AN ANALYSIS OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE ROLES OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS IN PEACE BUILDING IN ZAMBIA: A CASE OF CHURCH MOTHER BODIES IN ZAMBIA

BY

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A Dissertation Submitted to the University of Zambia in collaboration with The Zimbabwe Open University in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Award of the Degree of Master of Science in Peace, Leadership and Conflict Resolution.

The University of Zambia

LUSAKA

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DECLARATION

I, Nsofwa Bwalya Gabriel do solemnly declare that this dissertation is a product of my own work and those sources of information other than my own have been acknowledged in the references. I further declare that this work has never been previously submitted at The University of Zambia or any other University.

Signed: ………………..

Date:

CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

This dissertation of Nsofwa Bwalya Gabriel has been approved as fulfilling the requirements for the award of the Degree of Master of Science in Peace, Leadership and Conflict Resolution by the University of Zambia in collaboration with The Zimbabwe Open University.

Examiner:

Signature ……………………………….

Abstract

This study analysed the effectiveness of the roles of civil society organisations in peace building in Zambia. The objectives of this study were to, evaluate the efficacy of the roles of civil society organizations in peace building, investigate the extent to which civil society organisations engage youths and political players in peace building activities, assess people's perceptions on the roles of civil society organisations and to determine the challenges that civil society organisations face in peace building in the Republic of Zambia. Both questionnaires and interview guides were used to collect information from the respondents. Questionnaires were used to collect information from students in three selected higher learning institutions and bus drivers as well as marketers. Qualitative and quantitative methods were used to analyse the findings. Quantitative method was used to present the findings collected using questionnaires while qualitative method was used to analyse the findings collected using interviews and focus group discussions.

This study revealed that the three church mother bodies play various roles in peace building in Zambia. These roles include acting as inter-mediation and facilitation, advocates for citizens' human rights and promote inter-group social cohesion in peace building process. This study also revealed that the majority people in Zambia were not involved in peace building. The study also revealed that the majority political leaders were not showing interest of working together with the three church mother bodies in peace building in the country. It was also revealed in this study that civil society organisations face different challenges in promoting peace in the country which included, being perceived as political partisan associations, lack of willingness by political leaders to work with Civil Society Organisations (CSO) in peace building programmes and financial challenges in Zambia.

Dedication

This research is dedicated to the following people whom God sovereignly brought into my life:

Tricia Sally, Hosanna Gabriel, Eirene Beraka, Petrus Mattan, my beloved and amazing children. You are so wonderful and precious to me. Before you were born, God planned this moment in your life. God longs for you to discover the life He created you to live - here on earth, and forever in eternity. My beloved children, it is in Christ that we find out who we are and what we are living for. Long before we first heard of Christ, He had His eyes on us, had designs on us for glorious living, part of the overall purpose He is working out in everything and everyone. I love you so much and may you always enjoy experiencing God the way your parents have. May God protect and bless you according to His riches in glory in Christ Jesus.

Acknowledgements

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ACRONYMS AND ABREVIATIONS

The acronyms and abbreviations below stand for each of the following:

CMB   Church Mother Bodies

CSO   Civil Society Organisations

MWS   Mwenzo Welfare Society

SWW   Second World War

ANC   Africa National Congress

MMD   Movement for Multiparty Democracy

IMF   International Monetary Fund

SAP   Structural Adjustment Programme

NGOs   Non-Governmental Organisations

UPND   United Party for National Development

ONUC   Operation des Nations Unies au Congo

UN   United Nations

SALW   Small Arms and Light Weapons

WANEP   West African Network for Peace building

TRC   Truth and Reconciliation Commission

ACFODE   Action for Development

NARC	National Rainbow Coalition
FAS	African Societies
ZCTU	Zambia Congress of Trade Unions
ZEC	Zambia Episcopal Conference
EFZ	Evangelical Fellowship in Zambia
LAZ	Law Association of Zambia
UNIP	United National Independence Party
UNZASU	University of Zambia Students' Union
UNZA	University of Zambia
CSUZ	Civil Servants Union of Zambia
SB	Socialist Block
EAZ	Economic Association of Zambia

1.0 Overview

The history of Civil Society Organisations (CSO) in Zambia can be traced as far back as colonial period. It has been historically documented that the CSO to be established in Zambia formally known as Northern Rhodesia, was Mwenzo Welfare Society (MWS) in 1912 by Donad Siwale and David Kaunda (the father of the first Republican President of Zambia). The whole idea behind the formation of this organisation was to bring African views to the attention of the government in this case the colonial government. The Mwenzo Welfare Society was regarded as a mouth piece or mediator between the government and Zambians. This is an indication that the rationale behind the formation of this CSO was based on promoting rapport towards peace building between the government and the people of Northern Rhodesia which is now Zambia. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to examine the effectiveness of the roles of civil society organizations in peace building in Zambia.

This chapter has been divided into different components, which include: background of the study, statement of the problem, purpose of the study, objectives and research questions of the study. This chapter will also present the significance of the study, limitations of the study, Organisation of the dissertation and finally, definitions of the concepts.

1.1 Background of the Study

There is a growing tradition of civil society activism in Zambia. However, the effectiveness of the roles of these civil society organizations in contributing to peace building process in the country relations remains unclear, despite the existence of many organizations concerned with issues such as human rights, election monitoring, women's rights, and peace or policy advocacy. In as much as it can be acknowledged that there have been various roles that civil society organisations have been engaged on to promote peace in the country, political violence and politics of regionalism and tribalism in Zambia appear to be escalating every day. Civil society organisations such as the Church Mother Bodies (CMB), have to be given credit for their efforts of preaching peace and embrace dialogue to settle or solve the confusions among political

leaders and their followers. Despite all the concerted efforts by a consortium of CSOs and CMBs these efforts seem to be in vain (Bartlett, 2000).

It is therefore, important to indicate in this study that the roles of civil society organisations in Zambia have been important since colonial periods as already acknowledged in the preamble of this chapter. However, the active roles of civil society organisation in Zambia can be traced back in the aftermath of the Second World War (SWW). In early 1950s, it has been historically documented that various civil society organizations emerged in the country to make sure that the owners of land (Zambians) enjoyed full peace and the rights they deserved. Among the most prominent civil society organisations that emerged during that time were nationalist political parties, Church organizations and trade unions. For example, among the most influential church organizations that emerged during that time was ''Lumpa Church formed in 1952 by the controversial woman who came to be popular known as Alice Leshina Mulenga in Chisali District of what is today known as Muchinga Province of Zambia. On the other hand, the most influential nationalist party was Africa National Congress (ANC) headed by Harry Mwanga Nkumbula. Mumba (2010) actually acknowledges that all these were evidences enough on the importance of the roles of civil society organizations in the country.

Precisely, after the attainment of independence in 1964, Zambia became under multiparty participatory democracy which gave many political parties and many other civil society organisations chance to participate freely in political arena in the First Republic. However, in 1973 the country was turned into one-part state under the leadership of Kaunda's UNIP in the Second Republic. Scholars observe that during that time the roles of civil society organizations in the country became dormant due to the fear of authoritarian threats from the government. However, despite the authoritarian rule in the country during the Second Republic, it has been documented that civil society organisations never stopped to play their roles. For example, the Lumpa Church and opposition political parties were active in provision of checks and balances, speaking for the poor Zambians, urging the government to stick to the song of peace in the country (Fiedler-Conradi, 2003).

Though Kaunda condemned human exploitation and laid the foundation of Zambian humanism to promote central planning, preservation of traditional African values like trust, loyalty to the communists and mutual aid, strong education system and affirmative action for the poor, he

largely remained inclined towards authoritarian tendencies. He relied on repression, although opposition was tolerated within the party as well as from the non-governmental platforms. Kaunda firmly entrenched the presidential system with vats presidential powers. He never abolished the state of emergency which had been promulgated during the rising of the Lumpa sect in 1964. During the whole of his rule, parliament remained at best a platform to let off steam and at worst an inert mass (Erdmann and Simutanyi, 2003).

In 1990, following heightening social and political tensions that compromised Kaunda's legitimacy, different groups, including the intelligentsia, business, workers and churches, came together to mount pressure for the reintroduction of a multi-party system. Kaunda eventually gave in to demands for an early election in 1991, which he lost to the former trade unionist Fredrick Chiluba (Sichone 1996).

During his election campaign Chiluba promised to remove all constitutional barriers preventing citizens from realizing their full civil and political liberties and to provide a more conducive environment for their full participation in the governance of the country (Fiedler-Conradi, 2003; Ihonvbere, 1996; Donge, 1995 and Chanda, 1995). However, with the coming of MMD government, the transition resulted in contradictory developments within civil society (Erdmann and Simutanyi, 2003). On one hand, the transition saw a decline in the political visibility of civil society and on the other hand, it resulted in the formation of hundreds of new organisations. The explanation for the decline in political visibility of civil society is that, with the change of government from a one party state to multi-party state, civil society actors had achieved their main aim. Most civic groups initially identified themselves with the MMD government and felt that it was 'their' government.

Other new CSOs that came into existence were formed to cope with the shortfall in government services, especially in the aftermath of the IMF and the World Bank sponsored Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) that Chiluba reinstated (Erdmann and Simutanyi, 2003). The Registrar of Societies, the government agency responsible for registering CSOs, had recorded over 1,000 new members by 1996 and the number exceeded 10,000 by 2003, besides countless informal CSOs in rural areas (Fiedler-Conradi, 2003).

Some new advocacy NGOs took a more focused interest in human rights, civic education, election monitoring and other specific concerns such as fighting poverty and addressing gender

issues, among others with regard to government-civil society relations. Fiedler-Conradi (2003:18) argues that Chiluba proved little different from his predecessor. Noting similarities between Chiluba's MMD and Kaunda's UNIP, for example Rakner (2003) argues that "the MMD had reinstated the one party system in almost all ways other than the name." As Bartlett (2000: 431) writes, "older political logics do not disappear just because authoritarian regimes are challenged by resurgent societies rent-seeking and clientelism may actually be re-enforced under newly democratic regimes."

In the Mwanawasa era, more and more CSOs were formed. According to Fiedler -Conradi (2003) there were about 10,000 organizations registered by the Registrar of Societies in March 2003. However, the relationship between Mwanawasa's administration and civil society was hostile. Problems started with Mwanawasa's victory in 2001, which was marred by suspicions of rigging elections (MS Zambia, 2003). According to Mumba (2010) when Mwanawasa staged a zero-tolerance crusade against corruption, targeting senior civil servants as well as Chiluba and his allies, many saw the campaign as highly selective because only few people were convicted, and some sections of civil society dismissed it as an exercise in self-legitimisation.

However, based on what has been recently observed by the researcher of this study, it is important to state that the current and future peace ethics of this country, squarely entrenched on the active roles played by civil society organisations. There are various roles that can be acknowledged in this study that civil society organisations have been engaged on to promote peace in the country. For example in 2016, prior to 11th August general election, the Church Mother Body of Zambia organized by Catholic priests and other Church pastors around the country called for Indaba where all political party leaders in Zambia were invited to meet at the Anglican Cathedral in Lusaka. The agenda of this Indaba was about embracing peaceful politics in Zambia, urging all political leaders to desist from practicing political violence. Among the major discussed issues involved were: political party cadres to stop wearing military regalia, public Medias to be impartial on the way of reporting national matters and opposition political parties to be granted freedom of assembly.

On the other hand, on 11th April 2017, the opposition political party leader of United Party for National Development (UPND) Mr. Hakainde Hichilema was incarcerated with treason charge,

claiming that, he (Hichilema) blocked the presidential motorcade in Western province during Kuomboka Ceremony of Lozi people. Mr. Hakainde Hichilema was incarcerated for one hundred and twenty seven (127) days. However, it was observed by civil society organisations that the incarceration of Mr. Hichilema was alarming to national security. Hence, this left the concerned civil society organisations such as Church Body of Zambia with no option but to embark on promoting dialogue between the two political leaders (Mr. Haikaine Hichilema opposition political party leader and Mr. Edgar Chagwa Lungu the serving president of Zambia). Therefore, it became clear that the release of Mr. Hakainde Hichilema after one hundred and twenty seven (127) days in prison was made possible by the efforts engaged by civil society organizations more especially the Church Board of Zambia, Common Welfare Organisation, as well as other opposition political party leaders from both inside and outside Zambia.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

It is instructive to note that CSO have been engaged in peace building and other related activities in Zambia for a long time now. However, peace in the country remains at the bottom of the peace index. This is in line with Lederach (1997), a sociologist who argued along the same lines, proposed a grassroots approach where local leaders, NGOs and international players take part in creating peace. He also emphasized the importance of building relationships among the involved parties, thus encompassing the psychological, spiritual, social, economic and political aspects of a community. He finally indicated that the peace of any country squarely lies on the efficacy of the efforts of civil society organisations.

Despite having various civil society organisations, Zambia has been affected by decades of civil unrest that has led to a complete breakdown of some state institutions and the rule of law. However, it is imperative here to state that roles of the civil society organisations in Zambia have been indispensable. Civil society organisations ensure that public institutions are fully functional, infrastructures are rebuilt and sustainable peace prevails throughout the country. However, there have been questions on the efficacy of the CSOs' initiatives in peace building in this country. This study sought to answer these questions by interrogating the role of CSOs in peace building which includes an essential part of the proper functioning of the state, helping to initiate, promote, and strengthen comprehensive and objective dialogue between the government and the people of Zambia.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to analyse the effectiveness of the roles of civil society organisations in peace building in Zambia.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The objectives of this study were to:

1. Evaluate the efficacy of the roles of civil society organisations in peace building in Zambia.

2. Investigate the extent to which civil society organisations engage youths and political players in peace building activities in Zambia.

3. Assess people's perceptions on the roles of civil society organisations in peace building in Zambia.

4. Determine the challenges that civil society organisations face in their quest to promote peace building in Zambia

1.5. Research question

The research questions of this study included:

1. Is there efficacy in the roles of civil society organisations in peace building in Zambia?

2. To what extent do civil society organisations engage youths and political players in peace building activities in Zambia?

3. What are the perceptions of people towards the roles of civil society organisations in peace building in Zambia?

4. What are the challenges that civil society organisations face in their quest to promote peace building in Zambia?

1.6 Significance of the Study

The significance of this study was to help political players to engage in politics that would help to build this nation for the benefit of future generation. This study will help both politicians and youths of this nation to understand the effects of political violence to peace building in Zambia. The findings of this study will have great impact not only in Zambia but to the world at large. The findings will help various stakeholders to engage in various activities of peace building around the country, such as enlightening political players as well as the public at larger on importance of peace in the country. This simply means that this study will be the key factor on fighting the current prevalence political violence in Zambia.

Most importantly, this study will be a source of reference material for future researchers on peace and conflict topics. This simply means that this study will also help other academicians who will undertake the same field of study. To stakeholders like pressure groups, the study will provide information for suggesting the measures that should be seriously considered to fight the anti-peace factors. However, the major significance of this study is to contribute to the body of knowledge on the effectiveness of the roles of civil society organisations in peace building in Zambia.

1.7 Delimitation of the Study

This report focused on independent civil society initiatives that aim to mitigate conflict and build peace to gain a better understanding of the issues, clarify concepts, and propose a framework of civil society peace building functionalities. Precisely, the study targeted the three Church Mother Bodies of Zambia, students and people in the markets of Lusaka District.

1.8 Limitation of the Study

Limitations are hindrances or problems which a researcher foresees which may impede or be a detriment to the research study. Thus, this study would have yielded better results and would have been more representative if various civil society organisations around the country were to be approached for data collection.

Secondly, the study gathered information from very busy individuals, hence cooperation with them, was a challenge in the sense that at the time of data collection, some of the key

respondents delegated other officers because they had other emerging responsibilities and so were not interviewed.

Financial constraint was another limitation encountered in this study. With the fact that, data collection required a researcher to move from one place to another, a researcher had to prepare enough money for transport, and other requirements which would help to accomplish the goal of this study. However, lack of money made the researcher miss some key informants. However, arrangements were made to reschedule the interviews and discussions.

1.9 Organisation of the Dissertation

Chapter one deals with the background, statement of the problem, purpose of the study, study objectives, research questions, and significance of the study as well as delimitations of the study. Chapter one also contains with the limitations and definition of the concepts contained in this study of the study.

Chapter two provides relevant literature which will be reviewed in an attempt to gain more insight into the study's interest area. This literature was reviewed from a general perspective and narrowed down to the specific perspective of effectiveness of the roles of civil society organisations in peace building in Zambia.

Chapter three is research methodological. This chapter involves research design, study population, sample size, sampling techniques, piloting, data collection procedures and analysis of the research findings. The chapter also discusses ethical consideration.

The fourth Chapter is a response to the research objectives and therefore presents the research findings obtained from all the respondents. Chapter four also presents the research findings as they respond to the research questions.

Thereafter, Chapter five provides the discussion of the research findings using the research objectives as well as research questions. In other words, Chapter five discusses the findings to ascertain the extent to which the set objectives have been attained.

Chapter six draws the conclusion of the whole study, based on the research findings. After the conclusion is drawn, the Chapter ends by providing recommendations of the study to various

relevant stakeholders on the effectiveness of the roles of civil society organisations in peace building in Zambia.

1.10 Conceptual Definitions

Peace

Aron (1966) defines peace as any properly conceived and the tranquility of order, or a morally constituted political order that takes into account both the sinful nature of man as well as his highest moral potential, capacity for truth, justice and love which transcends the requirements of justice. However, for the purpose of this study, peace is a certain quality of existence generally understood to be a lack of conflict and freedom from fear of violence between heterogeneous social groups.

Civil Society Organisation

Civil Society is a very broad concept that entails many different classifications of organisations under it. Larry Diamond (1994) describes civil society as the aggregate of non-governmental organizations and institutions that manifest interests and will of citizens. For the purpose of this study, civil society organisation can be described as the realm of organised social life that is voluntary, self-generating, self-supporting and autonomous from the state, and bound by a legal order or set of shared rules.

Peacebuilding

According to Seiple, (1996), Peacebuilding is a process of strengthening a society's capacity to manage conflict in non-violent ways. In this study Peacebuilding can be defined as a process that facilitates the establishment of durable peace and tries to prevent the recurrence of violence by addressing root causes and effects of conflict through institution building, and political as well as economic transformation.

1.11 Summary

Chapter one has presented various components that will help to analyse the effectiveness of the roles of civil society organisations in peace building in Zambia. The chapter has discussed the background of the study, statement of the problem, purpose of the study, objectives and research

questions of this study. Further, this chapter has also discussed the significance of the study, delimitation and limitations of the study. Finally the chapter has presented the organisation of this dissertation and the definition of the key concepts in this study. The next chapter is literature review.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Overview

Literature review gives the insight on topic under study by considering what other scholars have said or done about the topic under study. Therefore, it can be stated in this study that the assessment of other scholars' views or works on my topic of study were determined by my research objectives already formulated from the first chapter of this study. This chapter has been discussed under the following headings: The meaning of civil society organisations, history of Civil Society and philosophical roots, civil society and peace building, civil society organisations in Africa, Historical overview of civil society Organisation in Zambia, common challenges faced by civil society organisations in Zambia. This chapter also discusses the Theoretical framework of the study as well as presenting the gaps in literature review.

2.1 Meaning of Civil Society Organisation

Civil Society is a very broad concept that entails many different classifications of organisations under it. Larry Diamond (1994) describes civil society as the realm of organised social life that is voluntary, self-generating, self-supporting, and autonomous from the state, and bound by a legal order or set of shared rules. Within this framework falls different non-governmental organisations (international, regional and national), faith based, community based, and other grass-root organisations including cooperatives, neighbourhood associations, and social clubs among others.

However, Kasfir (1998) identifies four principal characteristics that define civil society and these include: the ability to maintain absolute autonomy from both social interests and the state, capacity for collective action and the promotion of the interests and passions of the broader society, it must be devoid of all intentions to seize power and finally, it must be able to act in concord within civil rules through the conveyance of mutual respect.

In terms of classification for civil society organisations, Mackinlay (1996) identifies several criteria that are used by different authors. These include: time (first and second generations), area

of operations (international, multinational, regional and national), political worldview (non-political and political), or religious engagement (religious and secular).

