



The contribution of the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia to political conflict resolution (1990-2016)

BY

MWENDA KENNETH

715809307

A Dissertation Submitted to the University of Zambia in partial fulfillment of the Requirement for the award of the degree of Master of Science in peace leadership and conflict resolution

THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA

In collaboration with

ZIMBABWE OPEN UNIVERSITY

Lusaka

2017

COPYRIGHT DECLARATION

All copyrights reserved, stored in any retrieval system, transmitted in any form by any means, electronic, recording, mechanism, photocopying or otherwise without prior to permission, from the author of the University of Zambia In Collaboration With Zimbabwe Open University.

DECLARATION

I, MWENDA KENNETH declare that this work is my original work achieved through personal reading and scientific research. This work has never been submitted to the University of Zambia, Zimbabwe Open University or any University for the award of a masters degree or for any other academic award. All sources of data used, and literature on related works previously done by others, used in the production of this dissertation have been acknowledged. If any omission has been made, it is not by choice but by error.

STUDENT'S SIGNATURE:.....DATE.....

APPROVAL

The University Of Zambia In Collaboration With Zimbabwe Open University approves this dissertation of Mwenda Kenneth as fulfilling part of the requirement for the award of the degree of Master of Science in Peace Leadership and Conflict Resolution.

Signed:.....

Date:.....

Signed:.....

Date:.....

Signed:.....

Date:.....

DEDICATION

To my family, friends and relatives for always being with me. It has been a long journey and through thick and thin you have been with me each and every step of the way. For all you have done, may God continue to richly bless you and may His grace and favour continue to follow you all the rest of your days.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, to the LORD GOD ALMIGHTY be the glory. I would not have managed in my own strength to complete this project if it were not for His mercy and grace which is always sufficient. I thank God through His son Jesus for being with me. I am ever grateful to my Mom, Dad and sisters and brothers who have always supported me even when I was away from them. Their support has been unconditional and their love precious. I also render my special thanks to the following, my supervisor Professor Austin M. Cheyeka and all lecturers at the University of Zambia for the continued guidance and support. I would like to appreciate my fellow classmates, Head teacher of Luyaba secondary School and other members of staff, for their support and encouragement during my study. Thanks go to my family for their patience and prayers, you constantly and persistent encouragement helped pull me through. Finally, I thank all the people that volunteered to be my respondents in this study.

TABLES OF CONTENTS

COPYRIGHT DECLARATION.....	i
DECLARATION	ii
DEDICATION	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
TABLES OF CONTENTS.....	vi
LIST OF ACRONYMS.....	viii
ABSTRACT	ix
CHAPTER 1: BACKGROUND	1
1.0. Introduction	1
1.1. Background of Study.....	1
1.2. Problem Statement	3
1.3. Objectives of the Study:	3
1.4. Research Questions	3
1.5. Significance of the Study	4
1.6. Limitations of the study.....	4
1.7. Operational definitions.....	4
1.8. Theoretical Framework	5
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW	7
2.0. Introduction	7
2.1. Role of Church Mother Bodies in Resolving Political Differences among Politicians.....	7
2.2. The Role Played By the Church Mother Bodies in Resolving Electoral Disputes.....	14
2.3. The Role of the Church in preventing Violence in Zimbabwe.....	16
2.4. Church and Political Conflict in Zimbabwe.....	20
2.5. Church Mother Bodies of Zimbabwe on Political Conflict Resolution	23
CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	27
3.0. Introduction	27
3.1. Research Design.....	27
3.2. Study Location	28
3.3. Target Population	28
3.4. Sample and Sampling Techniques	28
3.5. Sources of Data	29
3.6. Data Collection.....	29
3.7. Research Instruments	29

3.8. Data Analysis	29
3.9. Ethical Considerations.....	30
CHAPTER FOUR: PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS.....	31
4.0. Overview	31
4.1. The Role played by Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia in Resolving Political Differences among Politicians.....	31
4.6. The role played by the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia in resolving electoral disputes.	38
4.7. The successes of the Evangelical fellowship of Zambia in addressing political conflict.....	40
CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS	43
5.0. Overview	43
5.1. The role of the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia in resolving political differences among politicians.	43
5.2. The Role played by the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia in Resolving Electoral Disputes.	46
5.3. The Successes of the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia in Addressing Political Conflict among Political Parties.....	48
CHAPTER SIX	50
6.0. Conclusion and Recommendations	50
6.1. Conclusion.....	50
6.2 Recommendations	50
REFERENCES.....	52
APPENDENCES.....	56
APPENDIX 1	56
APPENDIX 2	57
APPENDIX 3	58

LIST OF ACRONYMS

FODEP- Foundation for Democratic Process

CCMG- Christian Churches' Monitoring Group

ECZ- Electoral Commission of Zambia

EFZ-Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia

CCZ –Council of Churches in Zambia

ZEMCC -Zambia Election Monitoring Coordinating Committee

ZCCB –Zambia Conference of Catholic Bishops

ZCBC -Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops Conference

EFZ- the Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe

ZCC –the Zimbabwe Council of Churches

PF- Patriotic Front

UPND- United Party for National Development

PVT - Parallel Voter Tabulation

PAZA - Press Association of Zambia

UNZASU- The University of Zambia Student Union

NWLG- National Women's Lobby Group

NGOCC- Non- Governmental Organisations Coordinating Committee

LAZ-Law Association of Zambia

ABSTRACT

The study was conducted to investigate the contribution of the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia to political conflict resolution. The objectives of the study were to establish the role of the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia in resolving political differences among politicians, to analyze the role played by the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia in resolving electoral disputes, and to understand the key successes of the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia in addressing political conflicts among political parties in Lusaka district.

The study employed a case study design which mainly involves qualitative methods. The sample included one Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia senior official, five political party officials, five pastors and three ordinary citizens, who were purposively sampled to participate in the study. Data were collected using interview guides and analysed thematically.

The study revealed that the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia has handled inter and intra-party political conflicts between the Patriotic Front (PF) and the United Party for National Development (UPND) and intra-party conflicts of Movement for Multiparty Democracy in 2014 and 2016 and the patriotic front (PF) in 2015. The credibility of the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia is doubted by some of the people in society due to biased media statements purported to be issued by the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia Executive Director. The findings revealed further that, Zambia's political conflicts cannot be solved without the inclusion and participation of the Church mother body. Furthermore the study revealed that, the perception that the EFZ is a political tool of some politicians is as a result of some media houses who twist information from EFZ to win public attention and to deliberately damage the image of the EFZ.

Based on the findings, the study recommended that, social media must be utilised by the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia and the Electoral Commission of Zambia to educate and sensitize the general public on the effects of media propaganda as it endangers peace in the society. As in most cases, social media platforms such as Facebook, twitter and whatsAPP which are mostly used in Zambia, have been abused to spread hate speech.

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND

1.0. Introduction

This chapter provides the background to the study states the problem, outlines the objectives of the study and the research questions as well as the significance and the limitations of the study. It also gives the theoretical framework.

1.1. Background of Study

Christianity has been the backbone of Zambia's social, political, economic and religious life since the colonial era. The majority of the citizens profess Christianity from the time the religion was introduced in the country. Throughout history, churches and government have worked hand in hand. In Zambia, politicians tend to frequent different denominations especially during the election periods and are given chance to stand on the pulpit to talk to the Christian congregants. The politicians also make huge donations in form of offering and tithes, toward church infrastructural development and the vulnerable groups in society. Historically the Church in Zambia has been a peace maker. Through the Church mother bodies, the clergy have brokered peace, defended the constitution and spoken for the poor.

The Catholic Church is by far the largest single denomination and it dominates in developmental issues like health, education and community radio stations. The second largest denomination is the United Church of Zambia. Most collaboration between churches takes place within the church mother bodies. This implies that the Catholic Church often operates on its own. It does, however, have a history of working with the other 'traditional churches' on political and development issues. The Council of Churches in Zambia (CCZ) may work with both the Catholic Church and Pentecostal Churches. That said, the high competition over souls, resources, and influence gives churches strong preference to operate individually rather than in cooperation (Endo, 1996).

Throughout Zambia's democratic dispensation, churches have been influential in political conflict resolution processes. Chipenzi (2011) adds that, the church is an oasis of national peace and unity. It must remain so in its capacity for nurturing and protecting national peace unity and development for all. The church has been instrumental in the fight for social justice and unconstitutional decisions by political leaders. In the electoral process, the churches increasingly become involved in election monitoring.

The Church mother bodies such as the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia have been very instrumental in advocating for peace and unity in the country due to its leadership that works hand in hand with other civil society organisations and the government of the day in ensuring that the land of Zambia continues to enjoy political stability. The Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia is the Mother Body of the Evangelical faith, with a membership of 250 Evangelical denominations. The Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia's goal is to foster unity among all these communities in Zambia. The Fellowship collaborates closely on social issues with other Christian Churches in Zambia. On the election front, the Fellowship conducts election monitoring and voter education, train election monitors, sponsor seminars and workshops about the elections, use the media to encourage Christians to vote, and provide election information to church leaders who then go back to speak to their congregations about the issues. The Fellowship also utilizes extensive network of volunteers throughout the country to do door-to-door voter education. The church mother body is vital for political conflict prevention and peace building in Zambia's societies. It acts as a neutral body during political conflict and can easily facilitate intervention activities in communities whenever there is a need (Chipenzi, 2012).

1.2. Problem Statement

In the past, the Church was known to be non-partisan and the voice of the voiceless but from 2011-2016, the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia has been the center of controversy amongst the three main Church mother bodies in as far as addressing political conflict is concerned. The Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia has been viewed as being a political tool in the hands of the politicians. This unfortunate development should be documented. This research will make a modest contribution towards an understanding of the unfolding controversy of the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia insofar as addressing political issues is concerned.

1.3. Objective of the Study:

To investigate the contribution of the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia to political conflict resolution. Specific objectives are:

1. To establish the role of the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia in resolving political differences among politicians.
2. To analyze the role played by the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia in resolving electoral disputes.
3. To understand the key success of the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia in addressing political conflict among political parties.

1.4. Research Questions

1. What role does the Church mother body played in resolving political differences among politicians?
2. What role has the Church mother body played in resolving electoral disputes?
3. What are the key successes of the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia in addressing political conflict among political parties?

1.5. Significance of the Study

The results of this study will help the public to acknowledge the role the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia plays in political conflict resolution amongst political parties and different sectors of the society in Zambia. It is hoped that the results of the study will provide knowledge that may help in the development of conflict resolution strategies amongst the people of Zambia using Christian beliefs and dogma. Additionally the Ministry of Religious Affairs and National Guidance will find in this study. Information for its own use and encourage clergy men and women to preach peace and unity for the benefit of the country.

1.6. Limitations of the study

The study had a number of limitations. Time was a factor as interviewing key informants took several appointments which required additional time not initially allocated in the plan. In addition, the findings are not reflective of the broader range of the society's views concerning the contribution of Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia in political conflict resolution.

