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POSTGRADUATE PROGRAMMES**

**Investigating the Causes and Effects of the 2016 Post-Electoral Conflict in Namwala  
District of Zambia's Southern Province**

By

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## **DECLARATION**

Statement of Originality

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I Florence Saka, hereby declare that this piece of work is my own work. The works of other people used in this document have been duly acknowledged, and that the work has never been previously presented as this or any other University for similar purposes.

Student's Signature: .....

Date: 30/10/18

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## **DEDICATION**

This work is dedicated to my wonderful loving mother, my dad and brother who are now late, May their Souls Rest in Eternal Peace. I would like to thank the father of my children for his unending support in my education endeavors, may the good Lord keep on Blessing him. To my two precious children Maluba ( Florence) and Mwansa ( Emmanuel) and Rabby my nephew that God gave me, I am thankful for your love and encouragement as you give me a reason to live, smile and work hard. God Bless them all.

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## **ACRONYMS**

**ECZ:** Electoral Commission of Zambia

**EMBs:** Electoral Management Bodies

**GDP:** Gross Domestic Product

**HDI:** Human Development Index

**HRC:** Human Rights Commission

**PEV:** Post Electoral Violence

**PF:** Patriotic Front

**U.N:** United Nations

**UNDP:** United Nations Development Programme

**UNDP:** United Nations Development Programme) UNDP (United Nations Development Programme

**UPND:** United Party for National Development

## **ABSTRACT**

Zambia has been making strides to uphold some democratic principles such as having periodic and competitive elections, respect for human rights and respect for the rule of law to mention just a few. The study was aimed at investigating causes and establishing the effects of the 2016 general election conflict which erupted in Namwala District of Southern province, as well as to devise possible measures to mitigate the electoral conflict.

The study approach utilised was qualitative and the research design was case study, making it a qualitative case study research. For the purpose of obtaining desired results, the researcher used semi-structured interview guide for the village headmen/women respondents and focus group discussions for the youths who were the key informants. Qualitative research was applied because it is effective in soliciting information about values, opinions and mores of a given demography.

Research findings reviewed that post-electoral conflict is caused by ethnicity, greedy and demography. These causes however, are so devastating that they lead to a destabilised society. Electoral conflicts has effects such as destruction of both public and private property, loss of plant, animal and human life and also leads to environmental degradation.

This entails that there is need for consented efforts by the officers and regulations for conducting elections or otherwise the situation may be more violent as compare to the previous elections.

In conclusion, the study revealed the possible measures to the challenge of electoral conflicts which includes enhancing civic and voter education, discouragement of regional politics and political corruption which is a bad practice in a democratic government and institution and law reforms to suit the current situation of elections in the country.

Electoral conflicts are very detrimental to development but at times may bring about positive change in an institution or government.

**Key terms:** electoral conflict, causes, effects, mitigation.

**APPROVAL**

This dissertation of FLORENCE SAKA is approved as a fulfilling part of the requirements for the award of the Master of Science in Peace, Leadership and Conflict Resolution by the University of Zambia/ Zimbabwe Open University.

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## **CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION**

### **1.0 Overview**

This study looked at the causes of post-electoral conflicts and effects of post-electoral conflicts in Namwala District of Zambia's Southern province. The chapter focused on the background to the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions of the study, the purpose of the study, the theoretical framework, the conceptual framework and finally the operational terms used in this study.

### **1.1 Background of the Study**

In the past three years, there has been a threat to the legitimacy of elections in most developing countries. There have been several cases of elections failing to produce decisive peace in countries, (African Union, 2010). Zambia has not been spared from such threats as was observed in the aftermath of the 2016 general elections. Post-election conflict was witnessed arising from suspected rigging of the presidential elections (The Mast, 2017). This was as a result of the violently contested election whose results were highly challenged leading to conflicts just like in some of the Sub-Saharan countries.

The unbecoming post-election conflicts have led to many African countries going for costly re-runs and runoff elections, a situation Bratic (2007), asserts leads to a rising trend of voter apathy which is not conducive for peace. To cite a recent scenario for voter apathy was during the Chilanga parliamentary by-election held in June 2018 which had the highest prevalence rate of voter apathy since Zambia's independence in 1964. The election was characterized by violence during campaigns which ignited fear in the electorates to participate in the election (Times of Zambia, June 6<sup>th</sup>, 2018).

Many scholars have studied the causes and effects of the post-election violence, but not much has been done on the adverse effects of violence on the mass population of citizens and as well as ways of mitigating post-electoral conflict. Elections in any country are considered the hallmark of representative democracy, by allowing the people's regular input in choices about which leaders they will select and policy implementation. Further, these electoral processes are also competitive, unleashing conflict and tensions that, if not constructively and well managed, would potentially destabilize the fabric of states and societies (African Union, 2010). However, in most African countries, elections are

characterized by uncertainties, due to the possibility of election related violence that may take place at different stages of the electoral process which could either be before, during or after the actual day of casting ballots (Ogundiya, 2010). Democracy in Africa has had many twists and facets. Skepticism, cynicism and outright frustration are some of the characteristics that rock democracy in Africa. Prior to the 1970s, violence and coercion was a common means of changing power mainly through coups, countercoups or aborted coups. The emerging of participatory politics grew in the 1990s and 2010s as the percentage of African countries holding democratic elections increased from 7 to 40 percent by 2010 (IPI, 2010). As democracy became a new wave that swept across Africa, elections were held as a way to legitimize those in power although the general perception of African elections has been that which is marred with violence, unfair electoral process and rigging. Despite all this, many countries in Africa claim to be democratic simply because they hold periodical elections. However, elections alone without a fair electoral process where stakeholders participate freely in the electoral process are tantamount to autocracy and cannot be said to be democratic in the real meaning.

Similarly, according to IPI (2010), the holding of elections alone does not speak to the quality of democracy in a country but rather elections are a part of a broader political framework that promotes good governance, the rule of law and equal participation in politics. However, elections in this regard however, are just a component of a healthy democratic society. It is of great significance to note that elections have become a major factor in the stabilization and democratization of emerging democracies including in post-conflict countries because elections may imply a tightrope walk between war and peace, stability and instability (Kuhne, 2010). According to Ogundiya (2010), says that governance is one of the major problems in Africa, which has been responsible for her political instability and absence of peace. This by implication entails that elections are an important yet sensitive exercise that require a robust civil society, independent media, a sound public administration, an independent judiciary and an independent electoral body that can help to manage the underlying tensions and grievances that elections bring to the surface.

Gradually, the calls from electoral stakeholders for independent electoral bodies started emerging in an effort to avert the purported manipulation of elections by the ruling governments. In Zambia, the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) was established in 1996 under Article 229 of the Constitution of Zambia to manage elections. Since then, more

than five general elections have since been held which has earned Zambia a proud democratic record in the Southern African region. Consequently, not all is rosy as some stakeholders have rated past elections with mixed feelings including not being so impressive, 'perceived' fraudulent or satisfactory in some cases (Maregere & Mofya, 2012).

Similarly Simutanyi (2013), suggests that the 1996 and 2001 elections were considered by independent observers as not having conformed to international standards as evidenced by a number of petitions that followed. He attributes this to the deficit in Zambia's' democratic dispensation and the defective Constitution and electoral rules. The implication of all this is that Electoral Commission of Zambia has come under heavy criticism when elections are not conducted according to the expectations of the observers and stakeholders.

In line with the critique above, the National Democratic Institute report indicates that although Zambia has made significant strides towards holding credible and peaceful elections, the electoral environment presents noteworthy challenges that require tolerance, the rule of law, leadership and participation. This therefore entails that more needs to be done in terms of creating an environment that supports credible and peaceful elections in order to minimize conflicts that relate to the electoral process. The report further purports that the integrity of every election largely depends on the impartial and independence of the electoral body in making decisions that govern the conduct of the electoral process (NDC Report, 2011).

In 2001, conflicts were identified in fourteen African countries where 24.5% of the total survey had conflicts and of these, three occurred in countries considered free representing 21% and eleven occurred in countries considered partly not free at 7% (Ndulo & Lulo, 2010). Additionally, during the 2003 Federal and States election in Nigeria, it was reported that at least 100 people were killed and many more were injured. Approximately 600 people were reported killed in the recent election violence in Kenya, following disputes over the presidential results of December 2007. As if that is not enough, Kenya's recent elections still experienced disputed presidential elections where the leader of the largest opposition party declared himself winner as president. Such happenings always led to post-electoral conflicts. Atuobi also explains that during the August 2007 run-off elections in Sierra Leone, violence erupted following a clash between the supporters of the ruling Sierra Leone People's Party( SLP) and the opposition All People's Congress (APCP), (Atuobi, 2010).

However, it should be well known that elections are a pillar to democracy as citizens are accorded a wider choice of selecting representatives who govern them. Hence the need to look into the obstacles and defects of the electoral system and ensure peaceful democratic processes. It is also important to note that good governance promotes good politics. Politics is defined as both a system that distribute power and allocate resources (Ball and Peters, 2000). Governance is politics and is, therefore, a crucial determinant of the allocation of resources, especially public goods, within a country. According to Onuoha (1995), the African political leaders must avoid traces of any form of ethnic favouritism, nepotism, gender discrimination while national interest should be the overriding factor for peace to reign.

Political corruption is among other principal barriers to development and maintain peace in the developing world (Gupta et al., 2002). It also affects the quality of decision-making more generally, for instance, those determining economic and social policy. It is against this background that this research proposal seeks to establish the causes and effects of post-election violence of the August 2016 general election particularly in Namwala District of Southern Province. This study was prompted by the electoral violence which rocked Namwala District during the 2016 general elections, which was unprecedented in the history of the District and is intended to bring out the causes of the post-election violence, its effects and ways of mitigating such electoral conflict and possibly preventive measures.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Despite Zambia being regarded as a sovereign country built on democratic principles, cases of electoral conflicts have been experienced in the recent past which has consequently led to loss of innocent lives, destruction of infrastructure both private and public as well as disruption of economic activities. Failure to mitigate the electoral conflicts has had devastating impacts on the economy's development which if left unaddressed threatens the future peace and election processes in Zambia. This is because democratic processes of elections seemingly help the citizen to put in place leaders of their choice and aspiration, (Africa Union, 2010).

Several studies have been conducted within the continent and outside Africa on the causes of conflict before, during and after elections as well as its effects, but electoral conflict has continued with much evidence in the recent past in most parts of the World and Zambia

inclusive. Despite the post-electoral conflict which happened in Namwala district of Zambia's Southern Province after the 2016 General elections, not much has been done to adequately investigate the causes and effect of this conflict. Hence, this research is aimed at investigating this issue.

### **1.3 General Research Objective**

To investigate the causes and effects of the 2016 post-electoral conflict in Namwala district of Southern Province.

### **1.4 Specific Research Objectives**

1. To investigate the causes of the 2016 post-electoral conflict in Namwala District of Southern Province
2. To establish effects of the 2016 post-electoral conflict in Namwala District of Southern Province.
3. To devise possible future measures of how to mitigate post-election conflict in Namwala District of Southern Province.

### **1.5 General Research Question**

What were the causes and effects of the 2016 post-electoral conflict in Namwala District, Southern Province?

### **1.6 Specific Research Questions**

1. What were the causes of the 2016 post-electoral conflict in Namwala District of Southern Province?
2. What are the effects of the 2016 post-electoral conflict in Namwala District of Southern Province?
3. What possible measures can be devised to mitigate post-electoral conflict in Namwala District of Southern Province?

## **1.7 Significance of the Study**

The study was aimed at giving an understanding of the need to address post-electoral conflicts and the relevance of the electoral processes to be conducive for electorates to exercise their democratic rights because of its impacts on the societies and African as a whole. Electoral conflicts whether prior, during or after, pose a major threat to development especially in the third world countries (Seifu, 2009-2015). Hence it is great importance to ascertain the causes and effects of this electoral conflict which will act a tool to combat it from escalating or repeating itself. The 2016 post-election conflict that erupted in Namwala district of Southern Province is yet among other incidents in Africa that need to be investigated so that possible measures can be devised to prevent it from reoccurring in future.

This research helped to establish the causes of the 2016 post-election conflict, its effects as well as ways to help mitigate this undemocratic vice, in order to have a bright and peaceful future for the community, nation and the world as a whole. Additionally, the findings of the study may help policy makers in formulating electoral policies in government as well as the Electoral Commission of Zambia, an autonomous body mandated to coordinate, manage and organize elections in Zambia.

## **1.8. Limitation of the Study**

The main purpose of the research was to establish the causes and effects of the electoral conflicts in the 2016 general election in Namwala District of Southern province. Since time immemorial in Zambia, the August 2016 general election seemed to have had been a crucial election. After the announcement of the election results, some citizens in some parts of the country opted to become violent which created a situation of unrest among members of the general public (The Mast, 2016). However, this brought limitations to the study which arose from prejudices among respondents who did not trust the researcher on suspicion that she is from the ruling party, which was heavily opposed during the elections or a spy on behalf of the opposing political party, making it difficult for the researcher as she encountered constraints in the course of the research. The research was also only be limited to Namwala District where electoral violence was experienced and only 32 participants from the entire district were involved in the study.



## **1.9 Delimitation of the Study**

The research is confined to the four Chiefdoms in Namwala District. It will focus on finding out the causes and effects of the post-electoral conflict and measures to mitigate the electoral conflict which I feel little has been done to combat this type of conflict because of its reoccurrence in the past years.

## **1.10 Theoretical Framework**

This study utilised Conflict Theory which is suggested by Karl Marx. Conflict theory claims that society is in a state of perpetual conflict because of competition for limited resources. It holds the view that social order is maintained by domination and power, rather than consensus and conformity. Marx's Conflict theory focus on the conflict between two primary classes that is the bourgeoisie who represent the members of the society who hold majority of the wealth and means of production and the proletariat who include those considered working class or poor. Further he adds that the few elites, the bourgeoisie use their influence to oppress the proletariat who are the majority (Gaultang, 2006).

The uneven distribution of resources either be it human or materially within the conflict theory was predicted to be maintained through ideological coercion where the rich would force acceptance of the current conditions of the poor proletariat. The working class and poor were subjected to worsening conditions; a collective consciousness would bring the inequality to light and potentially result in revolt. However, if conditions were subsequently adjusted to address the concerns of the proletariat, the conflict circle would eventually repeat. What breeds electoral conflict could be due to struggle for political power when they are few or less leadership positions in place to accommodate the aspirations of the active members in the structure which could be some of the causes of conflict in conformity to the theory in this study (Seifu, 2018).

