

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL

ESTABLISHING A MINISTRY OF PEACE IN ZAMBIA

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DECLARATION

I Bernard Lyoba Chilufya declare that

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ABSTRACT

Zambia faces extensive conflict and violence of both direct and structural types. The qualitative and quantitative indices provided by the Global Peace Index (GPI), the Human Development Index (HDI) and the Gender Disparity Index (GDI) confirm that Zambia needs a control shift permeated with tools of peacefulness that will move the country from a culture of violence to a culture of peace and non-violence.

The focus of the dissertation is one way of trying to build sustainable peace in the world and in particular Zambia by creating structures within government circles, specifically by establishing a Ministry of Peace that will work to transcend violent conflicts while working alongside a Peace Education Commission (PEC), Peace Research Commission (PRC) and an independent Conflict Resolution and Mediation Commission (CRMC). The aim of such a ministry is to help change the mindset of the people of Zambia from a culture of violence towards to a culture of peace and non-violence.

The dissertation discusses possible objections to a Ministry of Peace and proposes a strategic plan for establishing a Ministry of Peace in Zambia. Two focus groups were selected to provide a very small sample of Zambians the opportunity to comment on the idea of establishing a Ministry of Peace in Zambia.

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Ethical Clearance

ABBREVIATIONS

ACC	-	Anti Corruption Commission
ACD	-	Armed Conflict Dataset
AI	-	Amnesty International
ANC	-	African National Congress
BBC	-	British Broadcasting Corporation
BICC	-	Bonn International Centre for Conversion
CRMC	-	Conflict Resolution Mediation Commission
CNN	-	Cable News Network
CSO	-	Central Statistics Office
CSO	-	Civil Society Organisations
DEC	-	Drug Enforcement Commission
DRC	-	Democratic Republic of Congo
EIU	-	Economist Intelligence Unit
EFA	-	Education for All
FDG	-	Focus Group Discussion
GDP	-	Gross Domestic Product
GDI	-	Gender Dimension Index
GEM	-	Gender Empowerment Index (measures)
GI	-	Gini Index
GPI	-	Global Peace Index
HDI	-	Human Development Index
HDR	-	Human Development Report
HPI	-	Human Poverty Index
HIPC	-	Highly Indebted Poor Countries
HSB	-	Human Security Brief
HSR	-	Human Security Report
HSC	-	Human Security Centre
IISS	-	International Institute of Strategic Studies

Milex	-	Military Expenditure
MMD	-	Movement for Multiparty Democracy
MoP	-	Ministry of Peace
NGO	-	Non Governmental Organisation
PRIO	-	Peace Research Institute Oslo
PEC	-	Peace Education Commission
PRC	-	Peace Research Commission
SAP	-	Structural Adjustment Programme
SADC	-	Southern Africa Development Community
SIPRI	-	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
SSA	-	Sub-Saharan Africa
UCDP	-	Uppsala Conflict Data Programme
UDI	-	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
UN	-	United Nations
UNCHS	-	United Nations Commission on Human Security
UNCJS	-	United Nations Criminal Justice System
UNDP	-	United Nation Development Programme
UNESCO	-	United Nations Education Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNIP	-	United National Independence Party
NODC-	-	United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime
WTO	-	World Trade Organisation

CHAPTER 1

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Direct and structural violence are common worldwide and there seems to be a widespread belief that violence can end or at least control them. Paige (2000) claims that both violence-accepting politics and political science, in the last century, have failed to suppress violence by violent means and that the study of government and international politics has been unable to lay the groundwork and methodology for policy advice that goes to eradicating the root causes of violence by resolving conflicts non-violently. The direct violence that has been expected to liberate, protect, and enrich the social welfare of the people has become instead a source of insecurity, impoverishment, economic failure and threat to human and planetary survival.

The time has come for a paradigm-shift. If tradition has taught that we must kill to be free, equal and secure, the present should teach that unless we stop killing not only freedom and equality are in jeopardy but our very own survival be it individual, social, and ecological is imperilled (Paige, 2000). One aspect of such shift is the adoption of the concept of human security, which is centred on security for people rather than states (United Nations Commission on Human Security [UNHCS] 2003^a). The UNCHS addresses not only the threats posed by direct forms of violence, such as war, terrorism and crime, but also poverty and environmental pollution, violation of human rights, discrimination and lack of access to education and sanitation. These are all issues that seriously impact the safety and dignity of human beings.

The focus of the dissertation is one way of trying to build sustainable peace in the world, and in particular Zambia, by creating structures within government circles, specifically by establishing a Ministry of Peace to help change the mindset of the people of Zambia from a culture of violence towards to a culture of peace and non-violence.

1.2 Explanation of key terms

1.2.1 Conflict

There is no agreed upon definition of the term conflict for the reason that it is contextual in connotation and denotation. Coser (1964) says that the term conflict is generally accepted as an ever present process in human relations though many people are at a loss in dealing with it. In other terms conflict is inevitable but must be managed for optimal group maintenance. Its frequency is tangible in daily, public, and private life. Juergensmeyer (2002) observes that conflict can be triggered by ethnic, racial, religious or economic differences or arise from differences in values, beliefs, and attitudes regarding issues.

Kent (1993:376) describes conflict as an incompatibility of preferences in a situation with different possible outcomes. To comprehend this definition we have to substantiate the significance of the words incompatibility, preference, situation and outcome. Preference refers to choices or the inclination an entity would like to take among the possible results of the state of affairs. For Wilmot (1998: 21-23) the preference can either be an introspective (inner) conflict or a conflict with others' thematic focal point. An inner or internal conflict is a psychological dilemma that makes it not easy for an individual entity to make a choice e.g. choosing between two colours of the same vehicle or shirt. In line with Kent (1993:176-180), the choice of preference may derive from wants, needs, goals, objectives, ideologies, positions or values and morals in relation to identity, freedom, survival and well-being of an entity involved in the conflict.

In line with the definition, humanity come across diverse types of conflicts so much that one needs to decipher the basic elements of each particular conflict, distinguished either by the number of entities involved in the conflict or the kind of conflict at hand (Kent,1993:178). Conflict, according to Tillett (1999: 96), is essential for positive change and development. For example, it helps to define, sharpen issues and improve quality of decisions among community groups. That is why in our everyday life endeavour we encounter disagreement, difference of

opinion, disputes, and many other emotional experiences; what is essential is how we manage and decide to resolve the conflict before it becomes verbal assault and irreparable damage to individual egos. Murshed (2002:400) observes that conflict is an everyday occurrence and is hence inevitable but how we resolve it is what escalates violence or peacefulness.

1.2.2 Violence

The term violence is so complex and multifaceted that there is no agreed definition among scholars because it cuts across different disciplines. Isenhardt (2000) observes that violence has many forms; it can occur in nature such as natural catastrophes or it can be caused by human agents resulting in environmental degradation, structural, economic, cultural and self inflicted violence. It is the failure of peacefully managing a conflict that ends up in doing harm to others in pursuit of ones own interest and preferences, as has been the experience in war torn countries like Somalia, Sudan, Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), the civil war in Afghanistan (1995) and the invasion of Iraq (2003).

When violence is initiated into any conflict it immediately changes the nature of that conflict. According to Mead (1940:32-35), violence puts ablaze all the worst aspects of human nature. It chokes off human wisdom, and blinds humanity to the possibilities by which s/he might actually resolve the conflict amicably. Unlike conflict, violence involves the use of force – be it physical, psychological, cultural or economic – and/or any other power used to injure damage, destroy or kill in order to defeat or win over an opponent (Chetkow, 1997:5-23). Kent (1993:382) explains that physical or direct violence is behaviour or an act involving direct force intended to deter, inflict pain and even kill. The act is horrific in nature and its brutality and atrocities usually get peoples' attention; people notice it (unlike structural violence) and often respond to it. Physical/direct violence is therefore tangible because it occurs in time and space; perpetrators and victims are known and identified, such as warlords or refugees, respectively.

Structural violence is any constraint on human potential resulting in the poor majority suffering chronic lack of basic needs because of unjust and exploitative social systems (Toh, 1987: 11). This type of violence does not hurt or kill like direct/physical violence but rather exterminate

life in the course of social structures that produce poverty, enormous suffering and consequently cause many deaths (Galtung, 1969). The process is slower, more subtle, more common and more difficult to undo with no clear identifiable perpetrators by comparison with physical or direct violence (Kent, 1993:176). Structural violence is embedded in social structures like economic systems, institutions and policies that oppress/disadvantages people culturally, politically, legally and economically.

