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**THE IMPACT OF ELECTORAL-RELATED VIOLENCE ON THE
PRACTICE AND STATE OF HUMAN SECURITY IN AFRICA: AN
ANALYSIS OF THE ZAMBIAN CASE (2011-2021).**

Master's Thesis

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Dedication

I dedicate this work to my late mother, and my friends; Burcu, Nang'andu, and Steve, whose thoughts of them kept me on my feet to run my course and scale through the hurdles of my academic pursuit. To my supervisor, Dr. Melek Saral, for the countless ideas, brainstorming sessions and unwavering guidance that kept me going.



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Abstract in English

This study examines the impact of electoral violence on human security in Zambia from 2011 to 2021, employing a human security framework. Electoral violence, encompassing incidents such as clashes, intimidation, and loss of life, poses significant threats to democratic processes and human well-being. Through analysis of interview data, key themes—political security, community security, personal security, health security (including emotional and psychological well-being), and economic security—are identified, illuminating their implications for human security in Zambia. The findings depict a complex landscape where electoral violence jeopardizes personal security and undermines democratic processes and societal stability. Urban and peri-urban areas, such as Lusaka and the Copperbelt, are focal points of incidents, driven by population density, socio-economic challenges, and political tensions. These dynamics exacerbate volatility during electoral cycles, influencing Zambia's societal fabric and political landscape. Furthermore, the study underscores the crucial link between political stability and economic security, illustrating how electoral violence impedes inclusive economic policies and social safety nets. It highlights the severe impact on mental health, with widespread fear, anxiety, and stress among citizens further compromising human security advancing human security both in Zambia and beyond.

Keywords: Electoral violence, Human security, Zambia, Democratic processes, Social Cohesion and Political stability.

Türkçe Özet

Bu çalışma, insan güvenliği çerçevesini kullanarak 2011'den 2021'e kadar Zambiya'da seçim şiddetinin insan güvenliği üzerindeki etkisini incelemektedir. Çatışma, gözdağı ve can kaybı gibi olayları kapsayan seçim şiddeti, demokratik süreçlere ve insan refahına yönelik önemli tehditler oluşturmaktadır. Çalışma anket verilerinin analizi yoluyla, siyasi güvenlik, topluluk güvenliği, kişisel güvenlik, sağlık güvenliği (psikolojik refah dahil) ve ekonomik güvenlik gibi temel temalar belirlenerek bunların Zambiya'daki insan güvenliğine etkileri aydınlatmaktadır. Bulgular, seçimlerdeki şiddetin kişisel güvenliği tehlikeye attığı, demokratik süreçlere ve toplumsal istikrara zarar verdiği karmaşık bir manzarayı ortaya koyuyor. Lusaka ve Copperbelt gibi kentsel ve kent çevresi alanlar, nüfus yoğunluğu, sosyo-ekonomik zorluklar ve siyasi gerginliklerin yol açtığı olayların odak noktalarıdır. Bu dinamikler, seçim döngüleri arasındaki oynaklığı artırıyor ve Zambiya'nın toplumsal dokusunu ve siyasi manzarasını etkiliyor. Ayrıca çalışma, seçim şiddetinin kapsayıcı ekonomi politikalarına ve sosyal güvenlik ağlarına nasıl engel olduğunu göstererek siyasi istikrar ile ekonomik güvenlik arasındaki önemli bağlantının altını çiziyor. Vatandaşlar arasındaki yaygın korku, kaygı ve stresin, insan güvenliğini daha da tehlikeye atarak, hem Zambiya'da hem de ötesinde insan güvenliğini ilerletmesiyle birlikte ruh sağlığı üzerindeki ciddi etkiyi vurguluyor.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Seçim şiddeti, İnsani güvenlik, Zambiya, Demokratik süreçler, Sosyal Uyum ve Siyasi istikrar.

List of Abbreviations

<i>Abbreviation</i>	<i>Definition</i>
HS	Human Security
UN	United Nations
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNIP	United National Independence Party
UPND	United Party for National Development
PF	Patriotic Front
ZANC	Zambian African National Congress
ANC	African National Congress
MMD	Movement for Multiparty Democracy
SACCORD	Southern African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes

SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programmes
IMF	International Monetary Fund
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
HRBA	Human Rights-based Approach
EVP	Electoral Violence Prevention
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weapons
CMCs	Conflict Management Committees
UNZA	The University of Zambia
TIZ	Transparency International Zambia
PSZA	The Political Science Association of Zambia

KIIs	Key Informant Interviews
BSAC	The British South Africa Company
UFP	The United Federal Party
NPP	The National Progressive Party
UP	United Party
UPP	The United Progressive Party
MPs	Members of Parliament

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Introduction

Africa, with its diverse tapestry of nations and peoples, has made significant strides in democratization over the past few decades, with many countries holding regular elections as a means of transitioning towards more inclusive and accountable governance. However, since the democratic waves that hit the African region between the immediate post-independence period and the early 1990s, democratic elections had been paralleled by violence, conflicts and war (Animashaun, 2020: 19). The African continent's witnessed turbulent history of elections marred by violence, instability, and threats to critical facets of human welfare has spanned to the continent's electoral processes in the 21st Century affecting at least between 19 and 25 percent of elections (Bekoe, 2010: 1). Electoral-related violence, characterized by acts of intimidation, coercion, physical harm, and even loss of life, continues to challenge not only the democratic aspirations of African nations, but equally the cornerstone frameworks of human welfare including the security of citizens (Abifarin and Bello, 2017: 52). In this context, African electoral cycles pose various challenges for the practice and condition of human security and the Republic of Zambia serves as a compelling case study for understanding the intricate dynamics and consequences of electoral violence on the practice and state of human security within the African context.

Zambia, often celebrated for its relative political stability in the region, serves as an intriguing case study to explore the impact of electoral-related violence on human security. While Zambia has largely avoided the large-scale conflicts and civil wars that have plagued some of its neighbouring countries, it has not been immune to electoral violence and its ramifications. Over the past decade, Zambia has experienced a series of elections a period marked by political contestation, electoral violence, and concerns about the safety of

citizens. The years 2011 to 2021 were particularly significant, with multiple general elections, by-elections, and local government elections that saw the country navigating complex political terrains. These elections were characterized by heightened political tension, protests, allegations of electoral malpractice, and incidents of violence that raised serious questions about the relative political stability of the country and safety of the citizens (Kawila et al., 2023: 35).

Understanding the dynamics of electoral-related violence in Zambia is of paramount importance, not only for the Zambian people but also for the broader African context. In this regard therefore, this study seeks to examine the impact of electoral-related violence on the practice and state of human security in Zambia with a particular focus on the period from 2011 to 2021. It aims to comprehensively analyse the various dimensions of electoral violence, ranging from pre-election violence to post-election repercussions, and assess their implications for the well-being and security of the Zambian population. It seeks to understand what forms of electoral-related violence were prevalent in Zambia from 2011 to 2021, and how these electoral-related violence impacted the practice and state of human security during this period.

The existing literature on electoral violence in Zambia primarily focuses on the concept, causes, victims, impact and prevention mechanisms (Wahaman, 2020; Kawila., et al., 2023; Phiri and Hamauswa, 2017; Lyoba, 2009; Magasu, 2016). Nevertheless, the question as to how electoral violence affects the practice and state of human security is inadequately addressed. In this light, this study sets out to contribute to the existing literature on electoral violence by answering the question on how electoral violence affects the practice and state of human security in Zambia by providing a nuanced analysis of a country that has experienced both political stability and episodes of electoral violence within the same timeframe. Through this comprehensive analysis, the study aims to contribute to a better understanding of the intricate relationship between

electoral related violence and human security in the African context. The significance of this study lies not only in its contribution to the academic discourse on electoral violence and human security but also in its potential to offer valuable insights into the challenges and opportunities for improving and promoting peaceful elections and preserving the dignity and safety of African citizens in an increasingly turbulent political landscape. In answering the research question, the study employs a case study methodology by way of combining both primary and secondary data collection methods.

Problem Statement

Zambia, despite its commitment to democratic principles, has experienced instances of electoral violence during the period spanning from 2011 to 2021 (Bratton et al., 2017: 4; Siachiwena, 2021: 34). These occurrences of electoral-related violence within the Zambian political landscape appear persistent, presenting an imminent threat to the foundational principles of democratic governance and the overall state of human security. The repeated instances of violence, ranging from intimidation and harassment to physical altercations and more severe acts, have systematically undermined the pillars that support a secure and thriving society. The repercussions of this violence have rippled across the fabric of Zambian life, disrupting not only physical safety but also deepened regional polarization (Sichone and Wahaman, 2021: 1).

This pervasive atmosphere of insecurity has further eroded citizens' trust in the Zambian democratic processes, impeding their ability to exercise their rights freely and actively participate in shaping their nation's future. The erosion of trust in electoral processes is particularly alarming, as it threatens the legitimacy of elected officials and the overall stability of the democratic system (ibid: 1). Moreover, the socio-economic impacts are profound, with electoral violence leading to economic disruptions, displacement of communities, and long-term

psychological trauma among the affected populations (Phiri and Hamauswa, 2017; Zulu, 2022: 8; Muluubya, 2020: 8).

Amid these adversities, the imperative to conduct an extensive and meticulous examination of the nature, scope, and aftermath of electoral-related violence becomes undeniable. This study endeavours to delve deeply into the intricate web of implications that such violence weaves across the spectrum of human security.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to shed light on the profound and often overlooked consequences of electoral violence on human security, offering a comprehensive analysis of its impact in the Zambian context. By undertaking this comprehensive analysis, the study seeks to illuminate the true magnitude of the impact that electoral-related violence has had on the lives of Zambian citizens. Through an exploration of its far-reaching consequences on physical safety, socio-economic stability, psychological well-being, and the democratic ethos, this research aims to provide critical insights that will lay the groundwork for informed interventions and policies that can safeguard and improve human security, fortify democratic institutions, and foster a climate conducive to the flourishing of Zambian society.

Further, through empirical examination and analysis, the study aims to contribute to the discussion on the impacts of electoral violence in academia and policy, highlighting the interplay between political dynamics, societal harmony, economic stability, and human security in Africa. By integrating the critical theory of human security and human security vulnerability assessment indicators, the study seeks to offer provide a nuanced understanding of human security during and outside of election periods.

Significance of the Study

Electoral processes are critical components of democratic societies, allowing citizens to express their preferences and choose their leaders through peaceful and participatory means. However, in many regions, including Zambia, electoral-related violence has emerged as a significant concern that threatens not only the integrity of the democratic process but also the fundamental human security of the population. Zambia, like many other countries, has experienced instances of violence before, during, and after electoral cycles. Recent electoral-related violence has encompassed a wide range of activities, such as clashes between political factions, intimidation of voters and candidates, destruction of property, and even loss of life (the Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project (ACLED) 2015; Aljazeera 2016; the Commonwealth, 2022; Ministerial Statement, 2019). These incidents have not only undermined the principles of democracy and governance but also have had far-reaching consequences for human security – a concept that encompasses freedom from fear and want, as well as the protection of individuals and communities from violence, crime, and various forms of insecurity.

Studying human security in the context of electoral violence is a matter of significant importance. The human security approach places the well-being and safety of individuals at the centre of international discourse and policy by envisioning to achieve people's freedom from fear, want and the freedom to live in dignity (United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security, 2017: 13). At the least, it helps to address challenges stemming from and resulting in persistent conflicts, marginalization and abject poverty (ibid). It strengthens societies, and builds social cohesion by breaking down threats that otherwise pit people against each other to survive (United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security, 2018: 2). At base, it ensures to guarantee a set of vital rights and freedoms to all people, without unduly compromising their ability to pursue other goals and

keeps critical pervasive threats from invading the vital core of human lives (Alkire, 2003: 2). It tackles insecurities together, comprehensively securing people's safety in all aspects of their lives, have the income and opportunities to attain well-being, and secures full respect of their rights and dignity (United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security, 2018: 2). Studying human security in the context of electoral violence is essential because it safeguards human lives, protects democratic processes, preserves social stability, and contributes to sustainable peace and development. It should take centre stage because it upholds fundamental rights, fosters justice, and ensures a safer, fairer, and more stable world which are all threatened by electoral violence.

While there is a rich body of research on electoral violence (Brosche et al., 2020; Wahaman, 2020; Westminster Foundation for Democracy (WFD), 2021; Kawila et al., 2023; Mukonto, 2021; Mukonto, 2019) and its political implications on the various aspects of the Zambian society (Cheeseman and Klaas, 2018; Bleck and Walle, 2019; Phiri and Hamauswa, 2017; Shamazubaula, 2022; Magasu, 2016; Wahman and Goldring, 2020), research on the intricacies of human security and electoral-related violence has received less to no attention. This has left an enormous research gap in both the academia and policy. This study therefore, aims to bridge this gap by comprehensively examining the relationship between electoral-related violence and human security, taking into account the multifaceted dimensions of security, such as personal safety, political participation, social cohesion, economic stability, and access to essential services.

As the urgent need for this study arises from the recurring challenges posed by electoral-related violence for the practice and condition of human security in Zambia, it bears significant benefits. The research will not only contribute to the existing gap in academic knowledge but also provide insights into actionable ways that can assist electoral authorities, civil society organizations, and government agencies in improving electoral violence prevention and mitigation

mechanisms, foster political stability, and strengthening human security in Zambia. It will further offer a comprehensive understanding of the multifaceted impacts of electoral violence on human security in Africa, shedding light on the unique Zambian context.

This thesis is arranged in five consecutive chapters. The first chapter that immediately succeeds the introduction presents the conceptual analysis and review of literature. The second chapter outlines the research methodology employed to investigate the impact of electoral-related violence on the practice and state of human security in Zambia. The third chapter gives Zambia's historical contexts that have shaped the country's contemporary state. The fourth chapter presents and discusses the findings of the study in relation to the impacts of electoral-related violence on the practice and condition of human security in Zambia, and gives an overview of concluding remarks of the research study.

CHAPTER ONE: CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS, CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1 Introduction

Exploring the ramifications of electoral-related violence on human security in Africa, specifically within the Zambian context from 2011 to 2021, necessitates a thorough conceptual examination to establish a robust foundation for the study's comprehension. This chapter presents the conceptual analysis and the reviewed literature of the study. It begins with a conceptual analysis, delving into the core concepts of electoral violence and human security to establish a solid foundation for understanding their intricate dynamics. The literature review chapter expands on this, examining the multifaceted interplay between violence/electoral violence and human security. Drawing from a diverse range of sources, including scholarly works, policy discussions, academic articles, and empirical studies at global, regional, and country levels, the review synthesizes existing knowledge to provide a nuanced understanding of the complexities surrounding violence and the association of its consequences on human security. This comprehensive analysis sets the stage for the subsequent examination of the Zambian case, offering insights into the challenges faced and the potential implications for the well-being and safety of individuals.

1.2 Conceptual Analysis

1.2.1 Electoral Violence

Comprehending electoral-related violence requires a thorough comprehension of political violence while recognizing their unique

characteristics, given their frequent entanglement within the wider scope of political turmoil. This intertwining often complicates the clear differentiation between the two. Therefore, prior to outlining the construct of electoral-related violence, a necessary step involves elucidating the nuances differentiating it from political violence. According to Raleigh (2015: 1), political violence encapsulates the exertion of force by a group driven by political motives or objectives. He extends his depiction of political violence to encompass a spectrum of actions, spanning from aggression directed towards civilians to instances of remote violence. Additionally, he incorporates rioting, constituting violent demonstrations, and protests, representing non-violent demonstrations, within this purview (ibid: 2). Höglund and Jarstad (2010: 2) echo this expansive view, incorporating electoral violence as a distinct manifestation within the spectrum of political violence.

In essence therefore, electoral violence delineates itself from the expressions of political violence through a fusion of temporal and motivational elements. Temporally, it is characterized by its occurrence within the electoral timeline, encompassing the period surrounding elections. Its primary objective lies in exerting influence on the electoral process itself, ultimately aiming to sway or manipulate the outcome of the election (Höglund, 2009: 417). Electoral violence is therefore typically associated with specific periods around elections, such as during campaigns, voting, or the announcement of results. Its timing is directly linked to the electoral process, aiming to influence or disrupt the election's outcome (Alston, 2010: 4-6). It is a subset of political violence. On the other hand, political violence is not necessarily confined to electoral timelines; it can occur at any time and is not exclusively linked to elections. Its motives often extend beyond influencing election results and can be driven by broader political aims, grievances, ideologies, or power struggles within a society or among political groups (Piazza, 2022: 2-4, Ajil, 2020: 3). So, in terms of timing, electoral violence is closely tied to election periods, while political

violence is the broader spectrum and can occur independently of electoral cycles and is motivated by a broader range of political factors at any given time.

As a concept, electoral violence remains a multifaceted notion within electoral literature, lacking a singular, universally accepted definition. This lack of consensus extends to the lexicon used to address it, making the concept somewhat elusive. According to Laakso's (2007: 227) observation, electoral violence is defined as a deliberate engagement driven by the motive to influence the outcome of elections. This influence may manifest through various means, including the manipulation of electoral procedures, interference with participation, or challenging the legitimacy of election results. In essence, Laakso underscores the multifaceted nature of electoral violence, emphasizing its intentionality in disrupting the electoral process and shaping electoral outcomes. For Fischer (2002: 4), electoral violence is “any harm or threat of harm to any person or property involved in the election process, or the process itself, during the election period”. Sisk (2009:4) offers a more expansive definition of electoral-related violence, characterizing it as any acts or threats involving coercion, intimidation, or physical harm directed toward influencing the electoral process or emerging within the context of electoral competition.

In additional significant scholarly literature, Bardal (2016: 7) adopts a rights-based definition to categorize electoral violence as a specific form of political violence aimed at restraining or suppressing an individual or group's access to participation in political procedures and establishments. This suppression involves employing emotional, social, or economic pressure, coercion, as well as physical and sexual harm as means of control or oppression. Correspondingly, within the discourse of the United Nations Development Programme (2016), electoral violence as a facet of political violence frequently orchestrated to manipulate electoral outcomes and thereby influence the distribution of political power.

For Birch et al., (2020), they take a microscopic definition of electoral-related violence seeing it as a complex phenomenon influenced by institutional weaknesses, societal divisions, and international dynamics. It often emerges in contexts where democratic institutions are fragile, during highly competitive elections, or in societies with deep ethnic or political divides. The violence can take various forms, including physical attacks, intimidation, and psychological abuse, often with distinct gendered patterns. International interventions, such as election monitoring, can influence the occurrence and nature of this violence, sometimes mitigating it but also displacing it.

In light of the diverse interpretations within the electoral scholarship regarding the nature of electoral-related violence, this study adopts a comprehensive conceptualization. Electoral-related violence, as understood within this framework, refers to any form of violence, coercion, suppression or intimidation that occurs in the context of electoral processes such as elections, campaigns, or political rallies to alter electoral outcomes and/or goals. Primarily occurring during elections, campaigns, or political rallies, it extends beyond physical assaults to encompass a range of actions aimed at undermining the integrity of the electoral process including threats, harassment, and even electoral fraud or manipulation. It aims to influence or disrupt the electoral process, often targeting candidates, infrastructure, voters, or election officials in hopes of altering an electoral outcome.

1.2.2 Human Security

In response to criticisms directed at the conventional notion of national security, the emergence of the concept of human security marked a transformative milestone in development and security dialogues. Its inception within the United Nations Development Programme's influential 1994 Human Development Report represented a paradigm shift. Since its introduction, human

security has undergone significant evolution, asserting its indispensable role in shaping multifaceted developmental frameworks within the social sector (United Nations Development Programme, 1994: 3).