1.7. Operational definitions

For the purpose of this study, key terms are used as follows:

Political violence: refers to the use of force to pursue political ideologies or clashes between people from different political parties as a result of conflicting political ideologies

Conflict: is a process of interaction between two or more parties that seek to thwart, injure or destroy their opponent because they perceive they have incompatible goals or interests

Conflict resolution: refers to terminating conflict with an outcome that, in the view of the parties involved, is a permanent solution to the problem.

Intra-conflict: refers to conflict between two or more members of the same group or team.

1.8. Theoretical Framework

Social Conflict Theory

The theory will help the study in providing the framework in which the research will be conducted

The theory of Social conflict refers to conflict in which the parties involved are an aggregate of individuals, such as groups, organisations, communities and crowds rather than single individuals as in role conflict. Social conflict refers in common usage to interaction in which the means chosen but the parties in pursuit of their goals are likely to inflict damage, harm or injury, but not necessarily in every case. Social conflict is a struggle over values or claims to status, power, and scarce resources in which the aims of the conflict groups are not only to gain the desired values, but also to neutralize, injure, or eliminate rivals. According to Coser (1967) Social conflict encompasses a broad range of social phenomena: class, racial, religious and communal conflicts; riots, rebellions, revolutions, strikes and civil disorders, marches, demonstrations, protest gatherings.

Social conflict exists between economic groups, racial groups, ethnic groups, religious groups, age groups and gender groups. Thus it seeks to understand life experience by looking at simultaneous memberships. This perspective points out that, societies choose different policies, some of which are disastrous for their citizens, because those decisions are made by politicians or politically powerful social groups that are interested in maximizing their own payoffs, not aggregate output or social welfare. This category includes both theories for which internal conflict within the society leads to inefficient choices and those for which inefficient institutions and policies are imposed on societies from the outside. Daron (2003) points out that, the theory of social conflict emphasizes the prevalence of systematically inefficient government policies and institutional arrangements and the first two approaches, which stress the presence of social forces that preclude these types of inefficiencies. Lastly social conflict theory maintains that societies often choose the wrong policies and institutions, or even pursue disastrous courses of action, because these choices are not made for the benefit of society as a whole, but for the benefit of those who control political power.

1.8. Summary

This chapter has covered the introduction of the study, background of the study, the statement of the problem, the purpose of the study, specific objectives and the research questions were covered. In addition, the chapter presented the significance of the study, limitations of the study and the operational definitions of terms used in the study. The chapter has outlined what brought about the study. The next chapter will review the literature related to the study

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0. Introduction

This chapter allows for the evaluation of published works and past research works that have been done in relation to the study.

2.1. Church Mother Bodies in Resolving Political Differences among Politicians

There are three main Church mother bodies in Zambia and there is a fourth one owned by David Masupa which is known as Independent Churches of Zambia (ICOZ). From Kaunda's time the three main mother bodies have been involved in social, economic and political struggles, they have issued joint statements, they have contested certain things on constitution and human rights violation and they monitored elections. The Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia played a key role in the 1991 elections because it housed Zambia Elections Monitoring Coordinating Committee (ZEMCC).

Zambia is a struggling democracy, trying to shape both the institutions and the attitudes that were lacking in the first 27 years of the nation's history. When the United National Independent Party was defeated in multi-party elections in 1991, the founding president, Kenneth Kaunda, stepped down in an exemplary fashion. The second president, Frederick Chiluba, was forced to step down ten years later, when civil society (led by the churches) rebuffed his efforts to change the constitution in order to secure a third term. Elected third president in 2001 in an election fraught with irregularities, Levy Mwanawasa was in conflict with opposition parties and civil society about his constitutional reform process. The Church played a key role in each of these moments in the political history of Zambia. Indeed, even before Independence, the Catholic bishops (all ex-patriates) issued strong pastoral statements challenging the non-democratic rule of the English colonial powers. From the early days of the new Republic, statements have been made that call Zambians to greater political responsibility and that challenge the government to institute more effective democratic arrangements (Njovu, 2002).

The Christian churches mother bodies have had concerns for a "more democratic" political regime where more participation is allowed. The Church mother bodies have been speaking for the majority of Zambians since the creation of multiparty democracy. Despite the weakness or some dictatorial tendency that many African governments have in common, Zambia has not been spared, many a time opposition political parties have cried foul over the Public Order Act and media restrictions that led to widespread political differences among politicians.

The members of national community also minimize any possible tendency within the party to suppress constructive opposition by demanding total allegiance from citizens or by unduly vetoing candidates for election. In spite of the tensions which sometimes result from such discussions, the positive value of constructive criticism should not be underestimated. Citizens should rather make use of every opportunity to contribute to the building of the country in this way, they restrict the power of the state by constantly influencing the decisions of the government (CCZ, EFZ, ZEC, 1990: 37).

In the process of transition and beyond, the Church has played various roles such as advocacy of the re-introduction of multi-party system, organisation of political seminars, reconciliation between UNIP and the MMD in 1991, monitoring of elections, and consolidation of democracy in the Third Republic. Cheyeka (1999) adds that, the period from 1972 to 1991 was a time for the Zambian Humanism ideology that is, the existence of one-party rule and the church's chequered resistance. Multi-party politics was outlawed and UNIP became the only legal party in the country. The new political system was justified on the basis that the African did not have sufficient experience, and that multi-party politics bred disunity, subversion and tribalism.

In addition, Cheyeka (1999) points out that, with extreme poverty and economic stratification of the people of God, the church took on more of an opposition stance than it had done in the past. Indeed, the Catholic Church was the only institution that could offer a credible voice and it was the only hope of a majority people. Trade unions were effectively controlled and government newspapers, television and radio remained instruments of deceit. However, the Church's criticism of the government remained guarded as over the years the Bishops had learnt to use a subtle language and style to avoid being charged for disrespectful arrogance or even treason. By 1990 conditions in the country necessitated the church's final political action-the publication of

the pastoral letter of July 1990 which questioned One-Party Democracy. The Bishops struck at the heart of the problem in Kaunda's state when they stated forthrightly that:

At the root of our economic problems, there seems to be lack of accountability to the people as a whole. The manner in which the poor have been expected to bear the burden of our economic restructuring programme raises questions about democratic procedures and political systems (Zambia Episcopal Conference 1990:5).

It was around early 1990 when the debate on the referendum to test public opinion on whether or not Zambia should go back to the multiparty system arose. Among Churches, particularly the Catholic Church showed its support to the proposal of re-introduction of multi-party system. The Council of Churches in Zambia showed its welcome to the President's willingness to allow people to express themselves through the referendum in 1990 and two other bodies, namely the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia and the Zambia Conference of Catholic Bishops (ZCCBs) formerly known as Zambia Episcopal conference (ZEC), still remained neutral on the issue. In the case of the Catholic Church, the Bishops said that: It is clear that there is no one 'ideal' political system. No system has ever succeeded in fully protecting and promoting the rights of its people and in completely realizing the goal of a just and equitable society. Both one-party and multi-party systems have their strengths and weaknesses. It was expected that these would emerge more clearly in the public exchange which was going to take place before the Referendum on 17 October 1990" although the MMD already existed as a civic organisation in July the same year. It is clear that churches kept their neutrality in order to be adaptable to any situations. In September 1990, UNIP was determined to have multi-party elections in 1991 without the referendum. In this context, the church, especially the Catholic Church explicitly showed their favourable attitude toward multi-party politics (Catholic Secretariat, 1990).

Political conflict occurs when there are difficulties in reconciling different interests or when there are disagreements over objectives (Bush and Folger, 1994: 56). Political conflict is at the heart of all political systems. Political conflicts can be found between citizens, social groups as well as between political representatives and political parties. In a representative democracy, societal conflicts are expected to be manifested in the parliamentary arena with the political

parties as the standard bearers of the conflicting sides. The parties represent opposing positions and offer alternative solutions to political problems. A party could support a specific solution based on either its own ideological principles or merely as it being in line with the interests of its voters or other favored social groups. Political conflict may also be seen as an obstacle to the political actors' ability to make sound political decisions and for their ability to cooperate (Lijphart, 1999).

From 1990 to 1991 the Church mother bodies contributed positively to political conflict resolution arising from events of the fight against one-party state rule and constitution amendments. The church was a bridge between the opposition MMD and the ruling UNIP government.

In 2001, the three main Church mother bodies opposed the third term bid by former late president FTJ Chiluba. The Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia with other church institutions issued a strong joint statement that condemned and opposed the move to change the constitution to suit President FTJ Chiluba. Komakoma (2003) points out that, the statement had an enormous positive impact on the country. Unambiguous and courageous statement was the first serious challenge to the intention by the ruling party to change the republican constitution so that president Chiluba could have a third term in office. The Church called the third term bid unconstitutional and undemocratic. The major bone of contention was that the law must never be manipulated for the advantage of individuals. This strong stance by the church gave birth to a civil society based national mobilization against the third term. The joint statement issued by the Church mother bodies reads;

Constitutional provisions must never be manipulated for the advantage of individuals or else the rule of law suffers. At this very moment when several of our neighbouring African states are in the midst of terrible conflicts, Zambia must be a bright beacon of hope in the region by upholding the clear intent of constitutional provisions adopted in 1991 and repeated in 1996.

After all, respect for and adherence to the constitution is part and parcel of good governance. We call upon president Chiluba to exercise statesmanship by

unambiguously pledging to follow the current constitution of the republic of Zambia and thereby lead the people into a democratic electoral process that guarantees peaceful, free and fair elections for a new president in 2001 (Komakoma,2003:435).

In 2013 the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia issued a joint statement with other two main Church Mother Bodies appealing for calm in the aftermath of the electoral violence and the unfortunate death of Mr. Harrison Chanda in the run up to the by-elections in Livingstone which were prudently postponed by the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ). The Church Mother Bodies proposed that instead of playing the usual political game of finger pointing and name calling, time had come for all Zambians to seriously engage in a process of soul-searching and discernment. The Church Mother Bodies stated further that,

Politics sunk so low as recently experienced loss of life during political campaigns. This development is unacceptable and must not be tolerated. Indeed, is this the level our politics has come to of killing one another just for greed and want of political office? We do not want our democracy to go that route where instead of preserving life and protecting the citizens, our people risk death during times of heightened political activities. We must create a new democratic dispensation. Our democracy came at high cost and we should all endeavor to protect it and help sustain this philosophy of governance. We should all seek to come together to safeguard and promote the culture of peaceful, genuine and democratic elections in this great nation which for many years now has been the pride and envy of this region and the continent of Africa (Church Mother Bodies 2013:12).

Political differences amongst politicians have been the order of the day to day activities in the Zambian political arena which give birth to political violence. The three Christian 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) were concerned about the rampant political violence that kept on popping its ugly face especially in the general elections of 2015 and 2016. The Church mother bodies (2013) argued in a joint statement that,

As people who have a God given mandate of exercising the prophetic mission in our nation and in our time, we cannot tolerate such abominable and immoral acts being committed right before our very eyes. Our nation today, stands at the crossroads and we are in a crisis. We face many challenges related to governance and survival, among which, are increasing levels of poverty among the majority of our people, a pervading cancer of rampant corruption, escalating youth unemployment, the growing gap between the rich and the poor, an education system that is falling apart, a poor health service delivery coupled with the unclear constitution making process, the gagging or muzzling of people's freedoms, the arresting of opposition party leaders 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.