Galtung (1969:166) asserts that though non physical, structural violence is evident at societal level when systematic shortfalls begin to surface via reduction of the quality of life of the people through poverty, infant mortality, maternal mortality, infectious preventable disease, and shortened lifespan. Paraphrasing Harris (2004:33-35), other good examples of structural violence are unequal access to healthcare, clean water and sanitation and legal representation; exclusiveness; economic inequality; miles instead of social welfare, discrimination, injustice, cronyism, nepotism and exploitation of man by man. We can therefore curb structural violence by ending or removing structural injustices.

Mites (2005) draws a distinction between economic and political violence. He asserts that economic violence can easily be noticed in material incentives like lack of food, shelter and money and is exacerbated by corruption, and poor policies that plunge people into poverty, disease and misery. It is a tactic used to control and maintain power by preventing financial resources, skills, knowledge and undermining the citizenry the opportunity to become economically independent. This is commonly evident when low-income people turn to government for help (www.bvomoney.com/2009/03/19/domestic). Political violence is the suppression of nonmaterial goods like depriving the citizenry their rights, freedoms and duties.

Cultural violence refers to the excuses or justifications used to legitimise violence in its direct or structural form (Galtung 1990). This is demonstrative daily in automotive traffic, sports, smoking, and in war where defying death without dying is conveniently designated as courage. We can therefore reduce cultural violence by changing the attitudes, behaviours and beliefs of

people from violence to peaceful means. Because of the tendency of managing conflicts violently, as has been the experience in the past centuries, the concept of maintaining peace has evolved from a culture of violence and war into conceptual developments like negative peace – the absence of war and positive peace – the presence of justice (Klare, 1996: 355). Up until now, the UN has been preoccupied with intervening in violent conflict and then do post-conflict peacebuilding.

1.2.3 Cultures of Violence/Cultures of Peace

The type of violence identified in section 1.2.2 together result in a culture of violence, eight characteristics of which are listed in the left hand column of Table 1-1. In the right hand column are the alternative components of a culture of peace and non violence that can replace the key components of the culture of war and violence.

Table 1-1: The dichotomy between a culture of peace and a culture of violence

CULTURE OF PEACE	CULTURE OF VIOLENCE
-------------------------	----------------------------

Promotes understanding, tolerance and solidarity	Uphold enemy images
Democratic participation/ principles	Authoritarian governance
Encourages disarmament	Armament (military)
Free flow and sharing of information and knowledge	Control of information with Secrecy and propaganda
Dialogue, negotiation, rule of law, active nonviolence	Conflict settled by violence
Equality of women	Male domination
Education for all	Education for war
Economies of peace with equity and sustainable development	Exploitation of the weak and natural resources

Source: Adams (2005)

The philosophy of the culture of peace was first inspired by an educational institution called *Cultura de Paz* in 1986 in Peru (Adams, 2003:1) and motivated by the 1986 *Seville statement on violence*, which stated that war is not determined by genes or violent brains or human nature or instincts but that war is a social cultural invention and that the same species that invented war is capable of inventing peace (Adams, 1989; Anon, 1986; UNESCO, 1986). During the 52nd and 53rd session, the United Nations resolutions A/52/15 and A/53/25 (UN, 1998; 1999) declared the year 2000 as the International Year of Peace and the decade 2001-2010 as an International Decade for the Culture of Peace and Nonviolence for the Children of the World.

Dumas (2004) emphasises that the philosophy of the Culture of Peace borders on sustainable development, environmental protection and values life and dignity of each person and rejects all forms of violence. To illustrate attention to the importance of the philosophy of the culture of peace, the UN resolution A/52/13 (UN, 1998) defined the culture of peace as involving:

.. values and behaviours that reflect and inspire social interaction and sharing based on the principles of freedom, justice and democracy, all human rights, tolerance and

solidarity, that reject violence and endeavour to prevent conflicts by tackling their root causes to solve problems through dialogue and negotiation and that guarantees the full exercise of all rights and the means to participate fully in the development of their society.

The culture of peace is therefore a set of values, modes of behaviour and ways of life that rejects violence (nonviolence attitude) and prevents conflicts by resolving root causes that attract violent behaviour among individuals, groups and nations (UN resolution A/53/243, 1999; 2000). Adams (2000:262) believes that the transition from one culture to another culture is a process that depends on particular historical, socio-cultural and economic contexts. To help peace and non-violence to prevail, the United Nations (UN 1998, Res. A/52/243) launched eight action areas to help build a culture of peace:

- To foster a culture of peace through education by revising the education curricula to promote qualitative values, attitudes, and behaviours of culture of peace
- To promote sustainable economic and social development by reducing economic social inequalities, eradicating poverty and assuring sustainable food security ... empowerment of women and environmental sustainability...
- To promote respect for all human rights
- To ensure equality between men and women through full participation of women in economic, social and political decision making and elimination of all forms of violence against women...
- To advance understanding, tolerance, and solidarity in order to abolish war and violent conflicts and overcome enemy images among all peoples and cultures
- To support participatory communication and the free flow of information and knowledge
- To promote international peace and security.

The philosophy of the culture of peace is, therefore, a concept that inspires the work of individuals, groups, organizations and institutions around the world whose actions correspond to those of the UN resolution A/53/243. It aims at addressing the root causes of violent conflict; thus preventing its emergence. In short, the key to the culture of peace is the transformation of violent competition into cooperation of shared goals, or a way of managing conflict through the sharing of processes of development (Boulding, 2001:57).

1.3 Overall objective and specific aims

The overall objective of this dissertation is to demonstrate the relevance and significance of establishing a Ministry of Peace in Zambia. The specific aims, which this dissertation addresses, are as follows:

- To examine the extent to which Zambia is a 'peaceful nation'
- To propose the relevance of building a culture of peace in Zambia by establishing a Ministry of Peace
- To counteract opposing ideas to the creation of the ministry
- To plan for the establishment of a Ministry of Peace in Zambia.

1.4 Overview of the dissertation

Following this introductory chapter, chapters 2 and 3 gives an historical overview of the political, economic, and social background of Zambia and establishes trends, inclinations and nature of violence and conflict in the Zambian context. It exposes the extent to which Zambia is a peaceful nation visiting the Global Peace Index. Chapter 4 proposes building of a culture of peace through the establishment of a Ministry of Peace with three major components – the Peace Education Commission (PEC), the Peace Research Commission (PRC) and the Conflict Resolution and Mediation Commission (CRMC). It discusses possible objections to a Ministry of Peace and suggests a strategic plan for establishing a Ministry of Peace in Zambia. Chapter 5 reports the findings from two focus groups of Zambians about the efficacy of a Ministry of Peace.

CHAPTER 2

THE ZAMBIAN CONTEXT

2.1 Introduction

By the end of the 20th century, various ethnic groups were largely established in the areas they currently occupy in Zambia. Today, the Zambian demography comprises 73 Bantu ethnic groups speaking more than 73 dialects. The predominant religion is a blend of traditional beliefs and Christianity. Expatriates, a majority of whom are British, live mainly in Lusaka and on the Copperbelt. Zambia also has a small but economically important Asian population, most of whom are Indians.

In the first 15 years of independence (1964-1979), Zambia recorded huge increases in literacy and health but 30 years later, the social situation is rather depressing. For example, education has receded so much that adult literacy rate is only at 68% of the adult population (Anon, 2003^b). Poverty levels have increased from 69.7% in 1991 to about 80% in 2009 (Anon, 2009). Poverty levels have reached 83% while the HIV/AIDS has devastated many a family. Over 800,000 children have lost one or both of their parents due to HIV/AIDS (Simutanyi: 2004:8; Anon, 2003^b). Access to health care is poor coupled with a critical shortage of essential drugs especially in rural health centres. While government policy is to exempt the payment of user fees, there is lack of knowledge about the facility and very few people are taking advantage of it (UN, 2003^b). Despite having abundant natural water resources, less than 40% of the population has access to clean water and sanitation (Simutanyi: 2004:6). These are examples of structural violence.

2.2 Political context

The British colonised Zambia in 1924 and created the federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1953. This ignited resistance to British rule (Kaunda, 1964:18). The major figure in Zambian politics, among many, has been the United Nations Independence Party (UNIP) led by Kenneth Kaunda. In 1961, the British Secretary of State of Colonies proposed a constitution for Zambia, which would guarantee African control. The white settlers pressured him into altering it to give them control. Kaunda threatened to 'paralyse' the colonial government and called for peaceful protests that turned out to be violent uprisings and sabotage. This upheaval was called the *cha cha cha* (Kaunda, 1964). The British government eventually amended the constitution to give Africans a small majority in the parliament. In 1962 elections were held and the African National Congress (ANC) and UNIP formed a coalition, in a transitional government, while the colony prepared for independence.