As for categorisation, Robert Putnam (1995) posits two categories of civil society organizations: Civil Society one organisations and Civil Society two organisations. Civil Society one organisations are associations that provide networks of civic engagement within which reciprocity is learned and enforced, trust is generated, and communication and patterns of collective action are facilitated. These organisations include social clubs, cooperatives and cultural associations. They exist for the common good and pose no serious threat to the state. Civil Society two organisations focus on enhancing democracy and curbing authoritarianism and are, usually, a challenge to the state.

However, this study considered the definition of civil society organisations from Zambian context. Therefore, the discussion on the contemporary role of CSOs in this study has used the typology presented by Sewanyana (2009) which is based on the Larry Diamond concept. The typology elucidates several roles or functions that CSOs play. These include, first, to control (with the use of democratic means) the state in exercising its powers, second, to develop democratic norms and attributes such as tolerance, moderation, compromise, and respect for divergent views. A third role is the promotion of democracy through the mobilisation of various groups especially the disadvantaged including women, people living with disabilities and ethnic minorities. The fourth function entails promoting values of diversity. The fifth role is training of political leaders and candidates for political office. The sixth function is to assist in democracy building. Finally, the role of CSOs is to mobilise citizens and other stakeholders against unfair economic policies. In addition to the above roles, the study analysed the effectiveness of the roles of civil society organisations in peace building in Zambia.

2.2 History of Civil Society and Philosophical Roots

The history of civil society and its conceptual debates derive from different roots and by a number of important political philosophers like John Locke (1632), Alexander de Tocqueville

(1805) and Antonio Gramsci (1891). These scholars contributed immensely to the discourse and definitions of civil society. John Locke was first in 'modern' time to state that civil society is a body in its own right, separate from the state. He argued that people form a community which their social life develops and in which the state has no say. Locke referred to the sphere as pre-or-apolitical where the first task of civil society is to protect the individuals' rights and property against the state and its arbitrary interventions (Sriram 2008:56).

On the other hand, Alexander de Tocqueville (1805) stressed even more the role of the independent associations as civil society. He saw these associations as schools for democracy in which democratic thinking, attitudes and behaviour are learned, also with the aim to protect and defend individual rights against potentially authoritarian regimes and tyrannical majorities in society. De Tocqueville also stated that these associations should be built voluntarily and at all levels (local, regional, national). Antonio Gramsci (1891) on the other hand, also focused more on civil society from a Marxist theoretical angle. According to him, civil society contains a wide range of organisations and ideologies, which both challenges and upholds the existing order. The political and cultural hegemony of the ruling classes and societal consensus is formed within civil society. Gramsci's ideas influenced the resistance to totalitarian regimes in Eastern Europe and Latin America (Lewis 2002).

Two broad conclusions can be drawn from this short overview of the fundamental principles of the notion of civil society in this study. First, different meanings and interpretations of civil society have influenced theoretical debate. Second, civil society has been an almost purely Western concept, historically tied to the political emancipation of citizens from former feudalistic ties, monarchy and the state during the 18th and 19th century (Lewis2002)

2.3 Civil Society Organisations and Peace building

According to the United Nations Charter in Article 71, the role of different CSOs in peace support operations gained currency starting in the 1990s. To illustrate this, is a comparison between the first UN peacekeeping operations, Operation des Nations Unies au Congo (ONUC), in Zaire (1960 to 1964) and any one of the present day peace support operations.

However, according to Williams, (1998) Civil Society Organisations are very versatile in many cases. He further gives an example that, Somalia in 1995 conflict, it was the CSOs that remained

in the country after the UN and other key stakeholders left. In addition to William's ideas, Seiple (1996) also believes that the familiarity with conflict and the level of expertise of some civil society organisations in operating in war-torn societies could be testified from comments made by a Canadian Ministry of Defense official after visiting a joint military-civilian exercise in the Balkans who reminisced that soldiers came to realise that some NGO relief workers had more battlefield experience than most Canadian Forces personnel.

Borton (1994) on the other hand, postulates that the growing significance of civil society in Peace building can be drawn from the participation in distributing aid during wars. Prior to the end of the cold war, Civil Society Organisations distributed 39% of the official British Aid which came to rise significantly to over 94% after the collapse of the Socialist block.

Mackinlay (1996) summarises the rationale for civil society playing an active role in peace building in five points. Firstly, in many complex political scenarios donors find it impossible or politically unacceptable to channel funds through the state institutions. Secondly, CSOs often have more effective reach, especially at the grass-roots level. Thirdly, many CSOs have established themselves in societies that either provides funds or staff for the PSOs. Fourthly, civil society organizations are more likely to attract publicity, and lastly, their operations are relatively cheaper than those of the UN or other stakeholders in the PSOs (Mackinlay, 1996).

However, Okumu (2003), identifies ways in which civil society organisations are likely to contribute to conflict, rather than promote peace. These include manipulating public opinion, using local communities as shield, creating space for military operations, looting and bartering relief aid, allowing criminals, rebels to extort aid relief, creating false impression that the state institutions are not needed, creating a false perception of power balance, allowing dual use of infrastructure (military and non-military), being part of a legitimizing the process for organised criminal groups (Okumu, 2003).

2.4 Civil Society Organisations in Africa

It can be acknowledged in this study that, civil society organisations have been important in peace building in Africa as far back as colonial era. Several civil society organisations during colonial period existed in Africa and they played great roles in fighting for democracy and

human rights for Africans. It is actually out of the efforts of these same civil society organisations that made it possible for several African countries to become independent. For example, among the common civil society organisations that African leaders used to fight colonialist were, labour movements or trade unions, African Nationalist political parties and Churches around the continent.

According Sriram (2008), Africa has experienced quite a number of civil wars and intrastate wars in the past decades. He further states that these wars resulted into an acrimonious number of deaths, displacement of communities, proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW), consequently rendering growth and development stagnant (Sriram 2008). Ekiyor (2008) points out that since most of these African conflicts are intricate, multifaceted and multi-party in nature, it is impossible for state actors to prevent, manage or resolve them alone without the assistance and involvement of non-state actors. He further suggests that, it is, imperative that any peace building initiative in these conflict prone states or regions require the total involvement of its populations (Ekiyor, 2008).

Thelma (2008) also acknowledges that in Africa, civil society organisations have been in the forefront of dislodging entrenched authoritarianism to replace them with democratic governance, initiating and promoting reconciliation processes, localized peace building initiatives, advocating for the adherence to peace agreements and the tactical building of capacities through peace education. Adding to Thelma's ideas, Sriram (2008) states that most remarkable amongst the activities of civil society in Africa, is the active participation of trade and student unions, women's groups and professional associations in the struggle for independence of their respective countries. Ekiyor and Thelma (2008) further note that in the post-independence era, CSOs in Africa have acted in most cases as important catalysts for democracy and human rights ending military dictatorships, advocating for the building of pluralist and open societies, and promulgating democratic governance.

Furthermore, during the conference in America about the roles of civil society organisation in Africa, Betty Muragori (2004) acknowledges that CSOs have been actively involved in developing regional frameworks for conflict early warning and response. Sewanyana, (2009) also acknowledges that civil society organisations in Africa have also advocated against the proliferation of small arms, ensuring that peace processes yield inclusive agreements,

contributing towards post-conflict reconstruction. For example, the West African Network for Peace building (WANEP), whose headquarters are in Accra, Ghana, has been very instrumental in conflict monitoring on the ground as part of the ECOWAS Early Warning and Response Network (ECOWARN) (Sewanyana, 2009).

In addition, Imboden, (2012) also acknowledges that civil society actors have been very vital as primary providers of basic social services in war affected areas in Africa where the public institutions and state apparatus had ceased to function or have been considerably weakened due to the conflict. In these situations of anarchy, CSOs have often played the role of mitigating conflict and building peace.

In his study about the roles of civil society organisation in conflict resolution in Sierre Leone, Ekiyor (2008), reports that since the outbreak of war in Sierra Leone up to the present, CSOs in Sierra have been playing a key role in cushioning the socio-economic effects and disparities in communities, assisting with humanitarian relief, medical care, awareness raising, advocating for and promoting women's rights, and contributing to the security sector.

In support of Ekiyor's ideas, Kasfir (1998), in his study entitled ''Civil Society and Democracy in Africa," reveals that peace building in sierra Leon facilitated by a series of efforts and inputs of civil society initiatives, especially by women, that were aimed at a peaceful settlement to the conflict.

Okumu, (2003) also reported that civil society organisations were always in forefront in mobilising public opinion in Sierra Leone in support of peace and democratization efforts that formed part of the foundations upon which the successful post-war accountability incarnated the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and the proceedings of the Special Court for Sierra Leone (SCSL) were grounded. He further notes that the participation and contributions of civil society organisations in peace building process were regarded as most vital for peace, security and sustainability in Sierra Leone (Okumu, 2003).

Having acknowledged the laws of civil society organisation in peace building in Sierra Leone, Arthur Bainomugisha (2004) also in his study revealed how important civil society organisations in peace building were in Uganda. He revealed that between 1985 and 1995, civil society actively engaged government in demanding democratic reforms, which eventually led to the

freeing of political space. The emphasis on accountability and transparency in national life facilitated steps towards the reform process and the introduction of political pluralism.

Sewanyana (2009) revealed that, civic and human rights education programmes by CSOs, especially in the constitution-making process, helped create higher levels of awareness among Ugandans about their civic and political rights. Action for Development (ACFODE), a women's non-governmental organisation, and the National Organization for Civic Education and Election Monitoring (NOCEM) conducted public education campaigns countrywide to assess and enlist people's views for inclusion in the constitution (Sewanyana, 2009).

Betty Moratoria (2004) in her study "Civil Society, Democratic Transition, and Consolidation in Kenya," reported that following the death of former President Jomo Kenyatta in 1978, civil society began agitating for democratic transformation. CSOs such as the Green Belt Movement (GBM), the Law Society of Kenya (LSK), and National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK), resisted KANU's one party dictatorship by mobilizing the citizens both in the rural and urban areas to demand for political reforms, (Moratoria 2004).

Moratoria, further reports that, in a bid to muzzle and control civil society organisations, the government of Kenya, in 1990, enacted a Non-Governmental Coordination Act, which in effect sought to limit CSO operations. Opposition to the act led to the formation of strong political pressure groups, such as the Forum for Restoration of Democracy (FORD). FORD, together with the Green Belt Movement, the Law Society, and the NCCK, began to organise protests and mass demonstrations for democratic pluralism (Moratoria 2004).

 Despite these setbacks, CSOs continued to put pressure on the government for increased accountability, and also exposed cases of corruption and human rights abuses. This ultimately weakened KANU's grip on power and in 2002, civil society groups helped in the formation of a political coalition of opposition alliances, the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC), which defeated KANU (Moratoria 2004).

Apophia (2004) also states that civil society organisations played vital roles in peace building in Rwanda during genocide in that country. He argues that during genocide in Rwanda, the churches sought to construct a viable and hospitable post-conflict environment through humanitarian intervention during and after the genocide. They were also centrally involved in

promoting integration and assuaging the distressed population. Muslim groups also played crucial roles in saving lives by maintaining peace in their areas and providing humanitarian assistance for escapees. Women's organisations were instrumental in ensuring the inclusion of citizen rights in the country's new constitution which was promulgated in 2003 (Mabobori 2004).

2.5 Historical Overview of Civil Society in Zambia

2.5.1 Civil Society Organisation before Independence

Historically, it has been documented that the earliest civil society in Zambia dates back to the colonial era. It consisted of white settlers, later augmented by immigrants, the emergent middle class and the working class. Early associational groups contributed to the fight against the Colour Bar (BC), a system which reserved the best services for whites and left separate inferior services for blacks, Indians and coloreds. They also campaigned against the Hut Tax (HT) which was introduced to force blacks to migrate to the Copperbelt as cheap labour for the mines. Civil society also tried to organise against colonial rule in general, dating as far back as the Mwenzo Welfare Association founded by Donald Siwale in 1912 (Mumba, 2010).

In the 1940s, the number of associations rapidly increased in towns along the path of the railway. The nationwide Federation of African Societies (FAS) was formed and, in 1948 it was turned into a political party, the Northern African Congress. In 1949, a national union for mineworkers, the Northern Rhodesia African Mineworkers Union was created, which later became the African Mine Workers Union (Burdette, 1988 and Endo, 1996). Trade unions fought for improved working conditions for miners and demanded a voice in mining decision-making processes (Berger, 1974). Clark (1975) observed that beyond industrial action arising out of labour discontent on economic conditions, the trade unions offered a vehicle for direct nationalist struggle and growing African assertiveness directed at independence.

Religious organisations played a big role during the colonial era. Besides spreading the gospel, churches provided educational and health services and played a role in checking the state (Haynes 1996 in Endo, 1996). The church contributed to the fight against the tax system which was imposed on Africans by the British Colonial office. It also stood in opposition to the

formation of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and the imposition of indirect rule regulations (Endo, 1996).

2.5.2 Civil Society under Kaunda's Leadership

After independence in 1964, President Kenneth Kaunda, who ruled the country for 27 years, followed broadly socialist policies and his government provided free access to health care and education from primary school to university. Any type of association formed for mutual or public benefit had to operate under the umbrella and control of UNIP. UNIP created subordinate organs such as Women's League and Youth League, which were meant to address concerns that UNIP could not handle directly. Kaunda devised a system of co-opting different kinds of institutions and critical individuals into UNIP and government wings, subordinating them to the bureaucracy (Donge 1995).

For instance, members of the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) had to have dual membership of the trade union and UNIP. Kaunda could appoint anyone including traditional leaders, professionals, clergymen and union leaders, to top government positions (Sichone, 1996 and Chanda, 1995). Elemu (2010) notes that the notion that citizens needed to be mobilised behind his revolutionary party, was central to Kaunda's doctrine.

However, this approach of subjecting people to the bureaucratic structures of the party weakened the associational spirit in Zambia. The labour movement opposed Kaunda in many instances, including the first time he wanted to implement International Monetary Fund (IMF) policy reforms (Sichone, 1996; Chanda, 1995). In 1981, union leaders were expelled from UNIP, detained and accused of inciting workers to strike (Burdette, 1988 in Sichone, 1996).

Church groups critical of government policy included the Christian Council of Zambia (CCZ), the Zambia Episcopal Conference (ZEC), and Evangelical Fellowship in Zambia (EFZ).The churches' approach to the state was collaborative as long as their interests were not at stake. It was only when the country faced a crisis that church leaders felt compelled to speak out on issues of national development (CCZ, EFZ, ZEC, 1987: 44).

For instance, the church spoke against Kaunda when the UNIP wanted to introduce Scientific Socialism into the education system between 1976 and 1982. This move was, on one hand, a

power game between the state and the church, and on the other, a debate concerning the interpretation of Kaunda's Zambia Humanism philosophy. In the end, the churches succeeded in preventing the state from introducing scientific socialism in schools (Lungu, 1986).

Towards the end of Kaunda's rule, churches came out more strongly, exposing the misdeeds of the government (Sichone, 1996). Using the media (National Mirror and the Icengelo, a Catholic magazine), the churches launched human rights campaigns against social inequalities, government corruption and the violation of citizens' basic rights under the state of emergency, provoking an angry outburst from Kaunda (Sichone, 1996). Besides the labour movement and churches, professional bodies such as the Law Association of Zambia (LAZ), the Economics Association of Zambia (EAZ) and the University of Zambia Students' Union (UNZASU) also gave the government a hard time (Sichone, 1996).

2.5.3 Civil Society under Multiparty Political System in Zambia

Chiluba's party, the Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD), started as a mass movement, formed by people from the labour movement, academics, professionals, business people and others opposed to Kaunda. During his election campaign, Chiluba promised to remove all constitutional barriers preventing citizens from realising their full civil and political liberties and to provide a more conducive environment for their full participation in the governance of the country (Fiedler-Conradi, 2003; Ihonvbere, 1996; Donge, 1995; and Chanda, 1995).

However, with the coming of MMD government, the transition resulted in contradictory developments within civil society (Erdmann and Simutanyi, 2003). The transition saw a decline in the political visibility of civil society. Most civic groups initially identified themselves with the MMD government and felt that it was their government. Other new CSOs that came into existence were formed to cope with the shortfall in government services, especially in the aftermath of the IMF and the World Bank sponsored Structural Adjustment Programme that Chiluba reinstated (Erdmann and Simutanyi, 2003).

With regard to government-civil society relations, Fiedler-Conradi (2003) argues that Chiluba proved little different from his predecessor. Noting similarities between Chiluba's MMD and Kaunda's UNIP, Rakner (2003:185) argues that "the MMD had reinstated the one party system

in almost all ways other than the name. Chiluba inherited a one party state authoritarian tradition and patronage politics. When structural economic reforms were adopted, his MMD government did not consult civil society. Labour union leaders were constantly threatened with dismissals and at one time he even threatened to deregister ZCTU and the Civil Servants Union of Zambia (CSUZ) (Sichone, 1996).

Towards the end of his rule, Chiluba initiated a move to amend the constitution to make himself eligible as a presidential candidate for the 2001 elections. To solicit support, he started distributing a slush fund to CSOs, including the churches. On two occasions, he mobilised some sections of civil society, including religious and traditional leaders, to march to State House in a show of solidarity with his rule and to justify the need for his continuation in office (Mumba, 2010).

Various civil society organisations and individuals from different parts of society came together and formed an anti-third term social movement popularly known as the Oasis Forum or Green Ribbon Campaign, which met frequently to discuss ways to prevent Chiluba from manipulating the constitution to his favour. The Oasis Forum used the private media to raise consciousness among citizens and distributed green ribbons for people to wear to show their support. Civil society activists also led motorists in honking every Friday around 16:00 hours. The police used to arrest those participating, but this could not easily be managed. The CSOs prominent within the Oasis Forum were the three Church Mother Bodies (ZEC, CCZ, and EFZ), NGOCC, Afronet and the Law Association of Zambia (LAZ) as well as high-ranking politicians in the opposition camp (The Post, 22 February 2001 and Fiedler-Conradi, 2003).

Amidst massive pressure, Chiluba announced that he had no intention of seeking a third term, and instead chose Levy Mwanawasa to succeed him. In the Mwanawasa era, more and more CSOs were formed. According to Fiedler Conradi (2003) there were about 10,000 organisations registered by the Registrar of Societies in March 2003. However, the relationship between Mwanawasa's administration and civil society was hostile. Problems started with Mwanawasa's victory in 2001, which was marred by suspicions of rigging elections (MS Zambia, 2003).

When Mwanawasa staged a zero-tolerance crusade against corruption, targeting senior civil servants as well as Chiluba and his allies, many saw the campaign as highly selective because

few people were convicted, and some sections of civil society dismissed it as an exercise in self-legitimisation (Mumba, 2010).

Civil society also raised concerns about the appointment of Mwanawasa's relations to senior governmental and diplomatic positions. Another contentious matter was Mwanawasa's strategy of appointing opposition MPs to government, thereby expanding the MMD camp in parliament and undermining the opposition (Phiri, 2004: 34 in Mumba, 2004:30).

When Mwanawasa initiated a move to revise the constitution, the Oasis Forum insisted on joint participation in setting the agenda before any work could commence. It also made other proposals, such as appointing a technical committee to examine submissions made by the people in previous constitutional review commission reports and then developing a consolidated draft report to be submitted to a constituent assembly before enactment by Parliament. Mwanawasa opposed that approach, arguing that it was not provided for by the constitution. Instead, like his predecessors, he appointed his own constitutional review commission. The Oasis Forum came out very strongly against this and the government at one point responded by banning its operations, arguing that it was not a registered type of association but the Oasis Forum ignored the ban and continued operating. The whole process became bogged down in controversies until Mwanawasa announced that it would not be possible to adopt a new constitution before the 2006 General Elections (Mutesa, 2006 and Mumba, 2004).

According to Geloo (2004), Mwanawasa criticized CSOs for acting as opposition parties rather than being partners in development. Geloo (2004) further stated that Mwanawasa accused the United Nations of favouring NGOs in the distribution of funds, yet government had elected representatives who were subject to closer scrutiny than civil society groups. He further accused CSOs of being composed of family members who got donor funds under the guise of HIV/AIDS prevention programmes (Geloo, 2004).