2.2. Political Conflict on the Constitution

The constitution is another area of the churches' involvement during the period of MMD government under Rupiah Banda and Levy P. Mwanawasa and the transition of the Patriotic Front government, the Church mother bodies voiced out the need for a good constitution that can stand a test of time. Basically in the 1990s there were two involvements. Firstly, it was the church leaders' participation in the Mvunga constitution commission. Secondly, it was their role of reconciler between UNIP and the MMD on the constitutional issues to avert political impasse. Concerning the first issue, among 22 members of the commission appointed by the UNIP government, two church leaders, namely Bishop Tresford, the Vice Chairman of the ZEC, and Rev. P. Simuchoba, the Chairman of the CCZ, were included. On this appointment, some church leaders showed their displeasure, by saying that: The government should have approached the Zambian Episcopal Conference (ZEC) on behalf of the Catholics, Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia for the Pentecostals and the Christian Council of Zambia to make nominations out of which the government could have chosen our representatives from. That's the way we understand democracy (Njovu, 2002).

In addition, the process of submitting the draft constitution to the Parliament was further narrowed by the White Paper of the Government, which ruled out, without any wide discussion

and consultation, important points like the point whether Ministers would be appointed from Members of Parliament among the commission's recommendations for the proposed constitution. This constitutional issue caused a big political impasse between UNIP and the MMD in which the MMD continued to refuse meeting with President Kaunda inspite of his invitations to discuss the proposed constitution. It was churches' leaders that averted this political impasse. "Being the 'Mirror of the country', the Church leaders found it necessary to bring together the two parties." (Njovu, 2002).

On 19th July 1991, representatives from the CCZ, the EFZ, and the Zambia Conference of Catholic Bishops (ZCCBs) met President Kaunda at State House. Apart from the constitutional issue, the issues of delayed official announcement of election days, squashing of the State of Emergency, and unavailability of the registration lists were also discussed. At this meeting, the church offered to assist in the promotion of the necessary reconciliation to move the country forward in a democratic electoral process. Two days later, there was held another meeting with the President and top officials of the MMD at the Catholic Secretariat. The single topic of this meeting was to promote reconciliation through a meeting between UNIP and the MMD to discuss the constitution. The agreement reached at this meeting was that the meeting between UNIP and the MMD would be chaired by the Church in order to keep it neutral. (Njovu, 2002).

Immediately, the three Church bodies hosted a meeting from 23 to 25 July 1991 at the Cathedral of the Holy Cross in Lusaka, which provided an opportunity for both UNIP and the MMD to discuss the proposed constitution to facilitate an orderly election. During the meeting, which was chaired by the Lusaka Anglican Bishop Stephen Mumba with assistance from other Church leaders, a joint committee of experts was formed to examine areas of the constitutional bill to which the MMD had raised objections. As a result of the meeting, it was agreed that the Ministers would be appointed from Members of Parliament and that a clause be included in the Constitution the introduction of the Chamber of representatives be considered by Parliament after the 1991 presidential and general elections. Also some other important matters like the squashing of the State of Emergency were discussed. This Churches' involvement redirected the Zambian democratic process in the right way (Njovu, 2002).

2.3. The Role Played By the Church Mother Bodies in Resolving Electoral Disputes

The church in Zambia was involved in election monitoring in the 1991 general elections that paved way for the Movement for Multiparty Democracy. Even though there was one local monitoring team, namely the Zambia Independent Monitoring Team (ZIMT), including three church leaders of three church mother bodies, this team was criticized by the public which expressed doubt to its neutrality and credibility. The three church bodies called a meeting on 19th September 1991, when there was less than six weeks left before the elections, at the Catholic Secretariat to review the political situation of the country and the growing problems arising from the preparation of the coming elections, when 15 representatives met and talked about the churches' role in election monitoring. It was at this time when they formed the Christian Churches' Monitoring Group (CCMG). Almost immediately, five other organisations, namely the Press Association of Zambia (PAZA), the University of Zambia Student Union (UNZASU), the National Women's Lobby Group (NWLG), the Non- Governmental Organisations Coordinating Committee (NGOCC), and Law Association of Zambia (LAZ), joined with the CCMG to form an umbrella body, the Zambia Elections Monitoring Coordinating Committee the (ZEMCC) known today as FODEP, whose stated objective was to ensure that the elections of 31 October 1991 and any other elections would be free and fair (Endo,1996).

The first action taken by the Christian Churches' Monitoring Group (CCMG) was the circulation of a "Letter to All Christians before the 31 October Elections" dated 23rd September 1991 to inform people of the importance of the elections, to call the churches to promote peace, reconciliation and justice in Zambia, to outline some key electoral principles, and to stress several key electoral guidelines. More practically, ZEMCC's activities before the elections included the monitoring of the nomination process for Presidential candidates at the High Court as well as that of Parliamentary candidates in several constituency offices in Lusaka and the sponsorship of a two-day Training Session at the University of Zambia in early October, which was attended by about 250 participants who became the core of local monitors recruited and trained (Endo, 1996).

Apart from these practical involvements, the ZEMCC and the CCMG cautioned all Church pastors and leaders to avoid direct partisan remarks but encouraged members to participate

responsibly in the elections and strongly condemned violence so as not to disrupt the peaceful process. In addition, the CCMG held several meetings with President Kaunda and the MMD President Chiluba and their associates for the purpose of creating a peaceful environment necessary to assure free and fair elections, even though their strong efforts to bring both President Kaunda and Chiluba together for a pre-election meeting in order to have them issue a joint appeal for peace and ready acceptance of the election results did not materialize. However, on October 20, both Kaunda and Chiluba were at Lusaka's Cathedral of the Holy Cross to pray for peaceful electoral process following efforts of the CCMG (Njovu, 2002).

Just before the elections, on 27th October, the church Mother Bodies distributed a prayer format to assist in the church sponsored National Day of Prayer. On the day, special services were held throughout the country emphasizing the theme of confidence in choosing leaders of integrity and justice, and praying for peaceful acceptance of the results of the elections. On the Election Day, about 3500 trained monitors were involved in nine provinces mainly made up of church members, students, members of the Rotary and other civic clubs (ZEMCC, 1991). In the first press statement of ZEMCC after the elections, Chairman Rev. Sakala said the following:

We are aware that the efforts to build true democracy in our land have only just begun. As President Chiluba has consistently reminded the Zambian people, there are times of great difficulty and tasks of hard work facing us all.

Endo (1996) observes that, the Church was called the “midwife” of the birth of multi-partism in the 1991 elections which was characterised by political conflicts between by then the ruling UNIP government and the opposition MMD. Education, prayers, election monitoring, challenges: all these activities marked the church’s presence at that key moment. And these activities have continued and expanded since then. Another significant contribution to this education comes from the church-sponsored community radio stations including the private radio and TV stations. In most instances, these stations have sometimes faced political persecution by trying to communicate openly and fairly about the political situation in the country.

2.5. The Role of the Church in Violence in Zimbabwe

The Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe is a fellowship of churches, church related organisations, and individuals who share a desire to express unity, fellowship and combined action among churches and organisations of evangelical persuasion. From the year 2000, the EFZ, Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops Conference (ZCBC), and Zimbabwe Council of Churches (ZCC) collaborated more closely in the democratisation process, with the launch of their national vision document, *The Zimbabwe We Want* in which the Churches critiqued the state over its failure to initiate a national dialogue about the land, micro-economic policies, the constitutional debate, electoral process, human rights, governance and national reconciliation. In the mid-2000s, there were attempts by the ZCC, ZCBC and EFZ to broker talks between ZANU-PF and the MDC. But there have been brazen attempts by ZANU-PF to co-opt these organizations for their own purposes and these organizations also seem internally divided about what their relationship with ZANU-PF should be notes that, talks collapsed in 2006 when the Heads of Christian Churches such as Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe were accused by the independent media of dancing in ZANU-PF's favour. Commenting on the initiative, the Zimbabwean newspaper declared, "Church Leaders Disappoint Nation (Mpfu, 2006).

In Zimbabwe, there is general suspicion that the Church may have lost its being 'salt and light' through the glaring silence of the Church's leadership in the midst of the political and social evils which characterize the society. This assertion is based on the lack of a clear prophetic voice of the Church in the context of the imploding economic and political catastrophic trends which are glaring. What remains paramount is the fact that the mandate of the Church is its divine designation which does not depend on the sinful nature of the Church's leadership. The Church's leadership only plays an instrumental function and not a substantive role (Gunda, 2010).

Additionally, Gunda (2010) observes that, at the heart of Christianity is the conviction that God has a purpose for creation, and that his will impinges on the history of the world. In keeping with this conviction, the Church, as a community of believers, consistently tries to interpret God's will in order to align their lives and the lives of those around them to God's will.

The fact that the church's influence is mainly on spiritual aspects does not stop church leaders from involvement in national politics. It is from this capacity that the church itself has spiritual

programmes like church politics and administration Based on the tenets of their beliefs, Christians in church and politics draw their inspiration to join national politics for diverse reasons. The reasons emanate from denominational doctrines, socialization, educational orientation, religious affiliation, political affiliation, personal attributes among other factors. Church leaders in the post-colonial Zimbabwe have towered head and shoulders over their contemporaries in many respects. On the one hand, their reputations have also been soiled usually on moral grounds (Russell, 2004).

The Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe have been involved in sponsoring talks between the ZANU PF party and the MDC party for several years. However, these talks collapsed in 2006 when the Heads of Christian Churches were accused by the independent media of dancing in ZANU-PFs favour. Commenting on the initiative, the Zimbabwean Newspaper declared, “Church Leaders Disappoint Nation”. The church’s work on violence cannot be divorced from its work on peace and justice. For decades, the church in Zimbabwe has been engaging both the colonial and the post-colonial state in an attempt to avert violence that has claimed many lives, destroyed valuable property, fuelled hatred and divisions within the nation. Church action and initiatives have to a large extent demonstrated that the mission of the church is not merely to preach the gospel, but to stand with ordinary people in their hour of need (Ruzivo, 2008).

The Church and Civil Society Forum (2012) stated clearly that, as an institution entrusted with the ministry of reconciliation, the Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe has promoted a lot of conflict resolution and peace building work at community level. At national level, the Church and its sister organizations have promoted the use of dialogue as a means of transformation and settling differences between political parties, especially of late between ZANU-PF and MDC. However, given the political polarization, complexity and dynamism of the Zimbabwean political developments especially in the past 10 years, the church’s greatest challenge now is to maintain its unity and remain an honest neutral peace broker. Some sections of the church (both clergy and laity) have been grossly compromised and have ended up speaking on behalf of some political parties. In the process they have either wittingly or unwittingly supported violence which they are supposed to condemn.