There are several common causes of conflict which may include: a lack of common understanding, poor communication skills, unclear or unfair expectations, unequal distribution of wealth and power plays and manipulations to mention just these. According to this theory, those with wealth and power try to hold on to it by any means possible, chiefly by suppressing the poor and powerless. Conflict is actual or perceived opposition of

needs, values and interests which can either be internal within oneself or externally influenced (Moller, 2003).

In the following heading, the conceptual framework was used to determine research method in this research design, which assumed that using the semi-structured interviews questions and gave direction to interviews to focus on the research. Pre- supposedly, the interviews and the focus group discussions used by the researcher helped to identify the causes and effects of the 2016 post-electoral conflict in Namwala District, possible findings as to the causes and effects were generated. As a type of manuscript, a conceptual framework relates to concepts, empirical research, and relevant theories to advance and systematize knowledge about related concepts or issues. An example to cite could be of Watson who suggests a conceptual framework for social creativity. She observes that social creativity has been studied by many disciplines and at both individual and group levels (Watson, 2007). The case being studied here is that of a social science thereby in line the theory above and will enable accurate data collection processes with minimal error.

### **1.11 Relation of Conflict Theory to the Current Study**

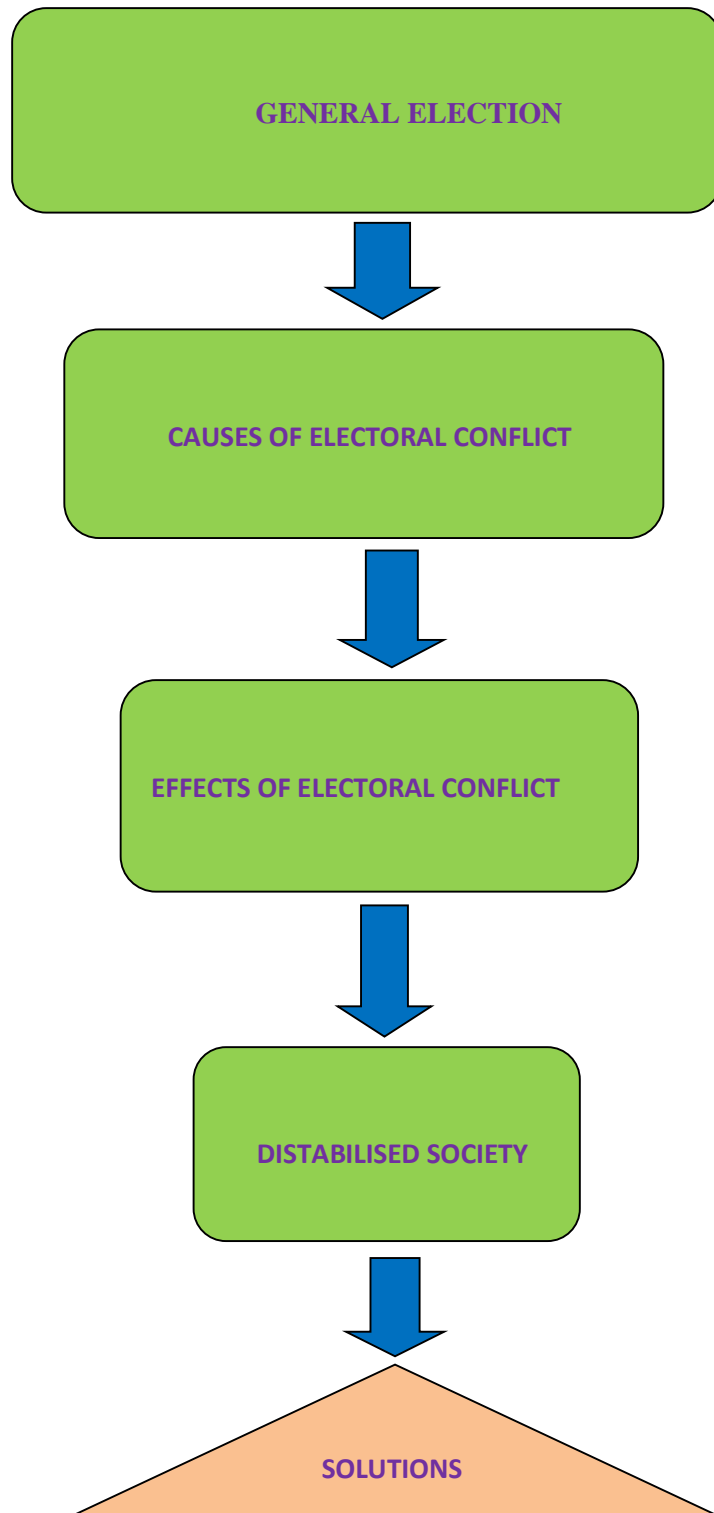
The few political positions existing in the public sector of the country, are assumed to be the cause of social discontent among the political aspirants, hence the rise on popularistic politics becoming a form and centre, an aid and tool for conflict eruption consistent with the Conflict theory. As the division between the rich and the poor grows, tension rises, politics become divisive and state is set for conflict.

The Conflict theory provides an appropriate intellectual framework for establishing the causes and effects of electoral conflict as well as finding means and solutions to this undemocratic vice. It aids in explanation as to what causes conflict from which ever direction hence making it easier to assume its effects as well as ways of combating it. Additionally Hoglund (2009), alludes to the importance of the Conflict theory, that it can be used to examine social phenomenon like wars, violence, discrimination as it explains natural disparities and henceforth, will make a qualitative analysis of the causes and effects thereby enabling conditions of election related violence in Namwala District of Zambia's Southern Province and in Africa using Conflict theory and electoral violence as the framework for analysis.

Therefore related to the causes and effects of the post-electoral conflict which is my bone of study, the Conflict theory provides meaningful insights into dynamics of global society and possible predictions that may trigger proactive formulation of electoral institutions (CFI Education inc, 2018). The eradication of the causes of electoral conflicts reliably depends on reformation of electoral bodies mandated to conduct and manage elections as well as constitutional reforms from the colonial extracts which are being implemented even after our country is regarded as a sovereign state.

### **1.12 Conceptual Framework**

The Conceptual framework attempts to elaborate the main variables of the study and how they intertwine with one other leading to the overall purpose of the study. The variables herein are the causes of electoral conflict, the effects of electoral conflict which are as a result of general election prior, during or after being held. The effects of the post-electoral conflicts lead to destabilised society due to the fact that activities in these areas are disrupted and other economic and social activities are disrupted. Violations of human rights is experienced, hence the need to find ways of mitigating the effects as well as the causes (Africa Union, 2010). Further, this calls for solutions to combating the post-electoral conflict as well as measures to prevent it from reoccurring. Causes of electoral conflict which ever kind, have devastating effects such as deaths and destruction of property which requires defected electoral systems reforms and good governance practises or it entails every other forth coming general election will experience similar challenges.



### 1.13 Operational Definitions of Concepts and Abbreviations

**Chief:** "Chief" means a person, who, hailing from the appropriate family and lineage, has been validly nominated, elected or selected and installed as a chief or queen mother in

accordance with the relevant customary law and usage. The Chief is the leader of a tribal society or chiefdom.

**Chiefdom:** This refers to “a grouping of people in one area who recognized the authority of one single person as a leader and usually consists of small number of related groups that are bound together by the authority of the leader” or it refers to tribes with chiefs and their administrative and judicial institutions (Ayittey, 1993:39).

**Conflict:** is a misunderstanding that occurs between two people or groups of people or between two states due to clash of interests.

**Conflict Negation:** it is a process that includes the disappearance of the conflict, is a succession of states of the conflict system where the end state has one definitely characteristic: an overlap between acceptability and compatibility has been found. Conflict negation is a process where the final state may be referred to as conflict termination.

**Democracy:** is a form of government where there exist constitutional safeguards for individual and political rights, the independence of the courts, transparency and accountability, no abuse of public office and free and fair elections.

**Elections:** The process by which people cast vote to choose their representatives.

**Electoral Conflict:** is any random or organized act that seeks to determine, delay, or otherwise influence an electoral process through threat, verbal intimidation, hate speech, disinformation, physical assault, forced “protection, blackmail, destruction of property, or assassination.

**Electoral Violence:** any random or organised act or threat to intimidate, physically harm, blackmail or abuse a political stakeholder in seeking to determine, delay, or to otherwise influence an electoral process.”

**Governance:** is the interaction among structures, processes and traditions that determine how power and responsibilities are exercised, how decisions are taken, and how citizens and other stakeholders have their say.

**ECZ:** Electoral Commission of Zambia

**EMBs:** Electoral Management Bodies

**HDI:** Human Development Index

**HRC:** Human Rights Commission

**GDP:** Gross Domestic Product

**JCTR:** Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection

**U.N:** United Nations

**UNDP:** United Nations Development Programme

**UPND:** United Party for National Development

**PEC:** Post Electoral Conflict

**PEV:** Post Electoral Violence

**UNDP:** United Nations Development Programme) UNDP (United Nations Development Programme

### **1.14 Ethical Considerations**

During the research undertaking the researcher avoided pressuring respondents to take part in the research. Alternatively, permission, consents and assents were sought by respondents who were involved in the research. In this research, the researcher was fully conscious of the need to abide by the ethical rule of respecting the privacy of individuals who took part in the research. Additionally, in relation to this aspect, all thoughts associated with the research carried out by the researcher were totally private and not public affairs for the respect and the privacy of all individuals that took part in the research. This is also linked to matters of anonymity of the respondents who were involved in the research.

In the same way, all the respondents of the research remained unidentified to the public as all their valuable views, opinions and perceptions were only known by the researcher for use only in the research and participant's identities will forever remain hidden to the public eye. All the information provided by the respondents remains confidential and was used only for research purposes and nothing else. It was the obligation of the researcher to guarantee the

respondents that there will be completely non-betrayal of the suppliers of information in this research as the names of the respondents involved in the research were concealed from the public and their views, opinions and perceptions on the research topic were totally private and as already mentioned above were only for research purposes. Additionally, their views, opinions and perceptions on the research topic will be handled and kept with serious care in a password-locked computer for a period of five years after which they will be permanently destroyed.

### **1.15 Summary**

This chapter looked at the background of the study showing the causes and effects of electoral conflicts which are as old as human being because it is through governance issues that elections take place so that the governor and governed live in harmony. What causes these disputes within societies differ from one place to another. This may include conflict over structures and bad governance systems. The chapter further looked at the statement of the problem and tried to establish ways of mitigating electoral conflicts, how it is caused and the impacts it has that is the general objective which was to establish the causes and effects of the 2016 post-electoral conflict in Namwala district of Zambia's Southern Province, specific objectives, research questions, the purpose of the study, delimitation of the study, limitation of the study, the theoretical framework, the conceptual framework and the operational definition of terms and abbreviation. The next chapter 'Literature review' shall review some literature which is related to my current study in an attempt to find out what other scholars wrote about the study.

## **CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.0 Overview**

In this chapter, the researcher presents a review of literature related to the theoretical basis of the study on establishing the causes and effects of electoral conflict in Namwala district of Southern province. The main focus was finding possible solutions to mitigate the electoral conflict whether before, during or after elections. This section reviewed continental work that was written by different scholars regarding the subject at hand of causes, effects and ways of possible mitigations of electoral conflicts.

### **2.1 Definitions of Conflict**

Conflict is a misunderstanding that occurs between two people or groups of people or between two states due to clash of interests. Conflict is defined as ‘a relationship between two or more parties who perceive they have incompatible goals or means of achieving those goals’, Fisher (1989:197). In other words, where there is no general consensus between two people or parties due to differences in interests, a clash always occurs and if not well handled may become bigger. However, some scholars argue that conflict is naturalistic and inevitable (Baregu, 2014). Conflict can also be perceived as opposition of needs, values and interests which can either be internal that is within oneself or externally influenced by the outside environment. There are several common causes of conflict which may include a lack of common understanding, poor communication skills, unclear or unfair expectations, unequal distribution of wealth and power plays and manipulations to mention just these (Galtung,2015).

### **2.2 Types of Conflicts**

According to Fisher (1989), he states three types of conflict which are economic, value and power conflict. Economic conflict manifests over scarce resources which is common and prevalent in low income countries particularly in the South where civil wars emerge over control of natural resources. Secondly is value conflict that comes over incompatible preferences, principles or practices that people believe in and refer to groups of identities such as culture, religion and politics. Also is power conflict which involves maximization of influence over the other. However, structural conflict theory identifies such conditions as social exclusion, deprivation, class inequalities, injustice, political marginalization, gender



imbalances, racial segregation, economic exploitation and the likes, all which often lead to conflict as Oakland contends (Oakland, 2005).

However, Burton (2005) emphasises the paramount importance of “basic human needs” which are presumably inherent in human nature and are universal, hence non-negotiable. These needs range from need for identity, recognition, security and personal development. This is due to the fact that these basic needs give an individual self-worth and esteem which can help one attain self-actualisation. A person who has self-esteem develops a positive mind set and is able to actively participate in various programs that may include political meetings. According to the 2002 issue of the Human Development Report, the richest five per cent of the world’s people have incomes 114 times those of the poorest five per cent, and the average per capita income was US\$27,848 in the high-income OECD countries as compared to 1,690 in sub-Saharan Africa, that is sixteen times higher. In line with the notion stated above, Fischer (1989) explains that this inequality is not “merely” a question of income, but is also reflected in, for instance, life expectancy where that of the rich countries is 78.2 years, but that of Africa south of the Sahara is a mere 48.7 denoting as the framework illustrates a factor cause of conflict. The have-nots may not only be applied on wealthy and material things but also in terms of political power, where those who are charged with the responsibility of representing the less privileged take the law into their own hands. The positions which cannot accommodate everyone will go to the few elites and the marginalised are side lined, hence causing conflict (UNDP Report, 2015).

### **2.3 Causes of Conflict in Africa**

Several scholars note that economic inequality and poor economic prospects breed an atmosphere of discontent in the electorate which can then be exploited by political entrepreneurs. Such discontent is often directed at the political and economic elite, and in countries with high economic inequality these two groups are often one and the same or perceived as such. Discontent is manifested as people feel frustrated because of the gap between their aspirations and the reality of their economic status and material well-being which may cause conflict to erupt (Davies, 1962; Gurr, 1970; Gurr and Duvall 1973; Hogg and Abrams, 2012; Regan and Norton, 2005). Inequalities within developing countries are thus usually much more dramatic than in the typical averagely developing country.

Societies in Africa had evolved various system of political administrations based on the characteristics of these good governance or democratic governments. This is because

elections in any country and at level are perceived as the hallmark of representative democracy, allowing the people's regular input in choices about leaders and policy. Yet they are also competitive processes, unleashing conflict and tensions that, if not constructively managed, can potentially destabilize the fabric of states and societies (African Union, 2010).