In 2007, a draft NGO bill was presented to Parliament for debate, but it was eventually withdrawn in the face of criticism from different sections of society. Critics argued that government was trying to constrain and limit the space for civil society operations in the country by tightening rules regarding the registration, management and operation of NGOs (Mumba, 2010). The bill was eventually passed in 2009.

Indeed, civil society in Zambia has shown a potential to contribute considerably to the human, social, political and economic development of the country, even though its operational base has been shaped by an authoritarian tradition. Since the introduction of multi-party politics in the early 1990s, it has gained recognition even in government circles (Mutesa, 2006).

2.6 Challenges to the Roles of Civil Society in Zambia

If ordinary citizens cannot exert a relatively high degree of control over the leaders, then the minimal threshold of democracy has not been reached. However, Fiedler Conradi (2003) in the study of the status of civil society organisations in Zambia observed that though the role of the civil society in Zambia has continued to grow, a robust participation of the civil society in Zambia is still impeded by certain factors.

However, Geloo (2004) revealed the following to be the major common challenges that civil society Organisation are faced with in Zambia

- There is a lack of institutionalised mechanisms for citizens' participation in decision-making other than elections and political parties. Government and administrative structures are highly centralized. Even entirely local concerns have to be brought to the attention of provincial or national level.
- The relationship of government and civil society has been confrontational with regard to issues of governance, participation, human rights and the rule of law.
- The heavy dependence of civil society organisations on donors results in a highly competitive environment and places serious constraints on home-grown strategies for development.
- There is a definite lack of efficient coordination and collaboration within and between sectors of activity, regions and issues. In the same area, activities often duplicate efforts or contradict each other. Collisions of NGO activity with structures of community based organisations are common.

However, in as much as we can agree to these challenges, this study considered these articulated challenges not enough; hence more challenges have to be identified in this study.

2.7 Theoretical Framework

For the theoretical framework, the study used the peace building theory as espoused by Paul Lederach (2001). According to Lederach, civil society plays an important role in the process of reconciliation. He derives this argument from three points: first, peace building must be undertaken simultaneously at numerous levels of the society, especially at the grass roots level. Secondly, critical issues must find response while broader structural change is envisioned and set in motion and finally, short term needs and long term vision must be linked. The importance of CSOs in these three points comes from the fact that they are often present at all levels of peace building in the society as presented in the table below (Table 1 below)

Table 1: Levels of peace building in society

Types of Actors	Approaches to peace building
Level 1 **Top Leaders** (Military/ Political/ Religious leaders with high visibility.	Focus on high-level negotiations, emphasises cease-fire led by highly visible, single mediator.
Level 2 **Middle Range Leadership** Leaders respected in sector ethics/ religious leaders, academic/ intellectual humanitarian leaders (NGO)	Problem-solving workshops training in conflict resolution peace commissions insider-partial teams.
Level 3 **Grassroots Leadership** Local leaders, leaders of indigenous NGO, community developers, local health officials, Refugee camp leaders.	Local peace commissions grassroots training prejudice reduction psychosocial work in post-war trauma.

Source: Lederach (2001)

(Lederach, 2001) also noted that, CSOs are situated in such a way that they are able to link the grass roots level to the highest levels of decision-making. This linkage is two ways in that the decision makers can also channel policy decisions through the CSOs to the citizenly. Citizenly support is critical to government for governance purposes. As Lederach (1997) points out, for interventions like reconciliation, the relationships of the different actors, state and non-state, is not monochromic but rather polychromic and the presence of civil society with all its variety is the key condition for its success (Lederach, 2001).

2.8 Gaps in Literature Review

Although the area of CSOs contribution to various peace building components has been discussed in different academic forums, there is insufficient literature on the specific and effectiveness of the role of CSOs in peace building in Zambia. This means that there is a gap in knowledge on strategies assessing the efficacy and effectiveness of the roles of Civil Society Organisations in peace building in Zambia. As discussed in the literature review of this study for instance, Williams, (1998) indicates that Civil Society Organisations were very versatile in many cases. He further gives an example of Somalia in 1995 conflict, where it were the CSOs that remained in the country after the UN and other key stakeholders left. However, in as much as this submission can carry weight in justifying the roles of civil society organisation, it also has weakness in justifying the sustainability of the roles of civil society organisations in peace building. William's (1998) submission failed to justify the approaches that civil society organisations employ to make sure that peace in various countries is sustainably built. It is therefore, because of this gap that this study further considered the sustainability approaches that civil society organisations have been employed in making sure that the peace in Zambia has been built.

Borton (1994) argues that the growing significance of civil society in peace building can be drawn from the participation in distributing aid during wars. Prior to the end of the cold war, Civil Society Organisations distributed 39% of the official British Aid which came to rise significantly to over 94% after the collapse of the Socialist Block (SB). Trying to consider the analysis by Borton, it is clear in this study to indicate that his submission is very weak in the sense that the roles of civil society organisations must only be appreciated in the situation of preventing wars and chaos. In simple terms, this study only focuses on analysing and

appreciating the roles that civil society organisations play in preventing the outbreak of war, rather than the roles they play during the war. If it is stated that civil society organisations play roles in distributing aid during the war, then the roles of civil society organisations can be clearly doubted.

Finally, in as much as the focus can be on the roles of civil society organisations in peace building, the fact must remain that their challenges must also be looked at. In this literature, it has been observed that many of the scholars who tried to analyse the roles of civil society organisations in peace building, have failed to look at or consider the challenges that civil society organisations faced in their quest to build peace in various countries. It is for this reason therefore, that this study analyses both the roles that civil society organisations play and the challenges that they face. This will enable the researcher to bring clear recommendations.

2.7 Summary

This chapter has given the insight on the roles of civil society Organisation in peace building. In this chapter the following components have been presented and discussed: The meaning of civil society organisations, history of Civil Society and philosophical roots, civil society and peace building, civil society in Africa, Historical overview of civil society in Zambia, common challenges faced by civil society in Zambia. The chapter has also discussed the theoretical framework and the gaps in literature review. The next chapter discusses the methodology of this study.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Overview

This chapter provides the methodology which was employed during the study. It describes, among other things the research design, the target population, sample size and sampling procedures, data collection and data analysis procedures that were employed.

3.1 Research Design

Research design involves deciding on what the research purpose and questions will be; what information most appropriately will answer specific research questions, and which strategies are most effective for obtaining it (LeCompte and Preissle 1993). According to Gay (1996), the design of a study is basically the overall approach used to investigate the problem of interest and it sheds light on, or answer, the question of interest. It includes the method of data collection and related specific strategies. This was also echoed by Bless and Achola (1988) who state that a research design is a plan of any scientific research from the first to the last step. In this wide sense it is a programme to guide the researcher in collecting, analysing and interpreting the participant's views about the topic under investigation. Muzumara (1998) defines research design as the organisation, plan, or procedure by which an investigator intends to answer research questions. The design is also intended to control errors of procedures and interpretation. The structure of the design specifically delimits the kind of observations, which can be made, the persons from whom data can be collected from, and the kind of analysis it is possible to make within the framework and form the data.

This study adopted descriptive design to study the effectives of the roles of civil society organisations in peace building in Zambia. According to Mugenda (2012), descriptive research is a type of study conducted to generate explanatory information or characteristics about a specific population or phenomenon. Descriptive survey research design is strategic plan that sets out the broad outline and key features of the work to be undertaken in a research study.

Descriptive design was chosen in this study because the researcher was not able to manipulate the variables. The design was adopted in this study as it allowed the researcher to gather information, summarise, present and interpret it for the purpose of clarification. Kombo and Tromp, 2006 argues that a survey design is appropriate for collecting, classifying, analysing, comparing and interpreting data.

The study also adopted a case study design so as to enable the researcher delve into the intricacies underlying the effectiveness of the roles CSOs in peace building in Zambia. Welman and Kruger (2000) in White (2003: 68) explain that "the term case study has to do with the fact that a limited number of units of analysis, such as an individual, a group or an institution, are studied intensively". The intent of employing a case study approach in this study is to be able to describe the unit in detail, in context and holistically.

Qualitative approaches of data collection were used to enable the researcher triangulate the data collected. Qualitative approach was employed in order to satisfactorily answer the research questions posed in this study. Qualitative research is a scientific method of observation to gather non-numerical data. This type of research refers to the meanings, concepts, definitions, characteristics, metaphors, symbols, and description of things and not to their counts or measures. In support, Punch (1998:4) observes that qualitative research is a process of naturalistic inquiry that seeks in-depth understanding of social phenomena within their natural setting. It focuses on the "why" rather than the "what" of social phenomena and relies on the direct experiences of human beings as meaning-making agents in their everyday lives. In agreement, Crossman (2018) postulates that qualitative research is a type of social science research that collects and works with non-numerical data and that seeks to interpret meaning from these data that help us understand social life through the study of targeted populations or places. In qualitative research, the researcher collected numerous forms of data and examined them from various angles to construct a rich and meaningful picture of a complex, multifaceted situation. Therefore, qualitative approach was used in this study because it enabled the researcher to recognise many aspects related to the effectiveness of the roles of civil society organisations in peace building in Zambia. The approach enabled participants to describe their experiences about the effectiveness of the roles of civil society organisations in peace building in Zambia.

3.2 Pilot Study

Piloting involves trying out the instruments to be used in data collection on a sample of the universal population. This process is extremely important in that the researcher is able to determine whether or not the research design would yield responses which would, consequently, respond to the research objectives and questions. Use of ambiguous and unclear wording or language was also corrected during the pilot study. Furthermore, the researcher ensured that all questions were objective and avoided some questions being biased and skewed towards certain issues more than others (Kombo and Tromp, 2009).

3.3 Study Population

A population is a group of elements or cases, whether individuals, objects or events that conform to specific criteria intended to generalise the results of research (McMillan and Schumacher 2001). Bless and Achola (1988) also agree that a population is the entire set of objects and events or group of people which is the object of research and about which the researcher wants to determine some characteristics. According to Babbie and Mouton (2004), population is defined as the theoretically specified aggregation of   study elements. However, for the purpose of this study the term population refers to the entire set of entities or members. It refers to all members of a hypothetical set of people to which the results of a research can be generalised. Therefore, the population of this study included all residents and civil society organisations in Lusaka District. However, the target population included all faith based organisations in Lusaka District.

3.4 Sample size and sampling procedure

3.4.1 Sample Size

White (2005:252) defines a sample as a group of subjects or situations selected from a larger population. Bless and Achola (1988:60) define a sample as the sub-set of the whole population which is actually investigated by a researcher and whose characteristics will be generalised to the entire population. However, for the purpose of this study a sample was considered as a sub-set drawn from the universe population whose findings can be generalised to the universe

population. This study sampled one hundred (100) residents from different institutions of Lusaka District. These included forty (40) transporters from three bus stations (Intercity Bus Terminal, City Market Bus Station and Kulima tower bus station), fifty (50) students from the University of Zambia (UNZA), Evelyn Horne College, and National Institution of Public Administration College (NIPA) all from Lusaka district. However, top five (5) leaders of the Three Church Mother Bodies of Zambia were selected in this study.

3.4.2 Sampling Techniques

According to Leedy and Ormrod (2005), the particular entities which qualitative researchers select comprise their sample, and the process of choosing them is called sampling. The most important thing in sampling is to identify an appropriate sample from which to acquire data. In this study, the researcher used purposive sampling to select the informants. This sampling technique is supported by McMillan and Schumacher (2001) who stated that the power and logic of purposive sampling is that a few cases studied in depth yield many insights about the topic, whereas the logic of probability sampling depends on selecting a random or statistically representative sample for generalisation to a larger population.

In this sample method, the researcher purposively targets a group of people believed to be reliable for the study. The power of purposive sampling lies in selecting informants related to the central issues being studied (Kombo & Tromp 2006:82). Here the investigator selects the particular units from the population from which relevant samples are drawn. Therefore, the purposive sampling technique was most appropriate for this study because the selected participants were in a position to discuss issues concerning the roles of civil society organisations in peace building in Zambia.

3.5 Methods of data collection

According to Kombo and Tromp (2006), data collection refers to the gathering of information to serve or prove some facts. Merriam (1998) argues that since case studies are normally of qualitative nature, it is logical that they utilise qualitative data collection methods. Therefore, the researcher, used questionnaires, unstructured interviews and document reviews as data collection strategies. The researcher chose these tools of collecting data because they helped yielding a great deal of information about the roles of civil society organisations in peace building in

Zambia. According to Daymon and Holloway (2002) in Ibrahim   (2006), the combination of interviews, questionnaires and content analysis as qualitative data collecting techniques are likely to yield the most needed information about the topic under investigation.

3.5.1 Questionnaire

Questionnaire is a series of questions asked to individuals to obtain statistically useful information about a given topic. This study used questionnaires to gather information from the students in three selected higher learning institutions (UNZA, NIPA, and Evelyn Horne College). The questionnaires were designed with open ended questions. This is because it helped to give the respondents the opportunity of writing any answer in the open space (De Vos, 1998). In other words, respondents were able to express themselves through their responses. However, few closed ended questions were also employed more especially in the biographical data. The closed ended questions are advantageous when a substantial amount of information about a subject exists and the response options are relatively well known.

3.5.2 Interviews

McMillan and Schumacher (2006) explain that interviews are response questions to obtain data from participants about how they conceive and give meaning to their world and how they explain events in their lives. According to White (2005), an interview instrument provides access to what is inside a person's head, makes it possible to measure what a person knows (knowledge or information), what a person likes or dislikes (values and preferences) and what a person thinks (attitudes and beliefs). In this study, interviews were used to gather information from the leaders of the three church mother body of Zambia.

3.6 Data analysis

This is an activity whose main purpose is to let the collected data 'speak for itself.' In data analysis, the data obtained is summarised in a way that it becomes easier to interpret and understand. According to Gay (1996), raw data for quantitative study are numbers, for example, test scores. In a qualitative study the raw data consists of words and possibly visual material such as photos. This data include primarily field notes, often supplemented by documents and interview transcripts. Rudestam and Newton (1992) also point out that qualitative

research implies that the data is in the form of words as opposed to numbers. In this qualitative study, the data was reduced to emerging themes or categories.

In this study, data was analysed both qualitatively and quantitatively. Data collected from students and workers from the selected bus station in Lusaka was quantitatively analysed, while the data collected from, civil society leaders was qualitatively analysed. Quantitative data, which is numerical summaries, was analysed into frequency distribution tables, charts and graphs. Meaning the frequency of the variables were interpreted into percentage form.

In qualitative data, the interviews were transcribed to provide a complete record of the discussion. The researcher then analysed the content of the discussion by looking for trends and patterns that reappeared within a single focus group or among various focus groups. Lungwangwa et al. (1995) confirm that qualitative raw data from interviews, field notes from focused discussions and content analysis should be subjected to the constant comparative analysis technique in order to reach the most significant themes of the topic under study.

3.7 Ethical considerations

Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2000) observe that developments in social science research in recent years have placed emphasis on moral issues where researchers have an obligation to respect and protect those involved or affected by their studies. They explain that ethical concerns in educational research are often complex, subtle and can sometimes place the researcher in a moral predicament that may be irresolvable. They explain that ethical issues may arise from any of the following: the context of the study, the procedures to be adopted, methods of data collection, the nature of participants, and the type of data collected and that which is to be done with the data (Cohen, 2000).

Kombo and Tromp (2009) state that researchers whose subjects are people or animals must consider the conduct of their research, and give attention to ethical issues associated with carrying out their research. Research ethics is specifically interested in the analysis of ethical issues that are raised when people are involved as participants in research. Ethics are a set of moral principles which are suggested by an individual or groups, is subsequently widely accepted, and which offers rules and behavioral expectations about the most correct conduct

towards experimental subjects and respondents, employers, sponsors, other researchers, assistants and students (De Vos, 1998).

Therefore, in this study consent was obtained before collecting information from respondents through an informed consent form. The consent form assured the respondents of the following: the purpose of the research and who the researcher was, the study's potential benefits to the profession that the responses would be anonymous, offered for them to withdraw if and when they felt uncomfortable to continue, how long they would be required to respond to the instruments and request for them to participate in the study.

After going through the consent form with the participants, they were requested to append their signature if they agreed to take part. The participants were advised that the final copy of the research study would be made available to them.

3.8 Summary

This chapter highlighted a number of procedures, which the researcher followed in conducting this study. An explanation has been given concerning the participants in the research, the methods of data collection and how data was collected and analysed. The chapter discussed the population and sample size of this study. The data collection methods consisted of in-depth interviews, questionnaires; document review and focus group discussion were also presented in this chapter. The researcher employed both qualitative and quantitative methods in data collection and this is mainly for the purpose of triangulation. Ethical issues have also clarified in this chapter. The next Chapter is a presentation of the research findings

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION OF THE FINDINGS

4.0. Overview

This chapter presents the research findings of the study. The presentation of research findings in this chapter was done in line with the formulated research objectives of the study which included:

1. Evaluating the efficacy of the roles of civil society organisations in peace building in Zambia,

2. Investigating the extent to which civil society organisations engage youths and political players in peace building activities in Zambia,

3. Assessing people's perceptions on the roles of civil society organisations in peace building in Zambia and

4. Determining the challenges that civil society organisations face in peace building in Zambia

4.1   Information gathered from students

In an effort to achieve the second objective of this study which aimed at investigating the extent to which youths are engaged in peace building programmes in Zambia, students (youths) from three higher learning institutions (UNZA, Evelyn Hone and NIPA) were targeted for information as stated in chapter three in this study. Collecting information from youths was considered important in this study because it was observed that normally youths were major perpetuators of violence in Zambia. The major questions that influenced the researcher to target the students in this study included: were students aware of the three church mother bodies of Zambia? Were students aware of the peace building programmes conducted by the three church mother bodies in Zambia? Were students recognized and involved in any peace building programmes? How did the students look at the effectiveness of the roles of the three churches mother bodies?

4.1.1 Learning institutions and Gender of the Respondents

Information with regards to sex and age of the respondents was gathered using questionnaire and as presented in chapter three of this study. The total number of students from whom the information was gathered was 50. Table 1, below shows the age and sex of the participants who participated in this study.

Table 2: Age and gender of the student respondents

Learning institutions	SEX		Frequency (N)	Percentage (%)
	MALE	**FEMALE**		
UNZA	12	8	20	40
NIPA	9	7	16	32
Evelyn Horne	5	9	14	28
Total	**31**	**19**	**50**	**100**

Table 1 above shows that 20 (40%), 12 males and 8 female, students were from the University of Zambia. On the other hand, 16 (32%), 9 male and 7 female, students were from NIPA College. While, 14 (28%), 5 male and 9 female, students were from Evelyn Horn College of Applied Arts and Science.

4.2. The Efficacy of the Roles of Civil Society Organizations in Peace Building in Zambia

4.2.1. Respondents' ideas on the meaning of Peace.

Finding on the students' level of understanding of the concept peace was considered important in this study. Respondents were asked to express their understanding of the meaning of the concept of peace. Four options on the definitions of peace were provided and respondents were asked to tick against any of the definition of peace according to their level of understanding. This question was not open ended however, respondents were advised to tick against as many answers as possible. Graph 2 below shows respondents' responses on the meaning of peace.