In January 1964 UNIP won an election and Kaunda became Prime Minister. In the same year Alice Lenshina, head of the Lumpa church, led a rebellion. Kaunda used direct violence to suppress it and about 700 people were killed. Authoritarian nostalgia by the Kaunda regime gave rise to political instability and regionalism while the declaration of a one party system, in 1973, brought in resentment to those who supported multiparty system (Pettman, 1976).

Trouble started in 1972 when UNIP abrogated the 1964 constitution and declared a one party participatory democracy constitution that outlawed other political Parties from participating in politics. This move fuelled opposition to a one Party democracy and agitated the birth of Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) in 1990 (Shweder, 2000: 7-9). After lengthy difficult negotiations UNIP amended the constitution to provide for a multiparty system. Presidential and Parliamentary elections were held on 31st October 1991 and MMD emerged the winner with a majority representation in parliament (David, 2008:109).

Since then, the electoral process– from the time of registration of voters to the time of announcing the winner – has encountered numerous administrative problems and accusations. For example, the 1996 political intolerance became rife while violence became predominant

with critics and opponents being harassed and intimidated; opposition politicians were routinely detained on trumped up charges; they were denied access to media and suffered an indiscriminate application of the Public Order Act (Erdmann 2003).

Relying on the MMD's overwhelming majority in parliament, President Chiluba in May 1996 pushed through constitutional amendments that eliminated former President Kaunda from the 1996 presidential elections. Journalists were harassed, detained and their organisations dragged to court for carrying stories that named those in power (Simutanyi: 2004:2).

In 2001, supporters of President Chiluba mounted a campaign to amend the constitution to enable him to seek a third term of office (Taylor, 2006:76-102). Civil Society Organisations (CSOs), opposition parties, and many members of the ruling party exerted sufficient pressure on Chiluba to force him to back away from any attempt at a third term bid. This dispute resulted in conflicts within the MMD leading to the creation of 11 splinter parties from MMD (Simutanyi: 2004:6-10). The quandary gave birth to regionalism and tribalism in Zambian politics.

The December 27, 2001 general elections encountered numerous administrative problems and opposition parties alleged that serious irregularities occurred. Nevertheless, Levy Mwanawasa, having gathered a plurality of the vote (29%), was declared winner with a minority representation in parliament. The narrowness of margins provoked debate on the desirability of the First-Past-The-Post system in presidential elections. The CSOs called for the reform of the electoral laws to ensure that a president is elected by 51% of the vote. Opposition political parties in Zambia remain weak and fragmented because they lack institutionalisation, policy alternatives, organisational presence and remain dependent on personality of party leaders for finance and patronage.

2.3 Economic context

At independence, Zambia faced challenges ranging from few trained and educated personnel to run government affairs and the economy while most of her neighbours were under colonial rule and/or fighting a civil war (Kaunda, 1964). Her support for liberation movements in neighbouring countries and South Africa necessitated the closure of borders, making it impossible to access both the Indian and Atlantic oceans for trade. This prompted the Zambian government to build a road network and a railway line to Tanzania in order to have access to the Atlantic Ocean.

In the mid 1970s, copper prices, Zambia's principal export, suffered a severe decline worldwide. Zambia turned to foreign and international lenders like the IMF and the World Bank to make ends meet. In 1991, the annual inflation rate averaged 189%, firms lacked foreign currency to import raw materials, and most State companies operated below capacity and/or over-employed labour. Her GDP per capita at \$US730, in 2000, was rated among the highest in the world (Anon, 2003^a:180).

In the process of redressing the economy her foreign debt increased from a modest \$US3.3 billion in 1980 to \$US7.2 billion in 2001 (World Bank, 1980-2002). The debt became unsustainable and debt service obligations adversely affected the country's ability to redirect resources to productive areas.

In 1992, through the advice of the IMF, the country adopted the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP). This was accompanied by specific conditions, some of which have been socially harmful to the country, such as suspension of public spending on public sector wages and allowances to meet the Highly Indebted Poor Countries Initiative (HIPC) completion point. Wide scale retrenchments and redundancies within the workforce took place and majority of the country's population went into destitution, absolute poverty and untimely deaths. Other conditions were to liberalise the economy by maintaining real interest rates and eliminating exchange controls. The process of liberalising the economy brought with it numerous problems; it lacked transparency, thereby offering for sale firms without collateral and experience; while

allegations of corruption characterised the administration. Nevertheless, in 2005, Zambia qualified for debt relief under the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative, consisting of approximately U.S. \$6 billion

Regardless of achieving single-digit inflation rate at 8.9% in 2007 and rapid GDP growth, poverty continues to be a significant menace in Zambia. This can be seen from statistics on life expectancy at birth (41.7 years) while maternal mortality is at 729 per 100 000 pregnancies. Economic gains have failed to reach people's pockets and households (UNDP, 2006; Ministry of Finance, 2003^a; 2009). In 2009, high inflation, currency appreciation, and restricted access to capital are likely to dampen Zambia's economic due to the global economic crisis and the fall in copper prices. Decline in work productivity and rising educational and medical costs are other issues that need attention. The poor can neither afford to go for medical treatment nor send their children to school even though free education for the first 7 years and free medical care in rural areas has been introduced. School dropout rate has risen mainly due to poverty and HIV/AIDS, posing a major challenge to education and the future of the youth in Zambia.

On gender related issues, David (2008:30-32) maintains that women in Zambia continue to occupy a low socio-economic status exacerbated by discriminatory laws.

2.4 Contemporary conflicts in Zambia

George (2002:5) observes that conflict necessitates and encourages democratic consolidation and pluralistic governance in many countries. In the Zambian context, conflict has brought about change in politics, for example, it has dictated constitutional change, the emergence of new leaders and political parties. The passion for freedom propelled independence movements to wage an underground campaign to gain independence and chatter for their own political, economic, social and cultural destiny. In response, the colonial administration introduced oppressive legal instruments like the Public Security Act and the Public Order Act.

The dream of making a constitution that will stand the test of time seems to occupy the political debate in Zambia. A number of Constitution Review Commissions have been constituted but to no avail, casting doubt and credibility of any New Constitution. Poor governance, lack of transparency and poor policies has been prevalent in Zambia since independence. For example, during the One-Party State (1973-1990) most cases of corruption involving high level public officials were not reported. While action was often taken on senior public officials, they were often rehabilitated and reappointed to high office (Erdmann 2003). Zambia has not lacked institutions to fight graft. These include offices like the Auditor- General, the Anti-Corruption Commission (ACC), Drug Enforcement Commission (DEC) and Police. While operationally independent these watchdog institutions lack sufficient financial independence and often answer to politicians' dictates. For example, it is not uncommon for a case to be discontinued as a result of intervention of very senior government officials (Simutanyi: 2004).

The consequential effects of conflicts mentioned above can be traced in Zambia's economic maladministration, rapid urbanization and high crime levels. Other obvious examples are the rise in drug abuse, class and/or ethnic distinction, power struggle and more palpable corruption resulting in low standards of living, illiteracy, lack of basic food stuffs, acute shortage of essential commodities, poor social infrastructure, civil disobedience stagnation of workers' salaries and untimely deaths; neither can we deny the fact that many a Zambian are becoming aggressive, frustrated and distressed and that many more live in fear and anxiety (Mites, 2005).

Though it seems Zambia's media and information is becoming increasingly diverse, largely as a result of the growth of private radios in outlying rural provinces most newspapers have collapsed due to high operational costs, lack of consumer marketing research and poor management. Some have collapsed as a result of persecution from State authorities and high compensation claims. The majority of Zambia's population have no access to the diversity of information and the media in that more people are yet to make effective use of the media to advance their objectives (Mites, 2005). The Government's monopoly of the public media has

continued to discourage public debate on matters of political significance. Coverage remains a problem and many television and radio stations and tabloids do not reach a wider audience due to government restrictions resulting in most radio stations only broadcasting music, with limited personal interviews. Serious in-depth analysis and feature stories are absent (Simutanyi: 2004:7).

