participants using semi structured interviews to share their views on the causes of inter-party conflicts between PF and UPND. The issue on the causes of inter-party conflicts between PF and UPND resulted into a diversity of responses such as selective application of the law, PF party cadres are always in charge and above the law and fault finding by the ruling party. The politicians want to be in control forever and hence want to displace each other. They want to hang on to power for ever and don't desire to facilitate free and fair elections. Therefore, all the participants' views on the causes of inter-party conflicts between PF and UPND was linked to unruliness of the politicians especially the ruling party. Therefore, the overarching theme which emerged from the participants' views is the unruliness of the politicians especially the PF.

#### **4.3.1 Unruliness**

The respondents observed that unruliness was the root cause of inter-party conflicts between PF and UPND. The cadres had become very unruly such that it was difficult to control them either from the PF or UPND and as such conflicts often erupted between the two parties.

#### **4.3.2 Respondent one: UPND**

*The causes of inter-party conflicts between PF and UPND concerns a number of things such as selective application of the law by of the law Police brutality and bias the PF government and PF party cadres are always in charge of all things and above the law. Mismanagement of the electoral process and late announcement of election results. Additionally, political violence and legal restrictions which heavily favors the ruling PF, thus making the political level playing field extremely uneven for other political parties.*

#### **4.3.3 Respondent one: Civil society groups**

*Political jealous as each one of them want to benefit for his or her own self only. Scared of corruption charges those in government amass wealth through corruption greediness failure to have accurate information. The other thing is innuendos and fake propaganda verbal conflict, insults defamation, tribalism regional conflict on each other. There is also selective application of the law for instance if the opposition commits same crime as those in power it will be dealt differently ideologies.*

#### **4.3.4 Respondent one: Churches**

*The cause of conflict between PF and UPND is greediness and unruliness because the PF want to stay in power for ever while UPND want to come in power as well. Additionally, these parties fail to discipline their members for fear of losing support from their respective member”.*

#### **4.3.5 Respondent one: PF**

*The cause of conflict between PF and UPND is refusal by the UPND to recognize the party in power in this case the PF. The UPND is very tribal and uses hate speech and they feel they are above the law. The UPND want to enjoy the same powers as the ruling party as they don't want*

*to concede defeat. The other thing is hypocritical in the sense that they want to get sympathy from the Zambians.*

#### **4.4 The nature of inter-party conflicts between PF and UPND between 2015 and 2016**

In order to confirm the nature of inter-party conflicts between PF and UPND, the researcher needed to know the views of the participants on this matter. The researcher therefore deemed it necessary to elicit the views of the participants on nature of inter-party conflicts between PF and UPND. The overarching themes originating from the data analysis concerning the matter at hand were that:

- (a) Selective application of the law.
- (b) Patronage politics.

The two themes are critically examined below.

##### **4.4.1 Selective application of the law**

###### **4.4.1.1 Respondent two: UPND**

*If the opposition commits same crime as those in power it will be dealt differently, uncalled for detentions for any one seen not supporting the Patriotic front. Abuse of the public order act, lawlessness is the major cause of conflict, the ruling party acts with impunity. Those who belong to the ruling party when they break the law are shielded and those who belong to the opposition are punished.*

###### **4.4.1.2 Respondent two: PF**

*Problem with the opposition is that they also want to behave as if they are ruling the country and be accorded the same privilege with the ruling party. That cannot happen because we are not equal with them. This means that privileges cannot be the same with them.* Response from a PF member through focus group discussion.

###### **4.4.1.3 Respondent two: Churches**

*Many as the times that the opposition feel like they are sidelined by the party in power. You will find that the same offence, members of the ruling party will be forgiven but members of the*

*opposition parties will be death accordingly. There is no fair application of the law and this results conflict among the parties.*

#### **4.4.1.4 Respondent two: Civil Society**

*There is no equality before the law. The members of the ruling party are favoured even if they commit the crime and those from the opposition are oppressed. if the opposition commits same crime as those in power it will be dealt differently, uncalled for detentions for any one seen not supporting the Patriotic front. Abuse of the public order act, lawlessness is the major cause of conflict, the ruling party acts with impunity. PF party cadres are always in charge and above the law. Political violence increasingly elevated by media coverage, police bias, and legal restrictions which heavily favors the ruling PF, thus making the political level playing field extremely uneven for other political parties.*