Figure 1: Respondents' ideas on the meaning of Peace.
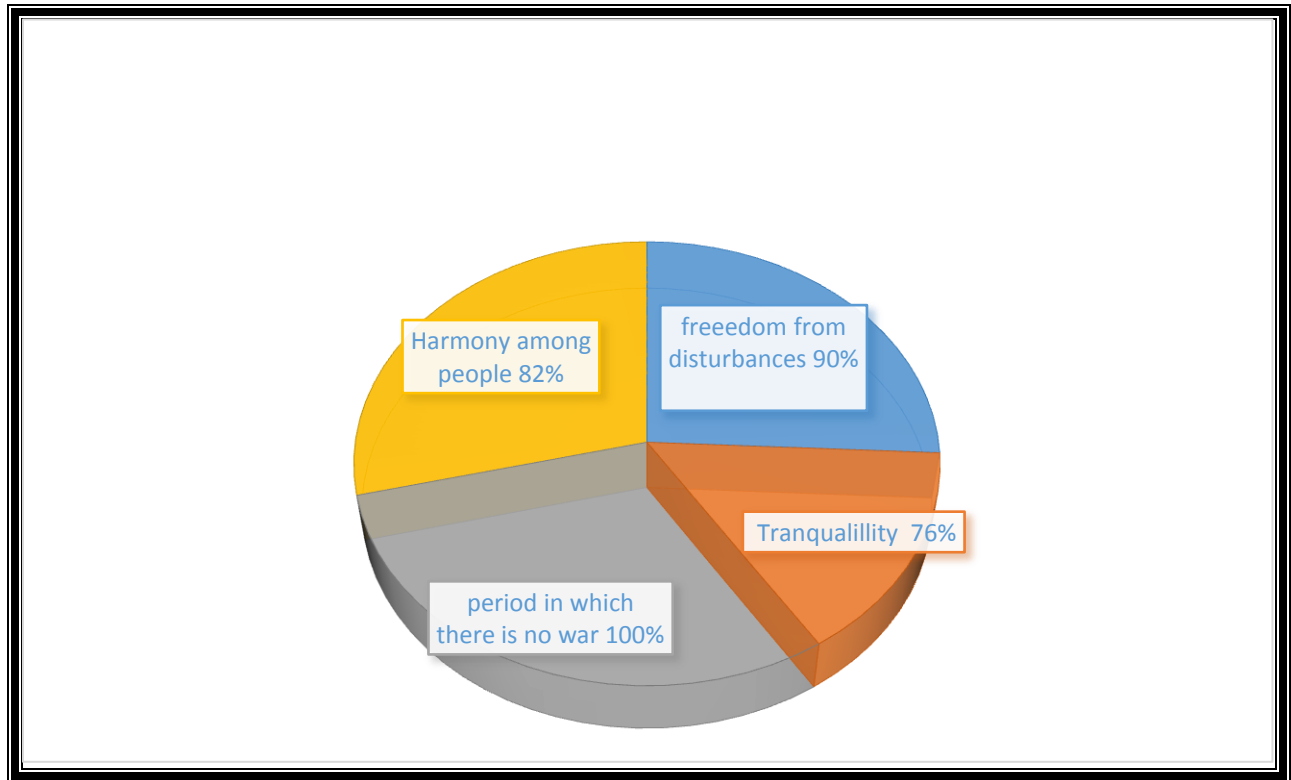
Source: Field Data 2017

From figure 1 above, all the respondents (students) 50 (100%) from the three high learning institutions (UNZA, UNIPA and Evelyn Horne) defined peace as the period in which there is no war. On the other hand, 45 (90%) students from the three institutions also defined peace as a freedom from disturbances, while 41 (82%) students from the three institutions defined peace as harmony among people. nevertheless, 38 (76%) students defined peace as tranquility. This is an indication that all the four given options about the meaning of peace were considered to be appropriate way of defining peace.

4.1.2. Respondents' views on the state of peace in Zambia.

Finding out respondents' views on the current state of peace in Zambia was considered important in this study. This helped the researcher to know whether the respondents were able to correlate the topic of study to the real life situation that was happening in the country. Respondents were able to express their views on the current state of peace in Zambia. Respondents were asked to indicate whether they thought the state of peace in Zambia was up to standard or not. Therefore, the options to this question only wanted the respondents to agree or not to agree to the statement that the state of peace in Zambia was up to standard.

Figure 2: Respondents views on the state of peace in Zambia.
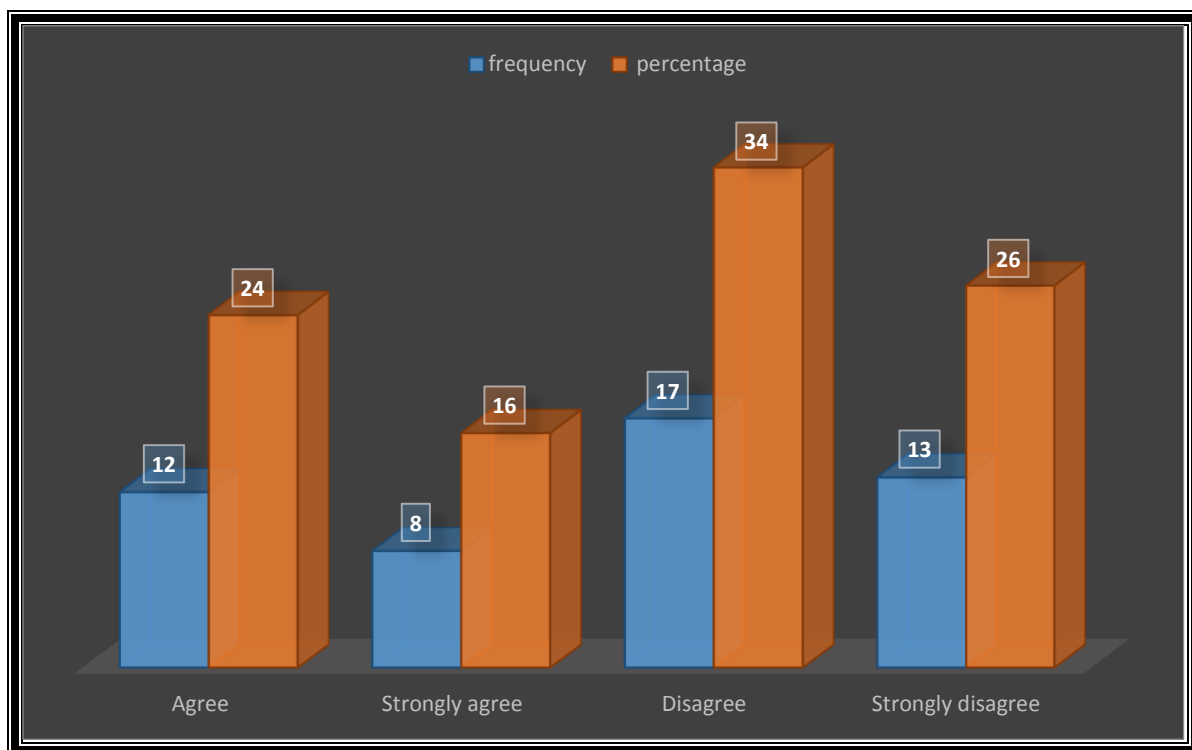
Source: field Data 2017

As presented in figure 2 above, 12 (24%) respondents from all institutions agreed that the state of peace of in Zambia was up to standard, while 8 (16%) students from all the institutions strongly agreed that the state of peace in the country was up to standard. However, 17 (34%) disagreed to the statement that the state of peace was up to its standard while 13 (26%) respondents strongly disagreed to the statement that the state of peace in Zambia was up to its standard. From these

findings, it was discovered that the 30 (60%) disagreed with the statement that the state of peace in Zambia was up to standard.

4.2.3. Respondents' Views on the Activities that are Danger to Peace Building in Zambia

Respondents were asked to tick against the activities that would lead to peace destruction in the country. Respondents were allowed to tick against as more than one option as possible. The figure below shows the responses from the respondents.

Figure 3: Activities that can endanger the state of peace building in Zambia
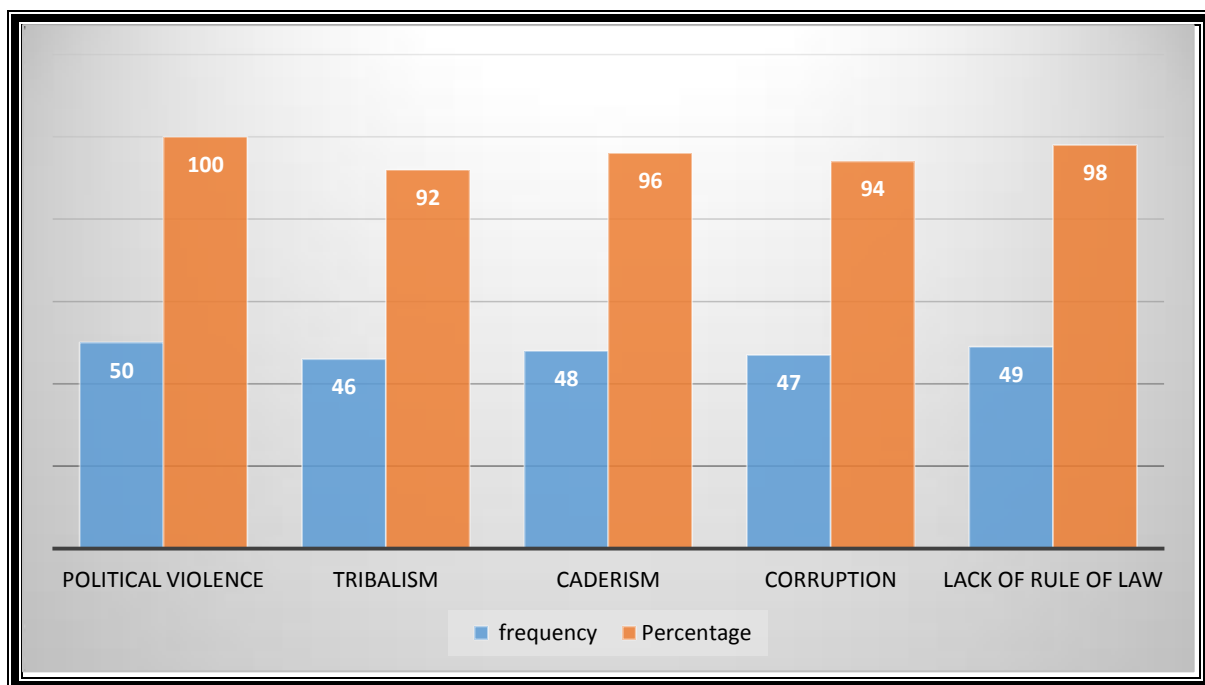
Source: field Data 2017

Figure 3 above shows that, all the respondents 50 (100%) from the three targeted institutions ticked against political violence as the major activity that can jeopardize the state of peace in the country. while 46 (92%) respondents ticked against ethnic division as another serious activities that can endanger the standard of peace in the country. On the hand, 48 (96%) students said that caderism was another factor that can frustrate the state of peace in the country, and 47 (94%) respondents identified corruption as another factor that can endanger the peace building. Nevertheless, 49 (98%) indicated lack of respect to the rule of law.

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Respondents were further asked to indicate other activities that would lead to the destruction of peace in the country. Some respondents identified politics of hatred to be the sources of confusion to the state of peace in the country. Some respondents suggested that the failure of the political leaders to organize dialogue and reconciliation between themselves but relying on external individuals such as commonwealth was also a sign of confusion to the state of peace in Zambia.

To find out the major perpetuators of the activities that pose a danger to peace building in Zambia was another task of the researcher in this study. Respondents were asked to indicate the major perpetuators of activities that could jeopardised the state of peace in Zambia. Respondents were provided with options hence they only expected to tick against any of the answers.

Figure 4 below shows the responses from the respondents.

Major perpetuators of the activities that are danger to peace building

- Male Youths
- Female youths
- Adult women
- Adult men
- Politicians
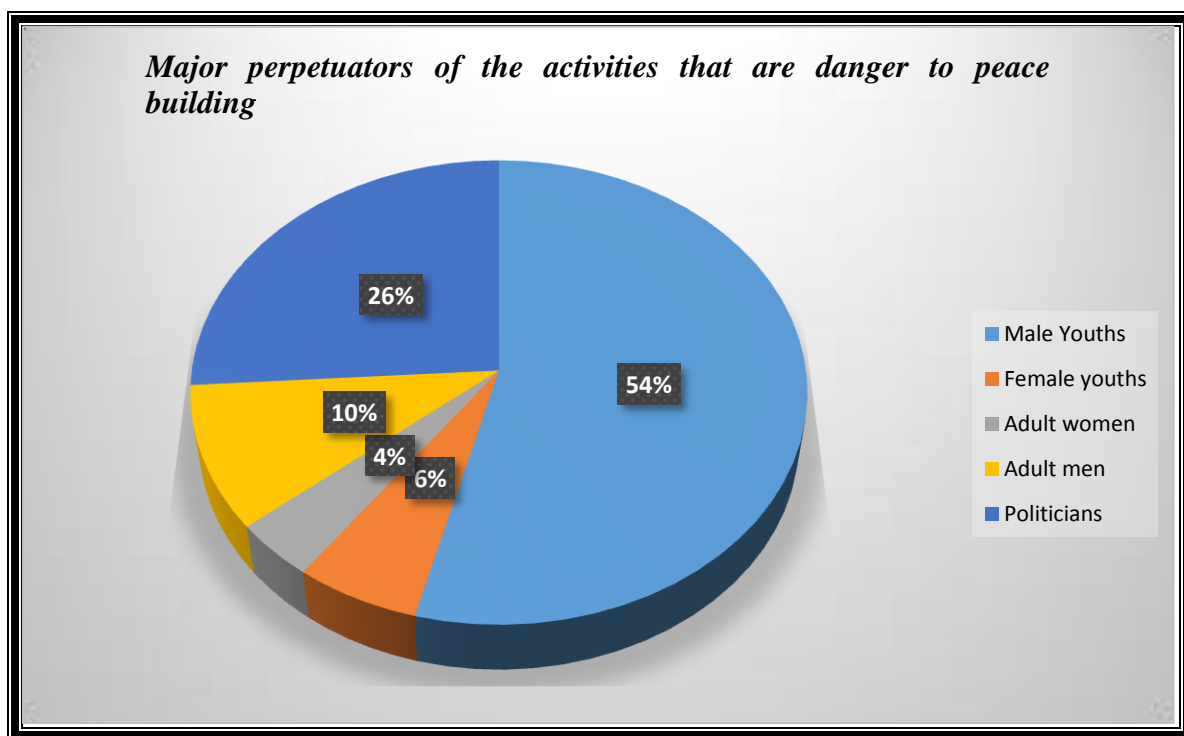
Source: field Data 2017

Figure 4 above shows that the majority of the respondents 27 (54%) said that male youths were the major perpetuators of activities that can endanger the state of peace in the country, while 13 (26%) respondents said that politicians are the perpetuators of the activities that can endanger the

peace building in the country. On the other hand, 5 (10%) respondents identified adult men to be the perpetuators of activities that can endanger the state of peace, 2 (4%) identified adult women, and 3 (6%) respondents identified female adults as the perpetuators to the activities that endanger peace in the country.

4.3. The extent to which civil society Organisation engage youths and political players in peace building activities in Zambia

Determining the extent to which civil society organisations engage youths and political players in peace building activities in Zambia was another specific objective of this study. This particular objective first determined respondents 'awareness of peace building programmes conducted in the country. Respondents were asked to indicate whether they were aware of any activity or programme that was publicly conducted by the three Churches Mother Bodies of Zambia in the country. Establishing respondents' awareness of peace building programmes conducted by the civil society organisations in the country was considered important because it helped the researcher to know the root-causes to the prevalence inhumane activities in the country that could put the peace of the country into jeopardy. Figure 5 below shows the responses from the respondents on their awareness of the programmes conducted in the country.
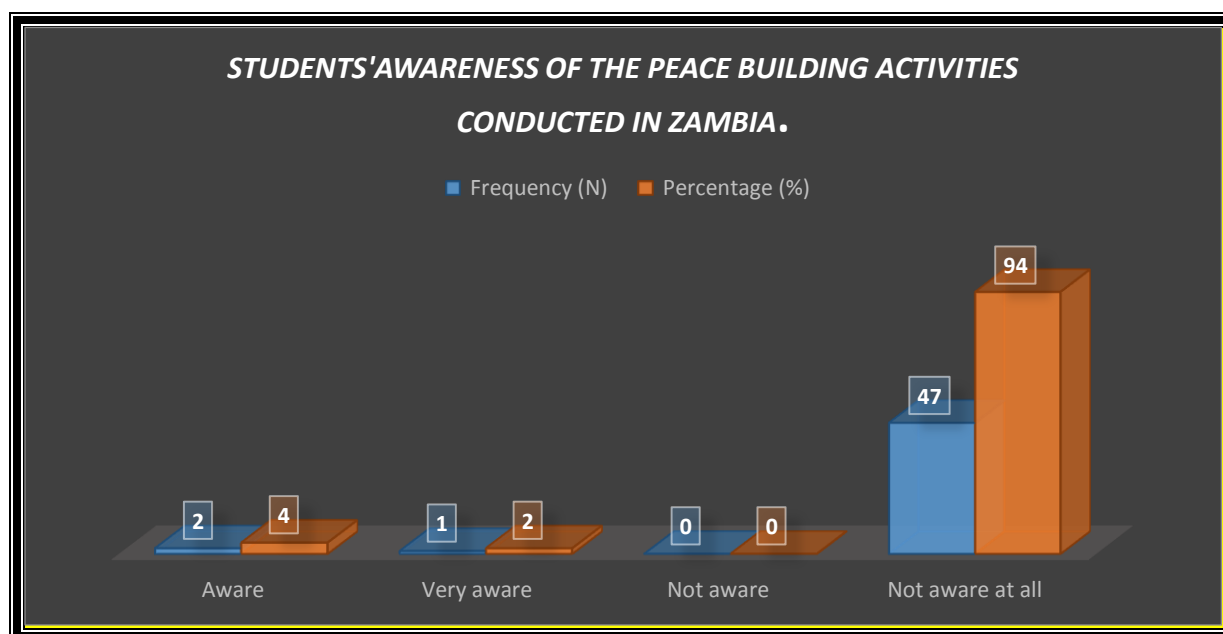
Source: field Data 2017

From the figure 5 above, the majority of the respondents, 47 (94%) indicated that they were not aware at all of the peace building activities conducted by the civil society organisation Zambia. however, 2 (4%) respondents indicated that they were aware and only 1 (2%) respondent indicated to be very aware of the peace building programmes that civil society organisations conducted in Zambia.

4.3.1. Extent of Participation in peace building programmes by youths and political players

Respondents were asked to state the extent to which the civil society organisations particularly the three Church Mother Bodies engaged them in peace building programmes. Table 3 below shows the response from the respondents on whether they have had ever been engaged in any of the peace building programmes.

Involvement peacebuilding programs	Frequency (N)	Percentage (%)
Yes	4	8
No	46	92
Total	50	100

Source: field Data 2017

Asked whether they had ever been involved in peace building activities/programmes, as presented in table 3 above, 46 (92%) respondents (students) from the three institutions indicated "**No**" meaning that they (students) had never been involved in any peace building activities/programmes conducted in the country. Nevertheless 4 (8%) respondents (students) from three institutions ticked against "**Yes.**" Meaning they have had an opportunity to be engaged in peace building activities.

4.4. Perceptions on the Roles of the Three Church Mother Bodies in peace building in Zambia

As the major objective of this study, respondents were asked to express their views on how they looked at the roles of civil society organisations particularly the three churches mother bodies to peace building in Zambia. Respondents were given the options to choose whether they thought the roles of the three church mother bodies were effective (efficacy) in as much as peace building in Zambia was concerned. Table 4 below shows the responses from the respondents concerning their perception towards the roles of the three churches mother bodies in Zambia in peace building.

Table 4: Perceptions towards the roles of the three churches mother bodies

Effectiveness of the roles of the three church mother bodies in peace building	Frequency (N)	Percentage (%)
Partially effective	8	16
Effective	4	8
Very effective	3	6
Not effective	16	32
Not effective at all	19	38
Total	**50**	**100**

Source: field Data 2017

Table 4, above shows that 19 (38%) respondents indicated that the roles that the three churches mother bodies of Zambia were not effective at all in peace building, while 16 (32%) respondents said that roles played by the three churches mother bodies of Zambia in peace were not effective. However, 8 (16%) said the roles of civil society organisations were partially effective and 4(8%) said that the roles of civil society organisations effective. Nevertheless, only 3 (6%) said that the roles the three churches mother bodies play in peace building were very effective.

The researcher also wanted to find out about the respondents' ideas on what should be done to promote sustainable peace in Zambia capturing respondents' ideas on the measures to be taken in order to promote the sustainable peace building programmes was considered to be very important in this study. Various measures that must be taken in order to promote the sustainable peace building programmes were suggested by the respondents. It is important to acknowledge at this juncture that the respondents' ideas on the measures to be taken so as to promote sustainable peace building in Zambia were qualitatively presented. Despite having different suggested ideas from the respondents concerning the measures to promote sustainable peace building in Zambia the following were the most frequent answers from the all the respondents (students) from the three selected high learning institutions in Lusaka district.