It is well acknowledged that peace and unity must be an important part of all strategies for political development. The progress of political, social development, the status of women and their rights, human settlements and food security to mention but a few are dependent on the extent to which adult and eligible electorate youths and other members of society transforming their life circumstances and gaining control over their lives are conscientized, (Ball and Peters, 2000). This is because adult citizen participation is a key role potentially a powerful force and tool for promoting people centered development which is key to sustainable development.

Conqueringly Seifu (2015), alludes to the fact that while theories posit an objective antagonism between the "haves" and the "have not", it is important to stress that it is not absolute poverty which causes conflict behaviour as there is no strong correlation, if any, between violent behaviour and living standards. It is relative poverty or deprivation that causes grievances and conflict behaviour, a standard of living which is seen as unsatisfactory in comparison with something else either with that which others seemingly enjoy, or with what the individual or group in question used to enjoy, or what s/he expected to enjoy in the future. Hence, deteriorating living conditions may cause conflicts, as may even a declining rate of growth, because it may frustrate overly optimistic expectations, thereby producing aggression and a propensity for direct violence, as implied by the famous "frustration-aggression hypothesis". Frustrated human resource can alternatively opt to leave the country in search of better living conditions elsewhere and may even decide to stay put but suffer growing hardships as a consequence (Galtung, 2005).

In the latter case, a conflict over the distribution of available resources and jobs is likely to occur which may even become intense or violent. It is vital additionally to further make distinction between violent and non-violent conflicts, and to acknowledge that neither the borders separating the various levels nor those between violent and non-violent conflicts are entirely clear or impermeable. Herein it can be said that Fully-fledged conflicts never spring out into the open without a combination of what is neither a single event, nor can structural causes create a crisis in the absence of a triggering factor as having to do with either the type

of political system or the incumbent government or with territorial issues such as secession or autonomy.

Conflicts in whichever type it occur at various levels, ranging from the international level of wars to the inter-personal level of marital disputes to which one might even add “intrapersonal conflicts” as most dramatically illustrated by schizophrenia. For our present purpose, a dichotomous distinction between conflicts within and between political parties seem adequate.

Typically, according to this scholar, electoral violence is clustered around the pre-and post-election period (Stremlau and Price, 2000), that emanates from struggle for few public political power. However (Baregu, 2001:14), explains that “conflict itself is not a negative phenomenon but an inevitable result of competing interests of different groups and a natural part of transformation process of species, leading to change”, as it is part of social life and can never be fully eliminated because some can be creatively transformed into something positive to bring about desired change in results. For all the merits of the above hypotheses, they are hard to operationalize to the extent that conflicts of interests are not acknowledged by the parties henceforth, the analyst has to resort to notions of “false consciousness”. The structural conflict theory on the other side suggests and identifies conditions such as social exclusion, deprivation, class inequalities, injustice, political marginalization, gender imbalances, racial segregation, economic exploitation and the likes, all which often lead to conflict (Oakland, 2005).

In addition, the analyst may even be charged with “cultural imperialism”, say if he claims that women are oppressed and therefore have an objective interest in equal rights. On the other side, if such a claim is made in countries where gender stereotypes are so internalised in both sexes that women willingly accept a subordinate position in society or even atrocities such as female circumcision can cause a misunderstanding because which may lead to violent conflict.

Although this paper does not consider democracy as elections, underscoring this strong relationship between them is necessary for a better understanding of the subject of this work. This is so because it is the undemocratic practices that tend to bring about conflicts, where unequal distribution of wealth is experienced, struggle for political power, unjust judicial systems to mention but a few. Democracy is “a form of government where there exist constitutional safeguards for individual and political rights, the independence of the courts, transparency and accountability, no abuse of public office and free and fair elections

(Ogundiya, 2010). In a “representative democracy power is wielded by the people and exercised indirectly through a secret ballot to elect representatives who make decisions. Representative democracy as opposed to direct democracy is often dubbed “Majority Rule” and it is the most widely used variant in the contemporary situations of elections in the continent of Africa. However, elections are described as “the symbolic competitive, periodic, inclusive, definitive processes organized in independent, free fair and transparent frameworks in which the chief decision-makers in a government are selected by citizens who enjoy broad freedoms to criticize government, to publish their criticism and to present alternatives” (Simfukwe, et.,al, 2010 ). Elections can also be described as the process by which people choose their leaders or representatives. If the process however, is not coordinated, managed accordingly, it breeds to misunderstandings between the various stakeholders such as the electorates, the body in charge of elections, election agents, party officials from different political parties and so forth.

#### **2.4 Definition of Electoral Conflict**

Fischer (2002), defines Electoral Conflict as “any random or organized act that seeks to determine, delay, or otherwise influence an electoral process through threat, verbal intimidation, hate speech, disinformation, physical assault, forced “protection, blackmail, destruction of property, or assassination”.

Fischer highlights the five intervals upon which election related conflicts can be sparked off. The five can also be referred to as the three phases of the electoral process namely, pre, during and post period. To start with is the identifying conflict which can occur during the registration process when non-resident citizens or other conflict forced migrants cannot establish or re-establish their officially recognized identities. The outcome is that these populations can remain unregistered voters and outside of the political process and potentially provoking conflict within the process as was the case of Kosovo. The second can be campaign conflict which occurs when rivals seek to disrupt the opponents’ campaigns, intimidate voters and candidates, and use threats and violence to influence participation in the voting. This can be married to the incident that happened during the 2016 general elections in Zambia where the cadres from the ruling party were harassing and beating up members from the larger opposition party, the United Party for National Democracy (UPND) within the capital city, (Times of Zambia, June 5<sup>th</sup> 2018). As elaborated

earlier was scene in the high rate of voter apathy in the Chilanga parliamentary by-election due to the fact that rivals were harassing and threatened opposition members.

The third scenario is balloting conflict that occurs on Election Day when political rivalries are played out at the polling station. This can as well bring about political conflict if the Electoral officers fail to properly manage the polling station. The fourth circumstance is the results conflict which can occur in disputes over election results and the inability of judicial mechanisms to resolve these disputes in a timely, fair, and transparent manner (Fischer, 1989). It is true to ascertain that representation conflict can occur when elections are organised in such a way that some stakeholders are left out of participation. Conflict can be associated with all three or just one of the election phases which are the pre-election phase, the day of the election, or the immediate post-election period.

## **2.5 Causes of Electoral Conflict**

During the 1990s, electoral conflict represented an average of 70% of all conflicts while in the 2000s, that number increased to 10%. This increase could be married to the growing frequency of elections in Africa as democratic regimes alike held more elections, (Linebarger and Salehyan, 2009). However, it would not be appropriate to deduce that elections are always associated with violence. Although, this frequency of political violence were higher during that period the vast majority of elections are relatively peaceful which underscores the question of when and why do some elections lead to violence while others do not. Rather in considering all nations in Africa that conducted elections between 1990 and 2010, the total number of conflict averts roughly double during election months while deaths triple due to additional contextual factors as was, one third of all elections experienced some deaths and the remaining two thirds were peaceful (Smith, 2000).

Though not so recently as that of Zambia, in the Kenyan 2007 presidential elections, post-election violence (PEV) in the form of three days of violent riots following dissatisfaction with the election outcome resulted in about 1502 people being killed and many others being displaced (Bekoe, 2011; Human Rights Watch, 2011c). However, neither of these situations deteriorated into civil war. Conversely, in Côte d'Ivoire, Political Electoral Violence following the November 2010 presidential election, and the then incumbent, Laurent Gbagbo's, refusal to relinquish power to the rightful winner, led to civil war, warranting United Nations and French military intervention to stop the vice, (Straus, 2011; Human

Rights Watch, 2011). Also the recent case for Zambia's 2016 general elections where the opposition disputed the outcome results of the presidential general election which led to damage of infrastructure, roads, fighting ,displacement of people and many others. Within the same period, violence was reported in about 60 percent of elections in Africa and 20 percent of African elections saw high levels of violence involving fatalities (Linebarger and Salehyan, 2009).

The above are prominent examples of a violent response to contested national elections on African continent. There are also various situations of electoral conflict in general and post electoral conflict in particular in connection with elections for lower office (Mueller, 2008). It is noted that with the end of the Cold War and the onset of democratic transitions across Africa and elsewhere, interstate conflict became the exception, while the incidence of internal conflict increased worldwide (Straus and Taylor, 2012). The concept of democracy has confused most African governments and its citizens because, the real democracy cannot be practiced in the real sense but a theory and imitation of democracy. And consequently international security scholars Galtung (1978), focused on studying various forms of internal conflict, including civil wars, insurgencies, mass riots, mass killings and genocide. Many of these studies reflect what have been focused on occurrences of these kinds of political violence on the African continent (Reno, 2011).

For early warning and conflict prevention, which is often subdivided into “structural” and “operational” prevention, roughly corresponding to dealing with structural and proximate causes, the treatment of proximate causes has been relegated to the section on the conflict cycle, so we shall begin with a look at the potential structural causes of conflict. A useful point of departure is the common place distinction between conflicts of interests and conflicts of values and attitudes.

The enabling conditions and triggering factors can be identified in three main areas which are; the first one is the nature of politics in conflict societies, and also is the nature of competitive elections, and as well as the incentives created by the electoral institutions. These clusters of factors are important for understanding electoral conflicts both between different societies and across elections in a specific country. Scholars like Seifu (2018), have used this framework to situate any specific causal factor within one of three broad categories determined by (Höglund, 2000). Though these studies collectively provide a comprehensive account of the causes of electoral conflict on the continent they have the

tendency of placing these causes under two, sometimes three broad categories/perspectives with often different appellations. The first being divisive politics based on the monopolization of power and exclusion of major social and political groups in the pre electoral process stage is often responsible for post electoral conflicts. Subsequently (Horowitz ,2000; Kaufaman, 2001; Fearon & Laitin, 2004), alludes to this fact that communal divisions within the state are often actively crafted by political elites, community leaders or ethnic activists who seek to band a community together to compete for scarce resources, access to state power.

In many countries that have experienced violent electoral conflict, institutional decay can be attributed to leaders who thrived on promoting a personality cult, clientelism, nepotism and repression of dissent. This is because there is no division between public and private sphere, as these two coincide in one person. Thus there are no formal mechanisms for political competition and political participation but instead politics is practiced as a zero-sum game, in which the gains of one person/groups translate to losses for other groups and the state's inability to function effectively breeds conflict and violent electoral conflict as citizens competing factions vie for power and control over resources (Smith, 2009).

Additionally, a number of recent scholarly efforts to determine the causes of electoral violence in Africa have been guided by Höglund's theory of electoral violence. Electoral violence is a kind of political violence "distinguished by its timing, perpetrators and victims, objectives, and methods" (Bekoe, 2012: 2). It has been defined as: "an activity motivated by an attempt to affect the results of the elections either by manipulating the electoral procedures and participation or by contesting the legitimacy of the results" (Laakso, 2007: 227), "any random or organized act or threat to intimidate, physically harm, blackmail, and abuse a political stakeholder which can either a political party leader in seeking to determine, delay, or to otherwise influence an electoral process" (Fischer 2002: 3); such threats of coercion, intimidation, or physical harm perpetrated to affect an electoral process or that arises in the context of electoral competition (Sisk 2008: 5). Inequality can also act as a structural constraint that produces societal imbalances in income and land distribution, which can in turn lead to conflict (Acemoglu and Robinson, 2005; Moore, 1966; Muller, 1985; Muller and Seligson, 1987; Russett, 1964; Scott, 1976). Where resources that can either be in money form or materials are not being distributed fairly and as well as Lack of economic well-being increases the willingness to resort to violence as people feel a sense of

nothing to lose. Changes that cause a general decline in welfare can lead to economic stress for individuals and groups, thus creating a climate for violence (Laasko, 2007).

The literature in these studies provide various explanations for internal conflict including greed and grievance (Collier, Hoeffler, and Rohner, 2009). Some ethnic tensions, weak states and rough terrain according to (Fearon and Laitin, 2003) and horizontal inequalities (Skrede Gleditsch, 2011), and manipulative identity politics where those hoarding wealth wish and claim for higher political office as the marginalized pro-poor cannot manage to contest for even a lower political position because of their economic and social status in society (Kaufman, 2001; Kaufman, 2006) which are some of the major causes of electoral conflicts. Other scholars have explained that the other studies conducted, have drawn correlations between democratization and conflict, often fueled by ethnic and nationalist sentiments (Linz and Stepan, 1996; Gurr, 1994, Mansfield and Snyder, 2002; Mansfield and Snyder, 2005; Snyder, 2000).

Straus (2012), argues that even though large-scale civil war is on the decline in Africa, much like warfare is on the decline globally (Goldstein, 2011 and Mueller, 2007; Human Security Report Project, 2011) as two kinds of internal conflict remain salient in Africa and have received little analytical attention in the political violence literature. One of these is electoral conflict and remains the most stable kind of violence seen on the continent, occurring at a relatively constant rate between 1990 and 2008 (Straus, 2012: 193). Straus's assertion is true and many lives have been lost either before, during or after elections. Besides having different instruments to help fight inequalities that may lead to political conflict, they have ignored either to favor those who initiated them and disadvantage the weak and voiceless in societies who have no financial muscle either to buy votes or participate in the electoral processes.

Hettiarachi (2003), explains that though the post war Sri Lanka witnesses a peaceful atmosphere since the end of the war in 2009, it was suddenly disturbed with the recent uprising occurring in the wake of a disputed private sector pension scheme at Katunayake Free Trade Zone (FTZ). Although the government media points its fingers at some political parties over the clash between thousands of workers and the police at the scheme, the protest campaign seemed to reflect the workers' own fear and distrust of the pension bill, introduced by the government for private sector workers. Effects of these violence acts are bad as some become life threatening to either prevent one from taking part or after one



assumes power can be assassinated. A report herein which focused exclusively on election-related killings defined such killings as “killings that are designed to influence, or to prevent attempts to influence, an election outcome or killings that arise in the context of election processes. On the other hand they are described as those killings that seek to promote or hinder election-related activity” (UNGA, 2010: 6).

As earlier alluded to, electoral violence can occur before, during or after elections, and often involves the instrumental use of coercion, can be directed against people and property, and includes such acts as killing of candidates and their supporters, fights among rival groups, riots, threats, intimidation and coercion of opponents, voters and electoral officials, destruction of property, forceful displacement, and unlawful detentions (Laakso, 2007; Sisk, 2008; UNDP, 2009).