Despite good economic policies, meaningful development strategy is hampered by corruption and serious governance issues linked to the problems of excessive presidential powers and lack of accountability and transparency. Zambia is currently ranked among the most corrupt countries in the world on the Transparency International Index.

Although the country is a signatory to various international and regional human rights instruments, the country's human rights record leaves much to be desired. Human rights abuses, particularly of rights related to torture and inhuman and degrading treatment, freedom of association and assembly, disenfranchisement in elections and child abuse are recurring conflicts in the Zambian political life. Agencies such as the Permanent Human Rights Commission (PHRC) lack enforcement and prosecution powers, while government get away with human rights violations with impunity.

Law enforcement agencies tend to be brutal in their treatment of offenders and uncooperative to opposition political parties or groups perceived as being opposed to Government. The Zambian Bill of Rights contains a lot of derogatory clauses while social, economic and cultural rights provided in the Zambian constitution are not justifiable (Erdmann 2003:105-110). This leaves the citizenry completely helpless when dealing with State. For example, domestic violence, in Zambia, is rife. Domestic violence is a pattern of behaviour that is used to gain or maintain power through violence or physical abuse directed towards one's spouse or domestic partner; it is usually violence by men against their spouses (www.halifaxprosecutor.com/definitions.htm). About 80% of Zambian wives find it acceptable to be beaten by their husbands as a form of chastisement (CSO, Zambia, 2003). Women are still

abused and subjected to unequal cultural norms despite gender awareness and the fight against abuse of women. There is need to enhance gender awareness programmes as an aberration for women not to make moral abnormalities normal and to examine cultural values that legitimise domestic violence because violence in any form is a violation of human rights and must be prevented.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has suggested that there is extensive conflict and violence in Zambia, much of it structural, as explained in section 1.2.2. The next chapter will quantify this using the recently devised Global Peace Index.

CHAPTER 3

HOW PEACEFUL IS ZAMBIA? EVIDENCE FROM THE GLOBAL PEACE INDEX AND OTHER INDICES

3.1 The Global Peace Index (GPI) explained

The GPI ranks nations by measuring their absence of violence using matrix that combines both internal and external factors associated with the peacefulness of the nation. Its numerical value depends on how peaceful a country is with itself and other countries. Peaceful nations are characterised with very low levels of internal conflicts with efficient, accountable governments, strong economies, cohesive/integrated populations and good relations within the international community. The indicators reflect the incidence or absence of peace and contain both the qualitative and quantitative scores. The 24 indicators of the peacefulness of a nation are subdivided into three categories – measures of on-going domestic conflict, measures of safety and security in a country and measures of militarization. Each of the three categories is assessed using a number of qualitative and quantitative indicators, which are shown in the following three lists. The data discussed in this chapter all come from the Vision of Humanity website (<http://www.visionofhumanity.com>).

Measures of ongoing domestic and international conflict comprise five of the 24 indicators:

- Number of external and internal wars fought
- Estimated deaths from organized (external) conflict
- Estimated deaths from organized (internal) conflict
- Level of organized conflict (internal)
- Relations with neighbouring countries.

Measures of societal safety and security have 10 indicators which assess the levels of safety and security in a country. Crime data come from the UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC).

- Level of distrust in other citizens
- Number of displaced people as a percentage of population
- Political instability
- Level of respect for human rights (political terror)
- Potential for terrorist acts
- Number of homicides per 100 000 people
- Level of violent crime
- Likelihood of violent demonstrations
- Number of jailed people per 100 000 population
- Number of internal security officers and police per 100 000 people.

Measures of militarisation have nine indicators related to a country's military capacity. Data is drawn from sources such as the International Institute of Strategic Studies (IISS).

- Miles as a percentage of GDP
- Number of armed services personnel per 100 000 people
- Volume of transfers of major conventional weapons (imports) per 100 000 people
- Volume of transfers of major conventional weapons (exports) per 100 000 people
- UN deployments (as percentage of total forces)
- Non-UN deployments (as percentage of total forces)
- Aggregate number of heavy weapons per 100 000 people
- Ease of access to small arms and light weapons
- Military capability/sophistication

3.2 The Global Peace Index (GPI) and Zambia

Zambia's scores for the three years for which the GPI has been calculated – 2007, 2008 and 2009 – locate it as the ninth most peaceful country in Africa in 2009. This represents a fall in

rankings from sixth in 2007, despite the fact that the country's actual score had improved. In particular, it has low scores on the six militarization indicators. Relatively poor scores were achieved in political participation, inclusiveness, respect for human rights and corruption.

3.3 Other indices

3.3.1 The Human Development Index (HDI)

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) looks beyond the GDP of a country by focussing on the material well-being of the citizenry through the Human Development Index (UNDP, 2000). The HDI is measured on a scale of 0-1 with 0 being on the lowest level of human development and 1 on the highest. An HDI value of between 1 and 0.8 is regarded as a high level of human development; a value of between 0.799 and 0.5 is regarded as a medium level of human development, and a value of between 0.499 and 0 as a low level of human development (UNDP, 2003^a:44). The HDI may not necessarily reflect the GPI depending on the weighting value. The HDI therefore provides a prism for viewing human progress and the complex relationship between income and well-being of a country. It provides a measure of three dimensions of human development pointed out below;

- Living a long and health life: measured by life expectance through people with severe deprivation in people who are not expected survive the age of 40;
- Being educated: measured by adult literacy rate, enrolment at primary, secondary and tertiary level;
- Having a decent standard of living: measured by unweighted average of people without access to an improved water source and the proportion of children under age 5 who are underweight for their age and the purchasing power parity (PPP).

The 2007 HDI data puts Zambia at 164th out of 177 countries with a score of 0.481 and 12th out of 15 countries in the SADC region. Zambia's HDI score is among the lowest in the world. Most SADC countries are in the low level of HDI except for the Seychelles and Mauritius. Poverty is one cause of peacelessness but recent evidence (Wilkinson and Pickett, 2009) for developed

countries suggests that it is much less important than inequality. Zambia's Gini coefficient (the standard measure of inequality) is 50.7 which is a fairly high level compared to her SADC neighbours. A Gini value of 0 represents absolute equality and 100 represents absolute inequality. The score on the Gini coefficient has no direct bearing on the HDI.

3.3.2 The Gender Disparity Index (GDI)

The Gender Disparity Index (GDI) measures the achievements in the HDI but focuses on the inequalities in achievement between women and men. The greater the gender disparity in basic human development, the lower is a country's GDI in relation to its HDI.

The GDI value for Zambia is at 0.444 (UNDP, 2006). Using the HDI (0.453 in 2006), we can calculate the gender disparity in Zambia by dividing 0.444 (GDI) divide by 0.453 (HDI), giving a GDI of 98.0, implying that the country's GDI is very low (121st out of 157 countries).

The Gender Empowerment Index (GEM) reveals whether women take an active part in economic and political life. It tracks the share of seats held by women in parliament; of female legislators, senior officials and managers; and the gender disparity in earned income, relating to economic independence. Zambia is ranked 91st out of 108 countries in the GEM, with a value of 0.425 (UNDP, 2006).

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter has provided – from the GDP, HDI and GDI indices – quantitative evidence that supports the conclusion reached in chapter two. Zambians face extensive conflict and violence of both direct and structural types. The findings provide the rationale for establishing a Ministry of Peace, to which we now turn.

CHAPTER 4

A MINISTRY OF PEACE IN ZAMBIA

4.1 Introduction

The evidence presented in chapter 2 and 3 show that Zambians face substantial levels of conflict and violence. The question is what to do about it. The discipline of peace studies is based on a belief that while conflict is inevitable, violence and peace are choices (Murshed, 2002:400). Individuals and groups need to be educated in the ways of peace. This peace education will include motivation as well as building skills and will be very wide in space; it will occur within and outside schools. In short, it's about changing mindsets in the direction of culture of peace, as described in section 1.2.3.

The concept of the Ministry of Peace is therefore a vehicle to alternatives based on the culture of peace and nonviolence as envisaged by the UN resolutions A/53/243 and A/52/13 (see section 1.2.3). The essence is to develop constructive techniques, which use the better aspects of conflict to produce cooperation while avoiding physical harm and/or violence. This will require development of a new mindset towards conflict and violence. Peace education is critical in building this new mindset (Bar-Tal, 2002). Suter (1984:47-49) asserts that as a culture of peace slowly acculturates in the people's customs and traditions, the characteristics of a culture of violence will diminish, people will no longer accept violence and war as a normal way of

dealing with disputes and society will develop a culture based on universal values of respect for life, liberty, justice, solidarity, tolerance, human rights and equality between men and women.