Generally, the Church in Zimbabwe has made commendable gains towards the promotion of a non-violent political culture, against a background where violence has been glorified as a credible and heroic means to settle political differences. The church in Zimbabwe shares many similarities with the churches in Kenya, Uganda and Malawi in terms of its contribution to nation building, especially reconciliation, national healing and violence prevention. However, the Church in these four countries tends to differ on what weakens it. In the other three countries, the Church is weakened by issues of regionalism, patronage and ethnicity, but in Zimbabwe the Church is weakened by polarization-the difference between those for regime change and those for the status quo. Quite a sizeable number if not the majority of Zimbabwe's Church leaders' clergy and laity have chosen to give more allegiance to their being either ZANU PF or MDC members before their church roles. Besides this, Church unity among the clergy especially at national level is not easy to come by as the infiltration of the Church by state agents has made the situation worse. On the other hand church civil society collaboration and complementarity has been handicapped by differences in strategy, suspicion and mistrust (The Church and Civil Society Forum: 2012).

In addition, The Church and Civil Society Forum (2012) points out that, the church needs to be apolitical, non-partisan and re-strategize so that it gives the violence challenged Zimbabwe another ray of peace. What the church needs most are not strong men and women, but strong institutions that speak to politicians and political violence without fear or favour. Zimbabwe needs men and women of the cloth who are neither greedy nor in search of political favors but are well able to pay the price of speaking prophetically to the current political leadership on matters of violence. In Africa in particular, churches apart from their role in service provision have played a key role in speaking out against violence, political conflicts, and abuses of human rights, social injustice and poverty. However, the relationship of the church and violence remains a subject of controversy because some of the church's core teachings advocate peace, love and compassion while other teachings have been used to justify the use of violence. Throughout history-using Christian theology derived from both the old and new testaments- the church has struggled with the question of when the use of force or violence against heretics, sinners and external enemies is justified.

Many scholars have referred to the stance taken by the church in matters of politics as ‘apolitical’. Although the term is widely used to describe the church’s indifference to political affairs or its non-involvement in politics, it seems that there has never been a time when the church was apolitical, and there can never be a time when it will be. Non-involvement cannot be the same with being ‘apolitical’ because the former is in fact an endorsement of the status quo. Thus the question for the church has not been and still not whether to be involved or not, but rather how to be involved. To this end, alongside the neutral attitude, there are more subtle and more attractive means of serving the interests of the powerful while appearing to favour the oppressed (Cheyeka, 1999).

Christian theologians point to a strong doctrinal and historical imperative within Christianity against violence, particularly Jesus’ Sermon on the Mount, which taught non-violence and “love of enemies”. It is against this backdrop that the church is thought to be opposed to violence and a force for peace and reconciliation even though the history and scriptures of the world’s religions (including Christianity) tell stories of violence and war as they speak of peace and love. In both colonial and independent Zimbabwe, the churches have sought to avert violence and promote peace using various mechanisms of engaging with both the perpetrators and victims of violence. The three major church groupings of the Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe Council of Churches and the Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops’ Conference, as well as their partner organizations denounced violence against a background of state leadership and media that have always felt that the clergy are playing a dangerous game that they should not indulge in. Church action and initiatives have to a large extent demonstrated the church’s courage to confront government on violence matters as well as confirmed that the mission of the church is not merely to preach the gospel, but to stand with ordinary people in their hour of need (The Church and Civil Society Forum: 2012).

2.6. Church and Political Conflict in Zimbabwe

Since the Church occupies such central space in Zimbabwean society, it is bound to respond to major issues, even if it is initially cautious about adopting too 'political' a stance. In the face of the country's full-blown political and economic crisis post 2000, the church has intervened in a number of ways as it sought to contribute to a peaceful and sustainable resolution. According to Kaulemu (2010:51),

Churches have injected more inclusive, universal perspectives into Zimbabwe's national conflict. This does not mean that churches have not been partisan, but their Partisanship has been related to a fundamental stand against injustice, corruption, cruelty, exploitation, and unfairness. Many churches, especially those operating from a prophetic perspective, have been guided by values of universal solidarity, the common good, respect for life, and dignity of the human person – and these values have informed their response to ZANU-PF and their hopes for Zimbabwe's future Whereas some politicians, particularly President Mugabe, have sought to limit the church to prayers and offering guidance on moral issues, Zimbabwean church leaders have refused to subscribe to such a narrow interpretation of the mission of the church and have endeavored to make a difference in a heavily polarized political environment.

The animosity between the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU-PF) and the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) has resulted in violence and heightened political tension in the country over the past decade but there has been tension since independence. While ZANU-PF has always cherished the idea of the one-party state, Zimbabwean citizens have actively resisted this option. As a result, ZANU-PF has had to face the reality of competing for the hearts and minds of the voters since 1980. Regarding itself as the sole liberator of the people, ZANU-PF has not enjoyed sharing political space with its rivals. This was the case in the early 1980s with ZAPU, in the 1990s with ZUM and after 2000 with the MDC. In many instances, ZANU-PF has used violence as a political weapon, particularly during the decade-long battle with the MDC (Kaulemu, 2010).

Zimbabwe experienced violent protests during and before the 2000 and 2002 parliamentary and presidential elections, supporters of opposition MDC were the major victims of violent attacks from the ruling Zanu-Pf supporters. Chitando (2002) adds that, the 2000 parliamentary elections and the 2002 presidential polls were characterised by violence and tension. The Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe and other Church institutions did not watch or allow the political conflict to increase in the country for civil war or violent protests and demonstration that usually invoke armed struggle for political power

The overall climate was one of fear and intimidation. The philosophy of *Jambanja* (militancy) that emerged during the fast-track land reform programme implied that the rule of law could no longer be guaranteed. In many cases, the police refused to get involved in addressing cases of violence, arguing that these were ‘political’. As the crisis worsened, church leaders sought to encourage dialogue between the political parties with a number of different initiatives, such as Andrew Wutawunashe’s nationalist ‘Faith for the Nation’ campaign. A Pan- Africanist who belongs to the Family of God Church and whose political views tend to converge towards those of Mugabe (Togarasei, 2006).

The leaders of the three main Christian groupings, the Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops Conference, the Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe and the Zimbabwe Council of Churches embarked on a strategy to promote dialogue. Bishops Patrick Mutume, Sebastian Bakare and Trevor Manhanga held meetings with leaders of the two main political parties and encouraged them to shun divisive attitudes and to promote a shared national agenda. The church leaders pleaded with the politicians to consider the welfare of ordinary men, women and children – and they maintained that there was more to unite the different political actors than to divide them. Church leaders also argued that the Zimbabwean crisis was indicative of a deeper malaise: the absence of a national vision and agenda. They contended that the sharp polarization in society had emerged because of the failure to develop a shared vision of the country’s future. In this respect, they spearheaded a campaign called, ‘The Zimbabwe We Want’, which culminated in a document, entitled, *The Zimbabwe We Want: Towards a National Vision, A Discussion Document* (ZCBC, EFZ and ZCC 2006).

The document 'The Zimbabwe We Want' undertook a penetrating and honest assessment of the achievements and failures of independent Zimbabwe. It did not spare the church from criticism and invited Zimbabweans to work towards developing a shared national vision. The production of the 'The Zimbabwe We Want' document gave Zimbabwean Christians the opportunity to reflect on the relationship between their faith and their civic duties. Whereas many politicians constantly advised Christians to stay away from politics, consultations on the national vision document reminded Christians that they had an obligation to participate in political processes. The consultation process also helped Christians to realise that, while they might subscribe to different political ideologies, they all shared a common destiny (ZCBC, EFZ and ZCC 2006).

Meanwhile, church leaders interrogated the political, economic and social problems that were rocking the country. In particular, the ZCBC issued pastoral letters that highlighted the various aspects of the crisis for all to read. These pastoral letters were hard-hitting and exposed the falsehoods that were being peddled by the official media. The ZCC and the EFZ also issued pastoral letters that called on the government to respect civil liberties. They also challenged the government to tackle the severe economic crisis with greater creativity than the endless printing of the local currency (ZCBC, EFZ and ZCC 2006).

The pastoral letters confirmed that the mission of the church was not merely to preach the gospel, but to stand shoulder to shoulder with ordinary people in their hour of need. And when one remembers that these pastoral letters were published in an environment saturated with fear and intimidation, one begins to appreciate the remarkable courage that church leaders demonstrated, especially as Mugabe always contested these prophetic pronouncements by church leaders and criticized them for playing a dangerous game. They emerged to fight for human rights when they realized that established church bodies were not doing enough to resolve the crisis. They sought to challenge the authorities in more direct ways by organising 'prayer meetings', where participants from civil society would strategize on more effective ways of engaging the government. It was during one such 'prayer meeting' that the police descended on participants in High field, savagely attacking the MDC leader, Morgan Tsvangirai, and his colleagues (ZCBC, EFZ and ZCC 2006).

Church figures such as Ndabaningi Sithole, Abel Muzorewa and Canaan Banana were actively involved in the struggle for Zimbabwe. Just as they had emerged to fight for freedom, the new generation appeared from the churches to battle against growing authoritarianism and take up the challenge of promoting tolerance, good governance and respect for human rights among leaders in post-colonial Zimbabwe (ZCBC, EFZ and ZCC, 2006).

Furthermore, Church leaders also played another critical role in helping to internationalize the crisis. Mugabe's powerful rhetoric around sovereignty has often given the impression that only Zimbabweans are stakeholders in Zimbabwe's fortunes and that no one else has the right to interfere in Zimbabwe's internal affairs. Eloquently, he has asked, "We do not interfere in their internal affairs. Why should they interfere in ours?" In this context, 'they' refer to his erstwhile 'enemies' Britain, the United States and 'their cousins'. The rhetoric is potent and attractive. The crowning moment was when he thundered at the World Summit on Sustainable Development in South Africa in 2002: "So, I say to Tony Blair: Keep your England and I keep my Zimbabwe!" (ZCBC, EFZ and ZCC, 2006).

2.7. Church Mother Bodies of Zimbabwe on Political Conflict Resolution

Although the church has played an active role in efforts to defuse and resolve the Zimbabwean crisis, the effectiveness of its engagement has been limited by a number of challenges. Over the years, the government has been quick to respond to criticisms by church leaders by promoting the visibility of others who are more favourable to it. Church leaders who have come out in support of Mugabe and his policies receive positive coverage in the national press and also officiate at national events. These leaders include representatives of the African Initiated and Pentecostal Churches as well as mainline Protestant church leaders. The net effect has been to divide the church into two broad groups those in favour of Mugabe and those opposed to his continued grip on power (Gunda, 2008).

There are a variety of reasons why some church leaders have chosen to be openly identified with Mugabe and ZANU-PF. First, some have deep-seated ideological convictions that tally with those of Mugabe. These relate to his appeal to racism, African pride and sovereignty. For church leaders who have struggled against institutional racism in their own denominations, Mugabe

comes across as an articulate spokesperson. Leaders who fall in this category tend to be older church leaders who had to negotiate racism, exile and condescending attitudes towards African indigenous religions and cultures. These tend to be predominantly from the mainline Protestant and Catholic traditions (Gunda, 2008).