The pivotal nature of this concept lies in its dual-faceted definition, as outlined in the report. Firstly, it prioritizes the protection of individuals from persistent and enduring threats, encompassing the fundamental necessities of life, such as combating hunger, disease, and repressive conditions. Secondly, it extends its scope to safeguarding communities from sudden, disruptive events that inflict profound harm on their daily existence (ibid). This inclusive approach highlights the imperative of shielding against disruptions that can erode the stability and well-being of entire societies.

Seen as an indispensable prerequisite for fostering sustainable human development, Srinivas (2020) conceptualizes human security as the culmination of interconnected processes. These processes afford both individuals and communities the essential choices to confront, alleviate, or adapt to risks that jeopardize their human, environmental, and social rights within society. Moreover, this framework endows them with the capabilities and liberties to actively engage in realizing and exercising these choices.

Alkire (2003: 2) contributes to the discourse by presenting a practical interpretation of human security. He defines it as the safeguarding of the foundational components of all human lives, shielding them from pervasive threats in consistent and sustainable manners, ultimately aiming for enduring human fulfilment. In his conceptualization, human security becomes a shield against pervasive threats, aiming not just for immediate protection but also sustained and reliable safeguarding measures. This vision extends beyond the conventional understanding of security by prioritizing not only physical safety but also the holistic well-being of individuals.

Expanding on this multidimensional perspective, the Commission on Human Security (2003: 4) delineates human security as a comprehensive

framework aimed at protecting the essential facets of human existence. This not only includes enhancing human freedoms and fulfilment but also encompasses a broader scope. It involves shielding individuals from both critical and widespread threats and situations while leveraging their strengths and aspirations. The commission emphasizes the importance of fostering political, social, environmental, economic, military, and cultural systems that collectively provide people with the foundational elements necessary for survival, livelihood, and dignity.

This study adopts the expansive definition provided by the Commission on Human Security as its operational framework for understanding human security which encompasses a broad range of security concerns that pertain to the simultaneous resilience and well-being of both individuals and communities. Through embracing this comprehensive perspective, the study seeks to tackle a variety of security challenges such as voter suppression, political repression, violence and intimidation, social polarization, ethnic tensions and human rights violations posed by electoral related challenges that impact diverse dimensions of human existence and contribute to the flourishing of societies.

Therefore, within the framework of the Commission on Human Security's definition of the concept of human security, for this study, human security denotes protecting essential aspects of human life, promoting freedoms, addressing threats, leveraging strengths, and fostering interconnected systems that collectively contribute to ensuring the well-being, resilience, and dignity of individuals and communities. It boils down to making sure that people are safe and have what they need to live decent lives. It is about protecting individuals from dangers like violence, disease, and poverty, while also giving them the chance to make choices and fulfil their potential. It's basically ensuring that everyone can live a life they value without constant fear or threats to their well-being.

1.2.2.1 Components of Human Security

The concept of human security is universally recognized as a pivotal and forward-thinking method in tackling worldwide challenges. It has cultivated a global agreement that the welfare of individuals is not just vital but intrinsic to the broader security and stability of societies across the globe. This shift in perspective acknowledges that safeguarding people's well-being is a cornerstone for ensuring resilience and harmony within communities worldwide (Tadjbakhsh, 2005: 8-23).

Human security encompasses various components, focusing on the well-being and safety of individuals. Its core elements include economic security (ensuring access to basic resources), food security (availability and access to nutritious food), health security (access to healthcare), environmental security (protection from environmental hazards), personal security (freedom from violence), political security (freedom from political oppression) and community security (social stability and cohesion) (Srinivas, 2020). These components collectively aim to safeguard individuals from diverse threats, promoting their overall safety and prosperity.

These various components of the concept of human security are intricately woven by three interdependent building blocks of the concept, namely; freedom from fear, freedom from want and the freedom to live with dignity (United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security 2009: 23), forming what can be considered the fundamental pillars of human security. In essence, they are the cohesive elements from which human security finds its strength in the cohesive integration of its multifaceted components, which are seamlessly intertwined in ensuring human welfare. They are the cornerstone principles that form the bedrock of human security, shaping its comprehensive approach towards safeguarding individuals' well-being and rights.

The first building block, freedom from fear, encompasses a broad spectrum of security concerns that encapsulate personal, political, and communal aspects. It aims to create an environment where individuals feel safe from violence, conflict, and political oppression. This includes safeguarding against threats to personal safety, ensuring political rights, and fostering community stability (United Nations Development Programme, 2012: 19).

Freedom from want, the second building block of the concept, ventures into economic, food, health, and environmental security. It confronts the root causes of vulnerability by addressing disparities and ensuring access to fundamental necessities like food, shelter, healthcare, education, and economic opportunities (Kent, 2005: 223). By eliminating deprivation and inequality, it aims to uplift individuals and communities. This freedom is about addressing the underlying factors that contribute to vulnerability and lack of resources.

Lastly, the freedom to live with dignity, the third building block, extends beyond immediate threats, aiming to preserve human rights, equality, and human dignity. It is concerned with eradicating barriers that impede access to education, freedoms, social justice, and cultural integrity (Tadjbakhsh, 2014: 2). This facet focuses on empowering marginalized groups and fostering inclusivity within societies.

These three freedoms represent a holistic approach to human security, emphasizing that comprehensive security entails not just protection from immediate dangers but also addressing systemic issues affecting individuals' well-being, dignity and rights in society. This study interprets the concept of freedom from fear as protection from threats such as violence, conflict, and any form of repression. It involves ensuring personal safety, freedom from physical harm, and safeguarding against human rights abuses. It also understands the freedom from want as the notion in the human security framework focussing on addressing basic human needs, including access to food, shelter, healthcare, education, and economic opportunities. It aims to alleviate poverty, inequality,

and deprivation. It lastly perceives the notion of freedom to live in dignity as the block pertaining upholding human rights, respecting diversity, and preserving cultural integrity. It is understood to involve promoting inclusivity, social justice, and empowering marginalized groups to live with dignity and equality.

1.3 Conceptual Framework Indicators

In Zambia, the potential for electoral violence poses significant risks to the democratic process and societal stability. To complement and aid an in-depth understanding of the case study approach, this study adopts the human security framework. Adopting the human security framework for this study offers a holistic and nuanced approach to understanding the intricate impact of electoral-related violence on Zambia, and by extension, on broader African contexts. By employing the human security framework, this study aims to explore and analyse the multifaceted dimensions of security affected by electoral violence.

The human security framework is a conceptual approach that shifts the focus of security considerations from a traditional state-centric perspective to the well-being and protection of individuals (Alkire, 2003: 3). Unlike traditional security paradigms that primarily prioritize the defence of state borders and institutions, human security broadens the scope to encompass a comprehensive set of concerns related to the safety and dignity of people, emphasizing the protection and well-being of individuals within state borders.

In the context of electoral violence, applying the human security framework allows for a comprehensive analysis that considers the multifaceted dimensions of security beyond just physical safety. This approach encompasses various interconnected dimensions of security, including economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community, and political security (Gómez and Gasper, 2013: 2). These dimensions of human security interconnectedly cover various aspects that are crucial for individuals and communities to thrive. Each

dimension represents a specific facet of security that contributes to the overall well-being and stability of people.

Table 1 below presents and explains each aspect of human security and the factor/s it encompasses.

HUMAN SECURITY ASPECT	REFERENCE	FACTORS INCLUDED
Environmental security	This dimension focuses on the protection and sustainable use of natural resources, including air, water, land, and biodiversity.	It includes addressing environmental degradation, climate change, pollution, and ensuring the long-term health of ecosystems.
Personal security	It refers to protection from physical violence, crime, abuse, and other threats to personal safety and dignity.	Protection against physical harm, violence, human rights abuses, and discrimination.
Community security	This dimension emphasizes social cohesion, inclusivity, and the sense of belonging within communities.	It involves building resilient communities, fostering social connections, promoting cultural diversity, and ensuring peaceful coexistence.
Political security	This aspect involves ensuring the protection of individuals and communities from political repression, human rights abuses, conflicts, and threats to democratic governance.	It includes aspects such as political stability, access to justice, protection of human rights, and freedom of expression.
Economic	This aspect of human security refers to the ability of individuals and	It encompasses factors like employment,

security	communities to sustain a decent standard of living, have access to resources, employment opportunities, and financial stability.	income, access to basic needs, and protection against economic shocks.
Food security	This dimension pertains to the availability, access, and utilization of sufficient, safe, and nutritious food to meet dietary needs and preferences for an active and healthy life.	It involves access to food resources, agricultural productivity, distribution systems, and nutritional knowledge.
Health security	This aspect involves access to healthcare services, sanitation, disease prevention, and the overall promotion of physical and mental well-being.	It encompasses healthcare infrastructure, disease control, vaccination, sanitation, and access to essential medicines.

Table 1 Source: The Global Development Research Centre, (2012).

In the context of understanding the impact of electoral-related violence on human security in Zambia, in table 2 below, the study conceptualizes indicators for human security dimensions vulnerability assessment that involves identifying specific metrics or factors within each dimension and indicators on how they might be affected by electoral violence infringing upon human well-being. The study adopts and expands on the vulnerability indicators of human security by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)

Table 2. below shows the human (in)security metrics and indicators.

HUMAN (IN) SECURITY DIMENSIONS	METRICS	INDICATOR/S
Economic insecurity	• Employment rates • Economic growth and stability • Impact on business activities • Access to resources and basic needs	Impact on livelihoods such as disruptions in employment, income loss/job insecurity, and economic damage indicated by inflation, income inequality, and underdeveloped social security and homelessness stemming from

		electoral violence.
Food insecurity	• Food availability and access • Nutritional status and access to nutritious food	• Disruptions in food supply chains, access to nutrition, and food shortages resulting from electoral violence • Low agricultural productivity and disruptions due to electoral violence
Health insecurity	• Access to healthcare services during election periods • Disease prevalence and health infrastructure disruptions Mental health impact due to violence and insecurity	• Threats to life and health: injuries, trauma, and mental health impacts on individuals affected by violence • Inadequate accessibility to healthcare services
Environmental insecurity	• Impact of electoral violence on environmental resources (e.g., disruptions to farming) • Effects on environmental sustainability	• Disruption or damage to environmental resources or infrastructure due to violence • Short and long-term degradation of ecosystems, pollution of water, air and soil.
Personal insecurity	• Incidents of violence or crimes against individuals during elections • Human rights • Displacement	• Individual safety concerns (physical violence, war), fear, and discrimination • Gender-specific impacts encompassing domestic violence, child abuse and other marginalized groups. • Human rights abuses and violations during the electoral process • Displacement or migration due to violence

Community insecurity	• Social cohesion and trust within communities affected by violence • Impact on social connections and communal well-being • Effects on cultural diversity and tolerance	• Low social cohesion and trust within communities • Impact on community infrastructure, social services, and local governance structures. • Ethnic tensions and violent conflicts
Political insecurity	• Freedom of expression and participation in political processes • Trust in institutions and the rule of law during election periods	• State repression and violation of human rights indicated in limitations or censorship in freedom of expression. • Low trust in democratic processes and institutions indicated by perceptions of fairness, transparency, and legitimacy of elections

Table 2 Source: United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (1994: 24-33).

The study employs the indicators of human insecurity framework to better understand the actual and potential impacts electoral violence possess on the practice and state of human security in Zambia. It will measure the indicators against actual reported incidents of electoral violence and perceptions of fears of electoral related violence. It deeply tilts towards the comparative analysis with non-violent election periods to understand the contrast and impact of violence on the various measures of human security. Comparative analysis between violent and non-violent election periods is critical to discern the stark contrasts and gauge the impact of violence on different aspects of human security and an environment that does not ensure a safer environment that enables citizens to exercise their rights without fear.

Recognizing the various threats to human security that can come from multiple sources and can be interlinked, this study specifically focuses on how electoral-related violence violates the political security, community security, personal security, health security (emotional and psychological wellbeing), and economic dimensions of human security. By examining reported incidents of

violence and the perceptions and fears associated with electoral processes, the study aims to highlight how such violence disrupts political stability, threatens individuals' physical safety, undermines community cohesion, and inflicts psychological trauma. Through comparative analysis of violent and non-violent election periods, the research seeks to demonstrate the profound impact electoral violence has on these critical aspects of human security, emphasizing the need for secure environments that allow citizens to exercise their rights without fear.

To understand the profound impact of electoral violence on human security, it is essential to first examine the concept of human security as it is treated in the literature through various lenses. The literature review delves into how human security is conceptualized and addressed at global, regional, and country levels. By exploring these different perspectives, we can better grasp the multifaceted nature of human security and the implications of electoral violence on the concept. The following section provides an in-depth analysis of the existing literature, highlighting the theoretical frameworks, key findings, and critical discussions that shape the understanding of human security globally, regionally in Africa, and specifically within the Zambian context.

1.4 Literature Review

The concept of human security and violence/conflict has been generally discussed in both discourse and policy. Kaldor et al., (2008) posed that human security can be treated as the crisis end of terms such as human rights and human development that has to do with human needs at moments of extreme vulnerability, not only in wars but in the face of other disasters that affect people. They further discussed human insecurity as not only a result of military violence but equally a consequence of temporary suppression of violence, human rights violation and violent crime, and conflict. While some scholars have broadly treated electoral politics as a new source of human insecurity in

Africa as they induced violence (Akokpari, 2012), some have discussed the conflicts driven by resource governance deficit and climate change a threat to human security in Africa (Nwali, 2021).

Uniquely, Birch et al., (2017) bring in an aspect of emotions exploring how emotions like anxiety and anger influence how individuals evaluate political misconduct and corruption. They focus the discussion on how political conflict rises from the interplay between these emotions and political perceptions. For instance, when a significant portion of the population is angry about corruption, this can fuel widespread political disaffection and contribute to the rise of extremist political movements. Security is discussed indirectly, primarily through the lens of political corruption and its impact on public trust and governance. They touch on different forms of security—political, social, and ethical—and how they are compromised by widespread corruption and malfeasance in political institutions.

Additionally, Bar-Tal et al., (2007), use a social psychological lens to discuss the interplay between conflict, emotions, and security. They integrate concepts from social psychology, political science, and sociology to analyse how collective emotions shape and are shaped by societal conflicts and contexts. They treat emotions as both a product of and a response to societal conditions, focusing on how emotional climates influence collective behaviour, insecurity, distrust and conflict. Emotions are held as central to both conflict maintenance and resolution, of which the absence of emotional and psychological interventions, creates an environment of insecurity and distrust fear, anger, and hatred. The lack of emotional support can perpetuate insecurity and hinder reconciliation. If not addressed, these emotions can fuel hostility, increase distrust, and perpetuate cycles of violence.

1.4.1 Human Security and Violence Studies at Global Level

Examining literature regarding the influence of violence on security at global level is essential as it provides a broader context for understanding the general patterns, theories, dynamics and major developments related to violence and its impact on human security. It helps to identify overarching trends, common challenges, and global frameworks that may influence the research topic. Consequently, this section offers insights into how various studies have explored the association of security and violence through the lenses of human security at global level.

Abdo-Katsipis (2018), employs a human security lens to analyse the linkage between personal security and electoral participation among women in Lebanon and Morocco. She treats personal security as a critical factor that affects women's willingness and ability to vote, revealing a strong link between experiences of violence—such as familial control over mobility, verbal abuse, domestic violence, and public sexual harassment—and reduced electoral engagement. By analysing study data and comparing these findings across different socio-political contexts, she holds assaults on personal security as significantly demobilizing women from participating in elections ushering in an environment of political insecurity. Overall, violence is viewed as a crucial factor that undermines personal security and restricts electoral participation among women.

For Haggblom and Moller (2007), they employ a grounded theory through the lenses of intimate partner violence (IPV) to discuss violence, treating it as a deeply ingrained and multifaceted issue that affects battered women on several levels. Their study identifies and treats intimate partner violence (IPV) as a profound public health issue, often under-reported and manifesting in physical, psychological, and emotional abuse. Women experiencing IPV frequently internalize the violence, normalizing it as part of their relationship due to

societal and cultural influences that perpetuate such abuse. This normalization, coupled with deep internal conflict and feelings of guilt, complicates their ability to leave abusive situations. The study identifies "fighting for survival and escape" as the core experience of these women, highlighting their struggles to manage and cope with violence while seeking support.

Adding to the postulations in the electoral violence literature, Birch et al., (2020) positions violence as a distinct and strategic form of electoral manipulation that profoundly impacts both democratic integrity and societal security. Analysing electoral violence through a political economy and security lens, they underscore its dual role as a tool for altering electoral outcomes through physical force and as a catalyst for broader instability. Their study emphasizes that electoral violence undermines government legitimacy, exacerbates existing conflicts, and can trigger new ones, particularly in contexts marked by institutional weaknesses and societal divisions. Moreover, the role of international actors, such as election monitors, is highlighted as a factor that can influence the prevalence of violence by increasing the political costs of such tactics. They use a comparative and contextual approach in their study providing a comprehensive understanding of how electoral processes intersect with security concerns.

Jovanović (2021), in his study *"Electoral Violence: A Challenge to Security"*, aimed to provide a comprehensive analysis of electoral violence. The study makes use of the Political Violence Theory framing electoral violence as a subtype of political violence. This theory views electoral violence through the broader lens of political violence, emphasizing how violence can be an integral part of the political process and not merely an anomaly or exception. The study contrasts the theoretical view of violence as antithetical to peaceful politics with the reality where violence frequently intersects with the electoral process highlighting the contradiction between the ideal of nonviolent elections and the often violent nature of real-world political contests. Jovanović views security

through the lens of how electoral violence threatens democratic processes, stability, and peace. He points out that violence can disrupt democratic processes, damage institutions, and, in severe cases, lead to civil conflict or war. These security risks of violence are not just at the level of individual incidents but also at the functioning of the political system.

In their 2019 study, Kloppe-Santamaría and Colak sought to comprehend the repercussions of chronic violence on human security in two Mexican cities, namely Medellín and Nuevo Almaguer. Their study discusses novel viewpoints and grassroots proposals regarding human security in the context of chronic violence. Their study approach views and discusses human security within the broader context of violence-affected communities, emphasizing a participatory and community-centric perspective. It recognizes that the concept of 'security' is deeply contested in Latin America, particularly in the post-authoritarian and post-civil war regions under investigation. The discussion acknowledges the complexity of the term 'public security' and underscores the need to build societal consciousness around security issues, especially within the most insecure communities. Their study engages with the lived experiences of individuals to understand the contextual and differentiated logics of violence advocating for policies that prioritize human security.

In the evolving discourse on security and violence, the study by Ağır and Arman (2014) sought to examine how Violent Non-State Actors (VNSAs) impact human security and challenge traditional security paradigm. Their study employs a critical security studies lens that challenges traditional state-centric approaches. It integrates elements of human security theory, which prioritizes individual safety and well-being over the state's sovereignty and military power. Security is treated through a broadened and deepened framework emphasizing the protection of individuals from a range of non-military threats such as terrorism, organized crime, and environmental degradation. Violence is viewed as a significant and direct threat to human security, particularly through the

actions of Violent Non-State Actors (VNSAs). The study explores how VNSAs, including terrorist groups, militias, and criminal organizations, challenge the state's monopoly on violence and contribute to global instability. Violence is seen not only as a means of achieving political or ideological goals but also as a consequence of state failure and globalization.

Kjaerulf and Barahona (2010) undertook a study in the nations of El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala, collectively known as the "northern triangle." They employ a human rights-based approach (HRBA) to bridge development and human rights with human security. For them, human security is viewed as a crucial aspect of national development, and the discussion emphasizes the multifaceted impact of violence on human security. They suggest that violence negatively affects not only the physical safety and well-being of individuals but also the broader societal elements crucial for development. The logic of their framework contends that when human rights are assaulted, human security is negatively affected derailing national development.