#### **4.4.2 Patronage politics**

##### **4.4.2.1 Respondent three: UPND**

*If you are not affiliated to the ruling party in this case PF, no business or employment opportunities will be given to you. This makes our UPND members upset and leads to conflict between the PF and UPND. You will only receive favors when they see that you are supporting the ruling party.*

##### **4.4.2.2 Respondent three: PF**

*The people from the UPND are a problem. They want to benefit from the PF party but they don't want to follow what the party tells them to. They is no way that as ruling can help them not until they submit to us. Because they don't to respect PF party they in turn start attacking us and as PF we also defend ourselves and this has led to conflicts between these two parties.*

##### **4.4.2.3 Respondent three: Church**

*The problem is that there is Political jealous- each one of them wants to eat from the national cake, they are all in for the money not to save people, want opportunities such as having contracts especially those from investors. Contracts are only awarded t party members.*

#### **4.4.2.4 Respondent three: Civil Society**

*There is a tendency that the party in power have introduced. If one is not a patron of the party in power no good thing will come in your way. They will frustrate everything that the opposition members are doing. If you have to be given a favour as opposition, one must be ready to pay something that is either cash or in kind. Now because the opposition members are not happy about this tendency, they react negatively and as a result there is a conflict between the PF and the UPND.*

#### **4.5 Factors that lead to non-adherence to third party led conflict resolutions by both parties**

It was also deemed necessary, for the purposes of the study, to elicit participants' views on factors that lead to non-adherence to third party led conflict resolutions by both parties. Therefore, regarding the matter at hand, the overarching theme which emerged from the participants' views is that Zambians don't want the extension of presidential term limits because the political space is already polarized were the ruling polity yields enormous power to manipulate the electrical process as this would keep them in power perpetually. This theme included three sub-categories which were (a) Nonuse of our own third party to resolve conflicts (b) Non adherence to the constitution. A critical examination of the three sub-categories is what follows below.

#### **4.5.1 Non use of our local third party to resolve conflicts**

##### **4.5.1.1 Respondent five: UPND**

*The idea of inviting outsiders to solve our own problems here is what results in non-adherence to the outcome of the conflict resolutions. After more than fifty years of independence, Zambians are mature enough to deal with their problems amicably.*

##### **4.5.1.2 Respondent five: PF**

*Usually, the third party led groups are always against the PF and as such we don't reach amicable resolutions. Instead of looking at the problem the third party groups blames the PF. This has led to a lot of conflicts between the two parties.*

#### **4.5.1.3 Respondent five: The Church**

*There is no need to invite foreign nationals who have also problems in their countries to solve our problems here. We are competent enough to deal with our local problems here. Therefore, political parties should have confidence in experts engaged to sort out conflicts. As such parties should be well informed on the role of the church and other civil societies in conflict management. As long as there is no confidence in third party, there will always be no peace among the political parties especially with the ruling party.*

#### **4.5.1.4 Respondent five: Civil Society**

*“is no way that a country which has failed to solve their political problems in their own country can come here in Zambia and sort out our political problem correctly. Political parties don’t have confidence in the people who come from outside and as such there is non adherence. Zambia has got competent organizations to sort out conflicts in a way that all the grieved parties we be satisfied.*

### **4.5.2 Non adherence to the constitution**

#### **4.5.2.1 Respondent six: UPND**

*Factors that lead to non-adherence to third party led conflict resolutions by both parties is that members chosen from the third party sometimes do not to properly adhere to the constitution and what is required so as to allow the rule of law take its course.*

#### **4.5.2.1.2 Respondent six: PF**

*Enhancing the rule of law and independence of the three arms of government where confidence should be built and their politics can be enhanced and all these issues can be enhanced.*

#### **4.5.2.1.3 Respondent six: The Church**

*Non-adherence to third party led conflict resolutions by both parties is as the results if not having confidence in the people called for conflict resolutions and their non-Adherence to the constitution which gives the guidance on how things should be conducted.*

#### **4.5.2.1.4 Respondent six: Civil Society**

*The reasons that lead to non-adherence to third party led conflict resolutions by both parties is that usually the third party may be bias in handling such matters. This results in political parties not having confidence in the outcome of the meetings and lead to more conflicts instead.*

#### **4.6 Summary of chapter four**

This section presented and analysed findings from semi-structured interviews with the participants. A number of themes emerged from the data analysis. All the themes helped to explain causes of inter-party conflicts between PF and UPND.