Some Pentecostal theologians have argued that there are economic and other benefits to be derived from supporting Mugabe, as Gunda (2010) points out that, some church leaders are beneficiaries of the land reform programme. Others are indebted to the ruling party for one favour or another, including getting free vehicles from the Reserve Bank. Leaders who are deemed favourable to Mugabe get preferential treatment on state occasions, use their political connections to increase their own grip on power and also enjoy the psychological benefit of feeling 'safe' in an uncertain socio-economic and political environment. The emergence of state-aligned church leaders has enabled the government to dismiss those church leaders who criticize it just like the movement for democratic change (MDC) politicians who oppose it as 'puppets of the West'. This has compromised the church's ability to speak with one voice on issues of national interest, weakened its overall influence and limited its role in resolving the Zimbabwean crisis. In addition, the division within the leadership of the church gives the impression that it does not have the right to claim the moral high ground since it appears as sharply divided as the politicians that it seeks to call to account.

As in the past, churches have been caught up in the shrinking of the democratic space. Prayer meetings continue to be disrupted and church leaders arrested. There are clear patterns of continuity in terms of how the government of Zimbabwe or at least the part that ZANU-PF still control, responds to criticism. It is highly intolerant and has not dropped the rhetoric of 'enemies and saboteurs', which was commonly used prior to the IG's inauguration. Due to their international connections, some churches continue to be suspected of promoting a 'regime change agenda'. The tension and suspicion between ZANU-PF authorities and these churches also remain. Evidence that Mugabe's side of the government is still uncomfortable with progressive churches can be seen in how churches have been marginalised in the quest to promote national healing and reconciliation. The church is well placed to play a major role in this difficult exercise and one would have expected a robust church-state partnership to support the process. Unfortunately, churches have not been openly invited to spearhead the process,

which has been monopolized by the ineffective Organ on National Healing, Reconciliation and Integration. But the church has also been unable to influence the process because of its own weaknesses (Gunda, 2010).

In particular, the church has struggled to make an impact due to the divisions outlined above and because it has failed to develop contextually relevant theologies of healing and reconciliation. Sadly this has contributed to the spectacularly underwhelming progress towards national healing.

Political parties have also not been keen to involve churches in other critical activities for example, by marginalizing the church's role in the constitution- drafting process. Operating with a very limited understanding of constitution making, the parties appear to have abrogated the right to make decisions on behalf of all other stakeholders. Unfortunately, the church has not been able to challenge such a shortsighted approach because it has not succeeded in positioning itself as a major stakeholder in relation to this issue. Once again, one notices patterns of continuity where politicians are comfortable inviting church leaders to say opening and closing prayers, while the political figures deal with the 'important business'. However, despite internal weaknesses, church leaders have joined forces with other actors within civil society to demand that elections should only be held when the country has been sufficiently de-militarised. While political gladiators are keen to have elections in the hope that they alone will wield absolute power, church leaders have argued that previous polls. (2008 presidential run-off) have been bloody and that utmost care must be taken before plunging the nation into another election. They have also done well to insist on a 'roadmap', which includes the adoption of a new constitution and the opening up of democratic space (Chitando, 2010).

In addition, Chitando (2010), points out that, the church has sought to provide effective leadership in a heavily polarized political environment. In particular, Church leaders have challenged the political leadership to give dialogue a chance. They have openly said that violence degrades both the victim and the perpetrator. They have called for realistic economic policies that place the needs of the poor at their centre. But despite their noble intentions and activities, they have not had the desired impact. Divisions within the church and the lack of radical theologies have compromised the church's efforts. For example, Machingura (2010) is convinced that the church in Zimbabwe lacks the hermeneutical skills to promote healing and

reconciliation. There is need for a more sophisticated reading of biblical passages if the church is to ensure that justice is achieved. This is the surest way of promoting healing and reconciliation.

2.8. Summary

This chapter reviewed some of literature relevant to this study in assessing the contribution of Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia to political conflict resolution. The chapter also presented the influence of church mother bodies in specific countries such as Zambia and Zimbabwe. So far, available literature does not bring out the contribution of the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia in Lusaka district, thus a knowledge gap. This study therefore, sought to fill up the knowledge gap on what the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia has distinctively contributed on political conflict resolution.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0. Introduction

The study is a grass-root oriented research with a view to promoting the love, peace and unity for the wellbeing of the country and that the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia should take it upon themselves in inculcating good morals in the minds of the ordinary Zambian people in regards to peace and stability of the nation at large. This chapter of the research aims at providing the methodology that was used in the study. Consequently, the following items are outlined in this chapter: target population, research instruments, sample size and sampling procedures, data analysis and ethical considerations.

3.1. Research Design

According to Kombo and Tromp (2013), a research design is the structure of the research. It refers to as the ‘glue’ that holds the entire research process together. The research design is the scheme; outline or rather the plan of the research that enhances the generation of answers to the research questions or problems.

In this research, a case study design was used because the variables contained in the study have to be discussed in detail and described precisely. A case study is defined as “a holistic research method that uses multiple sources of evidence to analyze or evaluate specific phenomenon or instance” (Anderson, 1998:152). The case study was chosen because it describes a unit in detail, in context and holistically. In a case design a great ideal can be learned from few examples.

3.2. Study Location

The study was conducted in Lusaka district. The district was chosen because it is the home to the three Church Mother Bodies and is where politicians cause commotion. Additionally despite that there are a number of new districts in Zambia, the selected site present a good case study to investigate the role of the church mother bodies in political conflict resolution.

3.3. Target Population

Study population refers to the larger group from which the sample is taken. Yun (2000), defines a population as the group of individuals, objects or items from which samples are taken for measurement or analysis. Due to time and financial resource limitations, eleven (11) people were selected who were purposively sampled and interviewed at district level.

3.4. Sample and Sampling Techniques

The word sample refers to a set of elements which is ideally representative of the entire population whereas sampling is the process of selecting a subset or sample from the entire population so that generalization of the results can be made to the population from which the elements were selected. Thus a sample is a finite part of statistical population whose properties are studied to gain information about the whole (Webster, 1985).

For the time being, sampling simply means taking any portion of a population or universe as representative of that population. (Strydom et al, 2005), the major reason for sampling is feasibility. A complete coverage of the total population is seldom possible and all the members of a population of interest cannot possibly be reached. In this study, purposive sampling method was used to sample twenty people involved in Christian religious activities and politics. The study will also get additional data from key respondents such as 4 pastors, 4 devoted Christians, 2 political parties' officials and 1 Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia top officials.

3.5. Sources of Data

The researcher used both primary and secondary sources of data. Primary data was collected from the field through semi structured interviews with respondents and key informants respectively. Secondary data was collected from books, magazines, newspapers, internet, journals, government documents, published and unpublished research papers among others.

3.6. Data Collection

As a matter of ethical consideration, during the data collection process, permission was sought from the local authority and any other authority before proceeding with interacting with the respondents. The data was collected through administering a semi structured interviews to respondents and key informants.

3.7. Research Instruments

In this study the researcher used semi structured interviews guides throughout the data collection process. According to Chilisa and Preece (2005), interview refers to a conversation or interaction between the researcher and a research respondent. This research instrument was chosen because it provides detailed or insightful information suitable for this kind of study. In addition, interviews offered the best alternative among other data collection instruments for collecting data from people whose education levels (literacy) is low or unknown. Semi structured interview guides were used to collect data from respondents and key informants.

3.8. Data Analysis

According to Strydom, etal (2005), data analysis means the categorization, ordering, manipulating and summarizing data to obtain answers to research questions. In this study, the collected data was analysed qualitatively. Thematic analysis was used and data from participants interviewed was coded to generate themes for interpretations. Braun and Clarke (2006), describe thematic analysis as a method of identification, examination and recording patterns within data.

They further add that through its theoretical freedom, it provides a flexible and useful tool which is capable of providing thick and in-depth information.

3.9. Ethical Considerations

Kombo and Tromp (2011), elucidates that the entire research process should maintain high levels of integrity particularly in data collection process and statistical skills to problems where private interests of respondents may inappropriately affect the development or application of statistical knowledge. Therefore ethical concerns were taken into consideration from the start of the investigation to the final report. The researcher accepted individual responsibility for the conduct of the research and ensure that informed consent from respondents in the study was obtained in order to make that all respondents participated freely and voluntarily. The concerned people were informed that this research is purely for academic purposes. Thus an ethical consent was sought through a form of an informed consent form and confidentiality guaranteed before embarking on data collection from respondents. The respondents were free to withdraw from the research process when they felt uncomfortable.

4.0. Summary

This chapter covered the methodology that was used in the study. The study used the qualitative approaches to elicit data from the respondents on the contribution of the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia to political conflict resolution. Respondents were drawn from various units in Lusaka District. Eleven (11) respondents were involved. They included one (1) Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia executive director, two (2) political party senior officers from the Patriotic Front (PF) and United Party for National Development (UPND), four (4) pastors from different Churches and four (4) ordinary citizens who were purposively sampled. The instrument used was interview. Data was analysed using the thematic analysis for qualitative data. Ethical considerations were adhered to.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

4.0. Overview

This chapter presents the findings of the study on Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia's contribution on political conflict resolution in Lusaka district. The findings are presented according to the emerging issues from the field starting from responses from political party officials, followed by those from the pastors and ordinary citizens and finally from Evangelical Fellowship Of Zambia. The findings are presented under the headings derived from the study questions. The study questions were:

1. What role has the church mother body played in resolving political differences among politicians?
2. What role did the church mother body play in resolving electoral disputes?
3. What are the key successes of the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia in addressing political conflict among political parties?

4.1. The Role played by Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia in Resolving Political Differences among Politicians.

One of the study questions was to establish the role the evangelical fellowship of Zambia play in political differences amongst politicians. In addressing this question, information was collected from the two major political party secretariats.

4.2. Extent of Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia's involvement in political conflict resolution.

Views from the political party officials, as to whether the Evangelical fellowship of Zambia should be neutral or partisan indicated that, the 2 political party officials that were interviewed

agreed that the church mother body should be neutral in matters concerning political conflict resolution and that they should be apolitical as they are a center of refuge to all political parties whenever they are faced with political differences ranging from the interpretation of the constitution, elections and national economic policies.

The administrative officer of The Patriotic Front said:

The Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia is a key institution in politics and a major social group that gather the people together from all walks of life. Every human being has a spiritual aspect of life that has to do with moral obligations and principles in the society. If the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia was to turn partisan, the peace of the country can be negatively affected. The party turned to the Church for dialogue after the death of late president Michael Sata in 2014. In 1991, the late Movement for Multiparty Democracy president, FTJ Chiluba turned to the church for help when he was intimidated by former United National Independence Party president who was persecuting him.

The United Party for National Development official said:

The Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia has a big task in promoting unity in the country. As a political party we find it easy to turn to the church for mediation whenever we are faced with political differences with the ruling patriotic front and they have been very helpful in resolving conflicts.

4.2.2. The Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia and political conflict resolution

The study revealed that both political parties, the Patriotic Front and United Party for National Development recognise the role that the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia plays in resolving political conflicts and in most cases, the church mother body has been very instrumental in helping political parties to resolve intra and inter party conflicts.

The United Party for National Development party official said that:

The Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia's handling of political conflict must be considered but to some extent, the mother body has shown some sort of biasness exhibited by certain topmost officials.