In an almost similar fashion, Large and Sisk (2005) conducted a thorough research across various continents to delineate the repercussions of 21st Century Conflicts on human security. They view human security as an integral component of the triple challenge facing the global community, alongside development and human rights. They position human security within a broader context, linking it with democratic rights, economic strength, social cohesion, environmental balance, and education. In this lens, they discuss security as comprehensive going beyond traditional notions exploring how democratic principles and practices can contribute to human security in the modern era.

Birch and Muchlinski (2018) adding to the discussions on violence and security, carried a study to understand the effective remedies for electoral violence. The study discusses violence and security in the context of electoral processes, particularly focusing on the challenges associated with elections and

the efforts to prevent electoral violence. Framing the discussion within the context of Electoral Violence Prevention (EVP) strategies, the study distinguishes between violence by non-state actors and violence by state actors and their allies. It closely ties violence to the democratic process as a major threat. Conversely, security is discussed in the context of capacity-building measures, especially those involving the security sector. The discussions of violence and security purely consider how capacity building and attitude transformation impact electoral violence, whether committed by the state actors or non-state actors targeting interventions for effective violence prevention of each stream respectively.

In a relatively recent initiative, the United Nations Women (2018) conducted an extensive study for policy guide titled ‘*Preventing Violence Against Women in Elections*’ across the Americas, Africa, Europe, and Asia. The process discusses human security through a gendered lens encompassing the security challenges and threats faced by women in public life, particularly those engaged in politics. The approach places violence at the intersection of gender and the broader concept of human security highlighting the pervasive direct threats to the personal safety and well-being of women in politics as sexist abuse, physical attacks, death threats, and intimidation.

Studies conducted on a global scale have primarily focused on examining and discussing the association of violence’s profound implications on security through numerous lenses and frameworks. The studies concentrate on investigating the far-reaching consequences of violence on security, exploring the intricate intersections with conflict, political dynamics, gender based violence, democracy and human rights-based frameworks.

1.4.2 Human Security and Violence Studies at African Region Level

Each level of literature review serves a distinct purpose and contributes valuable insights to the overall research framework. A regional level analysis of

security and violence allows for a more focused exploration of violence and human security within the African context. Africa is diverse, and regional dynamics may vary significantly. Understanding commonalities and differences in violence and security across African regions is essential for contextualizing the Zambian case within a broader continental framework.

Ezemenaka's (2020) study discusses human security primarily in the context of youth violence in the Nigerian region of Niger-Delta focusing on conflict and post-election violence. The study takes a State capacity and governance route to discuss human security challenges in the lens of the limitations of the Nigerian state in providing security and addressing socio-economic challenges. The framework used to analyse human security encompasses various dimensions, including economic, social, political, and cultural factors to discuss security challenges in the context of human security, emphasizing the well-being and protection of individuals. The discussion highlights the interconnectedness of these elements in shaping the experiences and actions of Nigerian youth. The study takes a deeper socialization lens into the impact of media consumption on the behaviour of Nigerian youth, linking exposure to certain content with negative violent attitudes and actions. Insecurity is discussed beyond traditional indicators like economic crisis and unemployment emphasizing the importance of examining the everyday functioning of institutions, abuses by police forces, and routine practices of injustice and discrimination to understand contemporary violence and how it shapes human security.

Similarly, Akpan (2017) undertook a study '*Election and Security Challenges in Nigeria: Experience from the Niger Delta 1999-2015*'. However, unlike Ezemenaka, he views and discusses human security within the framework of electoral insecurity, reflecting both academic and policy-oriented perspectives. He realizes the inadequacies of traditional theories in explaining the changing realities of election-induced insecurity, and adopts the human security framework as a more plausible framework to discuss election-induced

insecurity in Nigeria, particularly, in understanding the connection between democracy, elections, and the protection of individual rights and safety. He places the discussion of human security within the auspices of contemporary global challenges, including new wars, local conflicts, terrorism, and crises, and further conceptualizes elections as a security issue.

In a parallel discourse on security and violence, Aning's (2010) study delved into the discussion of violence in Ghana, specifically examining the consequences of electoral violence on the overall security of Ghanaian communities. He discusses security and violence in the context of Ghana's political history, the militarization of politics, and the proliferation of small arms and light weapons. He views security in the context of the potential threats arising from the availability of small arms and light weapons (SALW), and addresses violence by examining SALW-related crimes, the militarization of society, and contemporary crime trends in Ghana. The discussion encompasses concerns about violence, the impact on communities, and the challenges associated with understanding and addressing these issues in the Ghanaian context.

Ogele (2020) undertook a study to understand the trends of electoral violence on human security within the Nigerian context. He discusses human security and violence within the specific context of electoral violence in Nigeria and applies the "culture of violence" theory to analyse the prevalence of violence, the legitimization of violence through cultural elements, and the broader impact on human security and political culture. Through this theoretical lens, the study views human security as a people-centred security associated with human freedom, focusing on protecting citizens from internal threats and describes how the culture of violence has become ingrained in Nigeria's political culture, shaping attitudes and practices related to electoral processes affecting the state of human security. The study treats violence as imbedded in a nurtured culture of violence due to threats that emerge from the eroded trust in the

political system. Violence is perceived as existing in a symbiotic relationship, wherein the erosion of trust in the political system fosters a culture of violence, subsequently exacerbating the decline in trust in the credibility of political institutions giving rise to more violence.

Babalola (2016) adds to the discourse on security and violence in Africa. His study's discussion of security and violence is framed within the theoretical constructs of human rights theory and constructivism. Taking a further route of State failure, he views violence as a legitimate means to achieve political and social ends. The study utilizes the theoretical framework of human rights theory to analyse the conditions influencing security, emphasizing the interconnectedness of political, personal, and physical security within the Nigerian context. He roots this perspective in a perceived failure of governance and the uneven economic development that has led to ethnic divisions. Concurrently, the study discusses security in relation to the abuse of citizens' rights, the militarization of politics, and the subsequent resort to violence by certain political groups.

In the same vein, Abifarin, and Bello (2017) undertook a study to understand the state of human security and violence in Africa. They discuss human security and violence in the context of governance and its impact on the well-being of citizens, particularly in Africa. Unlike Babalola, they use a lens of governance failure to view human security as a central objective of governance. They place the link between human security and violence at the centre of governance. Their central argument is that if a government fails to provide and protect the security of its citizens, it constitutes a failure of governance giving leeway to backwardness and poverty which are a backbone of threats to human security.

Gathumbi (2018) conducted a study aiming to comprehend the repercussions of electoral violence on human security within Kenya's Kibra informal settlement. In his study, he discusses the impact of electoral violence on human security in the context of relative deprivation theory to explain the

dynamics between human security, relative deprivation, and the consequences of unfulfilled promises in the democratic process. The study views security through the lens of human security, considering various dimensions of human security, and discusses how electoral violence, influenced by the theory of relative deprivation, impacts human security by creating a gap between expectations and reality, potentially leading to threats to different aspects of security. Within the same theoretical lenses, he views violence as a process born out of unfulfilled promises made during election periods, especially in informal settlements, which can lead to frustration and, potentially, violent incidents. Violence is seen as born out of the gap between people's value expectations and their value capabilities, highlighted as a key factor, leading to discontent and, in turn, violent acts affecting the security of people and communities.

In a relatively similar vein, Gichuhi (2020) undertook a study to explore the consequences of electoral violence on national security in Kenya. He, however, involves a blend of realist, institutionalist, and constructivist elements, without explicitly adhering to a single theoretical framework in discussing the complex interplay of political, social, and historical factors in the context of electoral violence and their potential to lead to security concerns in emerging democracies. Violence is identified as multi-faceted and is categorized into two classes: auxiliary elements related to the political system and obstacles within the election process itself. It is viewed as influenced by a combination of factors, including the competitive nature of politics, flaws in the election process, historical context, the effectiveness of election frameworks, and the genuine prospects for changing power relations between political parties which increase the risk of violent acts during elections. On the other hand, security is discussed in terms of concerns that are not only about physical safety but also about the stability and fairness of the political process during elections in emerging democracies. These security concerns emerge out of political parties' perceptions that losing an election is a significant risk and employ illegal

election techniques and the use of aggressive tactics to either win an election or strengthen their post-election bargaining position.

Burchard (2015) also adds to the literature at the regional level through her study “*Electoral Violence in Sub-Saharan Africa: Causes and Consequences*”. Burchard discusses electoral violence primarily through a lens of strategic and tactical considerations, focusing on how violence is used to influence electoral outcomes by suppressing or mobilizing voters and disrupting the electoral process. Her study views electoral violence serves as both a political tool and a major factor affecting security and stability. Focusing on Kenya, she shows how pre-election and post-election violence are used to manipulate electoral outcomes and compel political negotiations. Her analysis employs a comparative perspective, exploring how different countries like Kenya, Senegal, and Liberia experience and manage electoral violence, revealing varied tactics and impacts on political stability and security. Burchard incorporates a security lens and interprets impact of violence on security by how electoral violence undermines democratic processes and contributes to broader instability and insecurity, affecting both political stability and individual safety.

Collier and Vicente (2013), in their study “*Votes and Violence: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Nigeria*”, violence and security are discussed through the lens of electoral integrity and democratic accountability. Electoral violence is examined as a significant barrier to free and fair elections in low-income countries. Violence is portrayed as a malfeasant strategy used by some political actors to intimidate voters and disrupt the electoral process. The study assesses how anti-violence campaigns can alter perceptions of security among citizens. Security is then viewed in terms of ability to address violence through collective action and empowerment linked to the capacity of individuals and communities to take collective action against electoral violence and engage more actively in the democratic process, which improves citizens' sense of security and their ability to counteract violence.

Additionally, in the violence-security nexus literature, Klaus and Mitchell (2015) undertook a study to explore the interplay between land grievances and electoral violence mobilization in Cote d'Ivoire and Kenya. By comparing cases of violence escalation and non-escalation, the authors apply a comparative framework to identify patterns and factors that influence the relationship between land grievances and electoral violence. Their study discusses violence and security through the lens of political and social mobilization in the context of land grievances. The study examines violence not as an isolated phenomenon but as a result of strategic mobilization by political elites. The authors argue that leaders use land grievances to rally support and incite violence among their followers. This framing suggests that violence is a tool employed by elites to achieve political goals, rather than merely a spontaneous or random occurrence. The study emphasizes land security as a central aspect of both political stability and personal security. In the context of weak or politicized land rights, land security becomes a major concern, influencing how people perceive electoral threats and opportunities. The authors argue that the way elections are framed—either as threats to land security or opportunities to improve land rights—affects the likelihood of violent mobilization. This perspective links security directly to the political context and the manipulation of grievances by leaders.

The studies at the regional level highlight how global level analysis and discussions of security and violence manifest regionally. Collectively, these studies contribute nuanced insights into the regional dynamics of security and violence, showcasing a range of frameworks such as state capacity, human security, electoral insecurity, relative deprivation, human rights theory, and governance failure, among others, through which security concerns and violence have been viewed and discussed. The diverse frameworks provide and show the complexity of the issues and provide an understanding of the dynamics of security and violence at a regional level.

1.4.3 Human Security and Violence Studies at Zambian Country Level

Literature at the global and regional levels provide a broader context for understanding violence and security. It helps researchers grasp common patterns, trends, and theories applicable across different contexts. However, country-specific literature provides the specificity, depth and contextually relevant information that may not be captured in broader regional or global studies providing a framework for understanding how global or regional trends manifest at the grassroots level. Every country has its unique historical, political, social, and cultural context that influences the manifestation of security issues and impact of violence. Therefore, analysing literature at the country level allows for an understanding of the nuances specific to the country, providing a more context-specific relevant analysis and framework for understanding the unique political, social, and cultural factors influencing violence, dynamics of human security and the interplay between these factors in the Zambian context.

Several inquiries on violence and security have been conducted at the country level in many aspects, particularly in relation to electoral-related violence and its implications on various facets of the Zambian society. In this discourse, Sichone, and Wahaman (2021) conducted a desk review study for a briefing paper on *"Electoral Violence in Zambia"* with a primary focus on understanding the impact of such violence on different dimensions of the country. They discuss security concerns in the context of security apparatus, and electoral and political violence in Zambia through a framework that encompasses various dimensions related to security, both in terms of preventing violence and managing its consequences. They bring in dimensions of “*impunity*” and “*absence of accountability*” in expounding their discussion of violence further. Their study discuss that insecurity issues are bred and nurtured by the police force’s systematic failure to prevent cadre violence, particularly when committed by the ruling party implying a breakdown in the security

apparatus responsible for maintaining order. Additionally, within the same framework, they address the issue of violence in the context of Zambian politics, specifically focusing on political and electoral violence. The treatment of violence in their discussions is observational and descriptive, highlighting various aspects of the phenomenon. In their lens, violence ensues from internal political party dynamics as organized groups of "cadres" linked to key politicians within these parties along lines of clientism.

Examining the discourse on electoral violence and security, Wahman and Goldring (2020) conducted a study to analyse the factors contributing to pre-election violence in African elections focusing on Zambia as a case-study. The study discusses the issues of violence and security in the context of "pre-election violence theory" emphasizing the interplay between political factors, local dominance, and the use of state machinery in influencing security dynamics. They view and discuss violence as a political tool employed in the political arena, specifically during pre-election periods. It is seen as not solely driven by demand but requires capacity and agents who are willing to engage in illicit acts on behalf of political parties. Security is discussed from two vantage points, local dominance and resource advantage. The discussion of security from local dominance is linked to territorial politics, where security concerns arise from the contestation of opposition strongholds. It is associated with enhanced capacity for violence, as parties in dominant positions can offer access to patronage networks and shield perpetrators from repercussions. From the resource advantage dimension, security is seen as enjoyed by incumbent parties as economic resources allow them to recruit and mobilize individuals, often young and underemployed men, for political campaigns involving violence contributing to their security capabilities.

Mukunto's study (2019) sought to understand the relationship between electoral Violence and Young Party Cadres in Zambia. While he does not explicitly discuss security and violence in terms of a theoretical framework, he

implicitly addresses security and violence issues in the context of election-related violence. Although his study focuses more on the need to comprehend the dynamics of electoral violence and its connection to the involvement of young party cadres in politics, his discussion of security and violence revolve more on organizing and understanding the range of violent incidents observed during the 2016 electoral process. He brings in the media effect in gauging violence and influencing the shaping of public perceptions of security.

Adding to the discourse on security and violence at the country level, Kawila et al. (2023) conducted a study to explore elements associated with electoral violence. They discuss security and violence through the lens of electoral processes, focusing on the specific socio-economic and political contexts. They concentrate more on understanding the underlying issues driving violence and focus on ways to mitigate electoral violence. Equally, Phiri and Hamauswa (2017) focus on understanding the elements associated with electoral violence. They however, narrow the focus on the perspectives of youth and electorates to explore the nature, prevalence, causes, and effects of electoral violence. Security is addressed in terms of threats and harm to individuals and property during the electoral process prioritizing potential vulnerabilities in the security architecture of the electoral system. They view violence in close linkage with exposure to poverty and high levels of unemployment.

Magasu's (2022) study, in exploring violence's implications for the security in Zambia, emphasizes more on the capacity for risk assessment in the lead-up to elections. With the study's use of the Frustration-Aggression theory, violence is viewed as a potential consequence of frustration and aggression as a natural response to blocked goals. The study focuses on political conflicts to understand security related issues narrowing on the importance of legal mechanisms in preventing and managing them, including strategies to improve Conflict Management Committees' (CMCs) performance in preventing electoral violence. In like manner, Sialombe (2022) conducted a study focussing on

exploring ways to reduce electoral related violence and improve security levels in Zambia during electoral cycles. The takes lens of political conflicts through the institutional theoretical route focusing on the role of political institutions such as political parties in influencing behaviour and outcomes of electoral processes. The study uniquely offers a dimension of the media effect in posing hurdles for efforts by political parties to prevent electoral violence through its biased reports shaping the perception of security and contributing to tensions.

Taking a more specific focus on human security and violence, Mutesa and Nchito (2005) conducted a noteworthy study titled *"Human Security, Popular Participation and Poverty Reduction in Zambia"*. They discuss human security through a structural violence lens focusing on government policies and their negative outcomes. The study singles out how poverty, emanating from structural domino effects, induces insecurity for individuals and communities. Adding to the postulation in a unison manner, Silungwe and Silungwe's (2019) carried out a study to understand the implications of economic reforms on the condition of the Security of individuals in Zambia. The study discusses security of individuals within the context of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPS). It takes a root of trickle down effects of international frameworks on public management reforms at grassroots levels and how they influence the overall well-being of individuals and security of communities. The study treats insecurity of individuals and vulnerability of communities in countries with weak social safety nets in the face of economic reforms as a courtesy of international frameworks and policies that can lead to economic instability, leaving individuals vulnerable to socio-economic challenges.

As noted above, the prevailing body of literature on violence and security at the country level predominantly centers on political dynamics, security of individuals, the electoral process and related frameworks, and the broader spectrum of electoral and political violence. While numerous prior studies acknowledge the significant influence of factors like poverty and the Structural

Adjustment Programmes on the security and well-being of individuals and communities in Zambia, there is a discernible gap in the literature. This gap is characterized by limited exploration into the connection between violence and human security during electoral cycles, as well as the absence of studies examining the influence of violent electoral contexts on the actualization and status of human security. Consequently, this research endeavours to undertake an in-depth examination of the impacts of the facets of electoral-related violence on the different dimensions of human security, including personal safety, economic well-being, political freedoms, community welfare, and social cohesion. The analysis extends to the evaluation of the enduring repercussions of such violence on individuals and communities, encompassing psychological trauma, displacement, economic setbacks, and the erosion of social trust in the long-run. It aims to illustrate the intricate interplay of these consequences with the long-term practice and condition of human security in Zambia.

CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY

1.5 Introduction

This chapter outlines the research methodology employed to investigate the impact of electoral-related violence on the practice and state of human security in Zambia. It outlines the research design, data collection and analysis methods, sampling methods as well as the analytical framework adopted in this study. Focused on the Zambian case spanning the years 2011 to 2021, the methodology seeks to provide a comprehensive step by step process for understanding the intricate dynamics between electoral violence and human security in the African context. It highlights the selected methodology that will provide a detailed and in-depth exploration of the subject matter, allowing for a comprehensive analysis of the context in which the research questions arise.

1.6 Study Methodology

1.6.1 Study Design

Given the qualitative nature of this study, it was structured around the adoption and utilization of a case study research design. A case study approach, as elucidated by Yin (2014), involves a meticulous and thorough exploration of a singular individual, group, event, or organization. The core essence of this methodology lies in its commitment to focusing deeply into a specific, real-life instance or case, aiming to unearth nuanced insights and attain a profound understanding of the subject matter under investigation (ibid).

The study particularly made use of two types of case study approaches, namely; descriptive and intrinsic. The descriptive case study approach is designed to foster a comprehensive understanding of a specific case and involves a primarily descriptive exploration, aiming to elucidate the complexity of a singular individual, event, case or organization within the context of that particular course of investigation (Creswell, 2009). Concurrently, the intrinsic case study aspect is an approach that delves into the phenomenon from the participants' lived experiences, presented in narrative form by focussing on gaining a better understanding of the case under investigation (ibid).

The rationale behind adopting the case study method for this particular study stemmed from its capacity to facilitate a comprehensive and holistic examination of the multifaceted impacts of electoral violence on human security within the Zambian context. Electoral violence, with its ripple effects on various aspects of society (Ojok and Acol, 2017: 95), demands a research methodology that can illuminate the intricate interplay of electoral violence on political, economic, social, and psychological dimensions. The case study method, in this regard, proved to be instrumental in capturing the complexity and interconnectedness of these dimensions. In this vein, the study integrated both descriptive and intrinsic case study approaches in offering a comprehensive and multifaceted analysis of the Zambian case (2011-2021). The descriptive case study aspect offered detailed descriptions allowing for a thorough examination of the chosen case, providing a rich tapestry of information essential for unpacking the complexities surrounding the impact of electoral violence on human security. And leaning on the intrinsic aspect of the adopted methodology, it aided in directing the attention towards gaining a deeper comprehension of the case by exploring the subjective perspectives, emotions, and insights of those directly involved and captured the nuanced aspects of electoral-related violence, drawing on the narratives and experiences of the individuals and communities impacted over the specified period. By focusing on a real-life

instance in Zambia, this allowed for an in-depth analysis, enabling the exploration of the intricate relationships between electoral violence and its repercussions on human security.