4.2 Ministry of Peace initiatives worldwide

The earliest initiative recorded in the campaign for establishing a Ministry of Peace, according to Suter (1984:214), began in Australia in 1937 when the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom recommended for its creation in government. The United Kingdom had a Ministry of War during the first and second world wars but later established a Ministry for Disarmament between 1964 -1970 though it was later abolished by the new government (www.mfpdop.org; www.pnyv.org/index.php). In 2003 the UK introduced a private member's bill in the House of Commons for the establishment of a Ministry of Peace (www.thepeacealliance.org.main.html). The intent was to implement the programme of action outlined in the 1999 UN declaration on the International decade for culture of peace (see Section 1:3).

The Solomon Islands already have a Ministry of Peace (www.thepeacealliance.org.main.html). This was after experiencing organised violence during five years of social civil unrest (1998-2003) that the country introduced a Ministry of National Unity Reconciliation and Peace to promote reconciliation and full participation in the social, cultural and economic life of the citizenry (www.undp.org/go/newsroom/2009/a...). To this effect a Truth Commission has been constituted to help reduce tensions in the country.

In Nepal, civil society formed a peace movement known as Nepal Peace Initiative to lobby the government and the Maoist insurgents to end hostilities and asked the government to establish a Ministry of Peace at functional level. In 2005 a Ministry of Peace and Reconstruction was established to help rebuild the country after more than ten years of turmoil and serious human

rights violations (www.peace.gov.np/; www.aspectasia.org). Focus was based on various options used to address past human rights abuses and establish accountability and reconciliation.

Costa Rica abolished its army in 1948 and has been , arguably, one of the world's leading peacemaking nations. It became (in August, 2009) the third country in the world to declare the creation of a Ministry of Justice and Peace (<http://www.globalissuesjapan.blog.spot>).

The 1999 UN declaration of the programme of action on the culture of peace (A/Res/53/243) has energised and inspired the increasing powerful groups of the United Kingdom, Canada, the USA and many other countries like Japan, India, Brazil, Spain France, Italy and Germany through the Global Peace Alliance and other organisations (www.moja.go.jp/announce). In Canada, a working group for a Federal Department of Peace and other civil society groups have been in the forefront of campaigning for the introduction of the Ministry (www.cpnncanada.ca; <http://www.departmentofpeace.ca/global/ini>). In October 2009, a private members' bill was introduced for the creation of a Ministry of Peace which would train peace professionals in order to resolve violent conflicts within Canada and around the world (www.greenparty.com; http://www.pressenza.com/n_permalink/...).

In 2005, a private Bill was introduced in the US Senate to establish a Ministry of Peace at cabinet level but failed to reach the required signatories (218) for the case to be debated (www.usip.org; www.dop.org/minpeace). Advocacy has continued through the Student Alliance lobbying for a US Department of Peace to enhance peace education. It calls for the establishment of a Ministry of Peace to effectively and efficiently implement policies that would centralise and unify peacebuilding efforts domestically and abroad (<http://www.dopcampaign.org>).

At the NGO level, this initiative has spread to many countries including African countries like Nigeria, Uganda, Cameroon, Congo, DRC, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Senegal, Ghana, South Africa and Liberia (www.peacealliance.com; www.mfp-dop.org/campaigns.html). Uganda managed to

gather more than 3 million signatures in favour of establishing a Ministry of Peace in Uganda (www.corperatewatch.org). The establishment of a Ministry of Peace has reached an advanced stage through a private Bill in the DRC as well.

4.3 Objectives of the Ministry of Peace in Zambia

The major intent for the Ministry of Peace will be to help government bring about a just and peaceful society by developing policies, allocating resources and implementing to reduce violence and deal with the root causes of conflict. The Ministry of Peace will adopt the eight action areas for the culture of peace and nonviolence to guide its functions. The objective of the Ministry of Peace will be to implement and sustain education into principles of the culture of peace and nonviolence in the minds of the children of the world. This can be achieved by:

- Introducing curricula worldwide to promote qualitative values, attitudes and behaviour change in culture of peace
- Supporting Peace Studies as an academic discipline
- Training civil servants and security personnel in conflict resolution, dialogue and active nonviolence
- Training decision makers in skills needed to promote peace and nonviolence
- Produce and disseminate educational materials and textbooks on education for a culture of peace
- Providing an appropriate institutional framework e.g. community resolution and mediation centres.

Bar-Tal (2002:3) is convinced about the centrality of behaviour change which will follow the change in mindset. He asserts that changes in behaviour ultimately signal the achievement of peace education's objectives. This will entail the Ministry of Peace expertise on sustainable development and human security. Its specific objectives will include the following;

- To help spread the culture of peace and nonviolence by nurturing ideas of peace and intelligence of the people worldwide on the premise that people learn ways of

responding to conflict and many have learned violent responses but can unlearn them. This will require comprehensive educational, social and civic action.

- To help prevent violence in all its forms through constructive negotiations, effective mediation and reduction of military
- To help de-escalate and settle conflicts within and between countries through good governance and economic policies.
- To help manage conflict between individual groups through education in conflict resolution skills

Ian Harris (1999:11-25) emphasises that peace education is cardinal in conscientising and changing the mindset of people from kindergartens to tertiary level as a prerequisite in making the world more peaceful. To manage these activities, the Ministry of Peace will have to enhance domestic and global security by nurturing and building strong civil societies, and human resource base. This can be possible by establishing healthy and vibrant communities where human needs and community security would be met as a necessity and as a requirement rather than as an exception observes Suter (1984:50). Establishing a culture of peace in the minds of the children of the world corresponds with several UN declarations (A/53/370) reports and resolutions (<http://upo.unesco.org>; <http://www.culture-of-peace.info/annexes/declarations.html>) of which some are cited below;

- the Beijing Declaration and Platform of Action - 1985
- the Seville statement on violence – 1986
- the Hague appeal for peace and justice for the 21st c (UN ref/A/54/98)
- The concept of the culture of peace – 1989
- UNESCO'S programme for a culture of peace – 1992
- The first international Forum on international Peace – 1994
- Introduction to the concept of 'culture of Peace' – 1995
- Towards a Culture of Peace – 1997
- Proclaiming the decade 2001-2010 (A/53/25) – 1998
- Tashkent Declaration on Culture of Peace – 1998

- Declaration on the Culture of Peace (A/53/25) – 1999
- Article on the global movement for culture of peace – September 2000
- Declaration and programme of action for a culture of peace (A/RES/53/243)
- International decade for a culture of peace and non violence (A/55/282,28; A/55/377; A/55/47)
- International day of peace (A/56/349)

These articles and documents and many more support the idea that people can determine to live together in peace and unite their strength to maintain peace and security in the world. They provide practical conflict resolution tools to prevent and resolve conflict in politics, social, commercial and domestic environments and educate the public to participate in the development and implementation of solutions to local, regional and international issues (Salomon and Nevo (2002:33).

4.4 The specific functions of the Ministry of Peace in Zambia

The Ministry of Peace will not take over any of the existing functions of other government departments or bodies such as defence and security of a nation or Foreign and Home Affairs. This is in line with Suter's (1984: 45-50) concept of establishing a Ministry of peace. Instead the Ministry of peace will have the responsibility and right to 'offer a peace perspective' to other government departments and bodies on any current or proposed activity in which they are engaged, e.g.:

- Peace education and conflict resolution training in schools starting from kindergartens to tertiary level
- Peace education and conflict resolution training in the wider community such as the grassroots and civil servants
- Peace Studies in tertiary education institutions
- Proposing Peace initiatives to relevant government departments and bodies e.g. gun policy

- Provide much broader array of information for handling violent situations
- Drafting of strategies, policies and treaties.
- Training and mobilisation of Peacekeepers in nonviolent conflict resolution
- Training of Security personnel and Police in nonviolent conflict resolution
- Advocate for international day of peace and other UN days to be observed country wide and celebrate accomplishment of peace by honouring peace heroes
- Alert the nation and the government on how well the country is fairing on the GPI and advice ways of improving the country's peacefulness.

The Ministry of Peace would provide an institutional focal point for implementing the country's peace policy. Awareness of attributes of peace will provide politicians and decision makers with the tool to develop peace initiatives and to create and sustain peaceful society (UNESCO, 1994).