The Patriotic Front Party administrative officer said:

Many times, the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia has helped the party to resolve intra-party conflicts. When internal wrangles engulfed the party in 2014, the church mother body was helpful to resolve internal conflicts.

4.2.3. Political parties views on the role of Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia in political conflict resolution.

Political party officials were asked whether they were satisfied with the role the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia play in political conflict resolution. The study indicated that the political parties are satisfied with the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia's role in political conflict resolution.

The Patriotic Party administrative officer explained that:

We are satisfied with the commitment of Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia's effort in trying to bring dialogue and understanding amongst political parties. At times the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia may have different ideas in handling conflicts. We have to understand that political conflicts resolution is critical in Zambia's democratic processes. Conflict begins within us when self-interests are exalted above other political parties' views. Differences will always exist but what matters most is how we handle them. We cannot use emotions to solve our political differences.

When political parties were asked whether the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia should side with any political party, both the Patriotic Front and the United Party for National Development had similar sentiments that the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia should not side with any political party when resolving political conflicts amongst politicians.

The United Party for National Development Party Official said:

The Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia should speak the voice of justice as they serve the God of justice as indicated in the bible and that God Almighty does not favour people who are wrong regardless of political affiliation or social status. God is a fair God hence siding with any political party will indicate that the church mother body is not fair which may mean that God is not fair .when one says that God is not fair, than he is lying.

The Patriotic Front administrative officer said:

The Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia being a church mother body serves citizens with different aspirations and political views. Therefore it is wrong to side with any political party when resolving political conflicts.

Political parties were further asked if they were facing any challenges with the church mother body when resolving political differences .The responses were as follows,

The patriotic front administrative officer said:

We do not have any challenge with the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia as we enjoy mutual relationship , the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia have been very helpful whenever the country is facing national crisis such as state funerals.

The biggest worry that is threatening the political parties is the growing media speculations issued against the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia of being a partisan Church Mother Body.

The United Party for National Development Party Official said:

To some extent the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia has been objective and helpful in resolving political conflicts but has not done enough to end or reduce political conflicts. They find it difficult to condemn some political parties who resort to violence.

4.5. Views of Pastors and ordinary citizens

4.5.1. Pastors views

Pastors were asked whether the church should be neutral or side with any political party. All the four pastors who were interviewed were not in support of the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia to side with any political party of their choice but to embrace every person regardless of political affiliation.

The Pastor from Fountain of Living Water Tabernacle said that:

The Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia is mandated to give spiritual guidance and shepherd all political parties in the country. Therefore the biggest mistake that can be made is to be partisan in the manner of handling of political differences. Political differences must lead to development of the country and finding lasting solutions to all fundamental issues affecting the nation.

The pastor of Rock of Glory and Gospel palace church had similar sentiment concerning the neutrality of the evangelical fellowship of Zambia.

The Pastor of Rock of Glory Church said the following:

The Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia should not support the government of the day or sympathize with the opposition political parties but in an event that the government of the day is doing wrong before the eyes of God, the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia should not side or support such actions. The Church is greater and above the political party therefore the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia and the state cannot work or operate as one. You cannot combine the church and political parties because politicians when faced with differences should consider consulting the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia for guidance and spiritual help.

The pastors were further asked whether the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia was playing its role in political conflict resolution amongst politicians. All the pastors indicated that the church mother body is not playing its role to the fullest in insofar as political conflict resolution is

concerned as there is no balance or fairness when addressing acts of violence amongst politicians.

The Pastor of Bethel Church International explained that, the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia has always been active in the political arena and has a tendency of saying that “they are working with the government of the day, the motive is good but the application of working with the government of the day is ambiguous.”

4.5.0. The role played by the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia in Resolving Political Differences among Politicians

4.5.1. Ordinary citizens’ views’ on whether the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia should be neutral or side with political parties.

When four ordinary citizens were asked whether the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia should be partisan or non-partisan, the response was overwhelming as all the four citizens that were interviewed were of the view that the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia should not be partisan in matters pertaining to politics and conflicts but must be on the neutral side.

One kalingalinga resident said,

The Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia represent the kingdom of heaven here on earth, unless in an event where politicians ask the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia for guidance when need arises. There is high probability by the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia to compromise in political arena if they are to be actively involved in politics.

4.5.1. The Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia and its role in Political Conflict Resolution

The researcher asked all the four citizens whether the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia was playing its role in political conflict resolution, only one agreed that they have done a commendable job because Zambia at large is not at war despite having differences. While the other three (3) ordinary citizens refused. They explained that:

The evangelical fellowship of Zambia has not done enough in Lusaka province to end political conflicts because of lack of proper platform to condemn acts of conflict by political party cadres. In reality the Evangelical fellowship of Zambia should be above the government but this is not the case in Zambia.

One Kabulonga resident said:

Politicians campaign in most Pentecostal Churches, this becomes very difficult to resolve conflict when the church comes under the authority of politicians who mostly represent the government. The evangelical fellowship of Zambia lacks authority and influence in the political arena. The only church mother body that has authority and influence is Zambia conference of catholic bishops because they have money and masses of followers in the country. What the church needs most are not strong men and women, but strong institutions that speak to politicians and political violence without fear or favour.

The other resident of Mutendere compound said:

In the constitution, the Church mother bodies such as the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia should be included and the authority be extended outside the church. There is need for the government to give the church mother body a permanent seat in parliament to represent the interest of all Churches. The ministry of religious affairs and national guidance speaks on behalf of churches and not the nation therefore it is difficult for the evangelical fellowship of Zambia to resolve political conflict.

However, respondents were saddened by the growing media speculation that the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia was becoming partisan. They argued that this could endanger the peace of the nation because the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia was a parent to everyone associated with it. Respondents further said that, it was imperative for the leadership of Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia to understand that Zambia as a whole belonged to everyone and not specific or special people.

4.6. The Role played by the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia in Resolving Electoral disputes.

The second question of the study was to analyze the role played by the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia in resolving electoral disputes. The information was collected from the evangelical fellowship of Zambia and only one senior most officer was allowed to be interviewed.

4.6.1. Frequency of Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia's involvement in political Conflict Resolution.

When asked how often the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia get involved in political conflict resolution, the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia Executive Director said that, since 1990, Zambia has experienced national crises that border on political conflict hence they make themselves available whenever there is need to handle a crisis. The Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia has been very active in political conflict resolution since its formation as it is mindful of the problems the country faces, said the Director.

4.6.2. Nature of involvement of Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia.

The Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia Executive Director was asked how the Church mother body gets involved in political conflict resolution. He said that, affected parties were brought together under one roof, critical issues that cause conflict are analysed critically with the participation of all affected parties, then concerns are raised.

The Executive director further said:

Before conflict is resolved, room is given to the offender to confess and repent for all wrong actions committed during the conflict. Warring parties are led into reconciliation and forgiveness because there can never be peace without reconciliation because it give room for forgiveness to take place. Apology by the offender to the offended party is encouraged and taken very seriously as a way of acknowledging the wrong and admitting responsibility. However, when there is an act of refusal by either warring parties to forgive and reconcile, deadlock is reached making it difficult to resolve the conflict. Unwillingness of disputants to forgive may cause the hearts to burn with pain and conflict to escalate.

4.6.3. Means of Resolving Political Conflicts

With regards to political conflict resolution, the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia Executive Director said that, dialogue and mediation strategies were mostly used with intention of producing an agreement to the conflict and to promote a democratic culture. This requires full participation and support from all warring parties because conflict can only be resolved when mutual understanding was reached and that requires a neutral mediator.

4.6.4. Political Parties' Responses to Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia's call for Peaceful Political Campaigns.

The Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia executive director was further asked if the political parties respond to the call for peaceful political campaigns during elections. During the interview, he explained that,

The Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia has no power to stop conflicts in Lusaka district and the problem of political cadres' violent behavior makes the situation more difficult to handle because cadres only listen to their leaders. Political party leaders fail to discipline cadres because of the role they play of morale boosting during the campaigns and fear of defecting to other political parties' hence political party leaders choose to remain quiet and fail to give instructions to cadres despite seeing the wrong acts being done. Political party cadres are very problematic; they see retaliation as the best response to political disputes.

4.6.5. Causes of Electoral Disputes

During the interview, the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia Executive Director was asked about what caused electoral disputes. He mentioned that, the 2016 general elections were difficult due to the narrow margin between the winning and the losing candidates. Nonetheless, desperation of some political party leaders, lack of good political campaign strategy and lack of personal confidence were the root cause of electoral disputes.

The Executive Director explained that:

most political party leaders fear the loss of elections due to the money involved for campaign materials and other expenses hence they tend to discredit and blame the Electoral Commission of Zambia of being used for rigging, it is the escape route to discredit the Electoral Commission of Zambia because an electoral process is not only fair when one wins the elections but also when one losses ,we are being unfair as Zambians to the Electoral Commission of Zambia and our own electoral process if we discredit it. The printing of ballot papers by foreign companies also raise suspicions of election rigging.

4.6.6. Ensuring Free and Fair Elections

The study further sort to find out the contribution of the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia in ensuring free and fair elections. When interviewed, the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia executive director said that, free and fair elections were a vital step for democratic governance. The Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia was very much concerned in ensuring free and fair elections and usually take part in monitoring process of elections, voter education , voter registration ,monitoring of printing of ballot papers, media programs, Parallel Voter Tabulation (PVT) to promote the integrity of elections and to detect when election results have been manipulated, media programs (television and radio) to sensitize the voters, work with the law enforcement agencies such as the Zambia police on the application of the public order Act, work with the Human Rights commission to educate voters on their Rights and also participate in the consultative meetings with the Electoral Commission of Zambia with a view to promote trust amongst political players.

4.7. The Successes of the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia in Addressing Political Conflict

The third question was to understand the key success of the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia in addressing political conflict among political parties.

When the Executive Director was asked, to point out some successes in political conflict resolution, he explained that, before and during the outbreak of political violence in Lusaka, the

Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia worked to ensure that all the systems, institutions and elements of political structures work hand in hand to provide constructive, nonviolent pathways for resolving conflicts, conducting peaceful elections and addressing societal injustices. According to the Director, the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia locates itself naturally in this sector of political conflict resolution and working with other institutions such as the civil societies and the Police to ensure peaceful political campaigns. In the midst of the political conflict (inter-party and intra-party conflicts) the Evangelical fellowship of Zambia managed to engage the contending political actors through outreach, negotiations, mediations and acknowledgement of grievances amongst political players. Added the Director, the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia used appropriate intervention strategy to resolve inter-party and intra-party political conflicts in Lusaka District such as engaging local neighbourhoods and communities in groups to develop relevant skills such as facilitation, public dialogue and Peer mediation.

The Director further said:

In 2014, after the death of Michael C Sata, the Patriotic Front party plunged into intra-party conflict. The evangelical fellowship of Zambia was invited to mediate into the internal wrangles and the similar intra-party conflict occurred in 2016 in Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD). These successes were not publicized due to the fact that they were done secretly for fear of prejudice by the public domain.