Through this methodological choice, the study not only provided a holistic view, combining objective observations with subjective experiences, but also unravelled both the immediate impacts and long-term implications of electoral violence on the state and practice of human security in the Zambian context.

In essence, the case study method served as an optimal choice for this study, as it aligned with the nature of the research and its objective of comprehensively examining the multifaceted impacts of electoral violence on human security in Zambia. This approach not only provided a robust framework for investigation but also accorded the opportunity to generate rich, context-specific insights that contributed to a more profound understanding of the subject matter.

1.6.2 Case Study Selection

Zambia was chosen as the case study due to its diverse electoral history and the prevalence of electoral violence incidents over the past decade. It served as a relevant case study for understanding the impact of electoral-related violence on human security as it offered a rich context on democratic transitions, history of electoral violence, and human security concerns (Wahman and Goldring, 2020: 99). Additionally, by focusing on the time period from 2011 to 2021, the study was able to cover both national and local government elections ensuring a robust examination of electoral dynamics at different levels of governance which will allowed for a comprehensive analysis of a critical decade in Zambia's political history. The time period offered political transitions that served a valuable opportunity to understand the impact of electoral violence on human security during both periods of non-elections and electoral cycles.

1.6.3 Sampling, Study Site, Population and Sample Size

The research was conducted within Lusaka district, serving as the focal point and administrative hub of the nation. Bearing in mind the nature of the study being a case study, which in most cases, selects a small geographical area or a very limited number of individuals as the subjects of study (Zainal, 2007: 1-2), the selection of the population and sample size for key informant interviews was focused on engaging eighteen (18) experts representing diverse institutions and organizations.

Sampling plays a pivotal role in the external validity and generalizability of research findings. In the process of the sample selection, the study employed a purposive sampling method to select the eighteen (18) study participants. Purposive sampling is a non-probability sampling technique where researchers intentionally choose participants or cases based on specific criteria relevant to the research question or objectives (Tongco, 2007: 147). It is commonly employed in qualitative research where the emphasis is on exploring in-depth information, understanding specific contexts, or gaining insights from participants with unique perspectives and are knowledgeable on the subject under investigation. The criteria for selection includes the uniqueness of the case, its relevance to the research problem, and the extent to which it represents the broader population or context (ibid). The eighteen (18) study participants were drawn from identified entities which include the University of Zambia (UNZA) (02)¹, government officials from the Ministry of Home Affairs (01) and the Ministry of Justice (01), Grentel (economic research institute) (01), Transparency International Zambia (TIZ) (02), two opposition political parties namely; the Socialist Party and the Zambia United for Sustainable Development

¹ The University of Zambia is the highest public learning institution in Zambia.

political parties (04), the Political Science Association of Zambia (PSZA) (02)², the Human Rights Commission (01)³, the Roman Catholic Church, (02), and ActionAid Zambia (02)⁴.

The adoption of this sampling methodology was key in ensuring that key individuals and representatives within each organization were included. The participants from the University of Zambia were chosen for their contributions to academic and research expertise on human security and electoral violence. Government officials from the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of Justice were included for their insights into policy and security implications. Representatives from Grentel, an economic research institute, and Transparency International Zambia (TIZ) were considered for their perspectives on economic and transparency issues related to electoral violence. Participants from opposition political parties (the Socialist Party and the Zambia United for Sustainable Development) were chosen for their first-hand experiences and viewpoints on political security. The Political Science Association of Zambia (PSZA) were chosen for their expertise on policy and political analysis. While the Human Rights Commission was considered for its insights on human rights implications, participants from the Roman Catholic Church and ActionAid Zambia were considered for their perspectives on community security, cohesion and advocacy. This diverse and strategically selected group of informants ensured the study could explore the multifaceted impacts of electoral violence on political, personal, community, and psychological dimensions of human security.

² The Political Science Association of Zambia is an institution of reference for the dissemination of knowledge in political science to both the academic community and the Zambian society at large.

³ The Zambia Human Rights Commission is a National Human Rights Institution mandated to ensure that the Bill of Rights is upheld and protected.

⁴ ActionAid Zambia is part of the ActionAid Global Federation working to achieve social justice, gender equality and poverty eradication.

The inclusion of these diverse institutions and organizations enhanced the study's robustness, capturing a broad spectrum of perspectives and insights. The collaborative engagement with academia, civil society, political entities, religious institutions, and human rights organizations enriched the research with a multifaceted understanding of the complex dynamics surrounding electoral violence and human security in Zambia from different vantage points.

1.6.4 Sources of Data/Data Collection

The study employed a multi-method approach to data collection, incorporating both primary and secondary sources. Primary data was gathered through interviews from the selected eighteen (18) key informants from the various identified institutions and organizations. Key informant interviews (KIIs) are administered to experts who have first-hand knowledge of the situation or topic under investigation (Patton, 2014). KIIs allowed the study to gain in-depth insights into the impact of electoral-related violence on human security in Zambia.

The key informant interviews were complemented by secondary data sources by way of document review. Document review is a method of data collection in research that involves the systematic examination and analysis of existing documents, records, reports, and other written materials relevant to the research topic (Lewis et al., 2013). The study reviewed government agencies, human rights organizations and civil society documents and official reports, media records, academia, and articles on electoral related violence and incidences over the 2011-2021 time period. Accessing government agencies documents, human rights organizations' reports, civil society documents, official reports, media records, and academic articles for a study on electoral violence requires a multi-faceted approach. The study visited official government websites and databases as well as contacting relevant government

agencies as election commissions and security agencies to request official documents. For documents on electoral violence from human rights organizations and civil society documents and official reports, media records, academia, and articles, the study visited the official websites of the respective institutions and/or organization as well as contacting them to request specific reports or official documents.

In the collection of both the primary and secondary data, the study strictly adhered to ethical principles through-out the research process. It ensured that informed consent was obtained from all participants, and measures were implemented to ensure the confidentiality and anonymity of respondents. Additionally, the study complied with the copyright laws and handled sensitive information responsibly, especially when dealing with human rights records and official documents.

1.6.5 Data Analysis Procedures

The analysis of the collected data followed a systematic process. The study employed qualitative analysis methods, namely; thematic analysis, content analysis, and pattern matching to identify patterns, themes, and relationships within the data that was collected. Thematic analysis is a qualitative research method used to systematically identify, analyse, and report themes and narratives present within a dataset through a meticulous process of reading and re-reading the transcribed data (Dawadi, 2020: 62). On the other hand, qualitative content analysis is an analytical research method that focuses on systematically analysing the content of textual, visual, or audio materials to draw inferences or make interpretations (Zhang and Wildemuth, 2008: 1). For pattern matching, it is a research design and analysis strategy used to compare patterns or themes across different cases or sources of data aiming to identify

similarities or differences in patterns, seeking to draw meaningful conclusions or insights from the comparisons to understand relationships (Sinkovics, 2018: 5). The goal of this study in combining the three methods of data analysis was to derive meaningful insights and draw valid conclusions from the collected data that contributed to addressing the research question and objective.

In this regard, the study collected data using the KII questionnaire and transcribed the interview audios. It then utilized the thematic analytical method in coding and categorizing the transcribed primary data into themes, allowing for the identification of key human security dimensions, patterns, trends, and key factors of electoral-related violence's impact on the practice and state of human security. This aided the exploration and understanding of experiences, perspectives, and narratives of the participants. Given the complex and multifaceted nature of electoral-related violence and its impact on human security, thematic data analysis method provided the flexibility to capture diverse perspectives and nuances in the data ensuring a systematic and rigorous exploration of the research question, and gave room to interpret the data in a way that was context-specific.

For the content analytical method, it was used in the examination of secondary data sources. This method was applied to scrutinize and examine the textual and/or visual materials found in various documents, media audios, and visual contents to systematically analyse and categorize specific features or patterns related to the categorized themes in thematic analysis. Content data analysis was chosen for its ability to handle large volumes of textual and/or visual data that allowed the study to analyse a large volume of textual and/or visual data, such as news articles, videos, reports, speeches, and social media content. In the context of studying electoral violence, there were abundant textual and/or visual data available that provided insights into incidents, their nature, and their impact on human security. Content analysis provided a deep

and systematic exploration of the content, and allowed the study to uncover patterns, themes, and underlying meanings within the texts, audios and videos. The insights gained from this approach complemented and enriched the findings obtained from the primary data source.

Additionally, the study further adopted a pattern matching analysis strategy. This analysis process was used to compare patterns across the primary and secondary data sources within the case study, to identify commonalities and/or variations in patterns of the two sources of data. The pattern matching analytical approach was used to aid the study in identifying commonalities, differences, and trends within the narratives of the primary data and the secondary data sources.

The integration of these methods enabled the research to approach the case study from multiple perspectives, combining the strengths of thematic analysis for in-depth theme identification, content analysis for systematic examination, and pattern matching for insightful cross-source comparisons.

In analysing the transcribed interviews using thematic content analysis, the study identified five key themes within the human security framework through a systematic process. First, the researcher thoroughly read through the transcriptions to become familiar with the data. Next, the researcher highlighted and coded words and phrases specifically related to electoral violence and its impacts on human security. These initial codes were then organized into broader categories that reflected recurring patterns and ideas in the data.

Through this iterative process, the researcher refined these categories, grouping similar codes together and identifying overarching themes. This led to the identification of five key themes under human security: political security, community security, personal security, health security (psychological well-being), and economic dimensions of human security. Each theme emerged as a

distinct and significant aspect of human security affected by electoral violence, providing a comprehensive understanding of the multifaceted impacts observed in the study.

1.6.6 Data Validity and Reliability

The integrative approach of combining primary and secondary data sources was informed by the two methods' ability to provide a more holistic understanding of the research topic and contribute to the overall robustness of the findings. These processes had the ability to enrich the research process by way of enhancing the depth of the findings and provide a more nuanced and comprehensive understanding of the subject.

Additionally, secondary data came in handy as primary data sources for a case study may have limitations, such as a small sample size or a narrow scope. In this sense, secondary data helped fill these gaps by providing additional data points or alternative viewpoints, ensuring a more well-rounded analysis. Additionally, secondary data helped provide historical or contextual information that can help interpret and understand primary data more effectively. This broader perspective was crucial for placing the findings within a larger framework and making sense of patterns or trends of electoral related violence over time.

Furthermore, this integrative process of both primary and secondary data sources played quite a pivotal role in the validity and credibility of the study findings and conclusions. As validity and credibility are an essential part of the case study, the study's use a variety of data sources integrating both primary and secondary data sources helped the process of data triangulation ensuring trustworthiness while accurately reflecting what the study seeks to investigate. Furthermore, this provided a platform for cross-referencing information from different sources which helped validate the findings. As the primary data

sources provided first-hand information directly related to the research question, secondary data, on the other hand, offered a broader valuable contextual information about electoral related violence across distinct electoral cycles within the timeframe and offered a better understanding of the historical, social, and economic context in which the primary data was situated. By combining these two sources of data, the study achieved a more comprehensive view of the subject, enriching the study with both depth and breadth of information. This triangulation strengthened the overall reliability and validity of the data.

1.7 Limitations and Delimitations

1.7.1 Limitations

While every effort was made to ensure the comprehensiveness of this study, certain limitations emerged, particularly related to the methodological approach. Although the study aimed to balance both intrinsic and descriptive case study methods, it leaned more heavily towards the descriptive aspect. As a result, the research relied more on reported accounts rather than capturing the lived experiences of individuals directly affected by electoral violence. This may have limited capturing the full spectrum of personal experiences and emotions related to electoral violence, potentially affecting the richness and depth of the findings.

Additionally, the multifaceted nature of human security posed a challenge, as the study could not comprehensively address all dimensions. Specifically, the environmental and food security aspects were less emphasized in the analysis of electoral-related violence's impact on human security in the Zambian context.

1.7.2 Delimitations

To address the limitations, the study strived to include the intrinsic approach that constituted approximately 16.7% of the total data collection, providing insights into the lived experiences of electoral violence. Despite this effort, time and resource constraints led to a predominant reliance on observations from key informants, secondary data sources, and documented reports. This approach was designed to offer a broad overview of the impact of electoral violence on human security. The study's focus on secondary sources and key informant observations, while valuable, may have limited the depth of the intrinsic perspective.

Additionally, the study deliberately focused on examining the impact of electoral-related violence on individual well-being and safety within the framework of human security. This targeted approach allowed for an in-depth exploration of specific thematic areas—political security, community security, personal security, health security (emotional and psychological well-being), and economic security. By narrowing the scope, the study provided a nuanced understanding of how electoral violence affects these dimensions of human security, ensuring a thorough analysis of each aspect.

1.8 Conclusion

In summary, this chapter outlined the methodological approach adopted for the study, explaining the rationale for choosing a case study methodology and detailing the processes of case selection, sampling, data collection, and analysis methods. The subsequent chapters, before delving into the actual implementation of these methods and present the findings that contribute to

addressing the research questions and the objective, present Zambia's political and human security in historical perspective.



CHAPTER THREE: ZAMBIA'S HISTORICAL CONTEXT

2.1. Introduction

This chapter delves into the rich tapestry of historical backgrounds that have shaped the trajectory of Zambia's development, with a particular focus on three key dimensions: Historical Background, Political Historical Background, and Zambia's Human Security in Historical Perspective. These sections aim to unravel the intricate threads of time, weaving together the past events, political landscapes, and human security dynamics that have played pivotal roles in shaping the nation. As the study journey through the annals of history, it aims to uncover the nuances of Zambia's evolution, exploring how historical events and political movements have left indelible imprints on the nation's human security landscape. This exploration is not merely a reflection on the past but a crucial foundation for understanding the present and envisioning the future, as the study seeks to comprehend the intricate interplay between historical legacies and contemporary challenges in Zambia's quest for sustainable human security.

2.2. Historical Background

Zambia is a landlocked country located in Southern Africa, bordered by eight countries: Tanzania to the northeast, Malawi to the east, Mozambique to the southeast, Zimbabwe to the south, Botswana and Namibia to the southwest, Angola to the west, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo to the north (Hobson et al., 2024). This strategic geography places Zambia at the nexus of trade and transportation routes, rendering it a vital crossroads within the region's economic landscape (Tembo, 2019: 2). The convergence of

diverse cultures, goods, and ideas traversing its territory underscores Zambia's pivotal role as a gateway to Southern Africa, enriching its societal fabric and fostering connections that extend far beyond its borders.

Figure 1. Map of Zambia. Source: Taylor (2006: i).



Zambia's historical perspective is a multifaceted narrative that encompasses various epochs and themes, each contributing to the country's rich tapestry of identity and development. At its core lies the pre-colonial era, characterized by the presence of diverse indigenous societies and kingdoms across the land. These societies, such as the Bemba, Lozi, and Chewa, established intricate social, cultural, and economic systems, leaving enduring legacies that continue to shape Zambia's cultural landscape today (Taylor, 2006: x, 61, 62).

Long before European exploration, Zambia was inhabited by the Khoisan people, who lived as hunter-gatherers for centuries. Around AD300, Bantu migrations brought tribes like Tonga, Nkoya, Mbunda, Nsokolo, Ngoni, and Sotho from various directions, particularly from the Congo region, displacing the Khoisan. Some Khoisan integrated into Bantu communities, losing their

distinct identity due to intermarriage and cultural dominance. As this migration continued, the Tonga tribe, believed to be the first Bantu group in Zambia, migrated from the Great Lakes region. Other groups, like the Luba and Lunda from Congo and immigrants like the Ngoni and Sotho from South Africa in the 1800s, further diversified Zambia's ethnic and cultural landscape. By the late 1800s, each ethnic group had established its homeland, laying the foundation for Zambia's present-day tribal identities (Mwakikagile, 2010).

In the late 18th century, the first European contact with the region occurred with the arrival of Portuguese explorers. This contact initiated sporadic trade relations and interactions, often characterized by tensions and conflicts over resources and trade routes (Taylor, 2006: 11). The presence of European traders and explorers marked the beginning of Zambia's engagement with the wider world, setting the stage for subsequent colonial influences and interventions.

The 19th century brought significant instability to the region, fuelled by population movements, including traders of Arabic descent, and the devastating impact of the transatlantic and Indian Ocean slave trades. Portuguese and Arab traders played a significant role in facilitating these trades, disrupting local societies and economies (ibid). This period of upheaval left a profound mark on Zambia's social and demographic landscape, shaping its history and identity for generations to come.

After the mid-19th century, Zambia became increasingly accessible to Western explorers, missionaries, and traders. This period saw the arrival of the British missionary and explorer David Livingstone in 1851 (Alistair, 2020). As the Victoria Falls Guide (2022) notes, his arrival brought international attention to the Zambezi region. Livingstone's explorations sparked interest in the area among European powers and laid the foundation for future British involvement in the region. His travels and writings provided valuable insights into the geography, culture, and resources of the region, further stimulating European interest in Zambia.

Inspired by Livingstone's writings, Cecil Rhodes, leading the British South Africa Company (BSAC), embarked on an expedition into the region in 1888. Motivated by both the quest for minerals and territorial ambitions, Rhodes sought to further British commercial and political interests in Central Africa, ultimately aiming to establish a British colony in the area. Rhodes' initial triumph came with his persuasion of King Lewanika of the Lozi ethnic group of present-day Western Zambian region, also known as Barotse, to sign a treaty in 1890 granting mineral rights in their ancestral lands (Taylor, 2006: 11-12). This pivotal agreement paved the way for the establishment of North-Western Rhodesia, formalized in 1891 under the British South Africa Company's charter. Concurrently, the Company extended its control into the eastern territories, home to the Ngoni tribe, migrants from South Africa's Natal region who had earlier defeated the Chewa. Despite fierce resistance, the Ngoni succumbed to British dominance, leading to the annexation of their lands, eventually named North-Eastern Rhodesia.

Initially administered as separate entities, the colonial territories of North-Western and North-Eastern Rhodesia operated independently despite both being British possessions under unified leadership. In 1911, they were amalgamated into a single colony named Northern Rhodesia, facilitated by the British South Africa Company (Momba and Chipande, 2014: 30). Kalomo served as the first administrative center, later replaced by Livingstone, named after the renowned missionary-doctor-explorer David Livingstone.

The late 1920s witnessed the discovery of rich copper deposits in Northern Rhodesia, triggering a surge in European migration to the region. The development of mining towns and the influx of European technicians and administrators transformed the economic landscape, making copper mining the cornerstone of Zambia's economy for decades to come (Money, 2021: 3). This period of economic growth and development also brought significant social and environmental changes, shaping the trajectory of Zambia's modernization.

However, in 1923, the British Government revoked the British South Africa Company's charter, thereby ending its control over Northern Rhodesia (Rönnbäck and Broberg, 2022: 782). In the same year, Southern Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe, similarly under the administration of the British South Africa Company, gained self-governing status, granting significant authority to its white minority settlers over the black majority populace. Subsequently, in August 1953, British colonial settlers formed the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, encompassing Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland, the latter renamed Malawi post-independence. This union, also referred to as the Central African Federation, marked a significant chapter in the region's colonial history (Richardson, 2010: 4-9). The federation aimed to consolidate British control and promote economic integration within the region. However, it also faced challenges, including growing nationalist sentiments and demands for self-determination, which would ultimately lead to the dissolution of the federation by late 1963 and the emergence of independent nations.