There are numerous local concerns the Ministry of Peace will have to address such as alternative security systems to build a peaceful Zambia; concentration on peace education at all levels; indoctrination of politicians, government officials, members of parliament, other notable entities can be the training of teachers, journalists, the intellectual community, the family, mergers in various levels and the civil society to embrace the culture of peace and consequently contribute to the formation of a peaceful world society. The Ministry of Peace in Zambia will therefore need to focus on how to devise constructive techniques that use better aspects of conflict to produce cooperation, protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms while avoiding physical harm or direct violence or use of armed forces. Suter (1984) advises that when the armed forces are called into action it means that the country has failed.

4.5 Three commissions within the Ministry of Peace

4.5.1 The Peace Education Commission (PEC)

The PEC will oversee and coordinate the central function of the Ministry of Peace – peace education. As we have noted, this goes well beyond school-based programmes, although these

will certainly be important. Nonviolent ways of bringing up children is arguably more important than building schools which are not peaceful in terms of curriculum, teaching methods and the wider school environment.

Recent studies have revealed that schools that focus on empathy and power dynamics reduce children's experience of aggression at school, increase social relationships, reduce disciplinary referrals and improve classroom behaviour and school performance in children (Fonagy, 2006). Schools, at all levels, should therefore, focus on creating a peaceful environment in order to reduce violence and build the freedom for exploration rather than tackling behaviours of individual erring students, pupils or children (www.education.gov.ck/index.php). This would help curb bullying, mockery, fighting and petty crimes and thereby promote educational attainment in schools. The positive behaviour that will be cultivated in the pupils will easily spill over into their respective communities (Twemlow, 2006).

4.5.2 The Peace Research Commission (PRC)

The Peace Research Commission (PRC) will provide the continually expanding evidence to show that conflicts between individuals, groups, communities, nations and regions can be resolved to, without resort to violence. The functions of the PRC will be to:

- Carry out initiatives, including those involving interpersonal, intergroup, and international conflicts and successful peacecraft world wide
- In collaboration with PEC, to develop nonviolent alternatives as a way of building security in Zambia
- Monitor the peacefulness of the country by examining the peace determinants or indicators on the GPI
- Carry out evaluations of peace initiatives

The PRC will be able to inform the minister in order that cost effective peacebuilding initiatives are undertaken. Through PRC, the Ministry of Peace will ensure that the country does not fall prey to military aspirations but lead the country to develop in posterity and nonviolence

decision making. Apart from being in liaison with the UN the PRC will plummet in line with the aims and objectives of the culture of peace which the UN advocates for (United Nations, 1998):

- Transforming values, attitudes and behaviours to those that promote a culture of peace and nonviolence;
- Empowering people at all levels with skills of dialogue, mediation, consensus building;
- Overcoming authoritarian structures, and exploitation through democratic participation and the empowerment of people to fully participate in the development process;
- Eliminating poverty and sharp inequalities within and between the nations, and promoting participatory, sustainable human development;
- The political and economic empowerment of women and their equal representation at every level of decision making;
- Supporting the free flow of information and widening transparency and accountability in governance and in economic and social decision making;
- Advancing understanding, tolerance and solidarity among all peoples and thereby celebrating cultural diversity. Each nation being rich in traditions and values has much to contribute and much to gain from the promotion of the culture of peace.

Adhering to these strategic aims the PRC will help prevent conflict and ensure freedom of future generations and a healthy natural environment. According to Kent (1983:205), issues of good governance, transparency, education for all, healthcare, economic growth are simply a recipe for creating a peaceful atmosphere in the country and this is what the Ministry of Peace will be encouraging.

It is with such a demeanour that Zambia will be better equipped to contribute to situations that could potentially lead to conflict and in due course contribute in the creation of an environment of global peace. Once the culture of peace is better understood and incorporated in the education syllabi, the future generation or leaders of society will become better equipped to generate a better Zambia and build peace in their working environment. For this reason, cause for a Culture of Peace through establishing a Ministry of Peace in Zambia is inevitable.

4.5.3 The Conflict Resolution & Mediation Commission (CRMC)

The PEC will train and educate the population in effective ways of handling the inevitable conflicts which arise. The Conflict Resolution and Mediation Commission (CRMC) will assist individuals and groups who for various reasons have not been able to resolve their conflicts. CRMC centres will be based in every community, as are schools and health centres, and will serve the needs of each community. The CRMC will oversee and support such centres; much like the Ministry of Health supports local health centres. One of the issues to which the CRMC will need to be sensitive is to avoid creating a culture of dependence. That is, people must be encouraged to use their skills and training in conflicts. The main functions of CRMC will therefore be:

- Promoting awareness of the effectiveness of non violent conflict resolution at grassroots level
- Establishing and supporting community centres for conflict resolution training and mediation throughout the country
- Encouraging existing conflict resolution work by civil society
- Devising training and accreditation programmes for conflict resolution trainers and mediators.

4.6 Possible objections to establishing a Ministry of Peace

Two likely objections which might be raised to the establishment of a Ministry of Peace are that it will duplicate work of the existing ministries and civil society organizations and it will be costly to introduce

On the first, the fact is that different ministries have divergent objectives and goals but the same ministries consult and depend on other line ministries for them to make credible and informed decisions e.g. the Ministry of Education cannot give bursaries to deserving students unless the Ministry of Community Development and Social Welfare authenticates because the ministry directly deals with the orphans and the poor in society; another good example is that the ministry of Justice- where judges and magistrates belong- will depend on the ministry of Home Affairs to dispose of its cases in that the police department will have to provide credible

evidence in court against the accused. Therefore, overlapping or duplication of work should be seen in terms of networking, cooperation, and team work and not otherwise. In fact, the aim of the Ministry of Peace will be to encourage efforts of other line ministries and give advice with reference to the implementation of the eight action areas of the culture of peace in its portfolio.

A second and more important comment on overlapping is that many of the tasks which the Ministry of Peace will perform through its commissions are either not being done at all by existing ministries and CSOs, or are being done to a limited extent. These are challenges to peace outlined in chapters 2 and 3 which are not currently being addressed.

On financial constraints, the argument might be that no new ministry should be established unless it contributes to the immediate alleviation of poverty among the poor of the poorest in Zambia. This claim is far fetched. No ministry has managed to alleviate poverty or has Zambia ever come up with a national budget without the anticipation of donor assistance. The Ministry of Peace, when established, will have to come up with a strategic plan to be incorporated into the budget for the fiscal year and a specific period of time. The government will pledge what it can afford and ask for the short fall from donors. Indeed many donors may be very willing to support the establishment of the Ministry of Peace. Nordic countries in particular, and also New Zealand, have a long history of positive collaboration between civil societies and government on peace initiatives such as integration of peace studies in schools, establishing restorative justice systems and establishing public advisory committees on disarmament and arms control. (www.departmentofpeace.ca/global/ini). New ministries, by the way, are created. Zambia created a new Ministry of Gender in 2007.

4.7 Strategic planning to establish a Ministry of Peace

For the Ministry of Peace to be effective, relevant and efficient to the people there is need for it to devise a strategic plan that will source for finances, human resource and guide the ministry in its implementation of the culture of peace. Sharp' s advice (2003:40) is that strategic

planning increases the likelihood that all available resources will be mobilised and employed most effectively. Like any other ministry it is important for the Ministry of Peace to work out its vision, mission, principles, targets and resources in the Zambian context.

4.7.1 Vision

A Zambian society imbedded in principles of the culture of peace embroiled in promoting peace and preventing violence and resolving conflicts violently.

4.7.2 Mission

The Ministry of Peace that will implement the eight action programme areas of the culture of peace and nonviolence and set tools to developing individual and collective behaviour focused on building effective peace infrastructures ranging from the Ministry to the grassroots level communities in the nation.

4.7.3 Principles

The UN resolution 52/13 has outlined the essential principles of the culture of peace which the Ministry of Peace can emulate:

- Respect for human rights
- Democracy and tolerance; human security and positive peace
- The promotion of integral and holistic development
- Education for peace or peace education
- The free flow of information
- The wider participation of women, empowerment and inclusiveness
- Peace transformation
- Non-violent and nonviolence communication

These aspects are the fundamental basics for nonviolence to take hold and they need to be integral to the way the Ministry of Peace operates. One example – under the free flow of information – is that no MoP document or data should be withheld from the public.