In a nut shell, other causes of electoral violence in Africa include inattention to land rights; violence instigation by political actors and perpetration by politically connected gangs; the use of violence by the state, institutional failures, and political allegiances that are based on ethnic divisions; the trajectory of democratic transition, the depth of social cleavages and economic stress on the majority poor citizens because of the few selfish elites who no longer regard the mass population as important as themselves.

## **2.6 Effects of Electoral Conflicts**

Conflict by nature leads to destruction of property and capital equipment which naturally leaves an economy grounded. To add up Baregu (1999), explained some of the effects of conflict which ever type it may be on the citizens that include loss of social entitlement services and security, destruction of life and infrastructure as well as displacements. Another effect of electoral conflict act are so bad to extent that some become life threatening to either prevent one from taking part or after one assumes power can be assassinated. As earlier alluded to a report herein which focused exclusively on election-related killings defined such killings as “killings that are designed to influence, or to prevent attempts to influence, an election outcome or killings that arise in the context of election processes. On the other hand they are described as those killings that seek to promote or hinder election-related activity” (UNGA, 2010).

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## **2.7 Possible Attempted Measures to Mitigate Electoral Conflict**

Elections provide means by which competition in society can be channeled into a constructive process with common rules to choose representatives of the people. This is because robust democratic institutions are usually understood as the ultimate guarantor for social peace. However, since electoral processes are intrinsically about the attainment of political power, often in high-stake contexts, elections as a process of competition for power can be catalysts of conflict (Galtung, 2009).

Both the European Commission (EC) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) held review meetings which were aimed at building capacities at the cross-roads among elections, violence and conflict management. Against this background, the Joint EC-UNDP Task Force on Electoral Assistance and International IDEA in June 2011 held the second Thematic Workshop on Elections, Violence and Conflict Prevention, that was once again hosted by the Barcelona International Peace Resource Centre at the Montjuic Castle in Barcelona. The overall purpose of the workshop was to examine ways in which electoral assistance programmes and projects can adopt means for preventing the escalation of election-related violence and conflict throughout the electoral cycle (African Union, 2010).

Further, the major causes of electoral disputes in most African countries can be attributed to African states, including Zambia inherited electoral models from their colonial masters after independence and to make matters worse, these African states did little or nothing at all to reform the election laws and processes in use (Reno, 2011). An example to be cited is that of Zambia's originality of the legal systems. Zambia uses a dual legal due system originating from the English common law as it was a British protectorate and colony which less has be adjusted by now to suit the current Zambia's situation (Simfukwe en tal,2010). Such are irregularities with most African countries even when it comes to electoral systems. It is a well-known fact that elections in Africa are the only window available for entry into the political decision-making forums, the ability to possess power and govern is through participating or taking part in an election in Africa (Zambia Dairy mail, 2016). However, election rules and processes are so restrictive and are an expensive venture in Africa. The starting point of the level playing field with this, is that there should be as many electoral positions as possible to accommodate aspiring political candidates. Take for instance in the United States of America, where there have several higher political offices such as Prime minister besides vice president. Structure conflict is experienced due to citizens with political ambitions' desires into higher public office not being met (CFI Report, 2015).

Additionally it has been noted that the other root cause of intrastate electoral conflict is usually assumed to be poverty and economic inequality among different ethnic groups though the central cause is due to weak governance institutions such as the Electoral Commission Of Zambia which is mandated to organize and conduct the electoral process in Zambia, characterized by low levels of institutionalization and the personalization of politics,( Electoral Commission of Zambia, 2015).This is another reason for relapses into conflict before, during or after elections. Hence the need for governance and public administration institutions to be redesigned. Notably, the electoral models are basically manual and primitive and hugely expensive for nothing, hence the need to incorporate newer technologies and innovations in the election systems in Africa to reduce the inequalities and ambiguities in the electoral bodies and institutions that regulate and coordinate elections (Stremlau and Price, 2000).

Because electoral conflict is experienced globally, the joint workshop organized by EC-UNDP and international IDEA aimed to familiarize participants with the main conceptual framework of electoral assistance, focusing on strategies to integrate issues related to

conflict prevention in electoral assistance programmes and projects. The workshop's different components focused on applying the principles of the 2005 Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness and the related 2008 Accra Agenda for Action to the electoral assistance field. It also aimed to strengthen the knowledge of relevant staff of electoral management bodies (EMBs), the European Union (EU) and UNDP/UN on general and specific patterns of electoral violence. More specifically, the training provided a detailed framework of the links between elections and electoral conflict. Electoral violence was noted to be of high concern to international organizations and other global governance organs and it has become an important part of their development programs (UNDP, 2009; UNGA, 2010; USAID, 2010; USAID, 2013). This is because of its devastating effects on the economy and social lives of the citizens. An affected population with this vice off course is less productive as resources are depleted, destroyed and weak. Peace educators have become conscious of the recent trend of election conflicts in Africa which is not a conducive scenario for peace, hence peace educators have taken keen interest to educate people through media on different forms of conflict such structural causes which interact, thereby creating a path of conflict. It is thus often possible to trace at least retrospectively the path of a conflict from its latent stage to that of open and violent strife. Once citizens are equipped with such information they may choose either to prevent or escalate them (UNDP Report, 2009).

Further, other root causes of which is stipulated to be a scarcity of natural resources, as is a far too common situation, not least in Africa. At the root of the conflict may thus be a simple fact of nature such as a mismatch between population growth and the available constant or only slowly expanding pool of resources, producing what might be called a "Malthusian squeeze" The inhabitants may seek to squeeze more out of the finite resource pool available to them, but this at times only provide some temporary relief and the resources will be exhausted even faster (USAID, 2013). The struggle for finite resource as Karl Marx explains leads to conflict as others will not have a share of the cake making them feel insecure and discontent. Hence, there is need for equity and equality which are principles of a democratic government.

As such conflicts are the predominant ones in Africa, most of the following account is devoted to such intra-state conflicts. There is, of course, also a wealth of conflicts at the intra-personal level, such as wife- battering, rape, child abuse or violent crime, but these have largely been omitted from the analysis. However, such cases should not be taken as arguments against assuming objective interests, as it is surely not in the objective interest of

babies to be mutilated. For all its possible merits, cultural relativism can surely be taken too far. Even though a causal link between relative deprivation and violence may be difficult to demonstrate, there certainly seems to be a significant correlation between the two. First of all, most major armed conflicts take place in the Third World and not least in Africa. Secondly, the general picture of relative deprivation of most of the “Third World” is fairly clear and indisputable. It was aptly summed up in the opening words of the United Nations’ 2001 Report on the World Social Situation, that, disparities in income and wealth are growing in many countries, and the distance between richer and poorer countries is also widening’ (UNGA, 2010).

A number of intra-state conflicts have become partly internationalised by the involvement of either other states or non-state contestants across an international border for which phenomenon I have opted for the term “transnational conflicts’. Arguably this transnationalisation of armed conflict is merely a reflection of the growing importance of transnational relations of all sorts and partly caused by globalisation (Simpson, Mokwena and Segal, 1993). The boundaries between “inside” and “outside” may simply be eroding, and the frontiers becoming increasingly blurred. Conflicts which are, by their very nature, intra-state may become transnationalised in various ways, including the following: The cultural perspective presupposes the existence of “a political culture of thuggery that generally predisposes actors to engage in violence and intimidation during political contests” while the structural explanation may suggest that society and politics are organized in a manner that generates conflict which calls for a common guiding framework multi-party politics and elections created (Global Classroom, 2010).

Between January 2011 and December 2015, over 100 elections were held in 44 African countries. More than 5 referenda, 21 general elections, 35 elections to the legislature and 26 presidential elections. In the light of the definition of electoral violence coined by Reif, almost all of these elections had cases of electoral violence at one stage of the poll but elections in at least 20 of these countries 36 were wrought with serious electoral violence (CCAPS, 2013). In fact, two elections during this period were pre-empted by successful coup d’états, in Guinea Bissau between the two rounds of the presidential elections and in Mali a month prior to the scheduled elections. There was a military takeover in Niger in February 2010 as a result of President Mamadou Tandja’s decision to stay in power after

two mandates as stipulated by the Constitution that existed before the Constitutional referendum he organized on 04 August 2009 (Research Brief, 2013 No.6).

Subsequently, the situation in Niger further degenerated to cases of electoral violence and Burkina Faso, the population refused Compaoré's attempt at a revision of the Constitution in a bid for a third term and the transition government involved the military. However, Angola, one of the worst cases, the 1992 elections led to a ten (10) year civil war; in Ethiopia, the widely acclaimed first truly competitive multi-party elections of May 2005 was marred by post-election violence during which 193 people were killed, several hundreds were injured and around 30,000 people were arrested between June and November 2005; the 2007/2008 elections in Kenya were marred by pre-election violence that continued after the elections transforming into nothing short of bloodshed (Linebarger and Salehyan, 2012).

The post-election violence (PEV) of 2007/08 in Kenya left over 1,500 people dead and 660,000 displaced. The International Criminal Court (ICC) even charged four instigators of the violence, two of whom are currently president and vice president with crimes against humanity and in the Ivory Coast. The 2010 presidential election led to a contested outcome, five months of rivalry between the two antagonists, Gbagbo the incumbent and Ouattara the opponent who both claimed to be the elected Presidents, this called for an international intervention to assist in his removal and more than 3,000 deaths were recorded. These are but a few examples of many election related violence cases during any post-Cold War multi-party elections period observed in Africa and the great lakes region which illustrate the prevalence and intensity of electoral violence on the continent (Seifu, 2015-2018).

From 2004 to 2008, there was a substantial year-to-year variation in the frequency of election violence occurring, with some years much more violent than others in terms of such conflicts.

## **2.8 Review of Related Literature**

Many studies conducted have found that democracy is more likely to survive where there is a well-developed economy (Mangal, 2011). This section will look at some related literature to my study in two African countries as well as two other countries outside my continent where electoral conflict was experienced. Salehyan and Linebarger conducted a research in 2009 on the post-electoral conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo where hundreds died in the months surrounding the first post-conflict election in 2006. With this continued violence, DRC faces a difficulty to hold elections. The study found that elections increase

conflict in two dimension, that is during time of civil war and authoritarian systems where institutional features and constitutional safeguards are absent (Salehyan and Linebarger, 2006).

Another related study to my research was conducted in the year 2006 by the Idean Salehyan professor of political science and Christopher Linebarger a PhD student on Kenya's post-electoral conflict that arose due to disputed presidential election results similarly to the post-electoral conflict that erupted in the aftermath of Zambia's 2016 General election. It was suspected that he challenger Odinga fraud the incumbent Kibaki. The findings of this study are that elections are likely to be peaceful when they are held in genuine democracies and not in autocracies (CCAPS Research Brief, February, 2013 No. 6).

Further, are works of Akbar and Akbar on the 2009 presidential elections and 2010 parliamentary elections which were mostly and publicly talked about. The review herein is that voters in both elections were outweighed with public frustrations, disillusionment, and systematic fraud, abuse of power and lack of awareness of electoral processes. The citizens developed an ideal society where due to fraud in the electoral system that only the powerful and rich individual had a real chance of winning election consenting to the conflict theory of the bourgeoisies and the poor and popularstic politics (Galtung,2009). Also it is researched that influence from external forces including neighbouring country and international community also influenced the frustrated, discontent electorates because of their status in society, and hence the best way was to revolt to violence ( Giustozzi and Mangal, 2011).

The other post-electoral conflict affected country is Bangladeshi. The 2015 Bangladeshi political crisis is yet another on-going state political turmoil between the two major rivalry political parties of Bangladeshi namely Awami League led by the current prime minister and the opposition which is led by the former three prime ministers of the Bangladeshi Nationalist Party. However, according to the studies reviewed, the election were marred with low voter turnout due to the ongoing violence in the country of successive politics of 2001 which also resulted into formation of political government against the will of the citizens. This violated the rights of the people of choosing leaders as is indicated that democratic elections produce peaceful results of an election. Linebarger and Salehyan allude to the effects of election in total conflict and violent conflict being the number one cause of

deaths during and after a civil war as well as elections in authoritarian contexts (Linebarger and Salehyan, 2012).

## **2.9 The Identified Research Gap**

The causes and effects of electoral conflict seemingly are the same in most literature studied in the various parts of the continent and globe at large. However, although there might be some similarities with the literature reviewed, this study was quite different all in all, in the sense that it is specifically aimed at establishing measures that can be implored to mitigate the post electoral conflict which was experienced in Namwala District of southern province during the 2016 general elections. What motivated the researcher to undertake this study was in that, since the inception of Zambia being a sovereign state, several elections have been held in the country and Namwala District in particular, but the electoral conflicts experienced during the 2016 general elections were alarming and happened in the area for the first time. Qualifying its uniqueness and indicating the gap of the research, this study was conducted in Namwala district of Zambia's southern province in the four Chiefdoms targeting the traditional leadership and the youths.

## **2.10 Summary**

This Chapter presented the literature which highlighted the causes and effects of post-electoral conflicts in some African countries as well as on the international level. Studies were also reviewed in line with the topic of study and ways in which the problem may be addressed were suggested which led to establishing and the identifying of the research gap.

We have thus seen that conflicts are indeed a complex phenomenon. On the other hand, quite a lot is, in fact known about their various causes, under lying motives, structures and dynamics as well as their typical evolution. However, the escalation comes to a halt, either because one side prevails or because both sides have temporarily exhausted their supply of weaponry. In the latter case, the conflict enters its contained phase. The struggle continues, but its intensity tends to decline .The conflict may hence evolve into its abated phase, where the basic causes of conflict remain in place, but where conflict behaviour has been significantly altered with less violence and more political mobilisation and negotiation. At this stage, the prospects of post-conflict recovery begin to loom large in the minds of political leaders on opposing sides, and external actors may thus gain new leverage, as



providers of aid. The resolution phase is arguably the most critical of them all, as success or failure of “post-conflict, peace-building” will determine whether the conflict will flare up again. Such success presupposes that both the underlying causes of the conflict and its immediate consequences are addressed. If not, the conflict cycle is likely to enter a new round.

The next Chapter’s main focus will be on the methodological approaches used in the research particularly describing pedagogy and andragogy used and why such approaches are utilised in the data collection processes.