4.7.1. Challenges of Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia

Despite the successes the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia has recorded, there are a number of challenges facing the Church mother body. When the Director was asked what challenges the EFZ was facing, he mentioned that, the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia had never issued any conflicting statement to disrespect other church mother bodies but respect all leaders regardless of political affiliation.

The Executive Director further said:

The Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia unwillingness to share challenges in detail was as a result of some media houses that had a tendency of distorting information to suit themselves and the media has a tendency of judging people in advance and use of abusive language has hindered effective political conflict resolution processes. Due to misinforming the general public and damaging the image of Evangelical fellowship of Zambia by the media, certain information is not shared.

4.8. Summary

Chapter four dealt with the presentation of data collected from the field. Data was presented in descriptive form. Verbatim were used to quote the actual words used by the respondent. Interviewees included Pastors, ordinary citizens, senior political party officials and the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia Executive Director.

The findings revealed that the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia was a key institution in political conflict resolution. Political parties were satisfied with the commitment of Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia's effort in trying to bring dialogue and understanding amongst political parties. In 2014, after the death of Michael Sata, the Patriotic Front party plunged into intra-party conflict. The Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia was invited to mediate the internal wrangles and similar intra-party conflict occurred in 2016 in Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD). The Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia used appropriate intervention strategy to resolve inter-party and intra-party political conflicts in Lusaka District such as engaging local neighbourhoods and communities in groups to develop relevant skills such as facilitation, public dialogue and Peer mediation.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

5.0. Overview

This chapter discusses the findings of the study which were aimed at investigating the role of the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia in political conflict resolution in Lusaka province. The findings are discussed in line with the objectives which were to;

1. Establish the role of the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia in resolving political differences among politicians.
2. Analyze the role played by the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia in resolving electoral disputes.
3. Understand the key success of the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia in addressing political conflict among political parties.

5.1. The Role of the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia in Resolving Political Differences among Politicians.

The study revealed that, the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia has been very instrumental in resolving political differences amongst politicians. The Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia working with the other three church mother bodies (the Zambia Conference of Catholic Bishops and the Council of Churches in Zambia) played a significant role in unifying political parties during the aftermath of 2014, 2015 and 2016 elections.

The study revealed that political parties recognize and acknowledge the significance of the Church in political conflict resolution for example between 1990 and 1991, former late president of Zambia Fredrick Chiluba (The Movement for Multiparty Democracy) turned to the Church mother body for mediation and guidance when the UNIP government under Kenneth Kaunda was infringing on the rights and freedoms of the opposition political party. The Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia with the other the two Church Mother Bodies managed to bring the two warring sides together.

The Patriotic Front administrative officer disclosed that the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia had in many ways helped to resolve intra and inter-party conflict in 2014. He mentioned that, “after the death of the sitting president Michael Chilufya Sata, intra party conflict emerged within the patriotic front rivals with fighting for leadership and also personality clash.” The media described the rivals as the “cartels” that were led by influential wealthy politicians. The Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia organised dialogue, reconciliation meetings with the political rivals.

The study also revealed that there were perceptions that Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia should be neutral and never to side with any political party when handling political conflicts because the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia’s role should be to spread the message of love, peace and unity in the society from the perspective of political parties. However, there is satisfaction with the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia despite the issuing of controversial statements pertaining to issues of political deadlock amongst political parties as reported by some media houses. This was consistent with the study which was conducted by the Church and Civil Society Forum (2012) that, the church needs to be apolitical, non-partisan and re-strategize so that it gives the violence challenged nation another ray of peace. The study revealed that, the neutrality of the church mother body is doubted by a named UPND party official who said that, the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia’s handling of political conflict must be considered but to some extent, the mother body has shown some sort of biasness exhibited by certain topmost officials.

In the Zimbabwean context, some Pentecostal theologians have argued that there are economic and other benefits to be derived from supporting Mugabe, as Gunda (2010) points out, some church leaders are beneficiaries of the land reform programme. Others are indebted to the ruling party for one favour or another, including getting free vehicles from the Reserve Bank. Leaders who are deemed favourable to Mugabe get preferential treatment on state occasions, use their political connections to increase their own grip on power and also enjoy the psychological benefit of feeling ‘safe’ in an uncertain socio-economic and political environment.

The perception that the EFZ is partisan in Zambia is also the perception of EFZ in Zimbabwe. Mpofo (2006) stated that, talks collapsed in 2006 when the Heads of Christian Churches such as Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe were accused by the independent media of dancing in ZANU-PF's favour. The Zimbabwean newspaper declared, "Church Leaders Disappoint Nation" While in Zimbabwe, the EFZ is stronger on criticizing the government on human rights violation, oppression and suppression of opposition political parties, the EFZ in Zambia is rather ambiguous in its critique of the state for example when commenting on 2015 and 2016 presidential elections, the EFZ said "desperation of some political party leaders, lack of good political campaign strategy and lack of personal confidence were the root cause of electoral disputes." This clearly would be interpreted as partisan and that is why the opposition such as the UPND is convinced that the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia is partisan. In my interview with the UPND, he argued that "EFZ has not done enough to end or reduce political conflicts. They find it difficult to condemn some political parties who resort to violence." However, it should be noted that opposition leaders are there to 'oppose' and they miss the point that one day EFZ will be on their side because EFZ works with the government of the day.

The fact that Politics have two sides, opposing side and the supporting side entails that in politics, there is no neutrality. "Politics has two sides and is of the world and in the world therefore the church should be neutral and not to side with any political party. The church is a safe refuge of the wounded and broken hearted people. When the church is political, it stops representing the God given mandate of spreading the word of love, salvation and peace" as indicated by one pastor. The results of this research area relate to a study carried out by Smith (2009), on conflict assessment in Zambia. In that study, it was revealed that the church challenged the government on a number of issues (economic, social and political) and in so doing performed their function as watchdog, strengthening transparency and control of government policy. The study recommended that the church should be neutral in matters concerning political conflict resolution and impartial as it acted as a watchdog of the government of the day and all the political parties existing in the country. Therefore Church leaders need proper training and orientation in political conflict resolution.

Furthermore, the Patriotic Front administrative officer pointed out clearly that, Cadres do the hard work of morale boosting during campaigns hence disciplining them becomes very difficult. However, fear of defection to other political parties made the political parties to be unwilling to discipline them. Retaliation of political cadres provokes the situation that led to political violence encouraged by the idea of “tit for tat”. The EFZ held several consultative meetings to address the cadre violence with the police and concerned political party leaders.

5.2. The Role played by the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia in Resolving Electoral Disputes.

Issues regarding electoral irregularities emerged at the end of 2015 and 2016 presidential elections. From the perception of EFZ, the findings revealed that, the Evangelical fellowship of Zambia was very much involved in handling electoral disputes amongst politicians. The Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia’s executive director mentioned that,

whenever there is electoral disputes, the affected parties leaders are brought together and issues analysed, room is given to the offended opposition political party leaders to voice out his concern (this is not done publicly) the meeting only reaches a deadlock when no political party is willing to accept the election results hence it becomes difficult to reconcile the warring parties.

The study revealed that whenever there were electoral disputes the warring parties were led into confession and repentance, individual political parties were encouraged to forgive each other and the offender must apologize to the offended. Clock (2005) is of the view that, unforgiveness leads to political deadlock. Political dialogue has been used between political parties with the intention of reaching an agreement but did not avail positive results due to pain and bitterness of some political party leaders. Evil is not initially a grand thing, but begins innocuously with a constriction of empathy and compassion, leading ultimately to an inability to find the other within the self. It proceeds by replacing empathy with antipathy, love with hate, trust with suspicion, and confidence with fear. Finally, it exalts these negative attitudes as virtues, allows them to emerge from hiding, punishes those who oppose them, and causes others to respond in

ways that justify their use. It is cardinal to point out that when handling political conflicts, forgiveness and reconciliation are key, parties must be willing to forgive.

In addition, Chitando (2010) points out that, in Zimbabwe, the Church has sought to provide effective leadership in a heavily polarized political environment. In particular, Church leaders have challenged the political leadership to give dialogue a chance. They have openly said that violence degrades both the victim and the perpetrator. They have called for realistic economic policies that place the needs of the poor at their centre. But despite their noble intentions and activities, they have not had the desired impact. Divisions within the Church and the lack of radical theologies have compromised the Church's efforts. For example, Machingura (2010) is convinced that the Church in Zimbabwe lacks the hermeneutical skills to promote healing and reconciliation. There is need for a more sophisticated reading of biblical passages if the Church is to ensure that justice is achieved. This is the surest way of promoting healing and reconciliation, according to Machingura.

The 2016 elections were the most difficult elections to handle. In the study, the main factors that were identified that cause electoral disputes in Zambia as observed by the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia's Executive Director are as follows; Desperation of politicians, lack of personal confidence, credibility of candidates, fear to concede defeat, lack of good political strategy by some candidates. In addition, the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia play a critical role in relation to free and fair elections such as Monitoring processes of elections, parallel voter tabulation (PVT), voter registration, voter education, monitoring of printing of ballot papers, media programs (TV and Radio) live programs, work with the law enforcement agencies (Zambia police) on application of the public order Act, work with the human rights commission to educate voters of their rights, consultative meetings with the Electoral commission of Zambia.

From Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia's point of view, political parties discredit the Electoral Commission of Zambia by using the strategy of "false accusation" as an escape route to their defeat while damaging the image of the institution. The Executive Director further adds that, the elections does not become credible when one candidate wins only but also when he/she losses. We are being unfair when we discredit our local institution. This has caused some people in the

country to doubt the credibility of the electoral commission of Zambia as indicated by the evangelical fellowship of Zambia.’’

The social conflict theory says, , societies choose different policies, some of which are disastrous for their citizens, because those decisions are made by politicians or politically powerful social groups that are interested in maximizing their own payoffs, not aggregate output or social welfare. Furthermore, the theory adds that, struggle over values or claims to status, interests, power, and scarce resources in which the aims of the conflict groups are not only to gain the desired values, but also to neutralize, injure, or eliminate rivals. Bringing it to bear on the action of EFZ, it looks clear that EFZ has its own interest and national interest its fight for human rights, civil and political rights. In terms of politicians having different views about EFZ, it’s clear from the theoretical aspect that each political party has its own interest hence the conflict.

The study revealed further that some media houses that sympathize with certain political parties have been twisting information to portray that the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia is a political tool and eat on the same table with the politicians. The EFZ Executive Director argues that, some media houses have been issuing distorted information that the EFZ supports the Patriotic Front and that they are behind the ‘Christians for President Edgar Chagwa Lungu’ Movement in the country. Furthermore, the media has been judging the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia’s before any statement is issued and also use abusive language to offend other political parties. Because of false allegations, the EFZ when dealing with political conflict resolution, certain information is not published in order to avoid the media to misinform the general public. However, the study revealed that the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia was not part of the ‘‘Christians for Edgar Chagwa Lungu campaign.’’