It can therefore be observed that causes of inter-party conflicts between PF and UPND. The study revealed that the causes of inter-party conflicts between PF and UPND was due to unruly by the ruling party. PF party cadres were always in charge and above the law. All the participants' views on the causes of inter-party conflicts between PF and UPND were linked to unruliness of the politicians. All the participants' views on the causes of inter-party conflicts between PF and UPND were linked to unruliness of the politicians.

The findings further revealed that examine the nature of inter-party conflicts between PF and UPND between 2015 and 2016 was a result of selective application of the law, patronage politics. The UPND advocates for the rule of the law which is not demonstrated by the ruling party. The study has also revealed that factors that lead to non-adherence to third party led conflict resolutions by both parties included such things as non use of local third party to resolve political conflicts and non-adherence to the constitution of Zambia which resulted non-adherence to third party led conflict.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter discusses the findings of the study on the causes of political conflicts between Patriotic Front and United Party for National Development between 2015 and 2019 in Zambia. The chapter is divided into the following sections namely; the causes of inter-party conflicts between PF and UPND, the nature of inter-party conflicts between PF and UPND between 2015 and 2016 and the factors that lead to non-adherence to third party led conflict resolutions by both parties. In discussing the findings, the chapter draws upon other studies and what was observed from this study.

#### **5.2 The Causes of Inter-Party Conflicts between PF and UPND**

The first objective was to establish the causes of inter-party conflicts between PF and UPND from 2015 to 2019 in Zambia. The study through the semi structured interview guide revealed that the participants were of the view that the causes of inter-party conflicts between PF and UPND was triggered by selective application of the law as PF party cadres are always in charge and above the law and fault finding by the ruling party and are in control hence want to displace each other. The politicians from the PF want to be in control forever and hence want to displace each other. They want to hang on to power for ever and don't desire to facilitate free and fair elections. Therefore, all the participants' views on the causes of inter-party conflicts between PF and UPND was linked to unruliness of the politicians especially the ruling party.

These findings are similar to a study by Omodia (2010) in Nigeria where it was discovered that causes of inter party conflicts was linked to unruliness of the politicians especially the ruling party when attempted to hold on to power. Furthermore, in an attempt to hang on to power, parties often create a regime of violence, conflict, political thugs, hooligans and scavengers to sing their praise, intimidate and kill opposing political parties member if they become intransigent. Therefore, it can be observed that when the ruling party attempts to hold on to power by suppressing the opposition political parties, they will always be conflicts as observed from the PF and UPND. The opposition

UPND feels that the PF party is unruly and has suppressed them and as such they reacted which was the root of cause of conflicts between these two parties.

### **5.3 The nature of inter-party conflicts between PF and UPND between 2015 and 2016**

The second objective of the study was to determine nature of inter-party conflicts between PF and UPND between 2015 and 2016. The study revealed that the nature of inter-party conflicts between PF and UPND between 2015 and 2016 was that of selective application of the law and patronage politics. Opposition members were provoked by the PF carrying pangas, machetes and axes who disrupted their youth meeting in the area according to the UPND. Furthermore, if cadres from either political party did not retaliate they were seen as weak from their top leaders and hence the retaliation. These findings are similar to a study Mukunto (2019) on the relationship between 'Electoral Violence and young party cadres in Zambia. The study revealed that UPND cadres attacked PF offices when opposition members were provoked by the PF carrying pangas, machetes and axes who disrupted their youth meeting in the area according to the UPND.

#### **5.3.1 Selective application of the law**

It was revealed that there was no equality between the members of the Patriotic Front and the United Party for National Development before the law. The members of the ruling party were favored even if they committed a crime and those from the opposition were oppressed. If the members of the opposition committed same crime as those in power it was dealt differently. Furthermore, there were unnecessary detentions for any one seen not supporting the Patriotic front. Abuse of the public order act, lawlessness was the major cause of conflict. PF party cadres were always in charge and above the law. These findings are similar to a study by Cohen (2006) where it was revealed that inter-parties conflict creates insecurity of life and properties on democracy. Many people have died, while some have lost valuable properties in the course of political violence arising from various inter-parties and other crises across the country. Fundamental human right will always be denied, right to freedom was definitely eroded.