4.7.4 Targets

A strategic plan involves targets and often the development of quantitative performance indicators. These could be something like the following:

- To reach out to 70 000 primary and secondary school teachers in conflict resolution skills by the year 2020 through in-service training.
- To train 1000 teachers and introduce a teacher training course syllabi in peace education in all teacher training colleges by the year 2015
- To distribute education material in peace education to 50 0 000 students and pupils and ensure that a syllabus is introduced in peace education in all primary and secondary schools by the year 2015
- To devise training and accreditation programmes to Conflict Resolution Mediation Centres (CRMC) and mediators in all nine provinces by the year 2015.
- To train, build and staff 3000 CRMCs peace leaders in Conflict Resolution skills countrywide such as the civil servants and grassroots by the year 2020.
- To reach out to all MPs, Political leaders, and decision makers in skills needed to promote peace and non violence through dialogue, mediation and consensus building by the year 2011.
- To train 100 000 security personnel and police in non violent Conflict Resolution skills through in-service training by the year 2020.

4.7.5 Resources

In order to meet these targets we will need resources of human, financial and material. Human resource will be sourced from those trained in conflict resolution, accounts and social sciences.

Financial resources, we have suggested, will come from the government, the donor community and partners that support the creation of Ministries of Peace worldwide.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter has elaborated that the establishing of a Ministry of Peace is a concept that is slowly unfolding in many nations. Creating one in Zambia will require a well set strategic plan for the creation of the ministry. This brings us to the primary data component of the dissertation – to show the opinions of a sample of Zambians concerning the creation of a Ministry of Peace in Zambia.

CHAPTER 5

WHAT SOME ZAMBIANS THINK ABOUT A MINISTRY OF PEACE

5.1 Introduction

This chapter moves from the use of secondary data to primary data collection designed to ascertain what a sample of Zambians feel about the concept of a Ministry of Peace. It begins with a discussion of focus group discussion (FGD) methodology as a way of collecting qualitative data. Examples of successful studies that have used FGDs are outlined, followed by my experience with FGDs and the resulting data.

5.2 A description of focus group methodology

The origin of FGDs dates back to the 1920s when forms of group interviews were used for limited purposes by social scientists to quickly gather information efficiently (Colucci, 2007:1455). Since then FGD have increasingly become a popular method of research in various academic fields. Many articles are published today in Social Science Journals using FGD methodology (Colucci, 2007:1423). The basis of FGD is transcripts, tapes, field notes and observation of the interaction between a group of people. Even if there is no direct agreement on the basic form of FGDs basic functions are largely accepted.

FGD are unstructured interviews with small groups of people who interact with each other, to a lesser extent, and the group leader in a carefully planned discussion designed to obtain perceptions on a defined area of interest in a permissive non threatening environment (Bowling, 2002:394; Kitzinger, 1994:103; Kreuger, 1994:6). Lindlof and Taylor (2002:182) assert that FGD methodology is a form of qualitative way of following a line of investigation in which a

group of people is asked for their opinions regarding a particular topic. Marshall et al., (1999) identify eight variant forms of FDGs:

- Two way focus group: – one focus group watches another focus group and discusses the observed interactions and conclusions
- Dual moderator focus group: – one moderator ensures the session progress smoothly, while the other ensures that all the topics are covered
- Duelling moderator focus group: – two moderators deliberately take opposite sides on the issue under discussion
- Respondent moderator focus group: – one or more of the respondents are asked to act as the moderator temporarily
- Client participant focus group: – one or more client participants representatives participates in the discussion, either covertly or overtly
- Mini focus group: – groups are composed of four or five members rather than 6 to 12
- Teleconference focus groups: – telephone network is used
- Online focus group: – Computers connected via internet are used.

Parker and Tritter (2006) advocate using the FGD methodology as it helps examine public opinion and unearth underlying issues, norms beliefs and values that are familiar to the lives of the participants. FDGs are inexpensive, results are quick, and give the opportunity of increasing sample of material for research by talking to several people at once (Marshall et al., 1999:155).

However, focus group methodology has its problems, disadvantages and criticisms. Tracy et al. (2006) points out that time can be lost on irrelevant issues to the disadvantage of the researcher. The other disadvantage is that it may be difficult to analyse comments and contributions if the moderator is not well conversant with the issue at hand. The approach must be systematic, sequential and verifiable; it requires time and seeks enlightenment. Analysis and interpretation of complex group interaction can be time-consuming, and there is a limited literature on the practical and systematic analysis of FGD data. More cardinal is that the number comprising the focus group is not representative enough to sample for the whole

population (De Vos, et al., 311-132). Rushkoff (2005:67-96) argues that this methodology is therefore 'useless ...with focus groups often aiming to please rather than offering their evaluations ... with data often cherry picked to support a foregone conclusion.' In addition, the discussions in a particular FGD depend not only on the individuals that make up the FGD but also on the dynamics of the group as a whole.

5.3 Two focus groups discussing the Ministry of Peace

This research used focus groups of about 6 to 8 participants from two different localities within Zambia. The same questions were presented for discussion to both groups. The first group (Lusaka Focus Group) comprise a group of NGO workers in Lusaka, the capital city of Zambia. The second focus group (Kawambwa Focus Group) was conducted in a rural area of northern Zambia in Kawambwa District, Luapula Province. The members of this target group were teachers at one school – St Mary's Secondary School. The idea was to investigate their opinions about the Culture of Peace and about the need for a Ministry of Peace in Zambia. The groups, but not the individuals, were purposively selected as being able to discuss the topic at hand and were expected to articulate their perceptions, thoughts, and impressions and provide useful data. Ethical clearance was granted through the relevant committees of University of KwaZulu-Natal.

The FGDs were introduced by a brief comment by the researcher, who then fed five questions into the groups at appropriate points of time. The introductory comment and questions are reproduced in the following box.

Introduction

Zambia faces extensive conflict and violence of both direct and structural types. There is need for a control shift permeated with tools of peacefulness that will move the country, Zambia, from a culture of violence to a culture of peace and non-violence.

A culture of peace is a set of values and modes of behaviours and ways of life that rejects violence and prevents conflicts by resolving root causes that attract violence behaviours among individuals, groups and nations. It inspires social interaction and sharing based on principles of freedom, justice and democracy that reject violence and endeavour to prevent conflicts by solving problems through dialogue and negotiation that guarantees the full exercise of all rights and means to participate fully in the development of their society.

In line with the above definition and explanation:

Q1. Do you think Zambia needs to focus on building a culture of Peace

Q2. Do you think that establishing a Ministry of Peace would be an effective way of building a Culture of Peace?

Q3. What do you see as the most important functions of the Ministry of Peace?

Q4. Can you think of any objections to having a Ministry of Peace in Zambia?

Q5. Can you think of ways in which a Ministry of Peace can be started in Zambia?

5.4 The results

Given the very small sample size, the responses are in no way representative of the Zambian populace and should be interpreted accordingly. The Lusaka FGD had 5 male and 3 females coming from different renowned Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) in Zambia. The Kawambwa FGD comprised 10 participants 2 females and 8 males. Both FGDs were held between November 30th 2009 and December 10th 2009. No refreshments or incentives were offered or given to the participants apart from assuring them that their names will not be recorded nor revealed. The Lusaka FGD took an hour while that of Kawambwa took about 2 hours. Both discussions were held in the afternoon when everybody was free from their routine work. The researcher recorded both discussions and took notes wherever necessary.

The most distinct result from the FGDs was the conviction that Zambia has a passive culture for the most part and by nature Zambians are peaceful people. Therefore, they do not necessarily need to focus on building a culture of peace as it already exists.

Kawambwa FGD participant: *'I don't think Zambia needs to. The Culture of Peace already exists. By nature Zambians are a peaceful people.'*

The Lusaka FGD agreed that Zambia is generally peaceful and that it does not have a culture of violence. They echoed the need for Zambia to focus on nurturing and not necessarily building the Culture of Peace.

When it came to whether establishing a Ministry of Peace might be an effective way of building a Culture of Peace in Zambia, the two FGDs categorically stated that such a move was not feasible and realistic for various reasons. Some of the reasons mentioned were:

Kawambwa FGD participant: *How easy is it to justify this ministry in a country like Zambia and what would be its functions given that Zambians are generally peaceful to the point of being docile.*

Lusaka FGD participant: *The formation of a Ministry of Peace can be feasible in countries coming out of war like DRC, Rwanda, Burundi and Angola.'*

Lusaka FGD participant: *I do not feel it is a bad idea though I feel that establishing one in Zambia would be a waste of resources as the objectives can be realised by religious bodies, CSOs and NGOs.*

Kawambwa FGD participant: *Such a move is a sheer waste of tax payers' money. I think the idea can be integrated and handled by already existing Ministries like the Ministry of Home Affairs and other line ministries.*

As discussion went on, participants in both FGDs agreed, through the intervention of the researcher, that nurturing a Culture of Peace in Zambia was a priority but insisted that a new Ministry at cabinet level was not necessary.