## **CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY**

### **3.0 Overview**

This Chapter gave the methodological aspects of the study in trying to answer the questions to the study. A case study amongst the youths and adults was conducted in the four Chiefdoms of Namwala District of Zambia's Southern Province to ascertain the causes and effects of the 2016 general election, electoral conflict. Data collection is the gathering or collecting of information to prove alleged facts (Kombo and Tromp, 2016). This makes data collection a vital part of any research undertaking because the researcher ought to have firsthand information to find a solution to the case under study. The process herein was done by having and conducting interviews as well as focus group discussions interviews with the participants. In other words, this section elaborates how the listed steps were achieved and the objectives of the study. Other subjects under this chapter were identification of the research population and the study sample population, the selection of the sampling procedure, sample size, data collection instruments, data collection procedure, data analysis, reliability and validity and finally the summary.

### **3.1 Research Design**

The study approach used qualitative and the research design was a case study, hence it was a qualitative case study research. The research specifically focused on four chiefdoms in Namwala district of southern province. For the purpose of achieving the objectives of this study, the researcher implored a qualitative research design methods in data analysis. Data was collected by conducting a case study using semi-structured interview guide and Focus Group Discussions with key informants. Qualitative data was analysed using the qualitative thematic method. Qualitative research seemingly is preferable because it is effective in soliciting information about the values, opinions, mores and social-cultural behaviors of people in a given demography. This research design helped the researcher to construct questions that solicited the desired information when conducting focus group discussions for the youths and designed the interview guide for the adult traditional leaders so that the researcher would be able to summarize the data in a way that provided the desired information.

### 3.2 Population of the Study

The target population for this study consisted of four (4) Chiefs, from the Chiefdoms, four (4) Headmen, one from each Chiefdom and six (6) Youths from each Chiefdom adding up to the population study to thirty-two (32).

### 3.3 Sample Size

Namwala District is made of four chiefdoms namely; Muchila, Mukobela, Mungaila and Nalubamba and all chiefdoms are led by male Chiefs. The sample size for this study was 32 and the composition was as follows; eight (8) from each segment comprising of one (1) Chief, one(1) Headman/headwoman and six (6) Youths from each Chiefdom.

Participant	Muchila	Mukobela	Mungaila	Nalubamba
Chief	1	1	1	1
Headman	1	1	1	1
Youths	6	6	6	6
Total	8	8	8	8

**Grand total =32**

### 3.4 Sampling Procedure

#### 3.4.1 Chiefs

The researcher used purposive sampling method for selecting Chiefs and adult headmen /woman leaders Chiefs in each chiefdom. Four (4) Chiefs, one (1) from each Chiefdom was prurposively selected to participate in the study. Namwala District only has four (4) chiefdoms. Therefore, each chief was representing a Chiefdom. Purposive sampling also known as judgmental selective or subjective sampling is a type of non-probability sampling. Purposive sampling is a strategy to choose small groups or individuals who are knowledgeable and informative about the phenomenon of interest. Frazer, acknowledges that it is virtually synonymous with qualitative research as it selects people based on the particular purpose of the experiment.

### **3.4.2 Village Headmen/Women**

In selecting the village leaders who took part in the study, the researcher purposively advised the chief to include those leaders who experienced electoral conflicts as well as those who did not in their villages. In line with the guidelines, one (1) Village Headmen/women was selected from each Chieftdom who totaled up four (4) due to the demography of the district. Of the four (4), one (1) was a female. There was also need for the researcher to obtain permission from the traditional leaders for interviewing their subjects in the villages which were to be sampled. This is important due to the fact that a Chief is an important stake holder in this process, and clearance from him would to a large degree assure freedom by the respondents.

### **3.4.3 Youths**

Initially ten (10) youths were picked systematically from each Chieftdom where later only six (6) would take part in the research. Of the ten (10) five (5) were females and five (5) males. Further, only those youths who were above the age of 18 and registered voters qualified to participate. This was effective and successful as the best respondents were identified. Systematic random sampling selects subjects from the population in a systematic rather than random fashion. It uses and involves selecting one unit or member of the sample. Most sampling methods are purposive in nature and this method specifies the minimum number of sampled units needed in each category herein 32 adults and youths from the district.

### **3.5 Data Collection Instruments**

The study used semi-structured interview guides for the Chiefs and Headmen/women and focus group discussion for the youths as data collection instruments. The researcher specifically used semi- structured interviews to collect data from the Chief and Village Headmen/women, because the semi-structured interviews are the most preferred by many researchers due to the fact that questions can be prepared ahead of time. This allows the interviewer to be prepared and appear competent during the interview. Semi-structured interviews also allow informants the freedom to express their views in their own terms. Also Interviews can also provide reliable, comparable qualitative data.

According to some scholars, Interviews provide flexibility and the ability to probe and clarify responses, as they take note of verbal as well as non-verbal behavior, and they provide high response rates (Macmillan & Schumacher, 2001). Focus group discussions were conducted amongst the youths from the four chiefdoms. The discussions were designed to solicit for data from the youths on the cause and effects of post-electoral conflict. Further, the researcher made appointments with the traditional leaders to conduct the focus group discussions with the youths.

### **3.6 Data Analysis**

The researcher ensured that the data collected was qualitative. Qualitative thematic analysis was implored where emerging data from the findings of the study was categorised thematically in line with the objectives of the study and analysed accordingly as thematic analysis is relevant to qualitative research method. The percentage and tables will be applied and presented. Semi-structured interview guide for the chiefs and village headmen/women and focus group discussions for the youths were conducted to find out the causes and effects of the 2016 post-electoral conflict in Namwala District of Southern province. Hambulo (2016), propounded in assertion to this that, Semi-structured interview is a verbal interview where one person who is the interviewer, attempts to elicit information from another person by asking questions. Longhurst (2003), adds that although the interviewer prepares a list of questions predetermined questions, semi-structured interviews unfold in a conversational manner offering participants the choice to explore issues they regard are important. In dealing with the chiefs and village headmen respectively, this was done on one to one basis on all occasions to allow participation amongst individual respondents.

### **3.7 Reliability and Validity of Data Collection Instruments**

Reliability pertains to the accuracy and consistency of measures. In other words, it the degree to which results obtained from the analysis of the data actually represents the phenomenon under study (Mugenda and Mugenda, 1999). On the other hand, Brynard and Hanekom define validity as the potential of a design or an instrument to achieve or measure what ought to be achieved and measured. For instruments to be valid the content selected and included in the semi structured interview guide must be relevant to the variables being investigated so as to ascertain the effectiveness of the instruments in soliciting information regarding the topic (Brynard and Hanekom, 2006). This study therefore, ensured that the

instruments used that is, semi-structured interview guide and focus group guide questionnaires were in accordance with the variables investigated in the study. The reliability of the instruments were standardized to the sample of 32 respondents and designed in simple terms.

### **3.8 Summary**

In accordance with the research objectives, this chapter applied a qualitative case study research design whose population of the study was thirty-two (32) and sample size of four (4) Chiefs, four (4) Village Headmen/women and twenty-four (24) youths, six (6) from each one of the four (4) Chiefdom. Data collection instruments were semi-structured interview guides for the Chiefs and village Headmen/women respectively and focus group discussions were conducted amongst the youths.

However, for this research purposive sampling was applied because according to Orodho and Kombo (2002), states that the power of purposive sampling lies in selecting information in rich cases for in-depth analysis related to the core issues being studied. This is because the most appropriate respondents and participants were selected, hence less constraints, accurate data collection therefore, less time consuming. Prior to data collection, the researcher had to follow the ethical considerations of obtaining consents, assents and permission from the top most leadership in the Chiefdoms. Data collected on the causes and effects of the 2016 post-electoral conflict of Namwala District in Southern Province was analysed thematically.

The next Chapter's focus is on the presentations of the research findings, their analysis as well as the discussions in an attempt to highlight the different views of the respondents.

## **CHAPTER 4: PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS**

### **4.0 Overview**

The previous Chapter focused on the research design and this is due to the fact that there is need for every researcher to prepare a plan before embarking on research study. It was reported that strategy to guide a research study was inevitable because of some aspects which should be considered before undertaking a research study. Aspects such as philosophical assumptions of the study, selection of respondents, data collection instruments, data collection procedures and data techniques, data analysis, ethical considerations and others. In the previous chapter some highlights of the choice of the research design herein a qualitative research design was implored which involved a focus group discussions and interviews was used to generate data from the chiefs, Village headmen and youths on the causes and effects of post electoral conflicts giving out possible suggestions on how best such conflicts can be mitigated.

This Chapter presents, analyses, interprets and discusses the findings of the study obtained through the data which was qualitatively collected using semi-structured interview guides and focus group discussions. To enhance a logical presentation, analysis, interpretation and discussions of the research findings, the chapter is divided into sections. To begin with are the objectives of the study, followed by a demographic profile of the research respondents then a part on the findings from the semi-structured interview responses from the four (4) Village Headmen and four (4) Chiefs respectively on the issue of electoral conflict and focus group discussions conducted among the youths .The findings from the traditional leaders are presented alongside those of the Youths.

### **4.1 Objectives of the Study**

The general research objective of the study was to investigate the causes and establishing the effects of the 2016 post-electoral conflict of Namwala District of Southern Province. The presentations of findings of the study is based on the three specific objectives of research undertaken. The first one was to investigate the causes of the 2016 post-electoral conflict in Namwala District, the second objective was to establish the effects of the 2016

post-electoral conflict in Namwala District and finally to devise possible future measures to mitigate post-electoral conflict in Namwala District of Zambia's Southern Province.

#### **4.2 Demographic Profile of Research Participants**

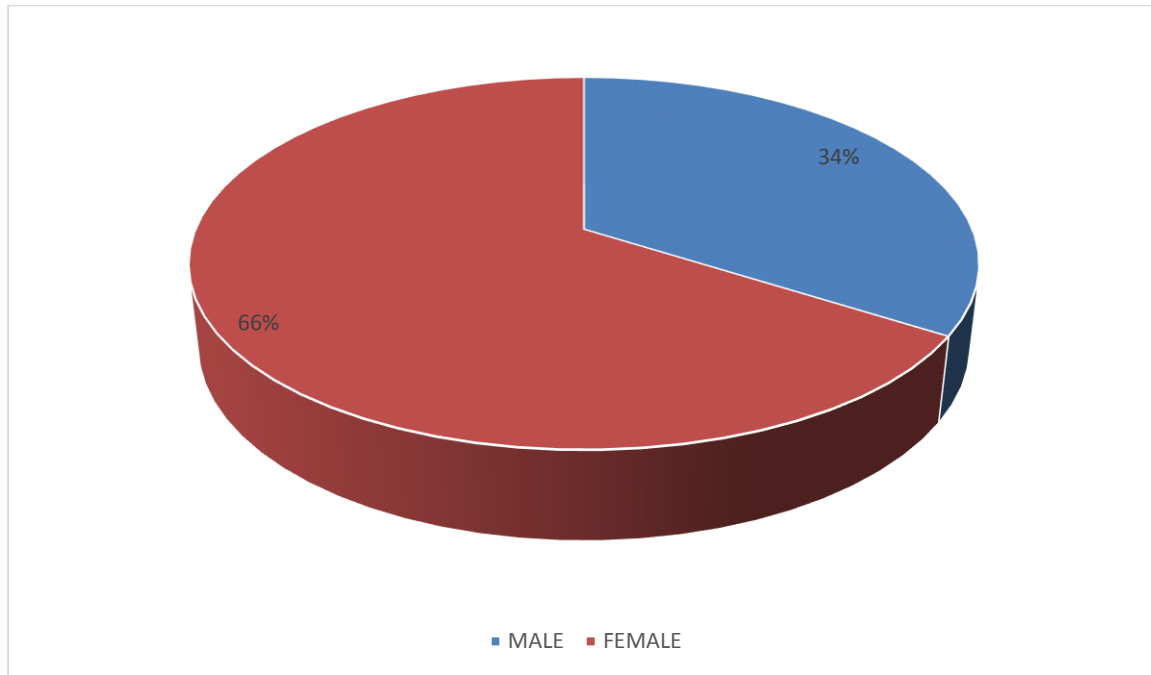
The demographic data of the participants refers to the statistics relating to the research participants who took part in the study which includes all the background information of the research participants regarded vital and relevant to the study by the researcher (Mukamba, 2017). The scholar further alludes to the fact that a research respondent is someone who is well vested in the special phenomenon being studied and is willing to provide information on it. Here in it is key to note that the respondents of this study were all experienced in the field of the research undertaking although some were not registered voters.

Additionally, the researcher needed to ensure that the research participants were most appropriate people which was the case as consent and permissions were got from the top most traditional leadership who knew their subordinates very well. Gender was also put into consideration to ensure equal participation of females and males in the study. The first sample targeted four (4) Chiefs all responded. The second sample was based on the Village Headmen which targeted four (4) respondents and all responded and lastly the youths and targeted twenty-four (24) respondents on focus group discussions but only twenty-two (22) of them responded.



The figure in 4.1: Shows the percentages of the research respondents by gender where 66 represents males and 34 females' respondents.

**Figure 4.1: RESPONDENTS BY GENDER**



Source: (Field Work, 2018)

#### 4.2.1 Sample of Chiefs

Table 4.1 above illustrates the demography of the Chiefs and their respective and gender respectively. The Chiefs were requested to give their opinions on the current case of cause of post-electoral conflict and suggest possible measures to curb the vice, therefore they are also required to answer thirteen questions from the interviewer/researcher.

<b>Chief</b>	Muchila	Mukobela	Mungaila	Nalubamba
<b>Gender</b>	Male	Male	Male	Male
<b>Total = 04</b>	01	01	01	01

Table 4.1

#### 4.2.2 Sample of Village Headmen/Women

The following section consists of Village Headmen who were required to respond to thirteen questions some of which required personal information such as identity of names and whether they were registered voters, and what they understood by the term election.

Table 4.2 shows the profile of the sampled selected village headmen indicating their gender and their chiefdom where they belong.