Amidst growing nationalist sentiments, Kenneth Kaunda, who would later assume the roles of Zambia's inaugural Prime Minister and its first Republican President in the post-colonial era, launched the United National Independence Party (UNIP) in 1960, marking the beginning of organized resistance against colonial rule in Northern Rhodesia. The struggle for independence gained momentum, culminating in Zambia's attainment of independence in 1964. Northern Rhodesia was renamed Zambia, and Kenneth Kaunda became its first president, initiating a period of one-party rule that lasted for the next 27 years (Tedla, 2011). Kaunda's presidency was characterized by efforts to forge a unified national identity and navigate the challenges of post-colonial development, shaping Zambia's trajectory as an independent nation.

2.3. Political Historical Background

Before gaining independence, Zambia, formerly known as Northern Rhodesia, endured nearly seventy-six (76) years of colonial rule, initially under the auspices of the BSAC and subsequently under direct governance by the British Empire (The New York Times, 1964: 1; Crehan, 2004). The colonial period in Zambia was marked by authoritarianism and an absence of democratic governance, hallmarks of foreign domination. The enduring legacy of this colonial administration, established by entities such as the BSAC and later the Colonial Office, continued to shape Zambia's contemporary governance, legal framework, political landscape, and social divisions despite reform efforts (Lange, 2004).

The discovery of copper in Zambia's Copperbelt region before independence significantly influenced the country's political trajectory, exacerbating existing divisions and shaping its economic landscape. The unequal distribution of wealth derived from copper exacerbated economic disparities, particularly evident in uneven regional development, where the Copperbelt received more substantial infrastructure investments compared to other regions. However, the benefits of copper wealth failed to trickle down to the broader population, deepening social and economic inequalities. This economic dynamic consolidated power within the government and a select elite, deepening the divide between the political elite and ordinary citizens (Sikamo et al., 2016: 491-492). The copper mines functioned not only as economic centres but also as hubs of social and political influence, where control over these mines equated to control over the country. During the British colonial era in Zambia, a strong democratic tradition was not established; rather, it left a legacy of laws aimed at subjugating the Zambian colonial society and favouring a privileged white minority.

The struggle for control and ownership of the mines became central to the broader quest for independence and economic autonomy. This push for freedom and democracy, post-World War II, was influenced by India's independence in 1947 and Ghana's in 1957 (Yergin and Stanislaw, 1998: 82). In Northern Rhodesia, the push for independence gained traction in the late 1930s, coinciding with the mining industry's recovery after the Great Depression. Copperbelt miners played a crucial role in this movement, primarily in urban areas and without resorting to guerrilla tactics (Crehan, 2004). In 1958, the Zambia African National Congress (ZANC), led by Kenneth Kaunda, broke away from the conservative African National Congress (ANC). The ANC had initially been formed by Mbikusita Lewanika and was later led by Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula, both significant nationalist politicians and pivotal figures in colonial and post-colonial Zambia (Macola, 2008: 20). The colonial state responded with repression, employing laws such as the Public Order Act, detention without trial, emergency powers, and the Penal Code. ZANC was banned a year following its formation, leading to the detention of its leader, Kenneth Kaunda. During his detention, Mainza Chona, a prominent Zambian politician who served as Prime Minister from 1973 to 1975 and later held various ministerial positions, founded the UNIP Party and became its first president (ibid: 21).

Kaunda's imprisonment significantly influenced his later writings on Humanism, leading him to develop a unique interpretative perspective of the country's pre-colonial and colonial history. He utilized this narrative to reinforce UNIP's post-independence governing strategy. Kaunda highlighted the importance of traditional chiefdoms as genuine African models of unity, advocating for consensual decision-making processes. He argued that competing political parties could intensify tribal conflicts, thereby justifying UNIP's authoritarian measures, including the imprisonment of political opponents and the establishment of a one-party state in 1972 under the pretence

of popular support (Larmer, 2006: 236). These ideas justified UNIP's authoritarian measures, including imprisoning political opponents and eventually establishing a one-party state in 1972, under the guise of popular support (ibid: 237). In reality, these measures were a response to mounting political opposition.

Upon his release in 1961, Kaunda assumed the UNIP party presidency from Chona. However, the journey towards stability and democracy in Zambia faced significant challenges. On July 24, 1964, Sir Evelyn Hone, then Governor of Northern Rhodesia, declared a State of Emergency, which persisted intermittently throughout post-independence Zambia until 1990. This period was marked by political unrest and suppression, with the State of Emergency serving as a tool for maintaining control (Clay, 2014). It was not until 1990 that Zambia began to experience a shift towards restoring multiparty democracy, aligning with global movements towards political pluralism and citizen empowerment.

In the face of heightened repression, compounded by the declaration of a State of Emergency (ibid), the nationalist movement in Zambia resorted to acts of violence against the colonial State and European settlers. This era was marked by intense intolerance among key contenders for power, leading to frequent confrontations between the police and nationalist groups, as well as between political parties such as UNIP and ANC. Despite this strife, there were instances where rival parties sought opportunities to collaborate, particularly when their interests aligned. One notable example is the formation of a coalition government in 1962, where the ANC chose to ally with UNIP instead of the settler party, the United Federal Party (UFP). This coalition was instrumental in leading to Zambia's independence in 1964. This historical context offers both poignant and valuable lessons for contemporary efforts aimed at fostering peace and democracy in the nation today. It underscores the importance of unity and cooperation among political factions in pursuing common goals, while also

highlighting the consequences of intolerance and violence in hindering progress in society. These nationalist movements finally reached their objective, culminating in Zambia's independence in October of 1964. Despite the challenges and tumultuous periods following independence, such as the intermittent State of Emergency and the establishment of a one-party state, Zambia has been acclaimed as an exemplar of democracy and peace on the continent (Maseko, 2021).

2.3.1. First Republic (October 1964- December, 1972)

In the wake of Zambia's hard-fought independence in 1964, the nation embarked on a journey toward democratic governance, ushering in an era of political pluralism. The emergence of three prominent political parties - the UNIP Party, the ANC, and the National Progressive Party (NPP) - signalled the dawn of a new political landscape, reflective of the diverse aspirations of the Zambian people (Simutanyi, 2005: 4). Under the leadership and guidance of Kenneth Kaunda's UNIP, Zambia embarked on a path of nation-building, striving to overcome the legacies of colonialism and forge a future of prosperity and dignity for all its citizens.

Led by the iconic Kenneth Kaunda, UNIP emerged as the dominant force, securing the majority of seats in Parliament and thus assuming the reins of government. Kaunda's ascension to the presidency symbolized the hopes and dreams of a nation on the cusp of newfound freedom and self-determination. However, the euphoria of independence soon gave way to the realities of governance, as internal dissent and political rivalries began to surface. One such challenge came from within Kaunda's own ranks, as Nalumino Mundia, then Minister of Education, broke away from UNIP to form the United Party (UP). Collaborating with politicians from the Lozi ethnic group of the ANC, Mundia's UP garnered support primarily from the Lozi-speaking populace, who

harboured grievances over perceived inequalities in resource allocation under the new government (Sumbwa, 2000: 113).

The schism within the political landscape of Zambia intensified when the UP party was outlawed, its leaders detained in August of 1968 (Clay, 2014). The UNIP government, ironically employed pre-independence era statutes reminiscent of the colonial regime, including the Public Order Act, to suppress dissent (Pinckney, 2018: 205). This move underscored the challenges of reconciling the ideals of independence with the exigencies of maintaining political stability and authority. In the aftermath of the UP's banishment, its members found refuge in the ANC, consolidating their support within the ranks of Zambia's oldest political party. Nalumino Mundia's transition to the role of ANC Deputy-President exemplified the fluidity of Zambian politics and the resilience of its political actors in adapting to shifting circumstances (Rasmussen, 1969).

The tumultuous early years of Zambia's first republic laid bare the complexities inherent in the nation-building process. The struggle for political supremacy and the quest for equitable distribution of resources underscored the enduring challenges of reconciling divergent interests within a newly independent state. Yet, amidst the turbulence, Zambia's commitment to democratic governance and the rule of law remained steadfast, laying the groundwork for the nation's continued evolution as a beacon of democracy in the region.

However, internal tensions within the ruling UNIP surfaced in 1968, exacerbated by ethnic alliances vying for key party positions. At the national congress, tensions escalated as Simon Mwansa Kapwepwe, a Bemba serving as the Foreign Affairs Minister, contested Reuben Kamanga, a Tumbuka from Eastern Province, who was vying for the Vice Presidency. The conflict intensified to such an extent that Kaunda temporarily stepped down as Republican President on February 5, 1968, citing his disillusionment with the

tribalistic tensions within the party. However, he later rescinded his decision after persuasion at the UNIP National Council meeting in Lusaka (Macola, 2008: 103-104).

Following the 1968 general elections, the appearance of unity within the party dissolved, revealing deeper divisions. Simon Mwansa Kapwepwe, having initially contested for party positions, resigned from both his roles as party and Republican Vice-President. He cited systemic marginalization of Bemba-speaking individuals from government appointments and lack of respect from his colleagues as reasons for his resignation. Kapwepwe's departure from UNIP culminated in the formation of the United Progressive Party (UPP) in 1971, drawing significant support from the Bemba community. The emergence of the UPP posed a considerable threat to UNIP's dominance, evidenced by Kapwepwe's victory in the Mufulira Parliamentary by-election in December 1971 (ibid: 104).

In 1969, a Referendum was held to amend the independence constitution, easing restrictions on constitutional changes. This paved the way for the establishment of a one-party state, with UNIP at the helm of power as the only legal political party, consolidating executive and legislative powers in the presidency. Subsequently, President Kaunda and ANC leader Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula signed the Choma Declaration on February 4, 1972, formalizing Zambia's status as a one-party state. This agreement aimed to quell political violence and promote national unity under the grand motto, "*One Zambia One Nation*". Pursuant to this end, Kaunda adopted a system of regional and tribal balancing in leadership appointments, aiming to mitigate tribal rivalries but proved to be expensive contributing to economic decline that characterised the second republic (Zimba, 2010: 118-119).

2.3.2. *The Second Republic (September, 1973 – 1990)*

During Zambia's second Republic, the one-party State, spearheaded by the UNIP, grappled with numerous economic and social challenges that remained largely unaddressed. Despite regular elections, the political landscape was dominated by UNIP as the only political party, with President Kenneth Kaunda wielding significant power. Under the dominance of the UNIP, state officials wielded extensive influence across all facets of society. This encompassed the management of State-Owned Enterprises, control over the distribution of essential goods, and the imposition of authority in rural areas through vigilante groups. Marketplaces and transportation hubs were subject to UNIP's jurisdiction, often resulting in intimidation and harassment of civilians. These authoritarian practices persisted over time, contributing to a climate of fear and discontent among the populace (Kabechani and Zulu, 2010: 5).

The pervasive influence of UNIP extended to the media, which was heavily saturated with government propaganda, perpetuating a climate of fear and intimidation among citizens (Chanda, 2012: 13). Markets and transportation hubs were subject to UNIP's authority, with reports of intimidation and harassment of civilians becoming commonplace. Despite the appearance of stability, simmering tensions lurked beneath the surface, occasionally erupting into riots and acts of civil disobedience fuelled by dissatisfaction with the one-party system and economic hardships (Macola, 2008: 108).

Despite the facade of stability, simmering tensions lurked beneath the surface of Zambia's one-party State. While elections were held regularly, challenges to the president within UNIP were prohibited, stifling political opposition. However, elections to the National Assembly provided a semblance of competitiveness, albeit with some candidates vetted by the Central Committee. Periodic outbreaks of unrest, including riots and acts of civil disobedience, underscored underlying dissatisfaction with the status quo.

Ultimately, mounting opposition and international pressure compelled President Kaunda to accede to demands for the reintroduction of multi-party democracy, signalling the end of Zambia's second Republic (Clay, 2014).

2.3.3. *Emergence of the Third Republic*

The onset of Zambia's third republic marked a significant turning point in the nation's political landscape. It commenced with the repeal of some Articles of the Republican Constitution, paving the way for the introduction of multiparty democracy (Erdmann and Simutanyi, 2003: 11). This crucial transformation set the stage for Zambia's first multi-party elections after independence, held in October 1991. In a decisive victory, the opposition Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD), led by trade unionist Frederick J.T. Chiluba, secured more than 76 percent of the vote. The MMD's win marked the end of President Kaunda's 27-year rule and heralded a dramatic change in Zambian politics (ibid: 51).

The outcome of the 1991 elections underscored a widespread desire for change among the Zambian populace. The MMD's broad national appeal transcended traditional boundaries, garnering support from diverse segments of society. For the first time in the history of the country, Zambians of European and Asian descent actively participated in politics, joining the ranks of the new party in power, MMD, as party members, MPs, and some into ministerial positions. However, as competition for governmental positions intensified, tribalism began to surface within the MMD, echoing patterns observed in the previous UNIP regime. Political conflicts emerged as ruling elites deviated from their initial commitment to multi-racial, multi-ethnic, and non-tribal politics (Southern African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (SACCORD), 2009).

Amidst the euphoria of Zambia's transition to multiparty democracy, the emergence of tribalism within the MMD highlighted underlying tensions and challenges. Despite initial aspirations for inclusivity and change, the dynamics of power and privilege fuelled internal divisions within the ruling party. This period of political transition laid bare the complexities of navigating Zambia's diverse socio-political landscape, underscoring the need for sustained efforts to foster unity and equitable representation in the country's democratic institutions (ibid).

In 2011, the Patriotic Front (PF) Party assumed power following the end of MMD rule, with Mr. Michael Sata at its helm. The political landscape became increasingly marked by regional and ethnic polarization, as the party garnered support primarily from one part of the country. Efforts to foster integration across the nation's divides were minimal, with little attention paid to incorporating the views and representation of the losing bloc into appointments and leadership positions (The Carter Centre, 2022: 8).

Tragically, President Sata's tenure was cut short by his passing in 2014, leading to the succession of Mr. Edgar Lungu. Throughout Mr. Lungu's presidency, electoral conflicts exacerbated by a disregard for the rule of law, discrimination based on party and ethnic affiliations, and heightened political violence became prevalent (Kawila et al., 2023). These are the factors believed to have contributed significantly to the eventual loss of power by the PF in the 2021 elections.

In 2021, In 2021, Hakainde Hichilema of the United Party for National Development (UPND) won the election, signaling a shift in Zambia's political landscape. The outcome reflected a desire for change and a move away from the divisive politics of previous years. With UPND in power, there is hope for renewed focus on greater inclusivity, respect for the rule of law, and efforts to bridge and heal the political divides in Zambia's political landscape (The Carter Centre, 2022: 37).

2.4. *Evolution of Electoral Conflicts and Political Violence*

Since gaining independence, Zambian young people aligned with the political parties in power have typically been tasked with overseeing community affairs, including organizing events and maintaining order. Initially, these roles served as some form of acknowledgment of their active participation within the party (Beardsworth et al., 2022: 7). Conversely, in the face of worsening economic conditions, high unemployment rates, and limited opportunities, this privilege has morphed into a misuse of authority. Party-affiliated youths have regrettably wielded power unchecked, becoming perpetrators of political and electoral violence. These incidents encompass their involvement in attacking and harassing journalists from both private and public media, as well as using intimidation tactics against political rivals, voters, and the broader public (Mukunto, 2019: 134).

Since 2020, the high unemployment rate has been at the centre of today's youth-led electoral violence. The struggling economy, exacerbated by COVID-19 and a lack of job opportunities, led to high levels of clientism with many young men joining ranks of political cadre, primarily aligned with the UPND and PF parties. According to the Population Council and UNFPA (2018: 4), youth unemployment rates are notably high, especially among those aged 12 to 19 (41.7%), 20 to 24 (36.1%), and 25 to 29 (17.9%). While some in the youngest age group may still be in school, others actively seek employment without success. In contrast, older age groups, such as those aged 55 to 59 (6.2%) and 65 and older (2.8%), experience significantly lower unemployment rates (ibid). For many young party members, the allure of promised jobs and other benefits in exchange for political tasks became a lucrative opportunity. Among these tasks, intimidating political opponents and engaging in electoral violence were prominent duties associated with being a party cadre (The Carter Centre, 2022: 8). Cadres targeted local radio stations that supported civil society and

opposition leaders, and they harassed civil servants based on their political affiliations.

Furthermore, these youths have often taken liberties, such as appropriating land and constructing buildings without obtaining proper authorization from relevant authorities. They may engage in protests against government opponents or demand the dismissal of public officials without adhering to proper procedures. Setting up trading stalls without regulation is another common practice. Their influence has been so formidable that they can intimidate the general public, adversaries, and even their own leaders within their political structures with impunity. However, the newly inaugurated administration, which assumed power in the last election held in 2021, is taking steps to address these issues, although isolated incidents persist.

Successive governing parties have allowed and tolerated this lack of control and discipline (Bob-Miliar, 2014), rendering others powerless to effect change. Party cadres, through clientism, have been feeling entitled to their actions due to their perceived role in securing power for those in authority, act with impunity, shielded from legal repercussions (Beardsworth et al., 2022: 10). Consequently, ruling party cadres have cultivated a culture of intimidation, violence, and confrontation to safeguard their party's interests. Opposition parties, in a bid to defend their democratic space, also engage in confrontations, particularly during election periods, leading to community violence (African Union Panel of the Wise, 2010: 22). This culture of political violence has become deeply entrenched in Zambian politics and frequently contributes to electoral conflicts.

The reintroduction of multi-partism in Zambia in 1991 saw the resurgence of party cadres, reminiscent of the UNIP-era vigilantes. Originating during the UNIP era from 1964 to the early 1990s, party cadres were dedicated supporters tasked with advancing the party's agenda and maintaining its influence across society. Initially emerging during the nation's struggle for independence, UNIP

utilized cadres to mobilize grassroots support and consolidate political power at national level (Beardsworth et al., 2022: 7). Drawing inspiration from the socialist and liberation movements of the time, the cadre system was designed to foster loyalty, exert political control, and create a direct connection between the party leadership and the people. Initially drawn from trade unions, student groups, and community organizations, cadres played a pivotal role in promoting UNIP's vision of a unified Zambia. After gaining independence in 1964, cadres continued to play a crucial role in Zambia's political sphere, acting as UNIP's grassroots operatives in governance and community organization. However, as time passed, the cadre system evolved and extended its reach beyond its original aims. While they initially supported community development, the cadres also became involved in detrimental activities, such as political violence and the suppression of dissent, particularly during the UNIP era (Mukunto, 2019: 133-134). In contemporary politics, cadres ostensibly serve as campaign foot soldiers and party activists. However, because of the nature of clientism relation that exists, cadres, influenced by monetary incentives and other rewards from political patrons have often resorted to militancy, lawlessness, and violence in their operations.

Observers note that Zambia experienced a significant escalation of political violence, marking a departure from its relatively peaceful transition to multipartyism in 2005. This was especially evident during a critical by-election in Mapatizya Constituency, Southern Province, on June 9, 2005. In this election, the opposition UPND unveiled the infamous "Mapatizya Formula," marked by aggressive, militant tactics. UPND supporters carried out violent actions including assaulting government vehicles, commandeering food and logistics convoys, and intimidating government officials and electoral staff, all while accusing the ruling party of electoral misconduct and biased campaign strategies (Zambia Insights, 2010).

Simultaneously, the PF, the PF, another opposition party, appeared to employ a comparable strategy during the Kalulushi by-election in the Copperbelt. PF supporters interrupted a campaign rally held by the ruling MMD party in Chambishi Township, resulting in violent confrontations (Ibid). The violence that erupted during the Mapatizya and Kalulushi by-elections later echoed in the Milanzi and Mufumbwe parliamentary by-elections in the Eastern and North-western provinces, respectively, leading to similarly severe outcomes (Lusaka Times, 2010).