In responding to the question about objections to establishing a ministry of peace participants, having implicitly exhausted most of their points on the objections to establishing a Ministry of Peace in Zambia questions 1, 2 and 3, added the following sentiments:

Kawambwa FGD participant: *Just puts more taxation on tax payers, the common worker gets to pay for this*

Lusaka FGD participant: *It is unnecessary as the nation really doesn't need it. On one hand it would be a waste of resources while on the other hand, as is, I think that the cabinet structure is too big, more ministries than we know we wouldn't know what to do with them.*

As indicated, participants moved somewhat during the FGDs to favour nurturing a Culture of Peace in Zambia but not to establishing a Ministry of Peace. It was suggested that some research be done into what NGOs and religious bodies are involved in regarding the area on the Culture of Peace. If it is found that there is already something on the ground, then there would be need to try and work with those bodies on how best objectives can be realised.

Another interesting point raised was that the president has the authority to create governmental departments as he sees fit, subject to the constraints on that power built into the constitution. Hence, such a ministry can be established at the president's pleasure.

5.5 Discussion

The primary goal of the study of the responses to the FGDs was to investigate the perception of Zambians on the philosophy of changing from a Culture of Violence to a Culture of Peace and their immediate reaction to establishing a Ministry of Peace in Zambia. The results from the two FGDs show broad agreement that Zambia needs to nurture a Culture of Peace in the minds of the people but not through establishing a Ministry of Peace. Rather, it was felt that enhancing the existing structures (if they are there) was the appropriate way forward. They questioned the relevance of such a ministry at cabinet level but agreed to having an organ to nurture the Culture of Peace especially through CSOs and NGOs.

Participants were quick to assert at the beginning of the FGDs that Zambia is a peaceful country that does not need to move from a culture of violence to a culture of peace. However, as chapters 2 and 3 indicated, there are indeed many aspects of conflict and violence in Zambia. Pre-election political violence is one.

On reflection, the opposition to a MoP was not surprising. Participants began with a narrow definition of conflict and violence which, as FGDs methodology allows, they were able to widen during discussion. To put it simply, there was a lot about the MoP which the participants did not understand. A longer explanation may have reduced this lack of understanding.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has given some ideas of how some Zambians perceive the philosophy of the culture of peace and how readily they are to accept establishing a Ministry of Peace. Having collected enough primary and secondary data on the relevance of establishing a Ministry of

Peace in order to enhance the Culture of Peace in the Zambian citizenry, the researcher is now able to give an informed conclusion in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

6.1 Overview

The overall objective of this dissertation has been to demonstrate the relevance and significance of establishing a Ministry of Peace in Zambia. The specific aims, which this dissertation has addressed (see section 1.4) are:

- To examine the extent to which Zambia is a peaceful nation.
- To propose the relevance of building a culture of peace in Zambia by establishing a Ministry of Peace
- To counteract opposing ideas to the creation of the ministry
- To plan for the establishment of a Ministry of Peace in Zambia.

6.1.1 To examine the extent to which Zambia is a peaceful nation

The GPI for 2009 generally shows that Zambia is 59th out of 140 nations even though she is of one of the most peaceful countries in Africa. This calls for improvement in all three categories of the 24 indicators. Zambia has to improve her GPI results especially in political participation, inclusiveness, respect for human rights and corruption. We cannot rate Zambia to be a peaceful nation with all these negatives on the GPI. The question we have to ask ourselves is why Zambia has not performed well in inculcating the culture of peace and nonviolence in the minds of its citizenry. The Zambian government is much more acquainted with the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) than the eight action areas for the Decade for the Culture of Peace for the Children of the World. The probable reasons for this are that achieving of MDGs will give political mileage to the ruling party in that the MDGs directly appeal to the needs of the citizenry. The MDGs are tangible and visible; they can be easily measured and monitored by the electorate unlike the culture of peace and nonviolence. The culture of peace and nonviolence by contrast, is a life time experience. The change of attitude in the children of the world may

not be realised in mathematical terms because the culture of peace and nonviolence would have been slowly embellished in the minds and customs of the Zambian populace. What is measured in this area is the peacefulness of the nation that points to how well the culture of peace has been indoctrinated in the society. The MDGs will help change the wellbeing of the people and but may do little to stop the violence that the culture of peace advocates for. To envisage the culture of peace and the MDGs as competitive is not helpful. Development needs a foundation of peace and development promotes peace.

The culture of peace involves a shift in the national mindset of such significance that it can only be met if it becomes a national policy and not necessarily a party political agenda. In short, the Zambian government requires great political-will in building a culture of peace and nonviolence through the establishment of the Ministry of Peace. The country currently does not even observe the International Peace Day or the UN day that falls on 21st September and 24th October respectively as it does to other UN observation days.

6.1.2 To propose the relevance of building a culture of peace in Zambia by establishing a Ministry of Peace

The Ministry of Peace, at cabinet level, is the appropriate body to implement a culture of peace in Zambia. We say this because a minister at cabinet level will be focused on ensuring that the principles and goals of the culture of peace are met with efficiency and diligence to prove to the nation that the portfolio is necessary in the nation. The minister responsible will see to it that policies and governance in the nation adhere to the radical philosophy of the MoP:

- Redefining power not in terms of force but active non-violence
- Mobilising people not to defeat an enemy but in order to build understanding, tolerance and solidarity
- Replacing hierarchical structures that characterise violence by a democratic process that engages people in decision-making at all levels and empowers them by the victories they make

- Replacing secrecy and control by those in power by participatory democracy
- Transforming the male dominated culture of war and violence into a culture acknowledging and building upon special skills that women bring to the peace building process, with women at the centre emerging from it.
- Replacing oppression of all kinds by cooperation and sustainable development for all

6.1.3 To counteract opposing ideas to the creation of the Ministry of Peace in Zambia

A focus group discussion reported in chapter five revealed that most Zambians are not in favour of establishing another ministry in Zambia. The main objections included the following:

- A culture of peace already exists in Zambia.
- Culture of Peace objectives can be realised by using the existing religious bodies and NGOs.
- Establishing a Ministry of Peace would be a waste of resources; its activities could be integrated and handled by an already existing ministry, .e.g. the Ministry of Home Affairs.

Many of the objections were specifically discussed in chapter 4, before the FGDs were conducted. The Ministry of Peace will not take over other ministries or integrate with any but will try to encourage efforts of other line ministries by giving them advice with reference to the principles and implementation of the eight action areas of the Culture of Peace (see section 4.6 and 4.7.3). The fact is that many of the tasks which the Ministry of Peace will perform are not being done at all by existing ministries or CSOs, or are being done to a limited extent. There are many challenges to peace outlined in chapters 2 and 3 which are not currently being addressed. Hence, integrating the goals and objectives of the Culture of Peace in other line ministries does not suffice.

6.1.4 To plan for the establishment of a Ministry of Peace in Zambia.

A first step in establishing a Ministry of Peace in Zambia, a strategic plan has to be drawn up. The strategic plan will help the Ministry of Peace to remain on course from its inception thought out its mission. The various components of this strategic plan were discussed in section 4.7.

6.2 Conclusion

The overall conclusion of this dissertation is that the Ministry of Peace in Zambia is desirable and feasible. Its establishment will require a brave decision and sustained effort. To paraphrase Albert Einstein, you can't bring about radical change by using old methods. An entirely new approach is needed and the Ministry of Peace is such an approach.

Establishing the culture of peace through the Ministry of Peace in Zambia seems to be bleak. Little has been done by NGOs apart from the Peace Foundation for Africa which celebrated 100 days peace which started on 13th June and ended on 21st September 2007 in Kitwe. The organisation discussed and debated about the notion of peace and encouraged the youth to be peace builders and preach the message of peace, love and unity. But nothing has been done since then. There is no NGO fostering a culture of peace and nonviolence though plenty of them are advocating for justice and peace. However, the Catholic Church has a well established justice and peace commission in Zambia. The commission has different departments operating under it like the economic justice unit, jubilee 2000, paralegal and many others. Each department has national and provincial coordinators to help dissemination information to the same grassroots country wide. This may provide a network through which the culture of peace can first be introduced in Zambia.

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