Implementation of sustainable peace building programmes in Zambia was one of the most suggested measures that can help to promote the sustainable peace building. For example, some respondents (students) suggested that peace is likely to be in danger without peace building programmes. However, some of the respondents further suggested that there must be a serious sensitization of peace building programmes to be implemented in order to help people to become aware the values and importance such peace building programmes. A third year student from the University of Zambia said the following:

> *Many are the times when very important implemented programmes fail to accomplish their goals in Zambia due to the lack of sensitization of such programmes. There is need for any implemented programme to be sensitized, educating people on the importance of such programmes and how they can benefit them and the country at large if taken seriously. We are expecting the government of Zambia to take keen interest in implementing peace building programmes across the country. The government must prioritize the youth in such programmes; youths must be given the opportunity to sensitize peace building programmers.*

Majority of the respondents also suggested that youths across the country more especially those in rural areas must always be involved in peace building programmes. The respondents further said that youths are the major perpetuators of violence and other inhumane activities that can endanger the state of peace in the country because they are always sidelined in some important programmes such as peace building programmes.

On the other another third year student from NIPA said:

> *Youths in Zambia have now reached the extent of viewing violence as a way of life. We have been hearing of the ritual killings in Lusaka province, and most of the people suspected to be involved in this inhumane activity are youths. Therefore, it is always important to put youths first in whatever programme the government is trying to implement. Involving youths in such programmes would help them to be responsible and start seeing things from a right angle. Churches across the country must also play a role to make sure that youths are helped spiritually, preaching to them real gospel of Jesus Christ of "loving one another including our enemies" instead of telling them about financial breakthrough. It is because of this promise of financial breakthrough which is frustrating youths when they discover that the financial breakthrough that a particular preacher preached to them is no achieved".*

Furthermore, political caderism, as a serious criminal offence in Zambia was discovered to rife. Therefore, criminalization or illegalisation of political caderism was another suggested suitable measure to sustainable peace building programmes in Zambia. Almost all the respondents from the three high learning institutions said that political caderism has become worrisome to the state of peace in Zambia. For example, some students said that it was worrisome to see how political cadres more especially the cadres of those in power had become so powerful, more than the police officers. For example, a student from the University of Zambia narrated how some cadres from the ruling party threatened to deal with students who protested for the delay of their meal allowance by the government. Furthermore, some respondents said that looking at the rate at which the population of political cadres was accelerating in the country, more especially in main markets it is very worrisome to the state of peace. Some respondents indicated that we are in the era where some citizens who are cadres are highly recognized and respected by the political leaders both in government and oppositions. Respondents articulated that politicians would prefer to respect cadres than an ordinary citizen.

It was also discovered that failure by the political leaders to lead by an example in peace building in Zambia was looked at and considered as a very dangerous move in Zambia. Some respondents said that leaders must always embrace peace building programmes the country deserve, they have to lead by an example in as much as peace building is concerned. For example one of the respondents said the following.

"We have a very serious issue in Zambia where leaders pretend as if everything is ok. The failure of the two top political leaders to solve their differences since 2016 general elections is a sign of lack of care for the Zambians. It is regrettable to have top leaders who are in this era still expecting people outside the country to come and chair the dialogue process."

4.5. Information gathered from marketers and people from bus stations

This study was not only focused on gathering information from the students from the three selected high learning institutions instead it was also interested to gather information from people in different communal places such as bus stations and markets. This is because the study aimed at avoiding biased information on the effectiveness of the roles of the three churches mother bodies regarding peace building in Zambia. Forty (40) respondents from these communal places (bus stations and markets) were targeted for data collection. The presentation of the findings from the marketers and bus drivers/ bus conductors was quantitatively presented as shown below.

4.6. People's Perception on the Roles of Civil Society Organisations in Peace Building in Zambia

4.6.1.   Age and Gender of the Respondents

Information with regard to gender and age of the respondents was gathered using questionnaire and interviews as presented in chapter three of this study. The total number of participants from whom the information was gathered was 40. The table 5 below shows the age and sex of the participants who participated in this study.

Table 5:   Age and Gender of the respondents

AGE	SEX		FREQUENCY (N)	PERCENTAGE (%)
	Male	Female		
Between 20and 30	7	8	15	37.5
Between 30 and 40	10	8	18	45
between 40 and 50	2	3	5	12.5
above 50	2	-	**2**	5
Total	**21**	**19**	**40**	**100**

Source: field Data 2017

As presented in the table 5 above, the majority of the respondents 18 (45%) from the Lusaka markets and bus stations were between the ages of 30 and 40. on the other hand, 15 (37.5%) students were between the age of 20 and 30, while 5 (12.5%) were between the age of 40 and 50. Nevertheless, 2 (5%) respondents said to be above 50 years of age.

4.6.2.   Respondents' level of understanding of peace.

Finding out people's ideas or perception towards the roles of civil society organisations in peace building without finding out their level of understanding of the term peace was considered worthless. Hence, the researcher first of all wanted to find out whether the respondents were familiar with the concept of peace. To make these easier, respondents were asked to express their level of understanding of the concept of peace in their own local languages. Various interpretation of peace in four common languages name (Bemba, Tonga, Nyanga and Lozi) were made by different respondents as follows:

1. BEMBA.

Different interpretations of peace were made in Bemba. One of the respondents defined peace in Bemba as follows:

Umutende (Peace): *Cipilibula umutende. Nga twalanda umutende emukutila ati abekala calo bonse mumitundu ishalekanalekana tabali mucimfulunganya atemwa inkondo. Umutende cintu cimo icawama mubwikashi bwa muntu onse pacalo. Atemwa mukwipifya, umutende upilibula ukuti mucalo tamuli ifimfulunganya atemwa itulubundi.*

Translated into English it means that peace is the state of tranquility or the situation without confusions and he further said that peace was very important to all citizens across the country.

2. NYANJA

The respondents defined peace in Nyanja as:

"Mtendere (Peace*) ni mtendere ndi kakhalidwe kopanda phokoso, nkhondo kapena umbombo."*

This means that peace is a state of not confusions or war.

3. LOZI

Those who defined peace in Lozi defined it as follows.

"Kozo (peace): *Bantu baswanela kuina mwa kozo kokusina ndwa."*

This means that peace is the state without war.

4. TONGA

In Tonga respondents defined peace as follows:

"Luumuno (peace): *Kukala kakunyina kupyopyongana.*"

This means that peace is living without confusion.

Having given the ideas on the meaning of the concept peace in their native languages, respondents were asked to express their views on the current state of peace in Zambia. Respondents were asked to state whether they thought the state of peace in Zambia was at its best standard or not. This question was provided with answers, which are based on: agree, strongly agree, disagree, and strongly disagree. Figure 10 below shows the responses from the respondents in the markets.

Figure 6: Respondents' views on the current state of peace in Zambia.
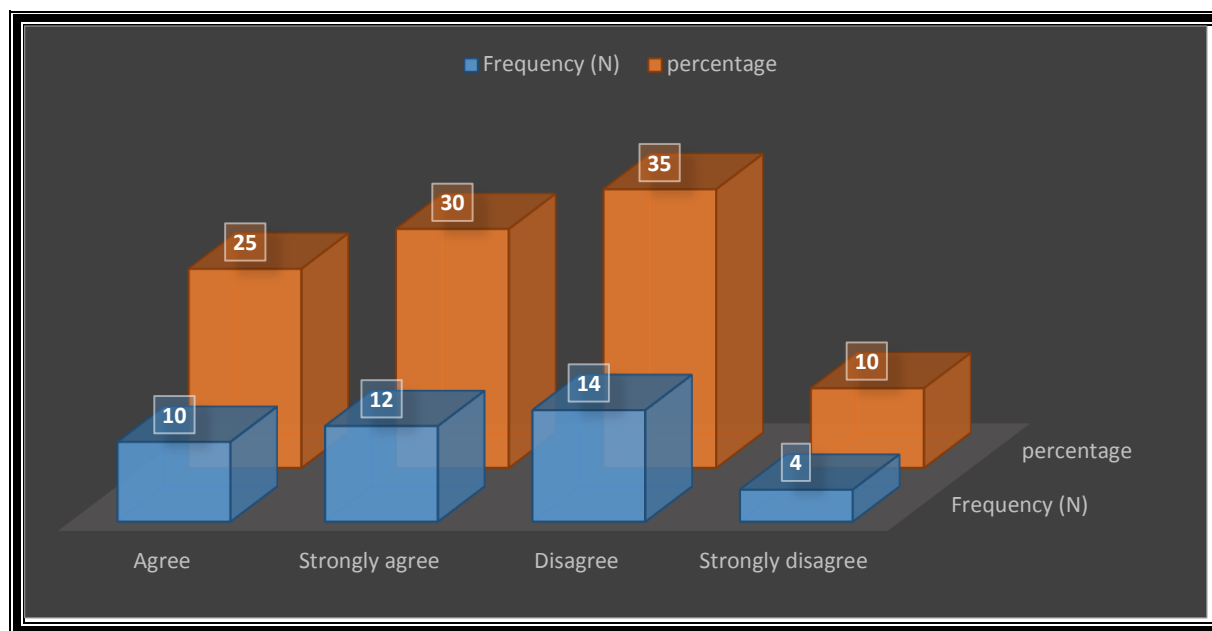
Source: field Data 2017

Would you agree that the level of peace is up to standard in Zambia? As shown in the figure 6 above, 10 (25%) agreed to the question that yes the state of peace in Zambia was up to its bets standard, on the other hand, 12 (30%) respondents strongly agreed to the question that the state of peace in Zambia was up to its best standard. however, 14 (35%) respondents disagreed with the question and said that the state of peace in Zambia is not up to its best level while 4(10%) respondents strongly disagreed with the question.

It was considered worth to find out from the respondents whether they could identify some of the activities that would put the peace of the nation into danger if they (activities) were condoned. The options of some of the activities that would jeopardize the positive operation of peace in the country were provided and respondents were asked to tick against any of the activities they thought could be a danger to peace building in Zambia. Respondents were asked to choose more than one answer as possible.

Figure 7: ideas on some activities that endanger peace building in Zambia.
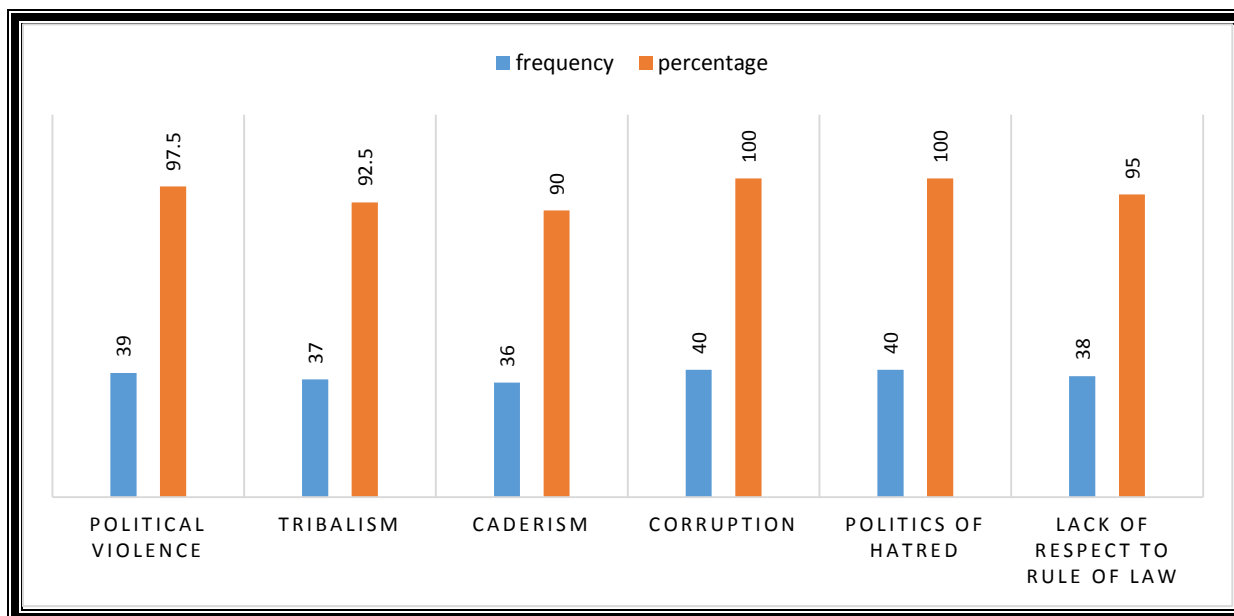
Source: field Data 2017

As presented in the figure 7 above, all the respondents, 40 (100%) ticked against corruption and politics of hatred to be the major activities that can jeopardize the state of peace in the country. On the other hand, 39 (97.5%) respondents ticked against political violence as the another serious inhumane activity that can endanger the standard of peace in Zambia, while 36 (90%) respondents ticked against political caderism as an activity that can put the standard of peace in Zambia into jeopardy. nonetheless, 37 (92.5%) respondents ticked against tribalism, while 38 (95%) respondents ticked against lack of respect to the rule of law.

4.6.3. Factors influence people/youths to involve themselves in activities that can jeopardize peace Building in Zambia

Respondents were asked to express their views on some of the factors that normally influence or inspire some people particularly youths to involve themselves in some inhumane activities that could bring both political and social tension in country and frustrate the state of peace. Respondents were asked to tick against any of the given options that could be the influencing factors for the youths to involve themselves in activities that are against the principles of peace in a country. Figure 8 table below shows the responses from the respondents.

Factors influencing youths involving themselves in bad vices
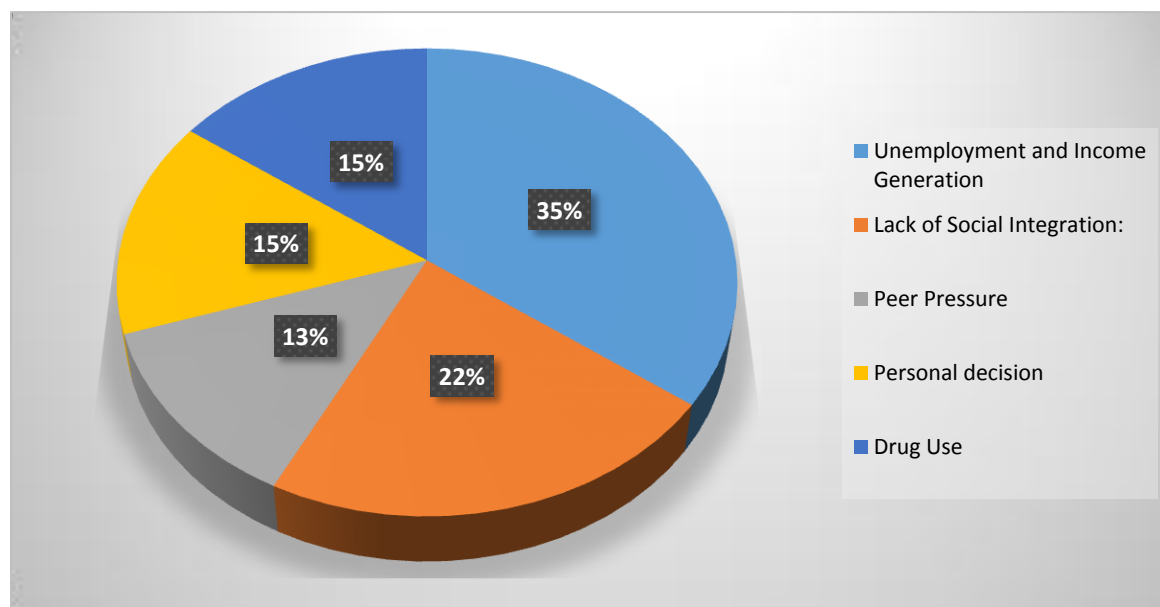
Source: field Data 2017

As presented in the figure 8 above 6(15%) respondents ticked against drug use as the contributing factor to the prevalent activities that can endanger the state of peace, 14(35%) respondents ticked against high level of unemployment as the root course of prevent inhumane activities that can risk the state of peace in the country. on the other hand, 6 (15%) said that people involve themselves in the activities that can endanger the state of peace because they decide to do so, and 5 (13%) said that peer pressure was another factor that influence people to involve themselves in activities that can endanger peace in their country. Nevertheless, 9 (22%) said that lack of social integration was another factor that influences people to involve themselves in activities that are against peace principles.

4.7. Extent to which civil society Organisation engage youths and political players in peace building activities in Zambia

Determining the extent to which people get engaged in peace building programmes was among the major objectives of this study.

Despite having the majority of the respondents saying that they were not aware of the existence of the three churches mother bodies of Zambia, it was considered worth to find out from them (respondents) if they were aware of any role that the three churches mother bodies were playing

in peace building in Zambia. On this point the respondents were only requested to indicate yes or No. Figure 12 below shows the responses that the respondents gave on their awareness of the roles of the three churches mother bodies play in peace building in Zambia

Figure 9: People's Awareness of the Roles of the Three Churches Mother Bodies
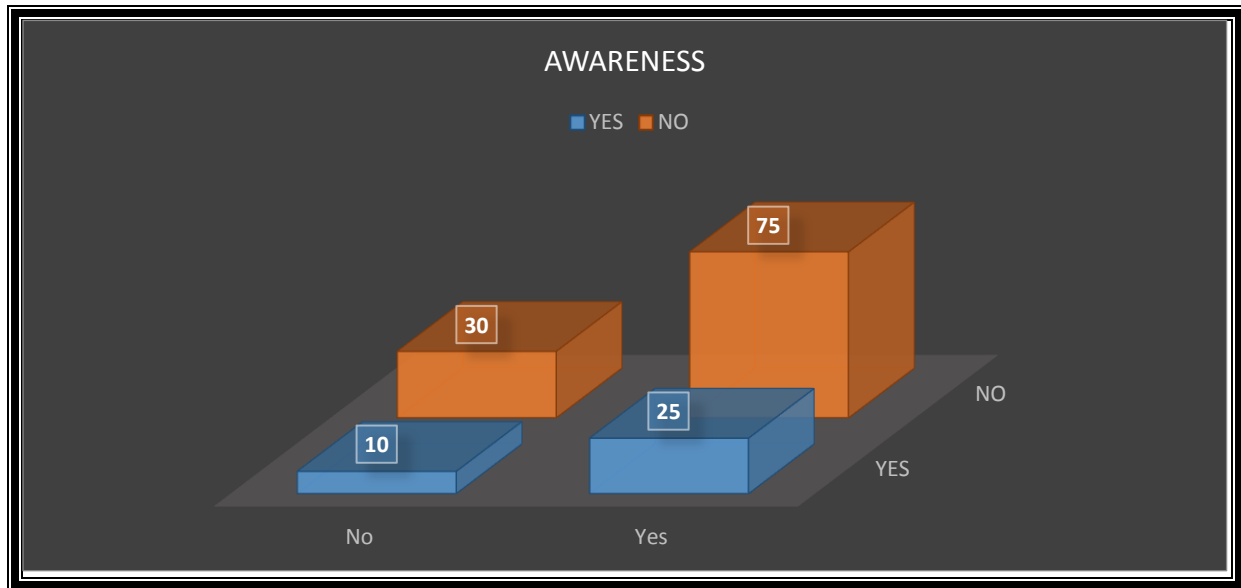
Source: field Data 2017

As presented in figure 9 above, the majority of the respondents 30 (75%) ticked against No; this means that 30 respondents were not aware of any roles or activities conducted by the three churches mother bodies in Zambia. However, 10 (25%) respondents ticked against NO; this means that 10 respondents were aware of any activity or programmes conducted by the three churches mother bodies of Zambia.

Respondents were also asked if at all thy have had ever been involved in any peace building programmes or activities conducted by the three churches mother bodies of Zambia. This particular question also sought the respondents to specify the name of an organisation that involved them in peace building programmes. This particular question requested respondents tick against either Yes or No. Figure 10 below shows the responses from the respondents on their involvement in peace building programmes or activities in Zambia.