Between 2010 and 2021, Zambia experienced a series of episodes of electoral violence, highlighting enduring obstacles within the nation's democratic framework. The general elections of 2016 particularly stand out, marked by clashes between supporters of distinct political factions across multiple regions (Wahman, 2023). Preceding the elections, reports surfaced of violent altercations between loyalists of the incumbent PF and the opposition UPND, further exacerbating tensions. The ensuing confrontations inflicted casualties and fatalities, prompting widespread apprehension regarding the escalating discord throughout the electoral cycle.

In the lead-up to the 2021 general elections, Zambia encountered a pronounced upsurge in political violence, mirroring past challenges. Reports emerged of clashes between supporters aligned with the ruling party and those of the opposition, alongside documented cases of intimidation and harassment targeting political adversaries. The situation intensified post-election, as disputed results sparked widespread protests across the nation, culminating in clashes between security forces and demonstrators in various locales. This escalation underscored deep-seated tensions within Zambia's political landscape, raising significant concerns about the stability and integrity of the democratic process (The Southern African Institute for Policy and Research (SAPIR), 2021).

Beyond these significant occurrences, Zambia faced numerous localized incidents of electoral violence characterized by physical assaults, loss of life, property damage, and disruptions of campaign activities (the Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project (ACLED) 2015; Aljazeera 2016; Ministerial Statement, 2019). These incidents not only emphasized the unpredictable and volatile nature of Zambia's political climate but also served as poignant reminders of the imperative for comprehensive strategies to prevent and mitigate electoral violence. Such challenges demand concerted efforts to bolster mechanisms for conflict resolution, ensure the safety and security of all participants in the electoral process, and foster an environment conducive to free and fair elections. Addressing these issues is vital to safeguarding Zambia's democratic integrity and promoting a peaceful political landscape conducive to sustainable development.

These incidents underscored a disturbing trend of escalating political violence fuelled by intense competition and growing tensions between political parties. Throughout the span from 2010 to 2021, Zambia grappled with persistent incidents of electoral violence, emblematic of entrenched political schisms and societal tensions. The adoption of militant tactics by opposition parties and subsequent clashes with ruling party supporters disrupted the electoral process and undermined the integrity of Zambia's democratic institutions. The reverberating effects of such violence highlight the urgent need for effective measures to curb political unrest and foster a culture of peaceful and fair elections in the country that would contribute to the overall human security of the Zambian population.

2.5. Zambia's Human Security in Historical Perspective

The concept of human security, as articulated in the General Assembly resolution 66/290 adopted on 10 September 2012, represents a culmination of

decades of discourse and evolution in global governance as well as a significant advancement in international discourse and action concerning the well-being and protection of individuals and communities (The Human Security Unit, 2015: 2). Despite its formal adoption in 2012, human security is not a novel idea but rather a culmination of evolving understandings and responses to the complex challenges that have faced and still facing humanity today. This sets the stage for an exploration of the historical roots and contemporary significance of Zambia's human security, as articulated within the framework of the General Assembly resolution.

The resolution 66/290 delineated human security as an approach aimed at assisting United Nations Member States in identifying and addressing pervasive challenges to the survival, livelihood, and dignity of their populations. It emphasized fundamental rights such as the freedom from poverty and despair, ensuring equal opportunities for all individuals to realize their full human potential. Human security was conceptualized as requiring people-centred, comprehensive, context-specific, and prevention-oriented responses to enhance protection and empowerment (ibid).

Furthermore, the resolution underscored the interconnectedness of peace, development, and human rights, advocating for the equal consideration of civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights. This endorsement laid the groundwork for a holistic approach to addressing global challenges, recognizing the need for multifaceted strategies to tackle root causes of insecurity and vulnerability. By endorsing a people-centred approach, it emphasized tailoring responses to specific contexts, fostering inclusivity and resilience within communities (The United Nations General Assembly, 2012: 1).

Moreover, the resolution highlighted the preventive aspect of human security, emphasizing proactive measures to mitigate risks and build capacities for sustainable development and peace. Acknowledging the interdependence of various rights and dimensions of security, it reinforced the need for integrated

policies that uphold the dignity and well-being of all individuals (ibid: 2). Ultimately, the adoption of this resolution signaled a commitment to a comprehensive understanding of human security and its pivotal role in advancing global peace, development, and human rights. The adoption of General Assembly resolution 66/290 formalized the long-standing efforts of nations to advance the security and well-being of their people and communities. This resolution encapsulated a collective understanding of human security as crucial for addressing widespread challenges to human survival, livelihood, dignity and development.

2.5.1. Evolution of Human Security in Zambia

Zambia's human security history is marked by a series of interconnected challenges spanning political, economic, social, and environmental domains. Pre-independence, colonial exploitation led to severe human rights abuses and limited access to essential services such as education and healthcare. Post-independence, the country grappled with internal strife, economic instability, and the effects of neighbouring conflicts, undermining citizens' safety and well-being.

Before the arrival of colonial powers in the late 19th century, Zambia's diverse ethnic groups relied on indigenous systems of security rooted in communal living and mutual aid (Noyoo, 2016). Communities were organized around traditional leadership structures that prioritized collective well-being and defence against external threats. Social cohesion and reciprocity were central to these societies, fostering resilience in the face of challenges such as natural disasters, conflicts, and disease outbreaks. Despite the absence of modern institutions, pre-colonial Zambia exhibited a form of human security based on communal solidarity and shared values (Taylor, 2006: 107).

The advent of British colonial rule in Zambia brought profound changes to the social, economic, and political landscape, significantly impacting the relative human security enjoyed by the indigenous communities. Exploitation of Zambia's natural resources, particularly copper mining, led to the displacement of indigenous communities and the disruption of traditional livelihoods. The colonial administration prioritized the interests of the British Empire over the well-being of local populations, resulting in widespread poverty, inequality, and social unrest setting the stage for other factors to affect human security in post-independence Zambia (Chanda et al., 2024).

Upon gaining independence in 1964, Zambia embarked on a nation-building project aimed at addressing the legacy of colonialism and promoting human security for all citizens. The newly formed Republic of Zambia increased mineral exportations and implemented various social welfare programs, including healthcare initiatives and education reforms, to improve the quality of life for its people (Saasa, 1996: 3-4). This period marked the country's transition to its first republic. However, economic challenges, including fluctuations in global copper prices and structural inequalities, posed significant obstacles to achieving comprehensive human security. Despite these challenges during this period, Zambia made strides in advancing political stability and social development with the nationalization of key economic industries which included the mining industries.

The advent of the second republic, which saw the transitioning of Zambia into a one-party state, brought with it major challenges for human security. The dominance of Kaunda's UNIP led to the marginalization and exclusion of political opponents, particularly those from ethnic groups perceived as dissenting or opposing the ruling party. This exclusionary politics fuelled grievances and resentment among marginalized communities, leading to feelings of political insecurity and disenfranchisement. Repressive measures, including censorship, arbitrary arrests, and crackdowns on dissent, further

exacerbated tensions and undermined civil liberties, eroding trust in the government and institutions responsible for ensuring human security (Brosche et al., 2019: 120).

This period saw the manipulation of ethnicity for political purposes by the ruling elite which exacerbated divisions among Zambia's diverse ethnic groups. Kaunda's policies, such as the promotion of a unitary national identity and the suppression of ethnic mobilization, stifled pluralism and diversity, fostering a climate of suspicion and mistrust among communities. This polarization weakened social cohesion and solidarity, hindering collective efforts to address common challenges and threats to human security. Ethnic tensions also fuelled intergroup conflicts and violence, perpetuating cycles of insecurity and instability (ibid).

The 1980s and 1990s saw Zambia facing another human security hurdle. The economic downturn, exacerbated by falling copper prices and external debt burdens, resulted in widespread poverty and unemployment (Saasa, 1996: 3). Many Zambians lost their jobs as mining companies scaled back operations or closed down entirely, leading to a sharp rise in unemployment rates. The loss of income and livelihood opportunities pushed many families into poverty, threatening their ability to meet basic needs such as food, shelter, and healthcare. The resulting economic insecurity heightened vulnerabilities and undermined human security for large segments of the population. Additionally, budget cuts and austerity measures imposed during the economic crisis strained public services, extending to the healthcare sector further exacerbating the threats to human security. The HIV/AIDS epidemic strained healthcare systems and social support structures, threatening the population's health and stability.

Further, the economic decline and austerity measures contributed to food insecurity, as many Zambians struggled to afford or access an adequate diet (Simutanyi, 2008: 2). Rising food prices, coupled with stagnant or declining incomes, made it increasingly difficult for households to afford nutritious food,

leading to malnutrition and hunger. Vulnerable populations, including children, pregnant women, and the elderly, were particularly affected by food insecurity, which threatened their health and well-being. The persistence of food insecurity undermined nutritional security and posed long-term risks to human development and resilience.

The transition to multi-party democracy in 1991 marked a significant turning point in Zambia's political landscape, ushering in an era of economic liberalization and social reforms. Motivated to address the challenges to human welfare, the Zambian government in the early 1990s saw the implementation of the SAPs. However, the SAPs implemented in Zambia during the late 20th century, as directed by international financial institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, aimed to stabilize Zambia's economy and promote growth by implementing policies such as privatization, deregulation, and fiscal austerity. Despite these intentions, these measures often resulted in job losses, reduced wages, and increased poverty levels, particularly among vulnerable populations. The dismantling of state-owned enterprises resulted in mass layoffs, exacerbating income inequalities and threatening livelihoods, thus compromising economic security for many Zambians (Silungwe, and Silungwe, 2019).

The SAPs often required cuts to government spending on social services such as healthcare, education, and social welfare programs. Reductions in public expenditure resulted in inadequate funding for essential services, leading to declining quality and accessibility. Health and education systems were strained, contributing to a decline in human capital development and increasing vulnerability to health crises, such as the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Consequently, the erosion of social safety nets weakened social security for the most marginalized segments of society (ibid).

Further, SAPs promoted agricultural liberalization and export-oriented policies, aiming to boost foreign exchange earnings. However, these policies

neglected domestic food production and undermined food security. Subsidy cuts and market-oriented reforms favoured cash crops over staple food production, leading to increased food prices and food insecurity among rural and urban populations. Vulnerable groups, including small-scale farmers and low-income households, faced heightened risks of malnutrition and hunger, compromising their nutritional security (Saasa, 1996: 4).

Additionally, the SAPs encouraged natural resource exploitation and environmental deregulation as part of efforts to attract foreign investment and promote economic growth. However, inadequate environmental safeguards and enforcement mechanisms led to environmental degradation and health hazards. Mining activities, in particular, contributed to land degradation, water pollution, and deforestation, threatening the livelihoods and health of communities dependent on natural resources. Environmental insecurity further compounded existing socio-economic vulnerabilities, exacerbating risks to human security (Simutanyi, 2008: 1).

In summary, the ethnic strife during Kaunda's one-party state in Zambia, alongside the structural adjustment programs in Zambia and the economic decline of the late 1970s and early 1980s, collectively undermined human security. SAPs led to poverty, unemployment, and environmental degradation, while ethnic tensions affected political freedoms and social cohesion. The economic downturn exacerbated issues such as food insecurity and social instability.

2.5.2. Zambia's Efforts Towards Human Security

Realizing the pervasive threats to human security, Zambia strived to address the pervasive challenges which required inclusive governance, reconciliation efforts, and policies promoting economic stability and social cohesion to safeguard human security and foster resilience. During the period from 2000 to

2010, Zambia achieved significant milestones in enhancing human security. Implementing poverty reduction strategies, the nation focused on enhancing access to essential services and livelihood opportunities for its populace (International Monetary Fund, 2007).

The "Zambia Vision 2030" stands out as one of the most ambitious and comprehensive initiatives in Zambia's journey towards enhancing human security. Introduced with the aim of transforming the nation into a prosperous middle-income country by the year 2030, this visionary roadmap serves as a guiding framework for all development endeavours. Encompassing various sectors and dimensions of development, the Zambia Vision 2030 outlines strategic objectives and priority areas that address key challenges and opportunities facing the nation (The Republic of Zambia 2006: 2).

At its core, the Zambia Vision 2030 emphasizes sustainable economic growth, social development, and environmental sustainability as essential pillars for achieving the desired prosperity and well-being of all Zambians. Through targeted policies and programs, the vision seeks to stimulate economic diversification, promote inclusive growth, and create opportunities for decent employment and livelihoods. By harnessing the nation's natural resources, investing in infrastructure, and fostering innovation and entrepreneurship, Zambia aims to build a resilient and competitive economy that can withstand global challenges and uncertainties (ibid: 34).

Furthermore, the Zambia Vision 2030 places a strong emphasis on human capital development and social inclusion. Recognizing the importance of education, healthcare, and social protection in empowering individuals and communities, the vision prioritizes investments in these critical areas. By ensuring equitable access to quality education, healthcare services, and social safety nets, Zambia seeks to enhance human capabilities, promote social cohesion, and reduce inequalities. Additionally, the vision underscores the need to address gender disparities and empower women and youth to actively

participate in the country's development process (The Republic of Zambia, 2022: 14).

The Zambia Vision 2030 also underscores the importance of environmental conservation and natural resource management. By promoting sustainable land use practices, biodiversity conservation, and climate resilience measures, the vision seeks to safeguard the environment for future generations and mitigate the impacts of climate change on human security (The Republic of Zambia, 2006: 30).

In addition to the overarching Zambia Vision 2030, the Zambian government has been actively crafting a series of complementary development frameworks that leverage both local expertise and international best practices. These frameworks are designed to address a spectrum of developmental challenges and opportunities, reflecting a holistic approach to sustainable development. Building upon the global agenda set by the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), Zambia has channelled its efforts towards the attainment of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). These global benchmarks serve as guiding principles for eradicating extreme poverty, reducing vulnerability, and promoting human capital development. By aligning national policies and programs with the SDGs, Zambia aims to address a wide array of social, economic, and environmental issues, including poverty, hunger, health, education, gender equality, and environmental sustainability (Ministry of National Development Planning 2020: i).

Furthermore, The Zambian government has prioritized infrastructure development to boost productive capacity and economic growth. Through targeted investments in both economic and social sectors, Zambia aims to stimulate private sector investment, and enhance the overall competitiveness of its economy, improve connectivity and create a business-friendly environment by upgrading transportation, energy, telecommunications, and water supply systems (The Republic of Zambia, 2022: 3).

Moreover, these development frameworks are underpinned by a commitment to local ownership and capacity building (ibid: 37). Recognizing the importance of community participation and empowerment, the Zambian government actively engages stakeholders at all levels, including local communities, civil society organizations, and the private sector, in the development and implementation of policies and programs. By harnessing local knowledge and expertise, Zambia aims to ensure that development interventions are contextually relevant, sustainable, and responsive to the needs and aspirations of its people.

2.5.3. *Emerging/Enduring Human Security Threats in Zambia*

As Zambia has strived to navigate the complexities of pervasive threats to human security and efforts in pursuit of sustainable development and societal well-being, one formidable adversary looms large: the spectre of electoral-related violence, as evidenced by the events surrounding the 2016 general elections (The Southern African Institute for Policy and Research, 2021). This menace, while not new, has assumed a heightened significance in recent times, casting a shadow over the nation's democratic aspirations and imperilling its social fabric.

In the intricate tapestry of Zambia's human security landscape, characterized by a mosaic of economic disparities, health vulnerabilities, and environmental concerns, the menace of electoral-related violence emerges as a particularly pressing concern (Fumpa-Makano, 2019: 32). Despite strides towards democratic governance, the country grapples with the persistent threat of violence erupting during electoral processes, posing a grave risk to the safety, stability, and democratic legitimacy of the nation.

The phenomenon of electoral-related violence transcends mere sporadic incidents of physical confrontation; it encompasses a spectrum of disruptive

behaviours, including intimidation, coercion, and manipulation, which undermine the principles of free and fair elections (The Southern African Institute for Policy and Research, 2021: 4). Such violence not only jeopardizes the safety and fundamental rights of citizens but also undermines the integrity of electoral processes, eroding public trust in democratic institutions and impeding the consolidation of democracy.

Moreover, electoral-related violence in Zambia is often intertwined with underlying socio-political tensions, exacerbated by factors such as ethnic cleavages, economic disparities, and partisan rivalries (Kim, 2016: 17). These dynamics amplify the risk of violence during electoral periods, as competing political factions mobilize support along identity lines, fostering a climate of polarization and antagonism.

Understanding the profound impact of electoral-related violence is crucial for enhancing human security in Zambia. Beyond causing immediate physical harm and psychological trauma, such violence undermines trust in democratic institutions, exacerbates social divisions, and hampers the realization of basic human rights. It perpetuates a cycle of fear and instability, hindering economic development, deterring investment, and limiting access to essential services like healthcare and education. Additionally, it disproportionately affects marginalized groups, including women, youth, and minorities. Addressing the consequences of electoral violence is essential for fostering an environment conducive to human security, empowering individuals to exercise their rights and contribute to societal well-being in both electoral and non-electoral periods.

2.6. Conclusion

In conclusion, electoral-related violence in Zambia represents a significant threat to human security, undercutting stability, prosperity, and democratic governance. Despite historical efforts to address challenges like economic

instability and social disparities, this form of violence persists as a formidable obstacle, extending beyond physical confrontation. It erodes trust in democratic institutions, perpetuates cycles of fear and division, and worsens underlying socio-political tensions and economic disparities. Recognizing the impact of electoral-related violence is essential for fostering an environment conducive to free and fair elections, respecting human rights, and addressing grievances. The subsequent section of the paper provides a detailed analysis of the multifaceted consequences of electoral-related violence on various aspects of human security, including economic development, individual safety, social cohesion, and political stability. By examining its manifestations and ripple effects, insights are gained into mitigating risks posed by electoral violence, thereby advancing the well-being of the populace, consolidating democracy, and fostering a more secure and resilient society in Zambia.

CHAPTER FOUR: PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

2.7. Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the study in relation to the impacts of electoral-related violence on the practice and condition of human security in Zambia. The analysis is structured around the key themes identified from the data namely; political security, community security, personal security, health security (emotional and psychological well-being), and economic security dimensions of human security, which collectively address the overall research question: *How does electoral-related violence impact the practice and condition of human security in Zambia?* This question guided the study's investigation and analysis, aiming to uncover the multifaceted effects of electoral violence on various dimensions of human security within the Zambian context.

2.8. Basic Information of Respondents

Demographic Overview:

The study included a diverse group of respondents to ensure a comprehensive understanding of the impacts of electoral-related violence on human security in Zambia. To achieve this, the study carefully selected participants with a variety of backgrounds and perspectives. This diversity helped capture a wide range of experiences and insights regarding how electoral violence affects different aspects of human security, such as political, personal, community, health, and economic security.

i. Gender Distribution:

In terms of gender distribution, the study ensured representation from both men and women. Specifically, 60% of the respondents were male, and 40% were female. This balanced approach allowed the study to consider gender-specific impacts and ensure that the findings reflected the experiences and concerns of both men and women in the context of electoral violence and human security in Zambia.

ii. Age

Additionally, the age distribution of respondents was varied to provide a comprehensive perspective. 70% of the participants were between 25 and 34 years old, 20% were between 35 and 44 years old, and 10% were between 55 and 64 years old. This age diversity ensured that the study could capture insights from different generational viewpoints, enhancing the overall understanding of how electoral violence impacts human security across different age groups in Zambia.