<b>Chiefdom</b>	<b>Gender</b>	
Muchila	01	Male
Mukobela	01	Male
Mungaila	01	Male
Nalubamba	01	Female
Total	04	

Table 4.2

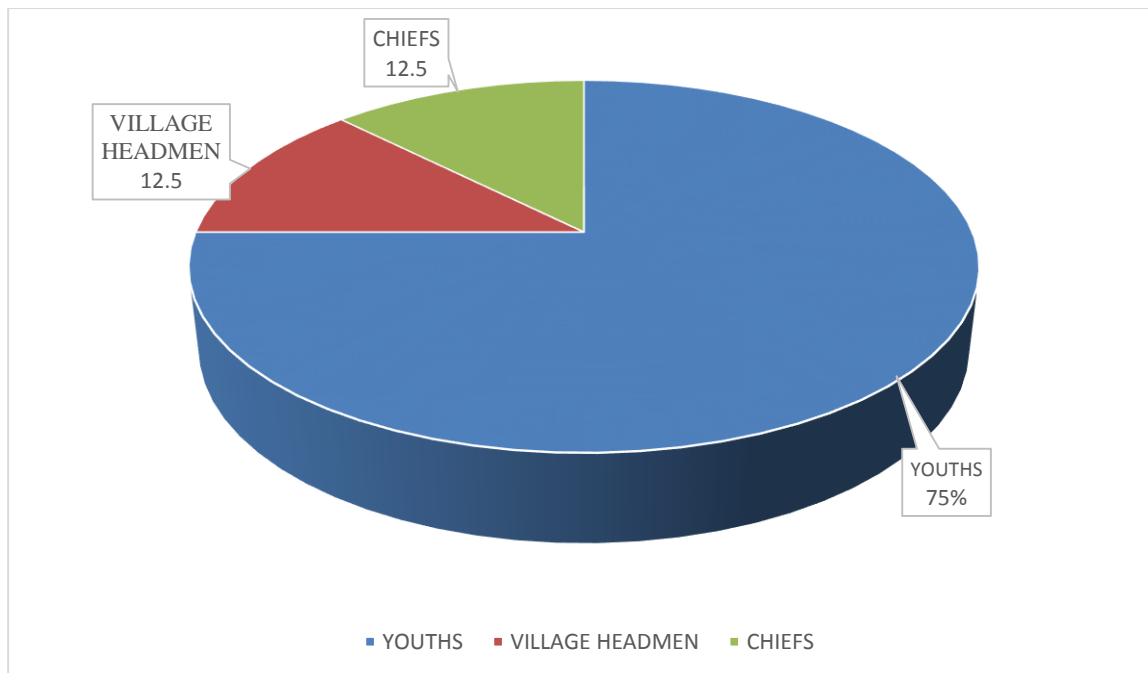
#### 4.2.3 Sample of Youths

Table 4.3 shows the Youth research respondents by gender 10 representing number of females and 14 males' respondents.

<b>Gender</b>	<b>Number per Gender</b>	<b>Total Number</b>
Females	10	10
Males	14	14

Table 4.3

**Figure 4.2: DEMOGRAPHY OF RESPONDENTS**



Source: (Field Work, 2018)

Having secured the demography of the research respondents, the paragraphs in the next section focuses on the presentation of the research findings from the semi-structured interview guides and focus group discussions. To enhance success in this objective, the research question was on the factors causing electoral conflicts in the chiefdoms. Further, to discuss these factors that lead to electoral conflicts, three major themes emerged as follows; causes of electoral conflicts, effects of electoral conflicts and possible measures to mitigate post-electoral conflicts.

## **4.2 Findings from Semi-structured Interviews**

### **4.2.1 The Causes of the 2016 Post-Electoral Conflict in Namwala District of Southern Province**

The intention of this objective was to establish the causes of the 2016 post-electoral conflicts in Namwala District of Southern Province. In line with the general objective which demanded to establish the causes of post-electoral conflicts in the four Chiefdoms of Namwala District, the respondents pointed out several reasons which showed and confirmed

the vice having repeated itself in many previous elections. The interviews targeted the chiefs and Village Headmen and headwomen respectively. In line with the objective above, the study revealed that, there are various causes of the 2016 post-electoral conflicts. Among the various causes are: political corruption, lack of Civic education and voter education amongst the people, discriminatory campaign politics, poor leadership styles in the incumbent which discouraged voters to participate in the general election, there is lack of transparency and accountability by those in public office and lacunas in the voter registers which are not updated.

In support of the findings of the study above, the research participants outlined the following:

Chief 1: *“There are lacunas in the voter registers which are not updated”*.

Chief 2: *“we experienced discriminatory campaign platforms in the constituency where those in oppositions were limited to campaign freely by the ruling party”*.

Chief 3: *“there was political corruption which caused post electoral violence, in that the ruling party (governing) had access to government resources, abuses and gave electorates different resources such as bicycles, blankets, food stuffs and also money to elicit for votes from the electorates”*.

Chief 4: *“the laws and institution that are in charge of elections are not well designed to suit the current scenario in Zambia and laws on elections are very weak and lack credibility”*.

On the same causes of post-electoral conflicts, the Village headmen/woman said the following:

Village Headman 1: *“there is lack of transparency and accountability by those in public office”*. Those in government owe institutions like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) but how the money borrowed is spent is not explained to the people.

Village Headwoman 2: *“there are poor leadership styles in the incumbent which discouraged voters to participate in the general election”*.

Village headman 3: *“we experienced discriminatory elections that were not fair and equitable with ethnic and regionally based discrimination”*.

Village Headman 4: “there was lack of Civic education and voter education amongst the people to sensitise them on the election process to make them participate freely and fully”.

Table 4.5: illustrates research respondents’ response in percentages (%) on the causes of post-electoral conflict

Responses	Percentages %
Lack of transparency and accountability	10
Poor leadership styles	20
Discriminatory campaigns and elections	50
Lack of Civic education and voter education	20

Table 4.5

The findings from interviews given in the table above are also expressed in figure 4.3 showing responses given by the Village headmen and Headwoman.

**Figures 4.3:** shows the responses given by the Village headmen and women on the causes of post-electoral conflicts in Namwala District

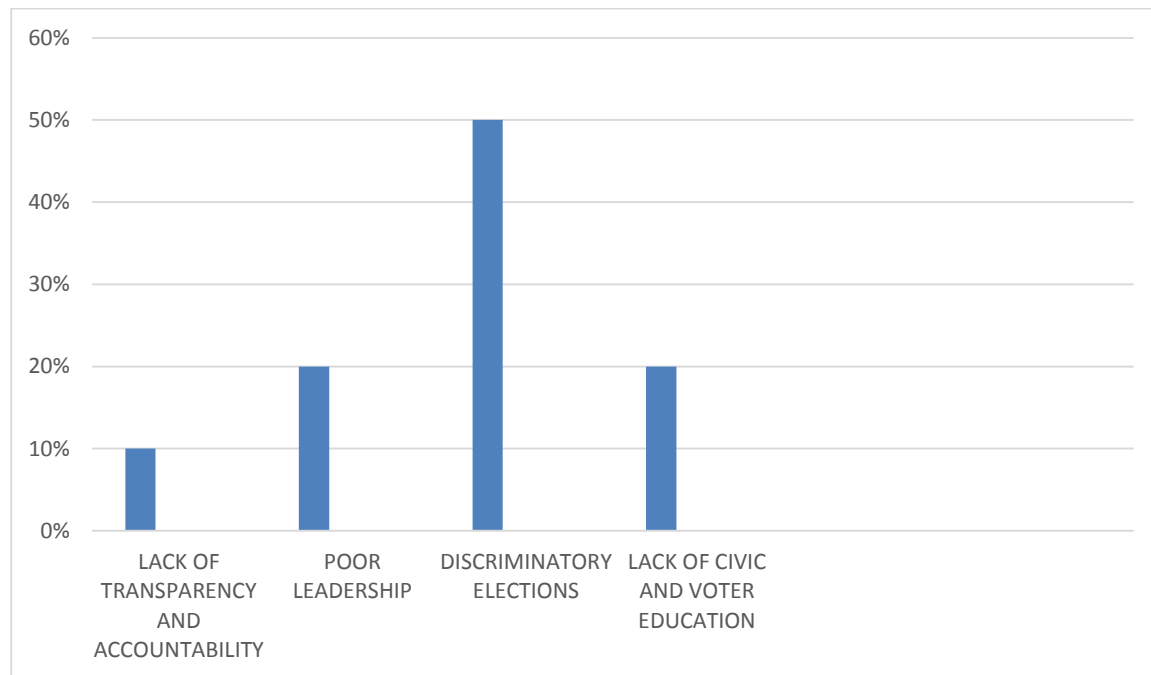


Figure 4.3

Source: (Field Work, 2018)

Table 4.6: Indicates other responses from research respondents in percentages (%)

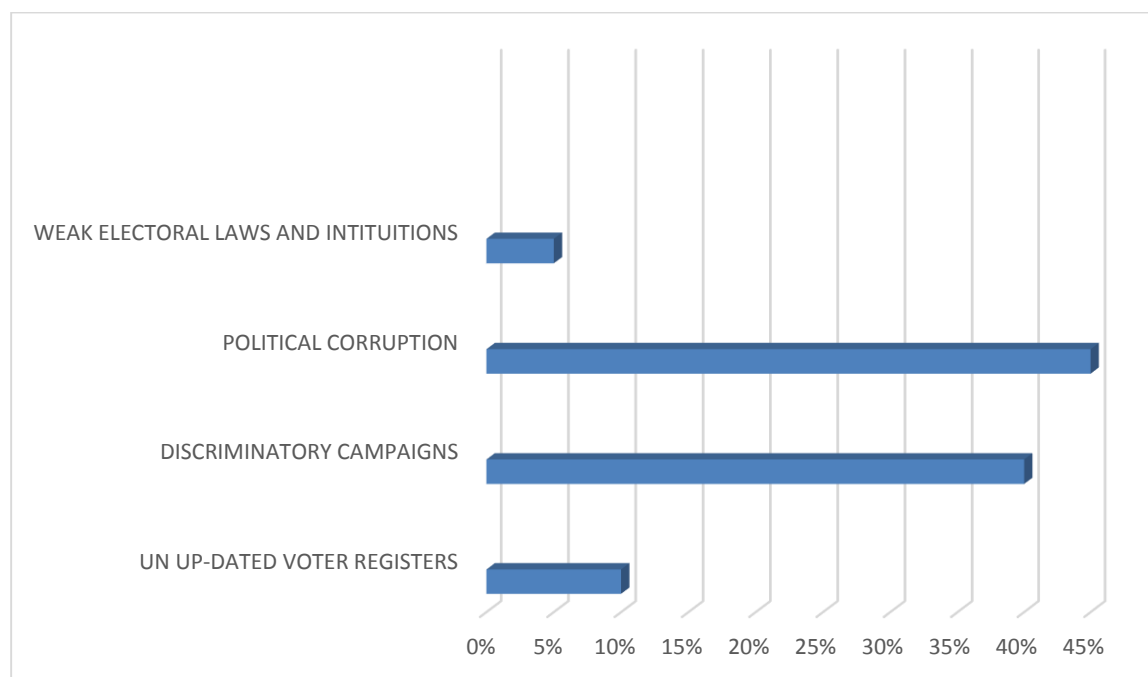
Responses	Percentages %
Un up-dated voter registers	10
Discriminatory campaigns	40
Political corruption	45
Weak electoral laws and institutions	05

Table 4.6

During the study undertaken, responses that were given are as shown in table 4.6 and are diagrammatically illustrated in figure 4.4. These included: weak electoral laws and institutions, political corruption and discriminatory electoral campaigns.

Figure 4.4: Presents other responses on the causes of post electoral conflicts in Namwala District

### OTHER RESPONSES



Source: (Field Work, 2018)

#### **4.2.2 To Establish the Effects of the 2016 Post-Electoral Conflict in Namwala District of Southern Province**

From the findings of the study, there were various effects of the 2016 post-electoral conflict in the four Chiefdoms of Namwala District of Southern province. The Chiefs in the study undertaken had different views from the interviews conducted. Seemingly, the responses given on the effects of post-electoral conflicts were the same since they also pointed out the following as effects of the 2016 post electoral conflict in Namwala District of Southern Province: displacements, destruction of property as well as loss of both human, blocking of roads as well as plant and animal life and burning of glass thatched shelters. Below are the comments by research participants related to the findings indicated above.

Chief 1: *“There was displacement and relocation of both human and animal life which destabilised the communities”*.

Chief 2: *“public and private property were destroyed and damaged including burning used car tyres on the tarmac road, markets and buildings”*.

Chief 3: *“some unknown people were burning glass thatched houses and shelters (arson) during the nights following announcements of election results”*.

The Village Headmen/Woman also gave their views on the effects of the post electoral conflict which included:

Village Headman 1: *“some unknown suspected cadres blocked roads which lead to market places where people buy food stuffs and groceries with big logs and stones”*.

Village Headman 2: *“people living around the fishing camps were displaced from their homes of residence.”*

Village Headwoman 3: *“loss of lives in animals was noted due to dissipation by the herdsmen who were scared and running away from the post electoral violence that had erupted”*.

Village Headman 4: *“some males from the main opposition political party fled from their homes for fear of being arrested by the policemen”*.

#### **4.2.3 To Devise Possible Future Measures of How to Mitigate Post-Electoral Conflict in Namwala District of Southern Province**

The study revealed several possible measures to mitigate post-electoral conflict in Namwala District of Southern Province. The main ones were: intensifying civic education, transparency in the electoral processes, discouraging regional politics and avoiding campaigns of hate speeches, accepting outcomes of an election and transportation of election materials must be done in broad day light. To support the above findings, the participants said the following:

Chief 1: *“there is need for voter education to help reduce post electoral conflict and must be conducted extensively”*.

Chief 2: *“the bad practices of discriminatory campaigns and voter apathy must be discouraged to enhance unity among the people in Namwala of District and all Zambians”*.

Chief 3: *“there is need to accept outcomes and results of an election as they are announced. If there are any disputes, they must be channeled through the right procedures and not resorting to violence so that peace is maintained”*.

Chief 4: *“aspiring political leaders must not use bad language during campaigns to talk about other candidates”*.

In line with this particular finding of the study, Village Headmen/Women suggested the following to mitigate post-electoral conflict from reoccurring in Namwala District of Southern Province:

Village Headwoman 1: *“campaigns of hate speeches by aspiring candidates ought to be discouraged because it is from these speeches that political party members develop negative attitudes towards each other and starting riots”*.

Village Headman 2: *“the government must ensure intensive and long duration of civic and voter education”*.

Village headman 3: *“the government and Electoral Commission of Zambia must ensure that the voter’s registers are updated before election”*.



Village Headman 4: *“the election materials must be transported to and from the polling station during the day”*.

### **4.3 Findings from Focus Group Discussions**

#### **4.3.1 To Investigate the Causes of the 2016 Post-Electoral Conflict in Namwala District of Southern Province.**

Youths involved in the focus group discussions had their say on the causes of electoral conflict prior, during or post-election. The youths were unanimously of the view that there were various causes of the post-electoral conflict in Namwala District of Southern Province. The main ones included the following: high illiteracy levels among the Youths, poverty, less duration for voter registration and education and use of sarcastic language during campaigns”. Research participants in the focus group discussions said the following in support of the research findings portrayed above:

FGD A: *“High levels of poverty in the area is a very serious challenge”*.

FGD B: *“Lack of employment amongst the youths”*.

FGD C: *“There is less time allocated to voter education”*.