Therefore, when the law is not applied equally among political players there is always a likelihood of conflict. The aggrieved party will try to defend itself. Usually the opposition are detained without proper cause and sometimes even physically brutalized.

### **5.3.2 Patronage politics**

The study also revealed that there was a tendency that the party in power introduced a system whereby if one is not a patron of the party in power no favour thing will come through for such a one. The ruling party members frustrated everything that the opposition members were doing. If one has to be given a favour as opposition, one must be ready to resign from the opposition and join the ruling. Therefore, because the opposition members were not happy about this tendency, they reacted negatively and as a result there was conflict between the PF and the UPND.

### **5.4 Factors leading to non-adherence to third party led conflict resolutions by both parties**

The last objective of the study was to determine the factors that lead to non-adherence to third party led conflict resolutions by both parties. It was observed from the study regarding the matter at hand, that factors that lead to non-adherence to third party led conflict resolutions by both parties was the biasness of the third party invited to resolve the conflicts.

These findings are similar to a study by Cohen (2006) where it was revealed that efforts in African conflicts in the last two or three decades of the 20th century brings out main trends in regard to the main actors or agencies and the intervention approaches involved. The main actors intervening in African conflicts were almost entirely from outside of Africa. These were individuals, countries, groups of countries, institutions and organisations. Furthermore, until 1993 Africa was almost totally dependent on outside entities for conflict management. Some of these outside entities or actors included former colonial masters, international organisations and foreign powers like the United Nations, the European Community, and the United States of America; as well as regional efforts like the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in West Africa, the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) in East Africa, and a number of non-governmental actors such as former Presidents. The second strong idea that emerges from intervention literature is the increasing emphasis on conflict management rather than resolution as the intervention approach in Africa.

#### **5.4.1 Non use of our own third party to resolve conflicts**

The findings revealed that there was no need to invite foreign nationals who have also political challenges in their own countries to solve our problems here. Further, Zambia was competent enough to deal with our local problems here. Therefore, political parties should have confidence in experts from within the country engaged to sort out conflicts. As such parties should be well informed on the role of the church and other civil societies in conflict management. As long as there is no confidence in our own third party, political conflicts will never end.

#### **5.4.2 Non adherence to the constitution**

The study revealed that the reasons that lead to non-adherence to third party led conflict resolutions by both parties is that usually the third party may be bias and not base the decision on the constitution of the land in handling such matters. This results in political parties not having confidence in the outcome of the meetings and lead to more conflicts instead.

### **5.5 Summary**

Chapter five has looked at the discussions and interpretations of the study on the causes of political conflicts between Patriotic Front (PF) and United Party for National Development (UPND) -2015 to 2019. Furthermore, the study has revealed that the causes of inter-party conflicts between PF and UPND was triggered by selective application of the law as PF party cadres are always in charge and above the law and fault finding by the ruling party and are in control hence want to displace each other. The politicians from the PF want to be in control forever and hence want to displace each other. They want to hang on to power for ever and don't desire to facilitate free and fair elections. Therefore, all the participants' views on the causes of inter-party conflicts between PF and UPND was linked to unruliness of the politicians especially the ruling party.

The study has also revealed that the nature of inter-party conflicts between PF and UPND between 2015 and 2016 was that opposition members were provoked by the PF carrying pangas, machetes and axes who disrupted their youth meeting in the area according to the UPND. Furthermore, if cadres from either political party did not retaliate they were seen as weak from their top leaders

and hence the retaliation. Furthermore, for an opposition member to consider for some favours from the ruling party, one must resign from the opposition party and join the ruling party. The study further observed that that factors that lead to non-adherence to third party led conflict resolutions by both parties was because the third party was invited from outside the country and usually were bias of resolving the conflicts between the PF and UPND

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **6.1 Introduction**

The purpose of this study was to investigate the causes of political conflicts between Patriotic Front PF and UPND from 2015 to 2019 in Zambia. The study therefore, intended to fill the gap by finding out; the causes of conflicts between the two parties, the nature of inter-party conflicts between them, and the factors that led to non-adherence to third party led conflict resolutions by both parties.