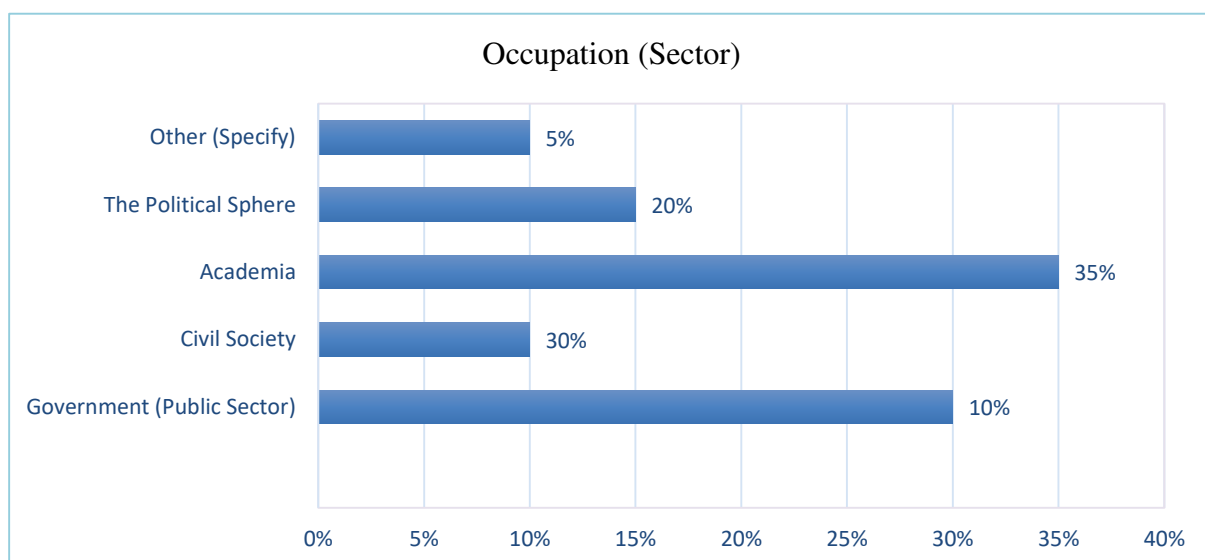
iii. Educational Background

In terms of educational background, the study included respondents with different levels of academic achievement. 30% of the participants held bachelor's degrees, while 70% had postgraduate degrees. This mix of educational backgrounds allowed the study to benefit from a range of expertise and analytical capabilities, contributing to a more nuanced and in-depth exploration of the impacts of electoral violence on human security.

iv. Occupation/Sector

The occupational and sectoral distribution of respondents further contributed to the study's comprehensive perspective. 30% of the respondents were from civil society, providing insights from advocacy and grassroots organizations. 10% were from the government (public sector), offering perspectives on policy and governance. 35% of the respondents were from academia, contributing scholarly and research-based viewpoints. 20% were from the political sphere, sharing first-hand experiences and political analyses. Finally, 5% were from other sectors, including religious institutions, adding diverse perspectives on community and social advocacy dimensions. This occupational diversity ensured that the study encompassed a wide array of experiences and expertise, enhancing the overall understanding of the impacts of electoral violence on human security in Zambia.

Chart 1 Below shows the occupation (sector) of the key informants that took part in the study.



v. Region of Residence of the respondents

In terms of region of residence, all of the respondents were based in Lusaka. This concentration allowed the study to focus on the capital city, which is often a hotspot for political activity and electoral violence, thereby providing critical insights into the dynamics of human security in this key urban area.

2.9. Main Findings

The analysis identified several key themes (political security, community security, personal security, health security i.e emotional and psychological well-being, and economic security dimensions) that emerged from the interview data, shedding light on the impacts of electoral-related violence on human security in Zambia.

2.9.1. The State of Human Security in Zambia

This section provides an overview of the prevailing conditions and practices related to human security during both electoral and non-electoral cycles in Zambia. The findings of the study reveal a concerning environment for the promotion and protection of human security throughout these periods.

According to interview data, perceptions of human security in Zambia during electoral and non-electoral periods vary. While a small minority (10.5%) viewed the non-electoral period as more favourable due to stable economic conditions and lower unemployment, the overwhelming majority, 89.5%, expressed dissatisfaction with both periods. Interviewee A noted that *"the economy was stable, and unemployment levels were not as high"* during the non-electoral period, yet the sentiment of interviewee B resonated with many, asserting that *"the state had not provided enough protection but instead protection was selective"* throughout.

Interviewee D painted a stark picture, highlighting that "Human security in Zambia has not been centrally prioritized in safeguarding human concerns" from 2011 to 2021. The focus appeared to be more on political power retention than on addressing the needs and interests of the populace. This sentiment was echoed by interviewee H, who noted that structural issues such as social inequalities, ethnic tensions, food insecurity, health challenges as emotional and psychological issues, and economic instability persisted across both electoral and non-electoral periods.

These perspectives underscore a complex landscape where issues of human security extend beyond direct violence to encompass broader structural challenges that affect the daily lives and freedoms of Zambian citizens. The following section delves into specific human security themes identified through the interview data, shedding light on the multifaceted dimensions of this critical issue in Zambian society.

3.1. Identified Themes

3.1.1. Theme 1: Personal Security

Personal security is one dimension of human security designed to shield individuals from physical harm, whether inflicted by the state, external states, violent individuals and groups, domestic abuse, or predatory adults (Srinivas, 2020). For many, the primary concern is crime, especially violent offenses, which often causes the highest levels of anxiety.

This theme encompasses the direct physical harm inflicted on individuals and communities as a result of electoral violence. The study's findings highlighted a number of physical attacks on individuals, and property destruction designating it a serious human security issue in Zambia.

According to the document review of AlJazeera (2016), Zambia witnessed a rise in political violence in some districts which regrettably resulted in injury, loss of life and property. Mofya (2021), a writer at the local news agency, News Diggers, equally echoed incidents of election-related violence that resulted in fatalities in regions outside the political activities hub of Lusaka, recording two deaths and spates of violence during the 2021 electoral cycle. Further, government reports indicated a spike in politically motivated attacks in the run-up to elections, highlighting the direct link between electoral cycles and political unrest encompassing violent clashes between various political party members and supporters during the electoral cycles (Ministerial Statement, 2019).

The interviews also underscored a pervasive pattern of violence during the study period, with over 99% of respondents reporting incidents of electoral-related violence in Zambia between 2011 and 2021. Interviewee A vividly described, *"During the electoral cycles in Zambia from 2011 to 2021, there was a significant rise in electoral violence. This violence took various forms, including political threats, electoral fraud such as document theft and substitution of officials, and escalated to physical altercations where supporters of opposing political parties engaged in fighting, shootings, and stabbings. Much of this violence was orchestrated by high-level political figures to sway outcomes and gain advantage. Nearly every electoral contest during this period was marred by some form of violence."*

In the same line, interviewee B pointed to the violation of personal security recounting specific instances, stating, *"Yes, I witnessed and learned about physical violence such as assault and bodily harm, as well as psychological violence involving verbal abuse, threats, and property destruction."*

Interviewee F also underlined the violation of personal security in the personal observations and in having read about incidents of physical violence echoing *"Yes, I witnessed and read about physical violence, intimidation, coercion, fearmongering, political manipulation and loss of life that still directly*

threatened the physical security of individuals and derailed voters from taking part in the electoral process”.

During the study period, 90% of respondents identified urban and peri-urban areas as the primary hotspots for electoral-related violence. They highlighted that electoral violence in Zambia was prevalent in these regions, such as Lusaka and the Southern provinces, where densely populated communities with lower-income demographics were particularly affected. These areas were frequently targeted by elected officials during their campaigns to secure votes. Interviewee I highlighted *“Electoral violence in Zambia were common in many urban and peri-urban areas such as Lusaka and Southern provinces where people are densely populated and when you closely look at the characteristics of the demographics that perpetrated this violence they were more likely to be the poor in the social strata. therefore, suffice to say that the poor in communities or the people with very much low incomes living in densely populated areas where these elected official went to lobby for votes were the most affected ones”.*

Interviewee C equally noted that Lusaka and the Copperbelt regions faced heightened electoral violence due to their diverse populations and significant socio-economic challenges, notably the high cost of living, impacting political choices. Moreover, these areas saw political party strongholds becoming restricted zones for parties from other regions lacking ethnic or regional alignment, underscoring tensions between northern and southern regions.

These responses highlight the geographic concentrations and underlying socio-economic dynamics that exacerbated electoral violence in Zambia during the specified period.

3.1.1.1. Interpretation of the Findings on Personal Security

The findings discussed here highlight the critical intersection between personal security and electoral violence in Zambia, revealing profound

implications for human security. Personal security, encompassing protection from physical harm inflicted by various actors including the state, violent groups, and domestic abusers, emerges as a significant concern. The study underscores that violent offenses, particularly during electoral periods, evoke heightened anxiety among the populace.

Specifically, the research identified a disturbing pattern of electoral-related violence in Zambia between 2011 and 2021. This violence manifested in various forms such as physical attacks, property destruction, and even fatalities, as documented by multiple sources including AlJazeera (2016) and local news reports by Mofya (2021) from News Diggers. Government reports also corroborate a surge in politically motivated attacks during election cycles, reflecting a direct correlation between electoral activities and heightened social unrest.

Interviews conducted for the study further elucidate these findings. Interviewee A highlighted how electoral violence in Zambia involved threats, electoral fraud, and physical altercations orchestrated by high-level political figures aiming to influence electoral outcomes. Similarly, interviewee B and interviewee F recounted personal experiences and observations of physical violence, intimidation, and psychological coercion, all of which posed direct threats to personal security and deterred voter participation.

In essence, the data underscores that electoral violence not only jeopardized personal security but also undermined democratic processes and societal stability. The prevalence and severity of such violence underscore the urgent need for comprehensive measures to safeguard human security during electoral cycles in Zambia, addressing both the immediate physical threats and the broader socio-political dynamics that fuel them.

On the geographical concentration of the electoral violence that violated the aspect of personal security, the responses shed light on the specific regions and the complex socio-economic factors that intensified electoral violence in

Zambia during the specified period. The concentration of incidents in urban and peri-urban areas such as Lusaka and the Copperbelt suggests a correlation between population density, socio-economic hardships like high living costs, and heightened political tensions. These areas not only witnessed frequent clashes and disputes but also became focal points for political manoeuvring and electoral strategies, further exacerbating the volatile atmosphere during electoral cycles. Such dynamics underscore how socio-economic disparities and political rivalries intertwined to fuel instances of violence, impacting the broader societal fabric and political landscape of Zambia.

Based on the findings, while both the secondary data and interviews address electoral violence, the interviews provide a more detailed and comprehensive account, highlighting specific regions, socio-economic factors, and various forms of violence that may not be fully captured in the secondary sources. The interview data reveal a broader spectrum of violence, suggesting that the secondary sources may have focused predominantly on physical violence and property destruction. This discrepancy indicates that the interviews uncovered additional forms of violence, such as psychological intimidation and community-level coercion, which the secondary data may have overlooked. The interviews further provide a deeper insight into the context on how socio-economic challenges and political tensions exacerbate these violent acts.

3.1.2. *Theme 2: Political Security*

The political security aspect of human security focuses on ensuring that individuals reside in a society that upholds and protects their fundamental human rights. This includes safeguarding freedoms such as freedom of expression, assembly, and political participation, as well as protecting individuals from political repression, discrimination, and arbitrary detention (Srinivas, 2020). Essentially, it ensures that people can live without fear of

political persecution or infringement upon their rights by the state or other entities within the society. Thus, political security is integral to fostering a stable and just social environment where individuals can thrive without compromising their basic liberties.

The study findings underscore political security as a significant concern that surfaced during the study period. According to Amnesty International (2021), there was an indication on the rise in crack-downs on the citizens who held differing views from the political party that formed government. In tandem with the Amnesty International report, MAKANDAY Centre for Investigative Journalism (2021) evidenced a low voter turn-out and a lack of confidence in the electoral body induced by electoral violence and voter intimidation.

Furthermore, an examination of official government statistics regarding parliamentary representation revealed a stark disparity between male and female participation in politics. Women constitute only 15.6% of parliamentary seats, whereas men hold the remaining 84.4% (National Assembly of Zambia, 2024).

The study interviews also revealed instances of political security violations during the study period. Interview data indicated that electoral violence significantly impacted individual freedoms, with 95% of respondents agreeing that such violence restricted their rights and freedoms. Interviewee D highlighted that electoral violence discouraged some citizens from freely carrying out their civic duties and exercising their political rights responding, *“Electoral violence reduced the chances of women and minority groups (i.e people with disabilities) from participating in the political process for fear of being attacked by political cadres”*.

Similarly, Interviewee H emphasized the violation on the exercising freedom of expression, stating, *"Yes, Zambians never had a voice on governance and economic issues under the previous regime, as anyone who dared to speak up was victimized and used as an example of what could happen."*

In the same line, interviewee A underscored the obstacles that individuals faced when exercising their right to vote recounting *“it is common in Zambia, and sometimes during the mentioned electoral cycle period, the government commonly used authorities to deter people under the mantle of public disorder quoting the Public Order Act”*.

Adding to the violations on personal security during the study period, speaking from personal experience, Interviewee B shared, *"Yes, being associated with a particular political party gave our opponents the power to dictate our treatment. Many, including myself, faced the threat of losing our civil service jobs for expressing our political preferences. Consequently, most of us opted to remain silent to ensure our safety and well-being, both personally and within our households."*

When assessing the impact of electoral violence on political security among various demographic groups, Interviewee F highlighted distinct challenges and consequences faced by women, men, gender-diverse individuals, and vulnerable groups such as the elderly and people with disabilities. Women encountered heightened risks due to gender inequalities and societal norms, facing targeted violence including harassment, intimidation, and sexual assault aimed at undermining their electoral participation. Men also faced violence but in different contexts shaped by societal expectations of masculinity and their roles in political activities or security forces. Elderly individuals, often physically vulnerable, faced increased risks during electoral violence, while people with disabilities encountered unique barriers such as inaccessible polling stations and limited access to emergency assistance, exacerbating their vulnerability. Interviewee C emphasized that women were particularly vulnerable to electoral violence during the study period, experiencing psychological and sexual abuse that deterred them from exercising their right to vote.

Considering both perpetrators and victims of electoral-related violence during the 2011-2021 Zambian electoral cycles, Interviewee G highlighted that

the perpetrators were typically able-bodied men, with a smaller number of women involved. The elderly were often targeted through attacks on their properties and businesses. Elderly women, especially those in markets, faced disruptions to their livelihoods and were sometimes unintentionally affected by the violence.

3.1.2.1. Interpretation of the findings on Political Security

The concept of political security within the framework of human security underscores the importance of ensuring that individuals can exercise their fundamental rights and freedoms without fear of persecution or repression. However, the study's findings highlight several violations of critical aspects of political security in Zambia during the study period from 2011 to 2021. Firstly, there was a documented increase in crackdowns on dissenting voices, as reported by Amnesty International (2021), indicating a troubling trend of political repression against those critical of the ruling government. This atmosphere of intimidation and repression was further exacerbated by electoral violence and voter intimidation, as noted by the MAKANDAY Centre for Investigative Journalism (2021), contributing to low voter turnout and diminished confidence in electoral processes and low participation. This exacerbated concerns about political stability, fairness and democratic governance in Zambia during the study period.

Moreover, disparities in parliamentary representation revealed significant gender imbalances, with women holding only 15.6% of parliamentary seats, reflecting broader challenges in achieving gender equity in political decision-making (National Assembly of Zambia, 2024). This stark underrepresentation of women in political decision-making processes reflected broader systemic challenges in achieving gender equity and inclusivity in Zambia's governance structures. The limited presence of women in parliament not only hindered

efforts to address gender-specific issues but also undermined the legitimacy and effectiveness of legislative decisions affecting the entire population. This vividly underscores a lack of inclusive political participation that bears huge implications on political security of the Zambian populace.

Interviews conducted as part of the study provided first-hand accounts of political security violations. Participants highlighted how electoral violence restricted individual freedoms and discouraged marginalized groups, including women and people with disabilities, from participating in political processes due to fear of reprisal. Moreover, instances were reported where individuals faced direct threats and harassment for expressing dissenting political views. These intimidation tactics were used to suppress freedom of expression and discourage open discourse on governance issues. The misuse of legal frameworks such as the Public Order Act further was used as a tool to restrict public demonstrations and gatherings, further limiting the space for civic engagement and democratic participation curtailing political security.

Overall, the accounts gathered underscored the multifaceted impact of electoral violence on political security in Zambia. Beyond physical safety concerns, it highlighted broader implications for democratic principles, including the right to free and fair elections, the protection of individual liberties, and the equitable representation of diverse voices within the political sphere.

3.1.3. *Theme 3: Livelihood and Economic Security*

Economic security within the framework of human security necessitates ensuring that individuals have a reliable source of income that ideally comes from productive and adequately compensated work, ensuring individuals can sustain their livelihoods with dignity (Kumar, 2024: 23). However, when such opportunities are lacking or insufficient, a robust, publicly financed safety net

serves as a crucial last resort. This safety net should provide basic income support to ensure that all individuals have access to essential needs such as food, shelter, healthcare, and education, regardless of their employment status or economic circumstances (ibid). In other words, all individuals' income sources should not be disrupted regardless of their standing in society, beliefs and/or political preferences.

Economic security became a significant concern during the study period, marked by notable disruptions in the economic activities of the country's citizens. According to Xinhuanet (2016), the period towards poll of 2016 general elections was marked with political violence that resulted in economic slowdown denting the country. It evidenced decline in economic activities in the violence affected region of Lusaka which is the economic hub of the country due to high rates of unemployment among the youths and attacks on businesses owned by foreigners.

The study interviews revealed a significant downturn in economic activities across various levels during the study period. Half of the key informants noted a decline in economic activities within families due to electoral-related violence. According to Interviewee D, the electoral violence *“affected families in many ways one being that the men and women that participated in national matters such as elections were usually relied upon by family as members who supported their families economically and socially. The violence took away from the families such people through deaths... During the course of 2013 to 2021 we lost a lot of able bodied people through electoral violence, we suffered heavy property destruction to both public and private property. Many people lost their businesses central to their livelihood and this in turn affected the human security due to the fear... violence and deaths”*.

Interviewee A highlighted took the focus on small businesses, emphasizing *“Small businesses, which often lacked the resources to withstand economic shocks, may have suffered disproportionately from electoral violence. Business*

owners may have faced difficulties in accessing credit, maintaining operations, and ensuring the safety of their employees and customers during these cycles''.

Interview data further indicated that 30% of respondents recognized the economic impacts of electoral violence, particularly in terms of selective access to public goods. Interviewee D underscored these impacts by pointing out clear economic disparities between not regions based on political affiliation, whether ruling or opposition, and between rural and urban areas by recounting *‘‘Economic differentials for regions were clear in the ruling or opposition areas or rural and urban areas with notable political affiliation’’.*

In summary, the findings underscored how electoral violence not only disrupted economic activities at the family and small business levels but also exacerbated regional economic disparities, thereby impacting broader economic security and stability within the country.

3.1.3.1. Interpretation of the Findings on Livelihood and Economic Security

Economic security, integral to human security, ensures individuals have a stable income from productive work, supporting dignified livelihoods. However, during the study period from 2011 to 2021, economic security in Zambia was severely compromised by electoral-related violence.

This violence, particularly evident in the lead-up to the 2016 general elections as reported by Xinhuanet (2016), led to economic slowdowns in critical areas like Lusaka, impacting businesses and exacerbating youth unemployment and attacks on foreign-owned enterprises. This affected the country’s ability to nurture and attract Foreign Direct Investment critical to building the financial muscle for provision of basic needs and creation of employment for the citizens.

In the same light, interviews conducted during the study revealed significant economic downturns attributed to electoral violence. Half of the informants noted declines in economic activities within families, with Interviewee D highlighting the profound impact on economically and socially crucial individuals whose deaths or business destructions destabilized households' income. This instability extended across the broader economy, fostering fear, insecurity, and loss of life. This limited economic opportunities both at personal and family levels to have stable income from productive work, and supporting dignified livelihoods.