Figure 10, People's involvement in peace building programmes/activities in Zambia.
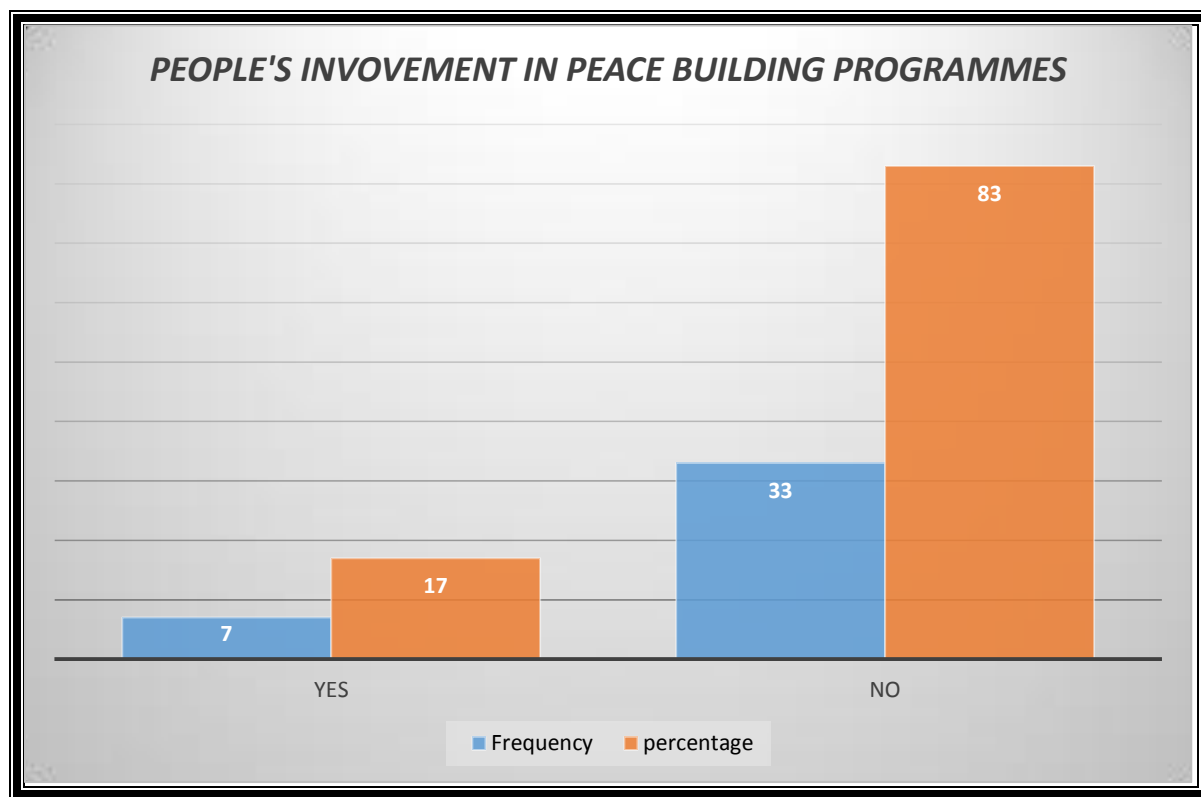
Source: field Data 2017

Figure 10 above shows that the majority of the respondents 33 (83%) ticked against NO. this simply means that 33 respondents had never been involved in any peace building programme conducted in Zambia. However, 7(17%) respondents ticked against YES. this simply means that 7 respondents had an opportunity to be involved in peace building programmes conducted in Zambia.

4.8. People's perceptions on effectiveness of the roles of the three church mother bodies in peace building in Zambia.

Respondents were asked to express their perceptions towards the roles of the three Churche Mother Bodies of Zambia in peace building in Zambia. Respondents were given four different options to tick against according to their views. The options of the answers that the respondents were given included: effective, partially effective, very effective, not effective, not effective at all. Figure 11 below shows the responses from the respondents.

People's perceptions on effectiveness of the roles of the church mother bodies
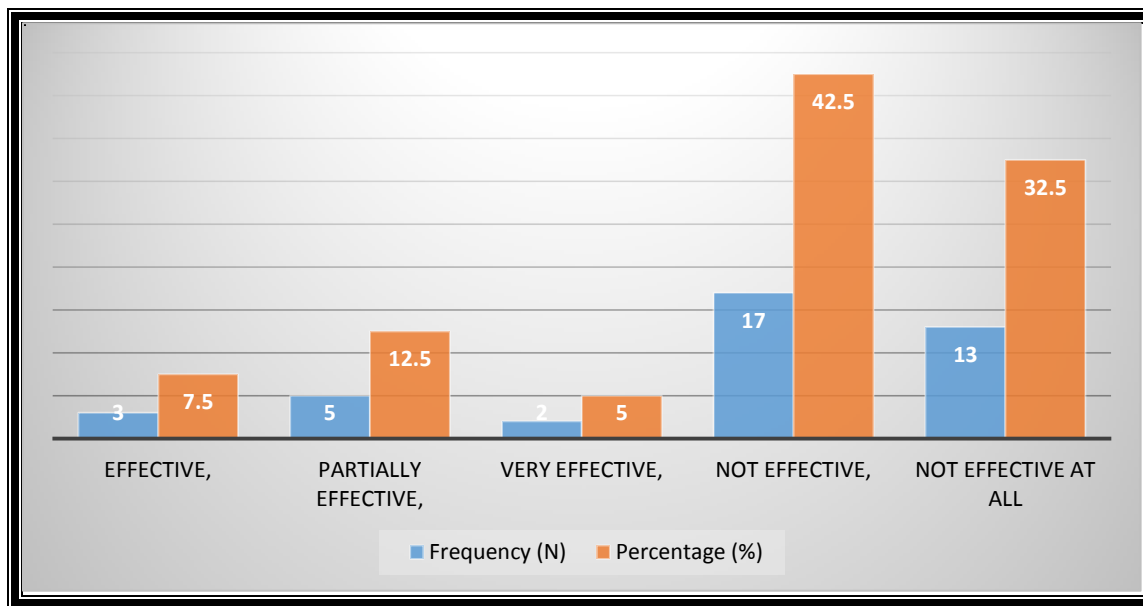
Source: field Data 2017

As presented in the figure 11 above, majority of the respondents 17 (42.5%), 13(32.5%) said that the roles that the three churches mother bodies of Zambia play in peace building are not effective. nevertheless, 3 (7.5%) said that the roles were effective, while 5(12.5%) said the roles are partially effective and 2(5%) said that the roles that the three churches mother bodies play in peace building are very effective.

4.9. Measures to promote high standard of peace in Zambia.

This research also sought the respondents to suggest what must be done in order to promote sustainable peace in Zambia. Respondents were asked to express their ideas on the measures to be implemented so that the expected standard of peace in Zambia has been observed in all angles of the countries.

Firstly, Sensitisation of peace building programmes was one of the most suggested measures of peace building in Zambia by the respondents. Most of the respondents said that lack of awareness of the peace building programmes among people is the key detrimental factor to the prevalent violence in the country. Many respondents indicate that making people aware of such programmes would carry a great positive impact in promoting standard peace in the country.

Some respondents said that *"concerned civil society organisations in partner with the government must show interest to educate people not only those in urban areas but also those from rural areas on the importance of continue preaching peace in Zambia."* On the other hand, some respondents suggested that "sensitization of peace building programmes or activities must be made as an ongoing process in the country."

Secondly, majority of the respondents indicated that peace in Zambia can only be fully achieved if at all youths were involved in any developmental programmes running in the country. For example almost all respondents suggested that "youths were the most perpetuators of violence occurring in Zambia". Some respondents justified that the reason why youths are constantly involving themselves in violence was due to the lack of employment in Zambia, hence youths ended up involving themselves in inhumane activities such as drinking bear, smoking and other drug abusing activities. Therefore, these respondents suggested that lack of employment has frustrated the majority of youths. However, the respondents deemed the involvement of youths in various economic activities as the only suitable solution to the sustainable peace building in Zambia. Not only that, some respondents indicated that the concerned civil society organisation, must always target youths in all the programmes they are planning to implement.

Thirdly, implementation of peace building policies in Zambia was another suggested measure that the respondents suggested. The majority of the respondents had put a blame for the prevalent violence in Zambia on government more as the mother branch of policy makers. For example, some respondents suggested that in the actual sense the observed political violence in Zambia were spearhead by politicians themselves. Therefore, the suggestion was that government in line with the police makers must consider the implementation of peace building policy in Zambia as the great measure to promote sustainable peace in Zambia.

4.10. Information gathered from leaders of the Church Mother Bodies in Zambia

As the major interest of this study, the Church Mother Bodies in Zambia were targeted. The information from the leaders of the churches mother bodies was gathered using interviews. First and foremost, it is important to acknowledge in this study that the church mother bodies are made up with three bodies which include: The Council of Churches in Zambia (CCZ), Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia (EFZ), and Zambia Episcopal Conference (ZEC). The

findings gathered from the leaders of the three mother bodies'; churches of Zambia were qualitatively presented. The information gathered from the leaders of the three churches mother bodies of Zambia were qualitatively presented as shown below.

To start with, leaders' perception on the state of peace in Zambia was considered first. The discussion with the leaders of the three churches mother bodies was done through interviews. The leaders were asked to express their views on the current state of peace in Zambia. Despite having some leaders showed hesitance to this question, some leaders indicated that the state of peace in Zambia was good but not to the expected standard. For example, some leaders gave an example of failure of the two top leaders to reach the consensus on the dialogue of reconciliation. He further stated that the failure of the two top leaders in the country to reach the consensus is the reflection on the less standard of peace in the c country. On the other hand, one leader from The Council of Churches in Zambia (CCZ) also stated that leaders must always lead by an example in as much as preaching peace is concerned but this is not a case in Zambia.

Quoting the 2018 Chilanga MP by-elections which were characterised with violence and name calling, he concluded by indicating that in as much as the country can be seen to enjoy the peace, the country is somehow in danger because the leaders are seem to be entertained with the act of violence. In addition, Pukuta Phiri, a leader from Zambia Episcopal Conference (ZEC), stated that peace involved total calm with no act of violence and leaders to show genuine interest to cooperate people from different areas of the country regardless their tribe belonging which was not a case in Zambia. For example, Phiri stated that, "*the major challenge we are facing in Zambia is that political leaders instead of preaching peace they are the ones in front spearheading sorts of violence''*, he gave an example of the constant use of the word tribalism as the major threat to peace. Another leader from Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia (EFZ) stated that there were a lot of things that could be point at to proof that peace in the country was not up to the expected standard.

In addition, the consideration of peace building programmes/activities implemented by Three Church Mother Bodies in Zambia was also cardinal to the study. The researcher also wanted to find out from the leaders of the three churches mother bodies if at all they had implemented any peace building programmes in Zambia. A leader from Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia (EFZ)

clearly stated that the three churches mother bodies of Zambia had implemented several programmes in Zambia.

For example, he stated that the three Church Mother Bodies of Zambia had a moral responsibility and a Biblical mandate to speak on behalf of those that were downtrodden, marginalized, abused, discriminated against and ill-treated. He further stated that the association aimed at promoting peace by creating an atmosphere that was conducive for everyone to live peaceably and also in case of any challenges to speak for those affected, resettling the displaced and ensuring justice against perpetrators of violence. However, this leader did not specify the implemented running programme specifically designed and implemented for peace building.

On the other hand the discussion with a leader from Zambia Episcopal Conference (ZEC) was also done concerning the peace building programmes implemented in the country. This leader stated that they were involved in various peace building programmes in Zambia. He stated that of the core objective of the association was to be obliged to speak to any group of people or individuals that are likely to disrupt peace or that may have the potential to cause violence. The He further stated that the three churches mother bodies is pro-active by ensuring that everyone plays a part in promoting peace and creating a conducive environment for co-existence among people from diverse backgrounds. However, this leader did not come out specify the programmes that had been implemented to promote peace building in Zambia.

Finding out from the leaders of three churches mother bodies on how they involve youths in various peace building programmes in Zambia was considered worth in this study. The researcher wanted to find out from the leaders if at all they had ever involved youths around the country and how often. From the discussion held with the leaders of three churches mother bodies of Zambia, it was revealed that indeed youths are involved in such programmes. However, some leaders came out objectively and indicated that youths are partially involved because most of the programmes are only limited to youths in churches but not those in other communal places such as markets and bus stations.

For example a leader from Zambia Episcopal Conference (ZEC) stated that they found it difficult to cooperate with youths from other communal places such as bus stations because these are group of youths used by politicians. The gave an example that, ''most of the bus stations in Lusaka province and other areas in the country are dominated and controlled by cadres of

political parties hence it is difficult to cooperate with them. Another leader said that it is easier to involve youths who are willing to cooperate with us''.

Another leader said that, our aim is to in cooperate youths more especially men in any developmental programme implemented in the country, but the challenge is the lack of willingness by the youths themselves. He further stated that youths are only willing to take part in programmes where money is expected to be given to them. Youths' lack of willingness to involve themselves in voluntary programmes was seen to be a challenge. The leaders further stated that in most cases they target students from secondary and high learning institutions because they understand things from different angles as compared to those in bus stations.

4.11. Church Mother Bodies' Perception on the Tolerance of Political Caderism in Zambia

The researcher also wanted to find pout from the leaders on how they perceive the tolerance of political cadres in Zambia. Different points were raised by the leaders. However, most of the leaders stated that caderism was not good for it is one of the factors to the prevalent political violence experienced in Zambia. "*One of the leaders stated that it was regrettable to see political cadres having more powers than police officers.*" However, one of the leaders objectively came out and said, *"these people so called cadres are not only doing all what they are doing for themselves but their leaders are enjoying and entertained with whatever inhumane violence they are practicing in the country."*

On the other hand, another leader, Chisanga said:

> *If the spirit of 'caderism' is not curtailed by various political players in Zambia the country might degenerate into tribal violence. If not careful with the spirit of cadre-ism in Zambia the country risks being put on fire. Although Zambia has not yet experienced any tribal wars like other countries in Eastern Africa, the country is facing inherent tribal tensions that need to be checked. We have not seen in Zambia tribal wars as such, but underneath the current seemingly peaceful existence we have, this thing (tribal war) is burning and form and from time to time we hear there is violence especially during elections.*

They observed that political parties used party cadres as tools to fix political opponents using violence.

They also observed that political cadres had more powers than even civil servants. Choolwe, a respondent from Caritas Zambia had this to say:

> *In Zambia today, cadres seem not to be under any leadership of some kind. The powers that be have sometimes paid a blind eye and disowned their cadres but this is after the damage has been done. They (cadres) can even break the law with impunity. Sometimes especially during political party rallies, traffic rules are not observed by these cadres and at times they even climb on top of vehicles while the traffic officers look on and this happens mainly with cadres from the ruling party. With this scenario, these respondents felt that there was need for sensitization and leadership within political parties.*

4.12. Churches Mother Bodies' Reactions to Partisan Churches

The researcher also wanted to find out from the leaders on how they react to the churches which show the interest of inclined themselves to a particular political party which is against the principles of peace building. The researcher was prompted to ask this question because it was observed in 2016 general elections that some Christianity organisations were observed to show themselves publicly that they were supporting a certain political party. For example, some churches were observed printing t-shirts labeled Christians for ……. mentioning the names of a particular political party leader. Even though this question was seen to be tricky to be answered, the leaders said that they sometimes work under difficult conditions more especially when Church leaders were failing to work in line with the principles of Christianity of preaching peace. The leaders further stated that their reaction to such churches is to talk to them in that nice way which in most cases end in vein. However, one of the leaders said that they find it difficult to deal with the partisan church leaders because most of them are not even the members of this association (Three Churches Mother Bodies of Zambia).

4.13. Church Mother Bodies' Approaches to National Dialogue Process

Respondents were asked about the approaches that the three Church Mother bodies of Zambia adopt in organising the national dialogue between the two top political leaders we have in Zambia. By approach, the researcher wanted to know if the dialogue are only designed or

implemented to sort out the differences between the two top political leaders or not. Specifically, the researcher wanted to find out whether the three Church Mother Bodies they use holistic approach of organising the dialogue.

By holistic approach, the researcher wanted to know if the association had ever organized a dialogue which involved the all leaders from political arenas rather than organising the dialogue which involves two top leaders of the particular political parties. The leaders of the three churches mother bodies stated that holistic approach had never been done because in most cases the misunderstanding has observed to be constantly risen between the two leaders. Hence, it was considered important for them to organize the dialogue that can promote good relationship between the two leaders. Some leaders said that it is not logic to pay attention to other political leaders who do not have issues against each other. The leaders said that such an arrangement have had never been done before. With the effort to justify their points, the leaders of three churches mother bodies said that the dialogue that they had been organising did not only designed to unite the two leaders but all the political leaders across the country.

4.14. Church Mother Bodies Role in Peace Building in Zambia.

The leaders from the three Church Mother Bodies were asked to specify the roles they play in peace building. Different roles were identified by the leaders. However, the common roles that almost all the leaders acknowledged during the interviews were as follows:

Firstly, the three Church Mother Bodies' leaders said that they have great roles in peace building through inter-mediation and facilitation. They said that the three church mother bodies of Zambia mediate between communities and social groups in conflict and sometimes between any group and the state. By creating platforms for mutual dialogue and encounter, people understand each other and their differences. The main activities within this function are engaging armed groups and communities or development agencies in peace or even disarmament or cease fire negotiations. For example, Mutale Emmanuel, one of the leaders said that:

> *We the three churches mother bodies are interested on carrying out the role of Inter-mediation and Facilitation by negotiating with the state to carry out disarmament exercises in a humane manner. We also appeal to all political parties across the country (Zambia) not to engage in any violence activity during the campaign events and for an agreed period of time thereafter. We sometimes use peace education*

workshops and seminars to educate people on the importance of peace building in the
country.

On the other hand, the three churches mother bodies' leaders said that the Inter-mediation and Facilitation role is also based on advocating for national dialogue. For example, Mulenga Evans one of the leaders clearly indicated the following:

We believe in dialogue because it is essential for holistic national development as there cannot be any meaningful development where there is tension and lack of effective as well as peaceful engagement among various groups in the country. It is for this reason that we support and wish to contribute and make ourselves available for the restoration of peace in the country through dialogue.

On the other hand, some leaders indicated that dialogue is not only meant for political leaders but all leaders including traditional leaders across the country. On the advocacy for dialogue the leaders said that prisoners are also the major target social group. They said that prisoners are frequently visited with the mission to build their psychological capacity. One of the leaders said that the interest of the three church mother bodies association is to promote the peace dialogue between any groups of individuals across the country.

For example, Chanda Peter, one of the leaders from the three church mother bodies said:

We even play the dialogue role by engaging local leaders such as the County Commissioners and presenting the views of the people through local district and constituency forums, soliciting support from donors both external and internal and participating in decision making such as the formulation of the constitution and law making by involving the people's representatives in parliament.

Secondly, advocacy for citizens' human rights was another role that the leaders from the three church mother bodies identified. The leaders said that one of the main roles of civil society is articulation of the clients concerns. They further indicated that monitoring of human rights violations and early warning involves observing and monitoring the activities of conflict actors to avert likely conflict. One of the leaders clearly stated that because of its involvement with local communities, the three churches mother bodies easily pick small changes in daily relations

among groups that may signal the beginning of conflict, thus performing the role of an early warning function. For example, Chola Bruce, one of the clients said:

> O*ur major concern in advocacy for citizens' human rights is to raise awareness of issues through various communication channels such as the media, workshops, seminars or conferences''. Our objective is to facilitate debate on issues that may have been neglected by the state such as inadequate services like roads, electricity, education and health and show how the failure by the state to provide such services is causing and perpetuating the problem for which the communities are being condemned for.*

On the other hand, another leader by the name of Mungaila Mulengwani also said that the three churches mother bodies also advocates for the rights of prisoners. For example he indicated the following:

> *All the three Church Mother Bodies (CCZ, EFZ and ZCCB) have prison ministries whereby we visit prisons and attend to the spiritual needs of the convicts. We do it not because we condone their actions or their wrong doing. We do it because they are our fellow human beings; they are our sisters and brothers. We do it because it is a biblical requirement on our part as our Lord Jesus reminds us: "I was in prison and you came to see me" (Matthews 25:35-37).*

Thirdly, leaders from the three church mother bodies also said that they have engaged in inter-group social cohesion across the country. It was acknowledged during the interviews that the inter-group social cohesion have created a forum for relationship building and restoration of trust among social groups across the country. leaders indicated that the inter-group social cohesion has great ability to bring people in close contact with one another and this promotes social cohesion among the parties in conflict. The organization of the sporting events incorporate an entertainment and fun element as participants mix freely during the events without consideration of ethnicity. The events also include traditional singing and dancing, recitation of poems and beauty contests. For example, one of the leaders, Kangwa Christopher clear said:

> *Inter-group social cohesion programmes are conducted in different ways but the chief among them is the inter-ethnicity cohesion. Tribalism is a cancer that can kill a nation if*

not constantly kept at bay. The political leadership has a sacred mandate to keep this nation united and must desist from statements that go to polarize people into ethnic groups that thrive on ethnic bigotry. We have only one country; and we must cherish and support one another for the greater glory of God. It is our great concern as the three church mother bodies to see that tribalism has being fully denied any opportunity to take its role in the country. The three church mother bodies of Zambia has committed itself to the ant-tribalism campaign so as to allow social solidarity to play its roles as the way of promoting peace.