#### **6.2 Conclusion**

The study has revealed that the causes of inter-party conflicts between PF and UPND was triggered by selective application of the law as PF party cadres are always in charge and above the law and fault finding by the ruling party and are in control hence want to displace each other. The politicians from the PF want to be in control forever and hence want to displace each other. They want to hang on to power for ever and don't desire to facilitate free and fair elections. Therefore, all the participants' views on the causes of inter-party conflicts between PF and UPND was linked to unruliness of the politicians especially the ruling party.

The study has also revealed that the nature of inter-party conflicts between PF and UPND between 2015 and 2016 was that of selective application of the law and patronage politics. Opposition members were provoked by the PF carrying pangas, machetes and axes who disrupted their youth meeting in the area according to the UPND. Furthermore, if cadres from either political party did not retaliate they were seen as weak from their top leaders and hence the retaliation. Furthermore, for an opposition member to consider for some favours from the ruling party, one must resign from the opposition party and join the ruling party.

The study further observed that that factors that lead to non-adherence to third party led conflict resolutions by both parties was because the third party was invited from outside the country and usually were bias of resolving the conflicts between the PF and UPND. This implies that political

party feel comfortable when the conflicts between them are managed by an organization from within the country.

### **6.3 Recommendations**

- Political parties especially the party in power should see to that observe the rule of law and not to be unruly.
- The party in power should not be selective in applying the law. All people should be treated equally regardless of one's political affiliation.
- In case of conflict resolutions, it's appropriate that local organizations capable of managing conflicts are invited rather than relying on foreign organizations or individuals. Parties feel comfortable when their conflicts are handled by their local third party who may be familiar with their conflicts,

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix I INTERVIEW GUIDE

TOPIC: Causes of Political Conflicts between Patriotic Front (PF) and United Party for National Development (UPND) -2015 To 2019

Dear participant,

I am a researcher from the University of Zambia and conducting a research on the topic mentioned above. You have been selected to be among the participants in this study. Please endeavour to answer the questions as openly as possible. All the information will be treated with utmost confidentiality. The research is purely for academic purposes.

#### INSTRUCTIONS

1. Please, each answer will be treated with utmost confidentiality
2. Do NOT indicate anything that will identify you, (e.g. name, or NRC).

Thanking you in anticipation of your co-operation.

#### SECTION A: Personal Data

##### 1. Sex

- i. Male [ ]
- ii. Female [ ]

3. Your Age: .....years
4. Number of years at the organization.....years

#### SECTION B: The Church Mother Bodies

1. What is the role of the church in resolving conflicts?
2. What are the causes of inter-party conflicts in the patriotic front (PF) and the united party for national Development?

3. What has been the nature of inter-party conflicts between PF and UPND between 2015 and 2016?
4. What factors have led to non-adherence of third party led conflict resolutions by both political parties?
5. What should be done to ensure that there is adherence to this cause?

### **SECTION C: Civil society**

1. What is the Role of the civil society in conflict resolution?
2. What are the causes of inter-party conflicts in the patriotic front (PF) and the united party for National Development?
3. What has been the nature of inter-party conflicts between PF and UPND between 2015 and 2016
4. What factors have led to non-adherence of third party led conflict resolutions by both political parties?
5. Have you done enough as the civil society in resolving conflict between the two political parties?

### **SECTION D: Political parties**

1. What are the causes of inter-party conflicts in the patriotic front (PF) and the united party for National Development?
2. What has been the nature of inter-party conflicts between PF and UPND between 2015 and 2016
3. What factors have led to non-adherence of third party led conflict resolutions by both political parties?

### **SECTION E: National Party Youth Chairpersons**

1. What is the role of the National youth Chairpersons in conflict Resolution?
2. What are the causes of inter-party conflicts in the patriotic front (PF) and the united party for national Development?
3. What has been the nature of inter-party conflicts between PF and UPND between 2015 and 2016?

4. What factors have led to non-adherence of third party led conflict resolutions by both political parties?
5. Mostly youths are used as tools of violence are you doing enough to ensure that they don't engage themselves in violent behavior?

ENDS...../