5.3. Successes of the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia in Addressing Political Conflict among Political Parties

The study revealed that there are a number of successes that the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia has recorded. In the past, a number of political conflict i.e. inter-party and intra-party conflicts had occurred. In all these conflicts non-resulted into civil war or violent.

The Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia have recorded two major success as a church mother body the most notable one was in the year 2014. After the death of president Michael Chilufya Sata, the patriotic front party was into serious intra-party conflict that endangered the lives of many people and the security of the nation due to fighting between supporters of different factions the dominant interest groups which was known as “the cartels” who wanted to infiltrated into the political party and to hijack the original agenda of the patriotic front (PF) party when it became weak due to in-fighting, however the Executive Director disclosed that, the involvement of the EFZ to resolve the conflict was not publicly announced due to sensitivity of the situation in the country and to avoid prejudices amongst the general public. The study also revealed that the EFZ managed to hold meetings and made the warring factions to dialogue in order to avoid loss of lives.

In addition, the findings revealed that, the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia was actively involved in encouraging the open expression of the rage and grief stirred up by the electoral aftermath of 2016, the church mother body used political conflict resolution in a context that was constructive and oriented focused on reconciliation and love says the Executive Director. This is in line with the study by clock (2005), he mentioned that, reconciliation requires the ability to engage in public dialogue, and speak from the heart. Regeneration of community requires the creation of a new culture based on collaboration, compassion, and respect for differences.

Intra-party conflict has been a common phenomenon in the Zambian political landscape since independence. In most cases, it is personality clash rather than serious ideological differences that cause the split in the parties. It is not that ideological factor is not there. Ritu (2012:21) mentioned that,

What is true is that personality clash is often veiled with ideological struggle. The vested personal interest is garbed with party principle. The absence of vibrant internal democracy is another important factor behind the detrimental intra-party dispute. Intra-party conflict is both friendly and hostile, and the hostile conflict leads to party division. The division in the big parties negatively affected the political system and the future of the country and the people. The parties split as they fail to manage conflict scientifically.

CHAPTER SIX

6.0. Conclusion and Recommendations

This chapter presents the conclusion and recommendations emanating from the findings and discussion of the study. The objectives were to:

1. Establish the role of the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia in resolving political differences among politicians.
2. Analyze the role played by the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia in resolving electoral disputes.
3. Understand the key success of the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia in addressing political conflict among political parties.

6.1. Conclusion

The purpose of the study was to investigate the contribution of Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia in political conflict resolution in Lusaka district that has been the center of political commotion.

From the findings of this study, as well as present research on the topic, there is strong indication that, the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia has been the key player in political conflict resolution in the country. Unfortunately, social media and some private newspaper have characterised the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia as partisan institution supporting the government.

6.2 Recommendations

The recommendations are based on the findings and discussion. The following recommendations are made

1. The social media must be well utilised by the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia and the electoral commission of Zambia to educate and sensitize the general public on the effects

of depending on propaganda information as it endangers peace in the society. As in most cases, social media platforms such as Facebook, twitter and whatsAPP which are mostly used in Zambia, have been abused to spread hate speech by the enemies of peace to cause anarchy in the country.

2. The study recommended that the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia should maintain its neutrality in matters concerning political conflict resolution and impartial as it act as a watchdog of the government of the day and all the political parties existing in the country.

REFERENCES

- Cheyeka, A. M. (1999). African Christian studies. *The African Journal of the Catholic University of East Africa*, 15 (3) 19-34.
- Chipenzi, M. (2011). Seminar on dialogue between political parties and civil society organisation with the theme ‘‘Building synergies between political parties and civil society organisations to deepen democratic governance and human development after 2011elections. Retrieved from <http://www.feszambia.org/media/publications/ZAMBIAN%20ELECTIONS-revised.pdf>
- Chitando,E.(2010) .Prayers, politics and peace: the church’s role in Zimbabwe’s crisis. Retrieved from <http://www.osisa.org/openspace/zimbabwe/prayers-politics-and-peace-churchs-role-zimbabwes-crisis>
- Cloke, K (2005). Mediating Evil, War, and Terrorism: The Politics of Conflict. *Beyond Intractability*. Conflict, information consortium. University of Colorado, Boulder. Retrieved from <http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/mediating-evil>
- Endo, M. (1996). *The Politics of Development and Stagnation of Civil Society* (Doctoral dissertation, the Experiences of Zambia and Botswana, Centre for Southern African Studies, the University of York). Retrieved from <http://theses.whiterose.ac.uk/2508/2/DX208414>
- Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia.(2012), *Pastoral Statement on the State of the Nation*. Retrieved from http://www.efzsecretariat.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=101:pastoral-statement-on-the-state-of-the-nation-issued-on-4th-march-2012&catid=14:recent&Itemid=61
- Fisher, C. (2010). Researching and writing a dissertation: an essential guide for Business Students (3rd ed).New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

- Gunda, M, R. (2008). *The Bible and Homosexuality in Zimbabwe: A Socio-Historical Analysis of the Political, Cultural and Christian Arguments in the Homosexual Public Debate with Special Reference to the Use of the Bible*. Bamberg: University of Bamberg Press. Retrieved from [http://www.academia.edu/2949283/The Bible and Homosexuality in Zimbabwe](http://www.academia.edu/2949283/The_Bible_and_Homosexuality_in_Zimbabwe)
- Kalu, K. (2003). *An elusive quest? Structural analysis of conflicts and peace in Africa in Uwazie, Ernest. Conflict resolution and peace education in Africa*. New York. Lanham, Boulder: Lexington Books. Retrieved from <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/186060>
- Komakoma,j.(ed).(2003). *The Social Teaching of the Catholic Bishops and other Christian leaders in Zambia. Major pastoral letters and statement.1953-2001*. Ndola: Mission Press.
- Kombo, D.K. and Tromp .L.A. (2013). *Proposal and Thesis Writing: An Introduction*. Nairobi: Pauline Publications Africa ltd.
- Manyeruke C, Hofisi S, and Mhandara L, (2013). *The Church and Political Transition in Zimbabwe: The Inclusive Government Context*. Journal of Public Administration and Governance Department of Political and Administrative Studies. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.5296/jpag.v3i1.3379>
- Mpofu,S. (2015). *The theological dilemma viz-a-vis the moral options for relevant and practical ministry today. Lessons for the Zimbabwe council of churches. Department of Church History and Church Polity*. Retrieved from <http://bishopkadenge.blogspot.com/2015/06/the-theological-dilema-viz-vis-moral.html>
- Mwangupili ,N. (2008).*The Role of the Catholic Church in Political Conflict Resolution: An Analysis of the Government and Opposition Conflict in Malawi (2004-2008)* (Master Thesis, Mzuzu University, Mzuzu, Malawi). Retrieved from [http://www.academia.edu/3990113/The Role of the Catholic Church in Political Conflict Resolution](http://www.academia.edu/3990113/The_Role_of_the_Catholic_Church_in_Political_Conflict_Resolution)

- Njovu, D. (2002). *The Religious Implications of the declaration of Zambia As A Christian State* (master's thesis). UNISA. School of religious studies. Pretoria. South Africa.
Retrieved from
<http://www.foundationcoalition.org/teams>
- Peter, J. and Henriot, S.J. (2005). *A Church in the Modern World of Africa: The Zambian Experience* Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection phenriot@zamnet.zm
- Samasumo .P, (2016). *Catholics and Protestant Churches in Zambia against new Ministry of Religion* .Vatican Radio. Email: engafrica@vatiradio.va
- Smith, J.J. (2009). *A strategic conflict assessment of Zambia*. African Security Analysis Programme Institute for Security Studies. Pretoria
- Strydom, H., Fouche, C. B. and Delpont, C.S.L. (2005). 3rd ed. *Research at Grassroots for Social Sciences and Human Service Professions*. Kenyatta University Press.
- The Church and Civil Society Forum. (2012). *A Study on the Role of the Church in Violence in Zimbabwe*. University of Zimbabwe: Harare Zimbabwe. Retrieved from
<http://www.ccsf.org.zw/sites/default/files/publications/Role%20of%20the%20Church%20in%20Violence>
- Vorster, J.M.K. (2015). *Dealing with Violence in South Africa: The Ethical Responsibility of Churches*. Faculty of Theology (Ethics) North-West University. Retrieved from
<Http://Scriptura.Journals.Ac.Za>
- Yun, G. (2000). *Designing Qualitative Research* (2nd edition) London: SAGE.
- Zambia Episcopal Conference, (1984). *Policy for Development: Commission for Development, Relief & Emergencies*, Lusaka: Teresianum Press.
- Ruzivo, M. (2008). *The Role of the Church in the Struggle for Democratic Change in Zimbabwe*. Harare, Zimbabwe Institute Publications. Retrieved from
<https://relzim.org/resources/academic-research/>

The Zimbabwe We Want. (2006). *Towards A National Vision for Zimbabwe*. Retrieved from http://www.academia.edu/4079454/The_Church_Politics_and_the_Future_of_Zimbabwe

Machingura ,F. (2010). *The Shona Concept of Spirit Possession (Kusvikirwa) and Pentecostal Phenomenon of Getting into the Spirit (Kupinda Mumweya) 1 (1) (85-102)*. Retrieved from <http://www.osisa.org/sites/default/files/supfiles/Prayers%2C%20politics%20and%20peace>

Kaulemu, D. (2010). *Church Responses to the Crisis in Zimbabwe. The Review of Faith and International Affairs*, Spring, 8 (1) 47-54. Retrieved from <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/15570271003707853>

Togarasei, L. (2006). *The 'Birth' of a Prophet: Andrew Wutawunashe's Break from the Reformed Church in Zimbabwe (Formerly Dutch Reformed Church) 35(2), 215-225*. Retrieved from <https://journals.equinoxpub.com/index.php/FIR/article/viewArticle/11805>

APPENDENCES

APPENDIX 1

Interview guide for The Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia on political conflict resolution

1. How often does the church mother body get involved in political conflict resolution?
2. In which way does the church mother body get involved in political conflict resolution?
3. How do you resolve political conflicts amongst politicians?
4. Do political parties respond to the call for peaceful political campaigns during elections?
5. What is your position on the 2016 general elections?
6. What is the major cause of electoral disputes in Zambia?
7. What role do you play as a church mother body in ensuring free and fair elections?
8. What are the key successes of the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia in addressing political conflict among political parties?
9. What makes the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia different from the other church mother Bodies insofar as political conflict resolution is concerned?
10. What challenges do you face when resolving political conflict?

APPENDIX 2

POLITICAL PARTIES

1. As a political party, do you think the Church should be involved in political conflict resolution?
2. When do the church mother bodies come in to help resolve political conflicts?
3. How satisfied are you as a political party on the role the church mother bodies play in political conflict resolution?
4. Do you think the church mother body should side with any political party when resolving political conflicts?
5. Do you have any challenges with the church mother bodies?

APPENDIX 3

Interview guide for pastors

1. Should church mother bodies be neutral or side with any political part?
2. Do you think the church mother body is playing its role in political conflict resolution amongst politicians?
3. What do you think should be done by the church mother body (EFZ) to reduce or end electoral disputes?