4.15. Challenges that the three Church Mother Bodies of Zambia face in peace building in Zambia

The leaders from the three Church Mother Bodies were asked to share with the researcher some of the major challenges they face in peace building in Zambia. Various challenges were identified but the most common challenges that almost all the leaders from whom the information gathered acknowledged included, Perceived as partisan association, Lack of willingness by political leaders to work with the association in peace building, financial challenges.

Firstly, it can be reported that leaders from the three Church Mother Bodies said that in as much as they try very hard to make sure that peace as being promoted and maintained as one of their core objectives, they are faced with various challenges the chief among them is being perceived as political partisan. Leaders said that it is very difficult to work in the environment where our efforts to maintain peace are not always appreciated. For example, one of the leaders, Mwelwa Evans clear said:

> *It is very common in Zambia to be perceived as ant-government agent once you try to condemn some of the inhumane activities those in power are doing. This is not just common for those in power, but even those in opposition, one you try to condemn their bad actions it is a must that you be perceived as a cadre for ruling political party.*

They further indicated that this challenge normally frustrates their effort to continue with their programmes of peace building in Zambia. one of the leaders said that it is because of this

challenge that the association has find it difficult to work leaders because once you try to engage youths some people would start thinking that we are working for those in power or certain political party. Another leader said that to make the matter worse this challenge normally comes from our fellow top leaders of the country.

Lack of willingness by political willingness to work with an association was another challenge that the leaders from the three churches mother bodies acknowledged. The leaders said that many were the times the association tried to talk to all political leaders to engage themselves in the programmes of fighting political violence by youths. For example, Katongo Malama one of the leaders said :

> *It is unfortunate that our effort to fight political violence in Zambia is mainly not appreciated by our leaders. He further stated that the reluctant by our political leaders to involve themselves in fighting political violence contributes to high level of violence in our country. Leaders more especially those in government have power to bring the youths who perpetuate violence to book and make them to face the law. He further quote the slogan of ''Panga for Panga'' where some leaders are telling their followers to retaliate whenever they attacked. This slogan shouldn't come from the mouth of the leader in this case an important leader of the nation. Panga for Panga slogan can lead to a very serious conflict and put the state of peace in jeopardy.*

Financial challenge was yet another serious problem faced by the three Church Mother Bodies in Zambia. The leaders said that there are a lot of activities run up but there are limited resources to undertake them. On the other hand, the leaders said that their aim is to sensitize various anti-violence programmes across the country but due to financial challenges this effort seems to be in vain. For example, Mukelebai, one of the leaders said

> *We the three churches mother bodies of Zambia's are tasked with the roles to maintain peace in Zambia, however the challenge is the mobilisation of resource to make sure that the programmes are running smoothly. We have engaged in the programmes of educating the country on the benefits of avoiding all sorts of inhumane activities that would lead to peace destruction but due to finance challenges the programmes seem to be not effective. the three churches mother bodies has the concern to engage youths in its programmes across the country but due to financial challenges some youths more especially those from rural areas*

are not given that opportunity of involving themselves in such programmes. We the three churches mother bodies strive to make sure that all people across the country are given the opportunities of involving themselves in peace building programmes.

4.16. Church Mother Bodies' Measures towards Peace Building in Zambia

The leaders from the three Church Mother Bodies of Zambia were also asked to express their views on the measures that must be put in place to make sure that peace has built in Zambia. Different ideas on the measures to peace building were expressed by all the leaders who took part in interviews. The following are some of the suggested measures by the three churches mother bodies of Zambia leaders.

Firstly, all the leaders targeted from the three Church Mother Bodies said that there is need for all political players to publicly show the hearts of willingness to embrace dialogue of reconciliation whenever it is called. For example, the leaders expressed some worries and said that, "it is unfortunate that our leaders are having the challenges to appreciate the importance of dialogue". The leaders further said that "there has been a serious issue in the country where the two top political leaders (UPND and PF top leaders) seem to have no interest in embracing the process of dialogue." for example, Nyundo Esther, one of the leaders said:

> *Lack of willingness by the political leaders to embrace the process of dialogue has contributed to the constant happening of political violence in country because the two leaders are not willing to lead by an example. The leader further quoted saying that: one of the leaders quote saying that when two elephants are fighting it's the grass that suffers''. The leaders said that having the situation whereby the leaders do not want to lead by an example is destructive to peace. If these two leaders were to come out publicly and show the love to the nation, peace in Zambia would have been in the right place it deserves.*

She went on to state the following:

> *We the leaders of the three Church Mother Bodies namely: the Council of Churches in Zambia (CCZ), the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia (EFZ) and the Zambia Conference of Catholic Bishops (ZCCB) are saddened at the continued state of political tension in the country and the blatant lack of political will by our leaders to address the root causes of*

what is obtaining. As Church leaders who have a God-given mandate of exercising the
prophetic mission in our nation and in our time, we cannot afford to simply stand aside
and look.

In addition, the leaders from the three Church Mother Bodies said that the challenge of peace building in Zambia is the lack of implemented peace building programmes. The leaders said that "there has been reluctant in the implementation of peace building programmes in Zambia". The leaders suggested that government together with the faith based organisations must engage in peace building programmes where the perpetuators of violence must be targeted and involved in such programmes as the way of promoting sustainable peace in our country. They further suggested that stakeholders across the country must voluntarily willing to work with the government and the three churches mother bodies to spread the peace building programmes across the country.

Furthermore, the leaders from the three churches mother bodies said that the reason why political violence seems to increase is because cadres are given more powers by the political leaders. They further stated that, it has now become a trend that whoever wants to form a political party the first thing he or she would think of is to recruit cadres which is unfortunate. For example, one of the leaders from the three Churches Mother Bodies said:

> *If all political leaders were to realise how dangerous caderism is, the country*
> *would have been free from political violence we are experiencing in Zambia.*
> *Political leaders more especially those in power are somehow to be blamed for*
> *the gradual increase of caderism in Zambia. It has become to our concern that,*
> *the political leaders have reached an extent of creating jobs for cadres than just*
> *a mare citizens and it is because of this reason that cadres have become*
> *untouchable in Zambia. This is definitely serious challenge to peace. Political*
> *leaders see caderism as one way of being in power which is very unfortunate.*

On the other hand, another leader, Mwansa Chewe urged all political party leaders in Zambia to restrain their cadres from fueling political violence. For example, this leader said that

> *It is my hope and prayers that all political party leaders should put down their*
> *feet and speak the language of condemnation and make sure that these cadres*
> *are handed over to the law enforcement authority so that this thing of political*

> *violence is stamped out because if we do not stamp it out now, when we go towards election in 2021, it is going to be a disaster.*

In addition, all the leaders from the three Church Mother Bodies suggested that, "Constitutionalizing tribal remarks as a serious crime can be the only alternative measure to peace building. The leaders said that tribalism is one of the serious detrimental factors to peace building process in Zambia. The leaders further said that nowadays politicians are using the notion of tribalism to decampaigning other political parties and their leaders. This might be seen to be simple but in the actual sense this is a very serious issue in as much as peace building process is concerned. For example, Changala Kabwe, one of the leaders said:

> *There is need to put stiff punishment for those found using tribal remarks regardless their social status in the country. There is need for us Zambians to work together towards coexistence and that this ethnic diversity can bring about meaningful development to our country. Zambia is the country that has 73 ethnic groupings and that, this ethnic diversity is a gift from GOD that we have. We can use this gift as the opportunity for us to grow together in unity and peace and enhance pour development.*

High level of corruption was another suggested activity that can endanger the state of peace in the country. The leaders from the three churches mother bodies of Zambia said that the country stood at the crossroads and we are in a crisis. For example, Malunga, one of the leaders stated the following:

> *We face many challenges related to governance; the muzzling of people's freedoms and human rights violations. As Zambians, we all need to examine our conscience, seek the truth and work towards bringing back hope to our people. Peace cannot come to our country if successful administrations do not take drastic steps to stamp out the endemic corruption among public servants which has reached epidemic proportions against the backdrop of the highest poverty index since the dawn of our political independence in 1964.*

On the other hand, some leaders said that, "it is unacceptable that some public service personnel have amassed enormous wealth in dubious or highly questionable ways and within a short time in the service. For example, justifying this point one of the leaders said that it was a scandal that year in and year out, the Auditor General's report revealed hair raising miss-application and miss appropriation of huge sums of public funds by public officers but few, if any culprits, were punished.

4.17. Summary

Chapter four has presented the findings from the respondents. The findings gathered have been presented into three different segments in this chapter according the categories of the respondents from whom the data was collected. The first segment has presented the findings gathered from the students from the three targeted high learning institutions (UNZA, NIPA, and Evelyn Horne). The information gathered from the students was quantitatively and qualitatively presented in this chapter. The second segment of this chapter presented the findings gathered from the marketers, bus drives and bus conductors. The data gathered from the marketers and bus drivers was also quantitatively and qualitatively presented. The third segment presented the findings or data gathered from the leaders of the three church mother bodies of Zambia. The findings gathered from the leaders of the three Church Mother Bodies of Zambia were qualitatively presented. The second chapter discusses these findings presented in this chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

5.0. Overview

This chapter discusses the findings presented in chapter four of this study. As presented in chapter four, the discussion of the findings in this chapter was done in line with four objectives of this study. These objectives included evaluating the efficacy of the roles of civil society organizations in peace building in Zambia, investigating the extent to which civil society organisation engage youths and political players in peace building activities in Zambia, assessing people's perception on the roles of civil society organisations in peace building in Zambia and determining challenges that civil society organizations face in peace building in Zambia.

5.1. People's perception on the Roles of civil society organisations in peace building in Zambia.

Determining people's perceptions on the roles that the Church Mother Bodies play in peace building in Zambia was one of the main objectives of this study. First and foremost, this study revealed that majority of the Zambians have the knowledge of peace. Majority of people are able to give the meaning of peace both in English and their native language. As presented in figure 2 in chapter four of this study, all the respondents (students) 50 (100%) from the three high learning institutions (UNZA, UNIPA and Evelyn Horne) defined peace as the period in which there is no war, 45 (90%) students also defined peace as a freedom from disturbances, 41 (82%) students defined peace as harmony among people and 38 (76%) students defined peace as a tranquility. Therefore, this study revealed that despite having different terms used to describe peace, it has the same meaning of tranquility, harmony and freedom without any form of war and disturbances. In line with thoughts of the students, this study revealed that, peace is a state without war, freedom from disturbances and harmony among people. The findings from the respondents were in line with Aaron (1966) who defined peace as any properly conceived and the tranquility of order, or a morally constituted political order that takes into account both the

sinful nature of man as well as his highest moral potential as well as his capacity for truth, justice, and that love which transcends the requirements of justice.

The study also revealed that most of the people interviewed were able to define the word peace in their own language. As presented in chapter four in this study, peace in Bemba language was defined as *Umutende (Peace) umukuti abekala calo bonse mumitundu ishalekanalekana tabali mucimfulunganya atemwa inkondo*. This simply means that people in Zambia from different ethnic groups are in harmony, freedom and tranquility, while in Nyanja peace was defined *Mtendere (Peace) ndi kakhalidwe kopanda phokoso, nkhondo kapena umbombo*. This means that peace is the state without confusions or war but freedom. In Lozi peace was defined as *Kozo (peace): Bantu baswanela kuina mwa kozo kokusina ndwa*. This simply means that peace is harmony and freedom without any confusions, disturbances and wars, in Tonga peace was defined as *Luumuno (peace) Kukala kakunyina kupyopyongana.* This means that peace is to live without confusions. Therefore, this study revealed that people know exactly what peace is and what it takes to have full state of peace in the country and this is an indication that involving them in any peace building programmes could help the country to attain the high standard of peace in the country. This is in line with Aarne (2005) views that peace is not only an absence of war, but it means or includes the presence of justice, law, order or government in the society as he said.

However, finding the meaning of peace from the respondents was not considered enough in this study, hence respondents were asked to express their views on the state peace in Zambia. This study revealed that the majority of the respondents were of the view that the country does not have high standard of peace that it deserves. As presented in figure 3 in chapter four, 12 (24%) students were of the view that the state of peace in Zambia is up to standard, while 8 (16%) students from all the institutions strongly agreed that the state of peace in the country is up to standard. However, 17 (34%) disagreed to the statement that the state of peace is up to its standard while 13 (26%) respondents strongly disagreed to the statement that the state of peace in Zambia was up to its standard. From these findings, it was discovered that the 30 (60%) disagreed with the statement that the state of peace in Zambia was up to standard. This perception of the state of peace in Zambia from students was correlating with the information provided by the leaders from three churches mother bodies of Zambia who stated that the failure

of the two top political leaders in the country to embrace dialogue is the reflection of the less standard of peace in the c country. This information on leaders was considered important in this study because leaders must always lead by an example in as much as preaching peace in country is concerned but this is not a case in Zambia. The study also reveals that constant happening of political violence in Zambia perpetuated by political leaders is proof that peace is not up to standard in Zambia. This resonates with Sriram (2008) who argued in his study that many African countries continue to experience unending wars and civil wars because leaders in such countries fail to make peace within them. He further stated that, these wars have resulted into an acrimonious number of deaths, displacement of communities, proliferation of small arms and light weapons.

However, being asked whether they thought were the roles that the three church mother bodies played in peace building in Zambia were effective or not. It was discovered that, majority of the people did not even have the knowledge of the three church mother bodies of Zambia. This study therefore, revealed that lack of awareness of some civil society organisations in Zambia by the majority of people is the sign that most of civil society organisation does not involve people in their activities. The study also revealed that the majority of the people in Zambia were not aware of the three churches mother bodies of Zambia. As presented in figure 9 in chapter four, the majority of the respondents 30 (75%) ticked against No. this means that 30 respondents were not aware of any roles or activities conducted by the three churches mother bodies in Zambia. Only 10 (25%) said to be aware of the peace building programmes conducted by the Three Church Mother Bodies. This is in line with Thelma's ideas; (2008), arguing that people's lack of awareness of civil society organizational activities in peace building has contributed to challenges of building high levels of peace in countries.

As the major interest of this objective, this study reveals that the majority of the respondents perceived the roles of civil society organisation in peace building to be not effective. It was observed in this study that people's lack of awareness of the three church mother bodies and their activities in peace building make the roles played by the association not efficacy in peace building in Zambia. As presented in Figure 9 in chapter four, 19 (38%) respondents perceived the   roles of the three churches mother bodies of Zambia in peace building to be partially not effective at all and 16 (32%) perceived the roles to be not effective, 8 (16%) perceived the roles

of the three churches mother bodies be effective while 3 (6%) said that the roles the three church mother bodies of play in peace building were very effective. Looking at the responses given by the respondents in this study, therefore, revealed that majority of people in Zambia perceive the roles that the church mother body plays in peace building not effective. However, this particular question further sought the respondents to justify their answers, majority of the respondents said that, some civil society leaders are partisan hence making them to have challenges to do their work effectively. This finding is in line with Sewanyana, (2009), who reported that, failure of the most civil society organisations to involve the citizens in peace building programmes, their roles in organisations were seen not to be fruitful.

5.2. Youths and political players Engagement in peace building activities/ Programmes in Zambia

This study sought to determine the extent to which youths and political players are engaged in peace building programmes or activities in Zambia. It revealed that majority of the citizens more especially youths have no chance or rather opportunity to participate in peace building programmes conducted in Zambia. This was realised to be worrisome in this study after discovering that about more than 90% of the people in Zambia were not even aware of any single peace building programmes conducted in the country. As presented in figure 5 in chapter four in this study, 47 (94%) out of 50 (100%) respondents indicated that they were not aware of the peace building activities conducted by the civil society organisation Zambia, only 3 (6%) said be aware of the peace building programmes that civil society organisations conducted in Zambia. This study concludes that if the majority of people are not aware of peace building programmes conducted in the country, participation in peace building programmes for them is totally none-existent. This resonates with Borton (1994) that civil society organisations in most cases operate without involving the people they were working for and this normally makes their work challenging.

The study also revealed that majority of people in the country have never ever participated in any of the peace building programmes or activities running or conducted in the country. Lack of people participating in peace building programmes was considered to be a serious challenge in this study which needs to be given a serious attention. As presented in table 3 in chapter four, 46 (92%) students from the three institutions said that they have had never participated in any peace

building activity conducted in the country but only 4 (8%) of the total said that they participated in peace building activities. This is in line with Mackinlay (1996) who reveals in his study that most of the activities or programmes that most of civil society organisation organise sideline youths. Majority of youths are not given the opportunity to participate in such programmes.

This study therefore revealed that despite having some respondents who said that they participated in some peace building programmes conducted, this information was considered a claim to some extent because most of these respondents failed to specify the activities or programmes they participated in and which organisation organised the same programmes. As indicated by the leaders from the three church mother body of Zambia that, the programmes conducted rarely involve people particularly youths for various reasons. Some leaders came out objectively and indicated that youths were partially involved because most of the peace programmes were only limited to youths in churches but not those in other communal places such as markets and bus stations. For instance, one leader stated that the three church mother bodies of Zambia found it difficult to cooperate with youths from other communal places such as bus stations because these were group of youths mainly used by politicians. He further said that most of the bus stations in Lusaka province and other areas in the country are dominated and controlled by cadres of political parties hence, making it so difficult to cooperate with them. Youths were only willing to take part in programmes where money is expected to be given to them."

This study revealed that the three Church Mother Bodies of Zambia leaders are willing to work with the majority of Zambians more especially the youths but the challenge is ways of wining the hearts of people to involve themselves in peace building activities. The study also revealed that majority of youths were the major perpetuators of activities than endanger the state of peace in the country. As one of the leaders reported, this study revealed that most of the youths involve themselves in inhumane activities such as political violence so as to receive some money from some inconsiderate politicians. This was in line with Okumu (2003) who reported that youths in many African countries are the main perpetuators of violence because they are used by the politicians more especially the politicians who are in power.

5.3. The Effectiveness of the Roles of Civil Society Organizations in Peace Building in Zambia

Assessing the effectiveness of the roles of civil society organisations in peace building in Zambia was the major objective and purpose of this study. This study revealed that the roles that the civil society organisations particularly the three church mother bodies play in peace building in Zambia are not effective and not up to standard as expected. This study revealed that for as long as people in the country are not aware of the civil society organisations that are responsible for peace building, it was very difficult to achieve the standard peace the country deserves. As presented in figure 5 in chapter four in this study, 19 (38%) respondents perceived the roles of the three churches mother bodies of Zambia in peace building to be not effective at all, 16 (32%) perceived the roles not to be effective, 8 (16%) perceived the roles of the three Church Mother Bodies be effective while 3 (6%) said that the roles of the three Church Mother Bodies of play in peace building were very effective. On the other hand, as presented in the table 4 in chapter four of this study majority of the respondents 17 (42.5%), said that the roles that the three Church Mother Bodies of Zambia played in peace building were not effective.

This study therefore, revealed that majority of people in Zambia perceive the roles that the Church Mother Bodies play in peace building not effective at all. Some of the respondents justified their answers that despite showing the interest of promoting peace in the country, the three Church Mother Bodies of Zambia's efforts seemed to go unappreciated by both Zambians and political players themselves. This revelation from the respondents was considered worth in this study. Linking this finding from the students and other people from bus stations to that collected from the three Church Mother Bodies' leaders, this study sought the respondents to suggest the best or suitable measures to put in place so as to help the three Church Mother Bodies to promote the effective activities to promote peace in Zambia. It was revealed in this study that Sensitisation of the peace building programmes was not that rife.