FGD D: *“some candidates aspiring for political leadership use hate speeches during campaigns to talk about the opposition parties”*.

#### **4.3.2 To Establish the Effects of the 2016 Post-Electoral Conflict in Namwala District of Southern Province**

The second specific objective of the study was to establish the effects of the 2016 post-electoral conflict in Namwala District of Southern province. The following are the main effects which were revealed by research respondents particularly, the youths who participated in the focus group discussions of the study. The effects include the following: displacements, disruption of economic activities and daily routines. From the findings which were revealed by the study in line with this specific research objective, there are also other effects of the 2016 post-electoral conflict in Namwala District and these are: robberies, petty thefts and substance abuse of alcohol among the youths. Related to these research findings, the youths in the focus group discussions pointed out the following:

FGD A: *“there was damage of houses and other infrastructures like shops and market places by some mob of drunkards”.*

FGD B: *“several fights were experienced among the youths who took part in the voting exercise as well as those from the winning side and the losers”.*

FGD C: *“there were arbitrary arrests of some youths from opposition political party and other males by the policemen.”*

FGD D: *“in some households were the males had fled for security, females experienced house thefts”*

### **4.3.3 Possible Future Measures on How to Mitigate Post-Electoral Conflict in Namwala District**

The third objective of the study sought to devise possible future measures to mitigate post-electoral conflict in Namwala District of Southern province. Various measures were discussed of which the core were: restructuring of electoral management body (ECZ), poverty reduction strategies such as establish youth training skills, enhancing voter education and voter registration, arresting aspiring political leaders who engage in rigging and combating high levels of illiteracy among the Youths. In addition the focus group discussions participants said the following:

FGD A: *“there is need to enhance voter education among the youths so that they are enlightened on the importance, processes of the elections”.*

FGD B: *“the government must establish training skills to equip the uneducated youths so that they can start informal employment as well as establish themselves to desist from abuse by the aspiring public leaders”.*

FGD C: *“youths who have become of age to take part in voting need to register as voters”.*

FGD D: *“the political leaders who give bribes to electorates to vote for them must be traced and be arrested even when they assume public office”.*

#### **4.4 Summary**

This Chapter provides a summative exposition of the findings of the study in relation to the research objective of the study. The first objective of the study's focus was on the investigation of the causes of the 2016 post-electoral conflict in Namwala District of Southern Province. Objective number two was based on establishment of the effects of the 2016 post-electoral conflicts in Namwala District of Southern Province. The third objective was based on devising possible future measures to mitigate post-electoral conflict in Namwala District of Southern province. The next chapter focuses on the discussions on the research findings which have been highlighted in the above chapter.

## **CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS**

### **5.0 Overview**

This Chapter discusses the research findings of my explanation into the causes, effects of the 2016 post-electoral conflict in Namwala District and possible measures to be devised to prevent such conflicts from reoccurring. It discusses findings obtained from interviews and Focus Group Discussions (FGD) conducted among the respondents including findings from secondary data as well issues drawn from the literature review of this document in relation to the theoretical framework used in the study.

### **5.1 Causes of the 2016 Post-Electoral Conflict in Namwala District of Southern Province**

The study follows secondary data collected from the presentations of the finding. One factor of the cause of post-electoral conflict was stated to be poverty. Poverty is a state of being poor where one is unable to provide or afford basic needs. High levels of poverty in the area is a very serious challenge. Some of the youths are used as tools of violence by the political leaders aspiring for public office in a given election. These payments in which ever form lead them to youths indulge in electoral conflicts. According to these respondents, some Youths are just given little sums of money and materials like beer are offered to them which causes them to be violent. Poverty may arise due to Lack of employment amongst the youths. According to many studies conducted, findings that have been found are that democracy is more likely to survive where there is a well-developed economy (Mangal, 2011). This is a clear indication that where issues of poverty are at its peak, democracy may not thrive as people may indulge in vices of political corruption to supress the poor and vulnerable in society creating a leeway to obtain political power.

Because of poverty Davies, 1962; Gurr, 1970; Gurr and Duvall, 1973; Hogg and Abrams, 2012; Regan and Norton, 2005; allude to the fact that discontent is manifested in the lives of the people as people feel frustrated because of the gap between their aspirations and the reality of their economic status and material well-being which may causes electoral conflict to erupt. In line with the notion above, it was established that poverty amongst the youth is because of lack of employment and high illiteracy levels. University and college graduates

are jobless adding to the already existing numbers of the illiterate who are not neither in private nor government sectors to be high.

Whether be it in formal or informal sector the skilled and unskilled youths have no jobs contradicting to the government of the day's pro-poor policies of creating more jobs for the youths. Hence because of lack of employment citizens may be enticed to receive petty payments in which ever form to satisfy their needs and egos due to inadequate job vacancies in the current government and poor policy system on job creation. A desperate individual who lacks access to basic needs can indulge in any vice to earn a living inclusive of politics of cadres, hate and violence.

Secondly, it is noted that there is less time allocated to voter education. The establishment of voter education and registration centers in some constituencies at times are done far away from where people live and the time allocated for voter education is limited. And in other instances, the voter educator assigned to an area may not be familiar with the native language which makes it difficult to communicate efficiently and effectively. The study also reviewed lack of Civic education and voter education amongst the people is also a cause of post electoral conflict. People do not understand the electoral process as they are not adequately sensitised to allow them participate freely and fully in the elections. This entails that some youths and eligible voters shun voting not because they want to but because they do not value the process of choosing leaders through the ideas of democracy and voter apathy arises due to ignorance which later can cause post-electoral conflicts. This is due to the fact that less informed communities may react to issues differently and even to rumors they are not certain of (UNPD, 2009).

Some candidates aspiring for political leadership use hate speeches during campaigns to talk about the opposition parties which may lead to violence between the winning and losing part. Hate speeches are detrimental to peoples' characters and deform the community. It is during such talks that the populace can either be misled by those aspiring for political leadership as they can easily be misinformed by the media in de-campaigning opponents (JCTR Bulletin Number 102, 2015). Hate talks cause conflicts between rivalries especially at the outcome of results of an election especially where one group or party emerges as a winner.

Lack of transparency and accountability by those in public office was also stated as one of the causes. This undemocratic vice practiced by those in government discourage citizens from taking part in an election for fear of such leaders to come back into power. Take for instance where the government of the day keeps on borrowing resources from institutions like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) but how the money borrowed is spent is not explained to the people. Tenancies of good governance go along side by side with economic status of the citizens. This is due to the reason that lack of transparency and accountability deprives the people of their freedoms and enjoyment of fundamental rights.

Therefore, when such a government bounces back into power, citizens tend to be annoyed and become violent as bad leadership styles in the incumbent are likely to continue discouraging voters to participate in an election in agreeing to Reno's ideas on the causes of voter apathy and lack of confidence in the incumbent (Reno, 2011).

From the recent past experience, most elections seem to favor a political candidate who belongs to a particular area. Let us say Northerners would prefer to vote for a candidate from their region. Discriminatory elections that are not fair and equitable with ethnic and regionally based elections and politics, discrimination can lead to voter apathy as wells as choosing a wrong leader who will not be able to execute his/her duties. In other words it means a certain group or tribe would prefer a candidate from one's own region or tribe.

Also divisive politics which are based on the monopolization of power and exclusion of major social and political groups in the pre electoral process stage is often responsible for post electoral conflicts. Horowitz, 2000; Kaufaman, 2001; Fearon & Laitin, 2004; consent to this fact that communal divisions within the state are often actively crafted by political elites. Inequalities during campaigns may act as a tool to post electoral conflict in cases where those who were marginalized and discriminated by not being accorded equal platforms tend to lose an election.

Discriminatory campaign platforms is yet another cause where those in opposition political parties are limited to campaign freely by the ruling party making those in the opposition feel segregated and even resort to violence because they are not accorded equal platforms to sale their manifestos to the general populace. This breeds to conflict because those in power,

who are the rich with access to campaign platforms and government resources over ride on the poor opposition members (Galtung, 2016).

Electoral conflicts become the order of the day as this may be experienced prior, during or post. The citizens develop an ideal society where due to discrimination and fraud in the electoral system that only the powerful and rich individual had a real chance of winning election consenting to the Conflict theory of the bourgeoisies and the poor and popularstic politics (Galtung, 2009).

Additionally the topmost leadership in the chiefdoms alluded to some of the causes of post electoral conflict as follows; most African countries that were colonies of Britain seemingly adopted the electoral systems from their colonial masters which are still being applied in the infant democracies of Africa such as Zambia. This leaves gaps in the electoral processes and types of elections being conducted such as the Single Member Majoritarian System (SMMS), Single Member plurality System (SMPS) to mention just these two.

Such Lacunas in the electoral systems are not revised but just applied even though those who are mandated to manage the elections do not understand them. The laws and institution that are in charge of elections are not designed well to suit the current scenario in Zambia. The institutions and laws on elections are very weak and lack credibility due to their mode of adoption from inception.

Further, there are instances of voter registers which are not updated, where besides voter registration and verification having been conducted, some names of people who passed on still appear in those documents. Such leads to suspicion of rigging elections by the Electoral Commission of Zambia by those in opposition.

Political corruption is also another cause of electoral violence, those in the ruling party (governing) have access to government resources, uses, abuses and give electorates different resources such as bicycles, blankets, food stuffs and also money to elicit for votes from the electorates which they do not account for that money as was suspected that he challenger Odinga fraud the incumbent Kibaki.

Straus (2012), asserts that besides having different instruments to help fight inequalities that may lead to political conflict, they have ignored either to favor those who initiated them and disadvantage the weak and voiceless in societies who have no financial muscle either to

buy votes or participate in the electoral processes whose findings where that elections are likely to be peaceful when they are held in genuine democracies and not in autocracies (CCAPS Research Brief, February, 2013 Number 6). When such biasness infiltrate the political playground, conflicts are likely to occur.

In line with the findings of this study presented above, theoretically, it can be stated that disparities between the bourgeoisie and the poor result in conflicts such as economic disparities of the wealthy and the poor which cause misunderstandings as inequalities and discrimination exist between these people which can also be married to lack of transparency and accountability by those in public office for fear of exposing their corrupt practices. Therefore, they strive hard to protect their political positions by whichever means possible. Abuses may include misapplication of public resources during campaigns to enable them retain the seats and public positions. Gaultung (2006), adds that the few elites, or the bourgeoisie use their influence to oppress the proletariat who are the majority.

## **5.2 The Effects of the 2016 Post-Electoral-Conflict in Namwala District of Southern Province**

The second specific objective was to establish the effects of the 2016 post electoral conflict in Namwala District of Southern province. Several effects were established and the following were revealed by the youth respondents involved in the research during the focus group discussions: damage of houses and other infrastructures, rooting grass thatched houses in the fishing camps, shops and market places was experienced after the 2016 post electoral conflict which erupted in the district. Baregu (1999), explained some of the effects of conflict which ever type it may be on the citizens that include loss of social entitlement services and security, destruction of life and infrastructure as well as displacements.

Fights among rival groups and riots often happen where they are suspected electoral malpractices and at times due to bitterness of losing in the election as (Laakso, 2007). Fights were experienced among the youths who took part in the voting exercise as well as those from the winning side and the losers.

Besides the country's strides to uphold democracy principles, arbitrary arrests of some youths and other males by the policemen occurred after the announcements on the results of the winner of the election. According the respondents, most of those who were associated to



belong to the opposition parties were apprehended by the uniformed military staff who were deployed by the government for security purposes, consenting to Sisk, 2008; UNDP 2009, stating that intimidation and coercion of opponents, voters and unlawful detentions are a result of electoral violence.

The Village headmen/woman also gave their views on the effects of the post-electoral conflict included, blocking of roads that lead to market places where people access social amenities and some necessities. This led to businesses coming to a halt as people were afraid of being victimized and brutal beatings. Such acts are a violation of human rights contradicting to the characteristics of democracy.

According to Fischer (2003), 'Conflict' is described as a misunderstanding between people or groups of people. Therefore, where a conflict occurs in which ever form especially when it is violent displacement of different species is experienced (UNGA, 2010). In the post - electoral conflict in Namwala District, displacement of some people around the fishing camps as well as from their homes of residence was experienced. Some people fled away from their residential areas for safety.

The Village Headmen/woman stated that loss of lives in animals due to dissipation by the herdsmen who were scared and running away from the post-electoral violence was experienced. In lieu to safeguard their lives, people especially males dissipated their homes and went into hiding leaving their domestic animals without a herder. The chiefs also actively took part in the study undertaken and had different views on the interviews conducted by the researcher. The responses given by the chiefs on the effects of post - electoral conflicts seemingly were the same. These included; displacement of both human and animal life, which leads to destabilised society. Fights among rival groups, riots, threats intimidation and coercion of opponents, voters and electoral officials, destruction of property burning of glass thatched houses and shelters (arson) by some unknown people, and forceful displacement and unlawful detentions. This is in view with (Laakso, 2007; Sisk 2008; UNDP, 2009) who alluded to the fact that, conflicts have very devastating effects on the lives of the people and often destructive.

However, besides conflicts being retrogressive, conflicts can help to bring about desired change in some situations. An instance to be cited would be that of the neighboring country Rwanda which had experienced war for many years. To date this country's capital is

regarded as the cleanest and greenest city in the World. On the other hand, electoral conflicts may bring about electoral restructuring programmes to help curb the vice from repeating itself.

In line with the findings of this study, the Conflict theory states that biases existing between the two classes of people in societies result in widespread bitterness amongst the citizens and other members of the opposition who may not have enough access to resources to enable them attain political power and responsibilities. This theory ascertains that those with wealth and power try to hold on to it by any means possible, chiefly by suppressing the poor and powerless (Moller, 2003), which from the researcher's findings tend to breed to post-electoral conflict that is retrogressive and hinders the economy of a country from developing.

### **5.3 Possible measures to Mitigate Post-Electoral Conflict in Namwala District, Southern Province**

The need to enhance civic and voter education among the youths cannot be overlooked. This is vital so that they are enlightened on the importance, processes of the elections as well as the need to register as voters when one is of age.

The government must establish training skills to equip the uneducated youths so that they can start informal employment as well as establish themselves to desist from abuse by the aspiring public leaders. Additionally, job creation such as opening manufacturing industries to employ the natives so that they have an income. This can help reduce the high levels of poverty and crime election related vices.