It is important for sensitisation of peace building programmes to help promote high standards of peace in the country. As presented in chapter four in this study, majority of the respondents said that lack of awareness of the peace building programmes among people is the key detrimental factor to the prevalent violence in the country. Many respondents indicated that making people aware of such programmes would carry a great positive impact in promoting standard peace in

the country. To this effect, some respondents said that concerned civil societies organisations in partnership with the government must show interest to educate people not only those in urban areas but also those from rural areas on the importance of continue preaching peace in Zambia. On the other hand, some respondents suggested that sensitisation of peace building programmes or activities must be made as an ongoing process in the country.

5.3.1 Involving youths in peace building programmes

Involvement of youths in peace programmes was another revealed measure in this study. Nevertheless, majority of the respondents indicated that peace in Zambia can only be fully achieved if at all youths were involved in any developmental programmes running in the country. For example almost all respondents suggested that "youths were the most perpetuators of violence occurring in Zambia". Some respondents justified that the reason why youths are constantly involving themselves in violence was due to the lack of employment in Zambia, hence youths ended up involving themselves in inhumane activities such as drinking bear, smoking and other drug abusing activities.

Respondents deemed the involvement of youths in various economic activities as the only suitable solution to the sustainable peace building in Zambia. Not only that, some respondents indicated that the concerned civil society organisation must always target youths in all the programmes they are planning to implement. As presented in chapter four, some respondents' said that "youths in Zambia have now reached the extent of viewing violence as a way of life". The respondents further elaborated that "we have been hearing the ritual killing in Lusaka province, and most of the people suspected to be involved in this inhumane activity are youths."

Therefore, it is always important to put youths first in whatever programme the government is trying to implement. Involving youths in such programmes would help them to be responsible and start seeing things in right angle. Churches across the country must also take role to make sure that youths are helped spiritually, preaching to them real gospel of Jesus Christ of "loving one another including our enemies" instead of telling them about financial breakthrough. It is because of these promises of financial breakthrough which are frustrating youths when they discover that the financial breakthrough that a particular preacher preached to them is no achieved.

5.3.2 Implementation of sustainable peace building programmes in country.

Implementation of sustainable peace building programmes in Zambia was one of the most suggested measures that can help to promote the sustainable peace building. For example, some respondents (students) suggested that peace is likely to be in danger without peace building programmes. However, some of the respondents further suggested that there must be a serious sensitization of peace building programmes to be implemented in order to help people become aware of the values and importance of such peace building programmes. Respondents further said that in Zambia, many are the times when very important implemented programmes fail to accomplish their goals in due to the lack of sensitization of such programmes. There is need for any implemented programme to be sensitized, educating people on the importance of such programmes and how it can benefit them and the country at large if taken seriously. For example, some respondents urged that the government of Zambia to take keen interest in implementing peace building programmes across the country. For example, some respondents said that, "government must prioritize the youths in such programmes, youths must be given the opportunity to sensitize peace building programmers."

5.3.3 Illegalization of Political caderism in Zambia.

Illegalization of political caderism was another suggested suitable measure to sustainable peace building programmes in Zambia. As presented in chapter four in this study, almost all the said that political caderism has become worrisome to the state of peace in Zambia. For example, a student from the University of Zambia narrated how some cadres of the ruling party threatened to deal with students who protested for the delay of their meal allowance by the government. Furthermore, some respondents said that looking at the rate at which the population of political cadres is accelerating in the country more especially in main markets it is very worrisome to the state of peace. Some respondents said that we are in the era where some citizens who are cadres are highly recognized and respected by the political leaders both in government and oppositions. Respondents said that politicians would prefer to respect cadres than an ordinary citizen.

5.3.4 Political leaders to passionately embrace dialogue without any external intervention

This study revealed that failure by the political leaders to lead by an example in peace building in Zambia was looked at and considered as a very dangerous move in Zambia. Some respondents said that leaders must always embrace peace building programmes the country deserve, they have to lead by an example in as much as peace building is concerned. Leaders, especially political ones have a very serious issue in Zambia where they pretend as if everything is ok. One example is the failure of the two top political leaders to solve their differences since 2016 general election is a classic sign of lack of care for the Zambians. It is regrettable to have top leaders who are in this era, still expecting people outside the country to come and chair the dialogue process.

5.2. Discussion of the findings Gathered from Three Church Mother Bodies of Zambia

As presented in chapter four in this study, three Church Mother Bodies of Zambia leaders were also targeted for specific information particularly the objective of this study which aimed at investigating the challenges faced by the civil society organisations in peace building in Zambia. Firstly, this study sought to find pout the approaches that the three bodies use to facilitate the national dialogue.

5.2.1. Three Church Mother Bodies of Zambia Approaches to National Dialogue Process

This study revealed that in most cases the dialogue process organized in the country only concerns two people but not all political players in the country. This study considered approach inadequacy in as much as peace building process is concerned. This study revealed that actually in most cases the ones who bring confusions are the people who are in the bottom of the political system. For example, the leaders of the three Church Mother Bodies stated that holistic approach had never been done because in most cases the misunderstanding has observed to be constantly risen between the two leaders. Hence, it was considered important for them to organize the dialogue that can promote good relationship between the two leaders. Some leaders said that it is not logic to pay attention to other political leaders who do not have issues against each other. The leaders said that such an arrangement have had never been done before. With the effort to justify their points, the leaders of three Church Mother Bodies said that the dialogue that they had been

organising did not only designed to unite the two leaders but all the political leaders across the country.

5.2.2. The Roles of the Three Church Mother Bodies of Zambia in Peace Building

This study revealed that, the three Church Mother Bodies have great roles to play in peace building process in Zambia. Different played in peace building in Zambia were identified by the leaders of the three Church Mother Bodies of Zambia and some of the included are the following:

1. Inter-mediation and Facilitation

This study revealed that the three Church Mother Bodies of Zambia play the inter-mediation and facilitation roles in peace building in Zambia. As presented in chapter four of this study, the leaders said that the three Church Mother Bodies of Zambia mediates between communities and social groups in conflict and sometimes between any group and the state. By creating platforms for mutual dialogue and encounter, people understand each other and their differences. The main activities within this function are engaging armed groups and communities or development agencies in peace or even disarmament or cease fire negotiations.

For example, one of the leaders said that: "We the three churches mother bodies are interested on carrying out the role of Inter-mediation and Facilitation by negotiating with the state to carry out disarmament exercises in a humane manner." We also appeal to all political parties across the country (Zambia) not to engage in any violence activity during the campaign events and for an agreed period of time thereafter. We sometimes use peace education workshops and seminars to educate people on the importance of peace building in the country. This is in line with study conducted by Okumu (2003) who reported that civil society organisations are always in forefront to mobilize public opinion in Sierra Leone in support of peace and democratisation, efforts that formed part of the foundations upon which the successful post-war accountability incarnate of the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC).

This study revealed that intermediation and Facilitation are the major roles played by the three churches mother bodies of Zambia are used on advocating for national dialogue. As presented in chapter four, some leaders clearly stated that, the three Church Mother Bodies of Zambia

believes in dialogue because it is essential for holistic national development as there cannot be any meaningful development where there is tension and lack of effective as well as peaceful engagement among various groups in the country. It is for this reason that we support and wish to contribute and make ourselves available for the restoration of peace in the country through dialogue. One of the leaders said that the interest of the three Church Mother Bodies association is to promote the peace dialogue between any groups of individuals across the country.

2. Advocacy for Citizens' Human Rights

Advocacy for citizens' human rights is another revealed role of the three Church Mother Bodies in peace building in Zambia. As presented in chapter four in this study, leaders said that one of the main roles of civil society is articulation of the clients concerns. They further indicated that monitoring of human rights violations and early warning involves observing and monitoring the activities of conflict actors to avert likely conflict. One of the leaders clearly stated that because of its involvement with local communities, the three Church Mother Bodies easily pick small changes in daily relations among groups that may signal the beginning of conflict, thus performing the role of an early warning function.

This study revealed that, the three Church Mother Bodies' concern in advocacy for citizens' human rights is to raise awareness of issues through various communication channels such as the media, workshops, seminars or conferences. For example, some leaders said that, the objective of the association is to facilitate debate on issues that may have been neglected by the state such as inadequate services like hospitals, education and show how the failure by the state to provide such services is causing and perpetuating the problem for which the communities are being condemned for. This finding is line with Sewanyana (2009) who revealed that, civic and human rights education programs by CSOs, especially in the constitution-making process, helped create higher levels of awareness among people about their civic and political rights.

3. Inter-group Social Cohesion

This study also revealed that the three Church Mother Bodies also play the roles of inter-group social cohesion in peace building process in the country. For example, some of the leaders said that the inter-group social cohesion have created a forum for relationship building and restoration of trust among social groups across the country. leaders indicated that the inter-group social

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cohesion has great ability to bring people in close contact with one another and this promotes social cohesion among the parties in conflict. The study also revealed that the inter-group social cohesion programmes are conducted in different ways but the chief among them is the inter-ethnicity cohesion. One of the respondents said that political leadership has a sacred mandate to keep this nation united and must desist from statements that go to polarize people into ethnic groups that thrive on ethnic bigotry.

Zambia is indeed our only one country and we must cherish and support one another for the greater glory of God. It should be of great concern that the three Church Mother Bodies see to it that tribalism is fully denied any opportunity to take its role in the country. These findings were in line with Thelma (2008) who acknowledged that in Africa, civil society organisations have been in the forefront of dislodging entrenched authoritarianism to replace them with democratic governance, initiating and promoting reconciliation processes, localized peace building initiatives, advocating for the adherence to peace agreements and the tactical building of capacities through peace education.

5.2.3. Challenges that the three churches mother bodies of Zambia face in peace building in Zambia

Investigating the challenges faced in peace building programmes by civil society organisations was the fourth major objective of this study. This study revealed that advocacy civil society organisations face various challenges in peace building. Some of the challenges revealed in this study included: Perceived as partisan association, Lack of willingness by political leaders to work with the association in peace building, financial challenges.

1. Perceived as Political partisan Association

This study revealed that most of the civil society organisations particularly the three Church Mother bodies of Zambia were perceived as partisan organisations. It was observed in this study that this perception on civil society organisations also contributes to the low level of people's willingness to involve themselves in peace building programmes. As presented in chapter four in this study, leaders from the three Church Mother Bodies said that in as much as they try very hard to make sure that peace as being promoted and maintained as one of their core objectives, they are faced with various challenges the chief among them is being perceived as political

partisan. Leaders said that it was very difficult to work in an environment where their efforts to maintain peace were not always appreciated. This is not just common for those in power, but even those in opposition, once one tries to condemn their bad actions it is a must that one is perceived as a cadre for ruling political party.

The study further indicated that this challenge normally frustrated their efforts to continue with their programmes of peace building in Zambia. One of the leaders said that it was because of this challenge that the association has find it difficult to work with some political leaders as some people were conclusive. These findings are in line with Conradi (2003) in study on the status of civil society organisations in Zambia who observed that some civil society organisations fail to work well because they tended to be in support of certain political parties.

2. Lack of willingness by political leaders to work with the association in peace building

This study revealed majority of the political leaders lack the willingness to work with the civil society organisation in the effort to promote peace in the country. As presented in chapter 4 in study, some leaders said that many were the times the association tried to talk to all political leaders to engage themselves in the programmes of fighting political violence by youths. For example, one of the leaders said that it was unfortunate that the efforts to fight political violence in Zambia were mainly not appreciated by our leaders.

Indeed, leaders more especially those in government have power to bring the youths who perpetuate violence to book and make them to face the law. He further quoted the slogan of "Panga for Panga" where some leaders are telling their followers to retaliate whenever they were attacked. This slogan shouldn't come from the mouth of the leader in this case an important leader of the nation. Panga for Panga slogan can lead to a very serious conflict and put the state of peace in jeopardy. This is in line with Geloo (2004) who revealed in his study that lack of efficient coordination and collaboration among leaders in peace building is the major faced by civil society organisations in peace building in many African countries. He further revealed that the relationship of government and civil society has been confrontational with regard to issues of governance, participation, human rights and the rule of law.

3. Financial challenges

This study also revealed that financial challenge was another serious problem faced by the three Church Mother Bodies in Zambia. As presented in chapter four in this, the leaders said that there were a lot of activities run up but there were limited resources to undertake them. On the other hand, the leaders said that their aim is to sensitise various anti-violence programmes across the country but due to financial challenges this effort seems to be in vain.

For example, one of the leaders said that the three Church Mother Bodies of Zambia were tasked with the roles to maintain peace in Zambia, however the challenge was the mobilisation of resources to make sure that the programmes were running smoothly. Indeed, the three Churches Mother Bodies has the concern to engage youths in its programmes across the country but due to financial challenges some youths more especially those from rural areas are not given that opportunity of involving themselves in such programmes.

These findings were also in line with Conradi (2003) who reported in his study that financial constrains is the major challenge faced by civil society organisations in peace building programmes. It therefore, can be stated that the heavy dependence of civil society organisations on donors results in a highly competitive environment and places serious constraints on home-grown strategies for development. There is therefore, great need for home funded CSOs that will advance home grown advocacies that will respond to the direct dictates of the Zambian needs in the socio-economic and political spheres of our country.

5.3. Summary.

This chapter discussed the findings of the study. The discussion of the findings in this chapter was done in line with objectives of this study which included evaluating the efficacy of the roles of civil society organizations in peace building in Zambia. The study revealed that majority of the people in the country consider the roles that the three Church Mother Bodies play in building peace not to be effective. Some respondents argued that the body does not involve people in its peace building programmes. The second objective was investigating the extent to which civil society organisation engage youths and political players in peace building activities in Zambia. This study revealed that youths and political leaders are not fully involved in peace building

programmes conducted in the country. This chapter has also discussed people's perception on the roles of civil society organisations in peace building in Zambia and finally the chapter discussed the challenges that civil society organizations face in peace building in Zambia.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMEDATION

6.0 Overview

This chapter provides a general conclusion as well as recommendations with regard to the objectives of this study which were to evaluate the efficacy of the roles of civil society organizations in peace building in Zambia, investigate the extent to which civil society organisations engage youths and political players in peace building activities in Zambia, assess people's perceptions on the roles of civil society organisations in peace building in Zambia and determine the challenges that civil society organizations face in peace building in Zambia

6.1 Conclusion

In conclusion, it is correct to state that the civil society organisations have been in the forefront spearheading peace building campaigns programmes in the Republic of Zambia. The three Church Mother Bodies of Zambia being the targeted organisation for information of this study, the study revealed that the association has been committed to peace building campaigns in Zambia, despite having experienced some challenges which however, could easily be solved if people across the country were willing to work with the association.

With the major objectives of this study which sought to analyse the roles that civil society organisations play in peace building in Zambia, this study concludes that civil society organisations specifically the three Church Mother Bodies have been engaged in various peace building activities in Zambia. It was revealed in this study that, the three Church Mother Bodies of Zambia play the inter-mediation and facilitation roles in peace building in Zambia. This means that the three Church Mother Body of Zambia mediates between communities and social groups in conflict and sometimes between any group and the state. This is done by creating platforms for mutual dialogue and encounter where people understand each other and their differences. The main activities within this function are engaging armed groups and communities or development agencies in peace or even disarmament or cease fire negotiations.

This study also concludes that the three Church Mother Bodies easily pick small changes in daily relations among groups that may signal the beginning of conflict, thus performing the role of an early warning function. As if that is not enough, this study also concludes that the three Church Mother Bodies also plays the role of inter-group social cohesion in peace building process in the country. This role is very important because inter-group social cohesion has great capacity to bring people in close contact with one another and this would promote social cohesion among different ethnic groups in Zambia.

In assessing the effectiveness of the roles of civil society organisations in peace building in Zambia, it was discovered that the role of three Churches Mother Bodies in peace building in Zambia are not fully effective due to some reasons. This study concludes that majority of people in Zambia are not included in peace building programmes in Zambia. Basing on the second objective of this study that focused on investigating the extent to which civil society organisations engage youths and political players in peace building activities in Zambia, this study concludes that the majority of the citizens, more especially the youths have no chance or rather opportunity to participate in peace building programmes conducted in Zambia.

In line with the third objective that aimed at assessing people's perceptions on the roles of civil society organisations in peace building in Zambia, this study concludes that the majority of Zambians understand what peace entails and they can interpret in all different Zambian languages. Therefore, this study reveals that despite having different terms used to describe peace, the common terms that almost all the Zambian people think of peace include tranquility, harmony and freedom without any form of war and disturbances. Therefore, this study concludes that the majority of Zambian people know exactly what peace is all about and what it takes to have full state of peace in the country and this is an indication that involving them in any peace building programmes could help the country to attain the high standard of peace.

With the fourth objective of this study which aimed at determining the specific challenges that the three Church Mother Bodies of Zambia face in peace building, this study concludes that civil society organisations face various challenges in peace building. For example, this study discovers that some the civil society organisations particularly the three Church Mother Bodies of Zambia is perceived as a partisan organisation.

The study also concludes that political leaders' unwillingness to work with the association in peace building is another serious challenge faced by civil society organisations. This study concludes that majority of the political leaders; more especially those in power are not showing the willingness to work with civil society organisation in promoting peace in the country. For example, it was discovered that civil society organisations were considered to be partisan by the government, and because of this, civil society organisations are sidelined in to take part in some important national programmes. For example, this study discovered that, the government has rejected the idea that the church facilitates the dialogue between the UPND and the PF leadership.

Finally, it can be stated that tranquility and not antagonism is a very important driver in all the levels of production. Without peace, no meaningful socio-economic growth and development can take place and it through mutual CSOs interactions with those in power that a trickle-down effect in as far as development is concerned can be felt by all the people of Zambia. Government leaders and those outside the realm of government should be interacting for the sole purpose of fostering Zambian gown developmental projects. If Zambian continues integrating themselves based on creed, race, region and tribal all the concerted efforts by well-meaning CSOs will be rendered useless.

6.2. Recommendation

Based on the findings from three Church Mother Bodies of Zambia and other society organisations such as the market and bus stations, it is strongly recommended that the following measures be employed for sustainable peace building to fully prevail in our country.

1. Implementation of peace building programmes: There is need for the implementation peace building across the country. Government must be willing to welcome this idea and work with various civil society organisations to make sure that peace has sustainably maintained in the country.
2. Sensitisation of the peace building programmes: There is need for sensitization of peace building programmes which will help to promote high standards of peace in the country. Making people aware of such programmes would carry a great positive impact in promoting standard peace in the country. Besides, the civil society organisations in partnership with the

government must show interest to educate people not only those in urban areas but also those from rural areas on the importance of continue preaching peace in Zambia.

3. Involving youths in peace building programmes: It has been observed that youths are the major perpetuators of violence in Zambia, therefore involving them in peace building programmes would be a sustainable measure of building peace in the country.

4. Employment and involvement of youths in various economic activities is a suitable solution to the sustainable peace building in Zambia. There is also need for the concerned civil society organisation start targeting youths in all the programmes they are planning to implement. Involving youths in such programmes would help them to be responsible and start seeing things in right angle.

5. Churches across the country must also take role to make sure that youths are helped spiritually, preaching to them real gospel of Jesus Christ of "loving one another including our enemies" instead of telling them about financial breakthrough.

6. Illegalization of Political caderism in Zambia: Illegalization of political caderism is also one of the most recommendations to be considered for sustainable peace building programmes in Zambia. All cadres are citizens and remain equal with ordinary citizens and enjoy same benefits from the government. No politicians should be allowed to respect cadres than ordinary citizens.

7. Political leaders to passionately embrace dialogue without any external intervention: leaders must always embrace peace building programmes the country deserves and have to lead by an example in as much as peace building is concerned.

8. Need for financial support for sustainable peace building programmes in the country: with a variety of activities in the peace building, there is need for adequate resources mobilisation. The government and other NGOs to come on board and sponsor these programmes.

6.3. Summary

This chapter has presented the conclusion of the study based on the four objectives set out in Chapter One of this study. Recommendations have also been directed to government, civil society organisations, opposition political leaders and citizens at large as the major determinants of peace in Zambia. The recommendations have been coined from what the study has established.

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