In line with the objective in this discussions, the Village Headmen and woman suggested the following points which may help prevent post-electoral conflict from reoccurring. Campaigns of hate speech by aspiring candidates ought to be discouraged and be curbed because it is from these speeches that political party members develop negative attitudes towards each other. Hate speeches are heard often in the media as most political parties have resorted to some political demagoguery. Although this has been a disturbing development for the last few years, it seems to have been taken to a whole new level where division is rewarded and unity laughed at. According to Ghipango (2015), explains that people have drifted away from the original meaning of what our freedom fighters stood for, where they

strove to unite the nation by calling for support from all the corners of the country as they worked together to achieve their independence objective, hence the slogan and motto of ‘One Zambia, One Nation’ which signified unity among the different tribes of in Zambia. Real authentic leaders seek to heal and not to dig deeper canyons of differences within our communities (The Challenge, January –June, 2016). This however seems not to be the case with the country’s current political setup. The theoretical principle of democracy which has allowed existence of more than one political party has become a platform for divisive politics of hate.

The Chiefs’ responses to this objective included the following reasons and had this to say; “transportation of election materials must never be done during the night as this raises suspicions of electoral malpractice. There is need to start conducting extensive and intensive civic and voter education which can help reduce post electoral conflict. This is because a concientised population perceives issues and problems in a diplomatic manner.

Regional politics and discrimination in voting patterns must be discouraged to enhance unity among all Zambians. Such kinds of politics may lead to disputing of the results of an election because the electorates normally have a candidate of their own region who they feel must emerge winner. And once the results do not favor their choice, confusions arise. Therefore, the outcomes or results of an election must be accepted as it comes and if there are any disputes, they must be channeled through the right procedures and not resorting violence so that peace is maintained.

A change of attitude to what it means to be a democratic nation is yet another issue to be looked into. The values and principles of a democratic state are often talked about but never put into practice. This may discourage would be leaders or the citizenly to take part in the electoral process because it becomes a sheer waste of time and resources. Getting back into Zambias’ history, the elderly gallant men and women who fought for this freedom can attest that during the colonial time, there wasn’t freedom of speech which is now enjoyed and could be the cause of a divided Zambia.

In addition, there is need to reform some electoral laws and institutions that regulate election such as the Electoral Commission of Zambia to be an independent autonomous body operating solely without interferences from those political leaders holding higher public office. We need to inculcate a political ethos ensuring that we have applicable laws that will

enhance an atmosphere in line with our desire for a unified nation (JCTR Bulletin Number. 102, 2015).

Further, Stremlau and Price (2000), consent to this notion of electoral institutional reforms in the sense that they regard them to be outdated and no longer suitable for the current political scenario. They state that the electoral models are basically manual and primitive and hugely expensive for nothing, hence the need to incorporate newer technologies and innovations in the election systems in Africa to reduce the inequalities and ambiguities in the electoral bodies and institutions that regulate and coordinate election.

Once the causes of these conflicts are established, it becomes easier to find possible measures to prevent it from re-occurring. Herein, the study on the causes and effects of post-electoral conflicts. The theoretical framework as proposed by Karl Marx can help to find ways of combating the vice. Alternatively, if conditions were subsequently adjusted to address the concerns of the poor, the conflict circle would eventually not repeat itself.

## **5.5 Summary**

This Chapter focused on explaining the findings of the study of the previous chapter that were obtained from the active participants of the research. The major work done on the discussions included, the need to enhance civic and voter education amongst citizens, need to reform laws and institutions to suit the current Zambian political scene, avoidance of political corruption by aspiring candidates as well as politics of cadres, regional politics and discriminatory elections must be stopped and politics of unity and peace will be fostered.

Although democracy is expensive, it must be practiced and be observed by those in public office as well as the government to enhance transparent and accountability which is a tool to flourishing of the economy of a nation. Elections conducted in a transparent and fair manner cannot result in electoral conflicts. Peace and unity is enhanced through a transparent, free and fair election which according to the chiefs must be a core business of all election stakeholders especially voters as they are the majority of this process. Hence the need to encompass everyone in the eradication of political violence.

## **CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE STUDY**

### **6.0 Overview**

The previous Chapter concentrated on the discussions of the findings of this research. To be specific, it focused on the discussions of the findings of the study. The findings of the study indicated that post-electoral conflicts have a devastating effect on the security and peace of a community and a nation at large, hence the need to devise possible measures to mitigate post-electoral disputes.

This final Chapter presents the conclusions of the vital empirical findings of the research undertaken. As a summary to this study, the main focus will be on final remarks which are based on the researcher's personal reflections of the research experience. Additionally, the chapter presents the recommendations to mitigate post electoral conflicts which were experienced during the 2016 general elections in Namwala District of Southern province.

### **6.1 Conclusions of the Study**

In reviewing the literature of this study, it was revealed that electoral conflicts are experienced in most countries Worldwide due to the growing tendencies of democracy. The research was categorized into the following sections and these were; the causes of post electoral conflicts which were reviewed at continental, global and national levels. In line with this, various definitions of electoral conflicts were reviewed as described by different scholars. Secondly were the effects of electoral conflicts, thirdly were possible attempted measures to mitigate electoral conflicts, review of related literature to my study on continental and global level and the identified research gap to the study undertaken.

It is very important to acknowledge that the research respondents and findings from the document analysed affirm the presence of electoral conflicts either pre, during and post with specific evidence from the participants' contributions in the four chiefdoms of the Namwala District who attested to it. And recommendations were stated so that the reoccurrences of post-electoral conflicts can be prevented because it causes displacements of both human and animal life, destruction of property and disruption of economic, political and social activities leading to a distabilised society.

In the introductory part of the Zambian Constitution, the country is described to be governed on democratic principles. Herein, it can be said that elections are a feature of a democratic governance hence the need to hold periodic, inclusive, decisive and competitive elections, (Simfukwe et. al., 2006). Therefore, elections being a process by which eligible citizens choose their representatives ought to be peaceful and transparent to ensure security and unity between the governor and the governed as well as among the citizenry. The unprecedented conflicts that occur in the electoral processes can be curbed with good governance policies and systems which is also a foundation for development if a county has to flourish in the economic sector.

In the provision of the study, conclusions drawn from the general research objective and research question of the study, it can be stated that there has been post-electoral conflicts in many countries. It is such a challenge that also affected elections in Namwala District of Southern Province during the 2016 general election. Investigations were instituted into the causes and effects as well as possible measures to mitigate post-electoral conflicts.

Therefore, based on the findings of the study, it can be deduced that electoral conflicts are not needed as they hinder development of a country. On the other hand conflict in which ever form is thought to be inevitable and at times helps to bring about the desired change. In instances of African countries where 'long distance men' lifelong presidents would refuse to conduct periodic elections for fear of leaving public office or even rig election results, disputing election results for such acts through demonstrations may become appropriate.

Further, this calls for the concerted efforts of the government and all elections stakeholders to prevent and combat any causes of electoral conflicts. Democracy requires the ruler and ruled to co-exist and support the ideas and put in place policies to cater for every citizen despite of ethnic, region or political affiliation. Unity and peace which enhances security of the nation is fostered as cooperation practiced in an inclusive government.

## **6.2 Recommendations of the Study**

In this section, the researcher makes the following specific recommendations in line with the findings of the study. Since the study confirmed experiences of post-electoral conflicts in Namwala District of Southern Province during and after the election, the study endeavors to help resolve and mitigate these conflicts.

To this effect henceforth, some recommendations on how to prevent future electoral conflicts are as stated as analysed from data obtained from respondents. Tribalism has contributed to lack of accountability, governmental corruption and nepotism. Thus we need to fight all such retrogressive tendencies that stand in the way of promoting the unity of the nation

Tribalism being another causal factor ought be dealt with to help curb electoral conflicts. Although Zambia has been declared a Christian nation, she entertains high levels of tribalism thereby defeating the clarion call of the motto “One Zambia One Zambian”. Tribalism is being stirred up by political players which arouses the feeling in people of thinking that one’s tribe is superior to others. In other ways, the tribalistic mentality disregards and disrespects other tribes which they presume are inferior to theirs (JCTR Bulletin Number 102, 2015).

It is unfortunate that the people who should be at the forefront in fighting against tribalism have become the perpetrators. This attitude of militating against different ethnic groups is something that should not be tolerated as it has sunk deep into the fabric of Zambian social life. Political players just attack the tribal belong of the individual person rather than addressing the issue in question.

Given this tribalistic mentality, it seems most unlikely that the 50+1 benchmark for electing a president will be attained. Therefore, we must condemn all the negative sentiments resulting from this menace of tribalism and collaborate in efforts to unite in the conviction that we are all one people.

### **6.3 Suggestions for Future Research**

I suggest that researchers who are interested in the management of electoral conflicts may further investigate to ascertain other factors in other districts and provinces which tend to cause electoral conflicts. This is in line with literature reviewed in my research of study, in that electoral conflicts are being experienced on a global level as well as in other parts of the country and not only Namwala District. Hence the need for them to establish other cause factors.

## **6.4 Summary**

Electoral conflicts are a result of some malfunctions in certain institutions of governments as well as those discriminative laws that exist in bodies that manage and conduct elections which do not favor democratic practices. Therefore, the findings of this study will contribute to formulation of policies and restructuring of electoral institutions to enhance credibility in the manner in which elections are conducted.

The study went further to provide recommendations to the causes and effects and provide new insights and suggestions for future research in managing post-electoral conflicts in Namwala District of Southern Province and to a nation as a whole.



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**APPENDICES**

**APPENDIX A: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE CHIEFS**

PART A: DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

PROVINCE: SOUTHERN

DISTRICT: NAMWALA

CHIEFDOM: .....

GENDER: F [ ] M [ ]

1. What are your full names your royal highness?..... ?
2. How many villages do you have in your chiefdom?... ..
3. Are all your subordinates from this chiefdom by decent?  
.....
4. What economic activities are undertaken by the people in this chiefdom?  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....
5. How many registered voters are there in the chiefdom?.....
6. During the 2016 general election, how was the turn up for the registered voters to cast their ballot?.....
7. If not very good give reasons for voter apathy.....  
.....
8. Prior to the 2016 general elections, were there any conflicts that were experienced in the chiefdom?.....
9. If yes, what might have caused the conflicts? .....  
.....  
.....
10. On the actual day of elections, where there any challenges encountered by electoral officers and the people in the chiefdom? If yes, give the reasons .....

.....  
.....  
.....

11. Where anomalies faced after the announcements of the results of the poll? If yes, what caused those problems and what were the effects of those problems?

.....  
.....

12. From your own experience of the 2016 general election conflicts, what would you suggest must be done before, during and after elections to prevent such challenges mentioned in question 11? .....

.....  
.....

13. In your own perception, how do you rate the 2016 general election conduct?

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.....  
.....  
.....

Thank you very much for your cooperation and responses given. God richly bless you.

**APPENDIX B: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE VILLAGE HEADMEN**

PART A: DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

PROVINCE: SOUTHERN

DISTRICT: NAMWALA

CHIEFDOM: .....

GENDER: F [ ] M [ ]

1. What are your full names? .....
2. How many families are under your leadership of this village? .....
3. Of all the families in this village, are the heads of the households all registered voters?  
.....
4. Voting is a democratic right of all eligible citizens. What do you understand by the term voting/election?.....  
.....
5. Of the registered adults and youths in this village, did they all take part in the 2016 general election? If no, why didn't they participate in the election? .....  
.....  
.....
6. During the 2016 general election, how was the turn up for the registered voters to cast their ballot?.....
7. If not very good give reasons for voter apathy.....  
.....  
.....
8. Prior to the 2016 general elections, were there any conflicts that were experienced in the chiefdom?  
.....  
.....

9. If yes, what might have caused the conflicts? .....

.....

10. On the actual day of elections, were there any challenges encountered by electoral officers and the people in the chiefdom? If yes, give the reasons .....

.....

.....

.....

.....

11. Were there any conflicts faced after the announcements of the results of the poll? If yes, what caused those problems and what were the effects of those problems?

.....

.....

.....

.....

12. What possible measures do you think can be put in place to prevent the electoral conflicts that were heard to have had occurred during the 2016 general election here in Namwala district?

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.....

13. Suggest any possible measures to what the government must do to combat electoral conflicts?

.....

.....

Thank you very much for your cooperation and responses given. God richly bless you.

**APPENDIX C: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDES FOR THE YOUTHS**

PART A: DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

PROVINCE: SOUTHERN

DISTRICT: NAMWALA

CHIEFDOM: .....

GENDER: MALES [ ] FEMALES: [ ]

**PART B: GUIDING QUESTIONS**

DATE: .....

1. What do you understand by the term election? .....  
.....  
.....
2. In which year were the general elections held? .....
3. Are you registered voters? .....
4. Where was the registration of voters done? .....
5. Was voter education conducted within the chiefdom? If Ans is 'YES', what do you understand by the term voter education? .....  
.....  
.....
6. Did you participate in the previous general election? If Ans is NO, explain why? .....  
.....  
.....
7. Are there any challenges that you encountered during the :
  - (a) Registration of voters .....  
.....
  - (b) During the campaign period .....
  - (c) When voter education was being conducted .....
  - (d) On the actual day of voting and .....



(e) After voting

.....

(f) At the announcement of results of the poll? .....

8. If YES is given to the questions above, participants be allowed to state their challenges.

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.....  
.....  
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.....  
.....

9. What were the causes of these challenges mentioned above? .....

.....

10. From the above difficulties experienced, what do you think were the negative impacts of these challenges?

.....  
.....  
.....

11. What do you feel and suggest can help mitigate and stop the challenges?

.....  
.....  
.....

Thank you very much for taking active part in this research and answering the questions so diligently and honestly. May the good Lord Bless you all.

**APPENDIX D: Researcher's Introductory Letter**



**UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA - ZIMBABWE OPEN UNIVERSITY  
(UNZA-ZOU)**

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Email: [director-ide@unza.zm](mailto:director-ide@unza.zm)

P.O. Box 32379  
LUSAKA, ZAMBIA

DATE: 29<sup>th</sup> July, 2018

Dear Sir/Madam

**RE: CONFIRMATION OF STUDY**

Reference is made to the above subject.

This serves to confirm that SAKA FLORENCE of NRC Number 15815917811 and computer number 716813456 is a bonafide student of the University of Zambia in collaboration with the Zimbabwe Open University (UN ZA-ZOU).

The student is pursuing a Master of Science in Peace, Leadership and Conflict Resolution Programme and that he/she will be carrying out a research on INVESTIGATING THE CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF THE 2016 POST-ELECTORAL CONFLICT IN NAMWALA DISTRICT OF ZAMBIA'S SOUTHERN PROVINCE.

Any assistance rendered to him/her will be greatly appreciated.

Prof. Boniface Namangala (PhD)  
**DIRECTOR  
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