Furthermore, small businesses, which typically lacked resilience to economic shocks, faced disproportionate challenges during turbulent electoral cycles. As interviewee A underscored, the difficulties these businesses encountered, including limited access to credit, instability in maintaining operations, and concerns over the safety of employees and customers. These challenges compounded existing economic pressures, highlighting the vulnerabilities of small enterprises to disruptions caused by electoral violence. The instability further hindered their ability to sustain livelihoods and contribute to economic growth, underscoring the broader implications for economic security within the affected communities.

The interview data also recognized significant economic consequences stemming from electoral violence, particularly in terms of uneven access to public resources. As interviewee D highlighted pronounced economic disparities among regions along political lines, exacerbated inequalities between rural and urban areas. These disparities underscored how political turmoil during electoral periods widened the access to economic activities gap, widening the gap in economic development based on geographical and political contexts, even in the aftermath of elections. Such insights emphasize the critical link between political stability and economic equity, showing how electoral violence can have lasting effects on socioeconomic development.

In summary, the findings underscore the critical link between political stability and economic security. Electoral violence has had a significant impact on economic security of the citizens with far-reaching effects affecting the intents of inclusive economic policies and effectiveness of social safety nets. It shows the difficulties posed by electoral violence for Zambia to achieve greater economic resilience and ensure the well-being of all its citizens, regardless of their social or political standing.

3.1.4. Theme 4: Health Security (*Emotional and Psychological Well-being*)

The health security aspect of human security is fundamentally concerned with ensuring a baseline protection against diseases and promoting healthy lifestyles (kumar, 2024: 23). In the context of this study, it typically encompasses emotional and mental wellbeing, recognizing their integral role in overall well-being.

The aspect of emotional and psychological well-being equally emerged as a became a significant concern during the study period, characterized by ‘... stress trauma and loss of self-esteem’ (Phiri and Hamauswa, 2017: 1). The review of this document revealed that the main social and psychological effects of electoral violence included regionalism, division among tribal groupings, hatred, and restrictions on freedom of speech, movement, and association (ibid).

Additionally, interviews data from the study revealed that 95% of respondents reported feelings of insecurity among individuals and communities during and after periods of electoral violence. Interviewee E highlighted the pervasive fear among citizens, noting that electoral-related violence has exacerbated psychological distress and created a climate of apprehension recounting “ *I think electoral-related violence has worsened the psychological condition of the citizens having to live in constant fear of not being safe, they*

still harbor fears and therefore do not expressly show support to one party or adorn gear that does not belong to a stronger political party in that area for fear of being victimized''.

In the same lime light, interviewee D echoed these sentiments, emphasizing the psychological impacts of electoral violence such as anxiety, stress, and trauma recounting *“Electoral violence has also led to impacts on psychological well-being leading to anxiety, stress, and trauma, especially for those who witnessed or experienced the violence”.*

The findings underscore how electoral violence not only threatens physical safety but also undermines psychological well-being, contributing to a pervasive sense of insecurity among the population.

3.1.4.1. Interpretation of the Findings on Health Security (Psychological Well-being)

Health security within the framework of human security extends beyond physical disease prevention to encompass mental and emotional well-being. This aspect ensures baseline protection against illnesses while promoting healthy lifestyles and addressing emotional and psychological challenges as integral to overall societal/individual health/well-being.

During the study period, electoral violence in Zambia significantly impacted psychological well-being, as revealed by interviews with respondents. A striking 95% reported feelings of insecurity among individuals and communities during and after episodes of electoral violence. Both interviewee A and E underscored widespread fear and heightened psychological distress among citizens, attributing these outcomes to the pervasive climate of apprehension created by electoral violence. Many individuals refrained from openly expressing political affiliations out of fear of retaliation and victimization.

The findings underscore how electoral violence, with its physical threats and disruptions, also inflicted deep wounds on psychological well-being, amplifying a pervasive sense of insecurity among the population. Beyond the immediate danger of physical harm during violent incidents, the psychological toll extends far and wide. Individuals and communities affected by electoral violence often experienced heightened levels of anxiety, fear, and trauma. The uncertainty and unpredictability surrounding such events created a climate of instability and distrust, eroding confidence in the electoral process and democratic institutions.

Moreover, the psychological impacts were long-lasting, affecting not only those directly involved but also bystanders and broader societal cohesion. Witnessing or hearing about acts of violence has shown to instil a sense of vulnerability and powerlessness, leading to increased stress and emotional distress. This collective psychological burden further complicates efforts to rebuild trust and foster peaceful civic engagement.

In summary, the findings underscore the crucial nexus between political stability and emotional as well as mental health within the broader framework of human security. They highlight how disruptions in political stability, such as electoral violence, can profoundly impact the emotional and psychological well-being of individuals and communities. The prevalence of fear, anxiety, and stress among citizens during and after periods of electoral violence underscores the deep-seated effects on emotional and mental health bearing severe impacts on the well-being of individuals and communities.

Drawing from both primary and secondary data, there are no direct contradictions between the secondary data sources and the interview data. Rather, the interview data offers a more nuanced and personal perspective that enriches the broader societal impacts described in the secondary sources. The secondary data sources, like those by Phiri and Hamauswa (2017), outline the broad social, emotional, and psychological effects of electoral violence, including regionalism, tribal divisions, and restrictions on freedoms. These

sources offer a macro-level understanding, highlighting systemic and widespread consequences.

In contrast, the interview data brings more to light the individual experiences of those directly affected by electoral violence. Respondents' accounts, like those of Interviewee E and Interviewee D, focus on the personal ramifications, such as pervasive fear, psychological distress, anxiety, stress, and trauma. These personal narratives illustrate how electoral violence influences daily life, emotional and mental health, creating a climate of apprehension and altering behaviours due to fear of victimization. The secondary data seem to go beyond individual experiences capturing community-level experiences. There is however, no significant contradictions, instead, secondary data source sets the stage by describing the general trends and community-level effects, while the interview data adds depth by presenting the lived experiences and emotional toll on individuals.

3.1.5. Theme 5: Social Cohesion and Community Security

The community security aspect of human security is dedicated to safeguarding individuals from the erosion of traditional relationships and values, as well as from sectarian and ethnic violence emphasizing the importance of maintaining cohesive and harmonious communities where people feel safe and respected, irrespective of their background or beliefs (Kumar, 2024: 23).

This aspect of human security recognizes that communities thrive when there is mutual trust, respect for diversity, and protection against discrimination and violence rooted in sectarian or ethnic differences. It underscores the need for inclusive governance and policies that promote social cohesion, unity, and the preservation of cultural identities.

However, during the study period, this aspect of human security faced severe violations in numerous instances. According to Habasonda (2018), instances of sectarian and/or ethnic violence and the erosion of traditional values were prevalent taking off since 2011, undermining community cohesion and jeopardizing the safety and well-being of individuals within and between communities.

Further examination of government archives corroborates these findings, emphasizing significant concerns regarding ethnic clashes, divisions, and inflammatory rhetoric during both by-elections and general elections throughout the study period. These archival records provide a comprehensive view of how political strategies, including corruption and exploitation of ethnic tensions, have influenced Zambia's political landscape, contributing to societal polarization and undermining efforts to foster unity and inclusivity (Zambia National Assembly, 2020).

The study interviews also underscored the severe impact of electoral violence on community security during the study period in Zambia. A substantial 80% of interview respondents highlighted electoral violence as a significant contributor to social divisions and tensions within Zambian society.

Interviewee G highlighted how Zambia's diverse ethnic groups were exploited by politicians during elections, leading to heightened ethnic tensions recounting *“Zambia has multiple ethnic groups. During these past elections, politicians exploited ethnic identities to mobilize support, leading to heightened ethnic tensions. Electoral violence often occurred during intense political competition between rival parties. Supporters of opposing political parties engaged in violent clashes, leading to a polarization of political allegiances. This polarization exacerbated social divisions, as individuals identified more strongly with their political affiliation than with shared national identity”*.

Interviewee H echoed similar concerns, noting that electoral violence and hateful rhetoric during the pre-election period intensified ethnic tensions and

political intolerance highlighting *“Electoral violence exacerbated ethnic tensions and political intolerance in Zambian societies- due to the hateful rhetoric that got circulated in the pre-election period. In the post-election period, when the election results were contested due to the electoral violence that took place, social divisions and tensions were created and the elected candidate became deemed illegitimate in other provinces”*.

Holding the similar sentiments, interviewee K provided specific examples of divisive language and physical altercations during the 2016 elections, citing tribal remarks and regional biases perpetuated by politicians and electoral officials. Holding these sentiments the interviewee recounted *“Most times electoral violence in Zambia was always fuelled by divisive languages, threats and physical altercations. For example during the 2016 elections we saw a milliard of divisive tribal remarks being uttered by the politicians and standing electoral officers, lots of name calling and shaming of one another based on tribe and regional ties. This in turn caused divisive sentiments with some tribal factions attacking each other and others being known as the hooligans of society. The tension was usually apparent and deep rooted in regional representations and tribal power politics at the centre of the poor voting social demography”*.

In the same line, interviewee L recounted how electoral violence in 2016 reignited ethnic tensions among the Lozi and Tonga peoples, fuelling sentiments of marginalization and historical grievances related to the Barotseland agreement. This period highlighted underlying divisions within Zambian society, contrasting with the national motto of "one Zambia, one nation."

In similar manner, interviewee D highlighted the broader implications of electoral violence on inter-communal relations, noting that *“... Zambia faced a hard time during the period under study. Some tribes and regions felt bad to associate with other citizens during this period and the incarceration of the then opposition leader furthered the tension and divisions among regions”*.

In summary, these testimonies vividly illustrate the profound impact of electoral violence on Zambia's societal fabric. They reveal how such violence has severely fractured community cohesion, intensified ethnic divisions, and destabilized social harmony.

3.1.5.1. Interpretation of the Findings on Social Cohesion and Community Security

The community security aspect of human security is crucial for maintaining cohesive and harmonious societies where individuals feel safe and respected regardless of their background or beliefs. It emphasizes protecting individuals from the erosion of traditional relationships and values, as well as from sectarian and ethnic violence.

However, as evidenced by the findings above, community security was highly threatened by electoral violence. The findings imply several critical issues for community security in Zambia highlighting the erosion of trust and social cohesion. The exploitation of ethnic tensions and divisive rhetoric by politicians heightened distrust among different community groups, undermining the sense of unity and shared national identity. This increased vulnerability to sectarian and ethnic violence threatening individual safety and destabilizing the broader social fabric, making it difficult to maintain cohesive communities.

The study also reveals the marginalization and alienation of specific ethnic groups and regions, such as the Lozi people of Western region and Tonga people of Southern region during the 2016 elections. This marginalization led to long-term grievances, hindering national unity and social harmony giving birth to the secession sentiments among the Lozi people of Western Province. Electoral violence and resulting fear deter individuals, especially women and minority groups, from political participation, leading to underrepresentation and a lack of diverse voices in governance further exacerbating community divisions.

Moreover, the pervasive fear, anxiety, and trauma caused by electoral violence have significant implications for mental health within communities, hindering individuals' ability to engage in community activities and contribute to societal well-being. The erosion of traditional values and relationships due to political violence and manipulation affects cultural and social stability, essential for a harmonious and resilient society.

In summary, the findings underscore a significant deficiency in inclusive governance and policies that actively promote social cohesion and protect against discrimination and violence in Zambia. This lack of inclusivity and protection fosters an environment where community trust and unity are severely compromised. The entrenched divisions and ongoing conflicts perpetuate a cycle of polarization, where political and ethnic identities take precedence over a shared national identity. This polarization not only impedes social harmony but also hinders sustainable development and long-term peace efforts.

3.2. Synthesis of the Findings

Overall, the data suggests that electoral related violence during the electoral period between 2011 and 2021 in Zambia has had a major impact on the state and practice of human security and the findings unveiled critical insights into the multifaceted consequences of this violence on human security. The key themes that emerged from the analysis illustrate a complex interplay between electoral violence and various dimensions of human security namely; political security, economic security, personal security, health security and community security, affecting personal safety, political freedoms, economic stability, psychological well-being, social cohesion, and the overall state of human security in Zambia. The effects on these dimensions made the overall state of human security during both electoral and non-electoral periods more precarious.

3.3. Implication of the Findings

These findings are crucial to academic and scientific communities for several reasons. They contribute to the academic understanding of complex issues such as human security, electoral violence, and their interplay. By documenting the specific ways in which electoral violence impacts personal security, political security, economic security, health security, and community security, these findings enrich scholarly literature and advance theoretical frameworks in relevant fields.

Furthermore, the findings serve as a basis for further empirical research to explore the nuances and dynamics of electoral violence and its impact on human security in different contexts. Academic researchers can build upon these findings to conduct comparative studies, case analyses, and longitudinal research, deepening the understanding of the subject and identifying effective mitigation strategies and ways of improving the state and practice of human security in Zambia.

Additionally, the findings are valuable for educational purposes, serving as case studies or illustrative examples in academic courses, workshops, and training programs. They help students and professionals alike understand the complexities of electoral violence, human security, and democratic governance, fostering critical thinking and informed analysis.

3.4. Conclusion

Zambia, strategically positioned at the heart of Southern Africa, boasts a rich historical and cultural heritage shaped by diverse indigenous societies and its role as a regional crossroads. This central location has made Zambia a key player in regional dynamics, influencing trade, migration, and cultural exchange across Southern Africa. Despite its reputation for relative political stability compared

to its neighbours, Zambia has not been immune to the challenges of electoral violence. From 2011 to 2021, the country experienced a significant escalation in political unrest, particularly during election periods. This decade was marked by a series of elections that heightened political tensions, leading to widespread protests and instances of violence. The repeated cycles of electoral violence during this period not only threatened the nation's stability but also raised concerns about the long-term implications for Zambia's democratic processes and social cohesion.

The study focuses on understanding how the electoral-related violence that occurred during the 2011-2021 electoral cycles affected the state and practice of human security in Zambia. The concept of human security advocates for a holistic approach to security that prioritizes the protection and well-being of individuals rather than just state security or military defence. It emphasizes freedom from fear and freedom from want as fundamental to human dignity and sustainable development. Human security addresses a wide range of threats, including economic insecurity, health risks, environmental degradation, political repression, and armed conflict, aiming to empower individuals and communities to live with dignity in secure environments. This approach recognizes that traditional security measures alone are insufficient to safeguard people's lives and livelihoods in an increasingly interconnected and complex world.

The discussion of human security in both discourse and policy encompasses global and regional perspectives, each providing unique insights into the impacts of violence. On a global scale, studies often link human security to broader themes such as development, democratic practices, and gender-specific threats within political contexts. These studies highlight how violence can undermine development goals, destabilize democratic institutions, and disproportionately affect women in political arenas. Regionally, particularly in Africa, research focuses on issues like electoral insecurity, the proliferation of

small arms, governance failures, and the broader consequences of electoral violence on national security. These studies emphasize how political instability can lead to widespread insecurity, affecting entire nations and regions. In Zambia, while electoral violence has been extensively examined in terms of its political and institutional dimensions, its deep and far-reaching impacts on human security have received less attention in existing literature.

The gap necessitated the understanding of the dynamics of electoral violence in Zambia which remains essential for both the country and the broader African context. The study's findings paint a stark picture of the detrimental impact of electoral-related violence on various aspects of human security in Zambia. The findings highlight the pervasive nature of violence during electoral cycles, and evidences the profound and multidimensional impacts on human security, reflecting its far-reaching consequences across various aspects of society.

Firstly, it evidences personal security as severely compromised as the violence directly endangers physical safety, with frequent attacks, property destruction, and displacement disrupting daily life and instilling a pervasive climate of fear. This environment not only affects immediate safety but also undermines the overall sense of security within communities.

In terms of political security, the violence erodes public trust in democratic institutions and curtails individual rights. This is particularly damaging for women, minorities, and individuals with disabilities, who face heightened risks of harassment and intimidation. The resulting atmosphere of fear leads to self-censorship and diminished civic engagement, severely impeding the democratic process.

The impact on livelihood and economic security is equally severe. The violence disrupts economic stability by damaging businesses, destroying property, and exacerbating financial insecurity. These economic disruptions are especially pronounced in politically affiliated regions, where violence can lead to significant setbacks for local economies and financial strain on families.

Further, the findings highlight the psychological well-being of individuals and communities as deeply affected, with widespread fear, anxiety, and trauma emerging as significant issues. The constant threat of violence leads to long-term mental health challenges and fosters a culture of silence around political expression, as individuals prioritize safety over their democratic rights.

Finally, social cohesion and community relations are strained by the violence, which exacerbates ethnic and political divisions. The use of divisive rhetoric and violent incidents deepens social fragmentation, fostering mistrust and hostility among communities. This polarization undermines the sense of national unity and exacerbates existing societal tensions.

Overall, the study findings depict an extensive impact of electoral violence on the practice and state of human security in Zambia underscoring the urgent need for concerted efforts to promote political stability, protect individual rights, foster economic resilience, and rebuild social cohesion, thereby creating a more secure and inclusive society for all.

The study significantly contributes to the understanding of the complex interplay between electoral violence and human security. It highlights how electoral violence extends beyond mere political conflict, affecting personal safety, political rights, economic stability, psychological well-being, and social cohesion. By documenting the specific impacts of electoral violence, the study enriches the academic literature and provides a foundation for future research on the borders of human security and electoral violence.

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Appendix I

Questionnaire

Research Study Title:

“The Impact of Electoral-Related Violence on the Practice and State of Human Security in Africa: An Analysis of the Zambian Case (2011-2021)”

Introduction and Consent

1.1. Introduction:

Welcome to the research study on *"The Impact of Electoral-Related Violence on Human Security in Zambia (2011-2021)"*. Your participation in this study is greatly appreciated. Before you begin, please read and consent to the terms and conditions of participation.

1.2. Participant Consent Statement and Confidentiality

- *Voluntary Participation:* Kindly note, your participation in this study is entirely voluntary.
- *Data Collection:* During the data collection process, you are not required to disclose your identity.
- *Data Usage and Confidentiality:* Data collected will be confidential, and you're not required to disclose your identity. The data collected will be used solely for scientific purposes and will not be employed for any other purposes or in any other research projects.
- *Data Protection Method:* Stringent data protection methods to ensure the confidentiality and security of your information will be employed. After the research is concluded, data will be archived in a secure manner or destroyed in accordance with established data retention policies.
- *Right to Review Data:* You have the right to review the data collected from you at any time during or after your participation in the study. If

you wish to exercise this right, please contact the researcher at the contact details provided below.

- *Comfort and Withdrawal:* Throughout the data collection process, you will not be subjected to any questions or requests that may cause discomfort. However, if you feel uncomfortable for any reason during your participation, you have the right to withdraw from the study at any time, without penalty or explanation. If you choose to withdraw, any data collected from you will be promptly removed from the study and permanently destroyed.

By proceeding with this study, you indicate your understanding of the terms outlined above and your willingness to participate.

☐

Consent: By checking the box, I hereby acknowledge that I have read and understood the research's objectives and voluntarily consent to participate in this study.

Section 1: Demographic Information

1.1. Participant ID (for tracking purposes): _____

[Optional]

1.2. Gender:

☐ Male

☐ Female

☐ Other (please specify): _____

1.3. Age:

☐ Under 18

☐ 18-24

☐ 25-34

☐ 35-44

☐ 45-54

☐ 55-64

☐ 65 or over

1.4. Education Background:

☐ Primary School

☐ Secondary School

☐ Vocational/Technical

☐ Bachelor's Degree

☐ Postgraduate Degree

1.5. Occupation (Sector):

☐ Government (Public Sector)

☐ Civil Society

☐ Academia

☐ The Political Sphere

☐ Other (please specify): _____

1.6. Region of Residence:

- ☐ Lusaka
- ☐ Copperbelt
- ☐ Eastern
- ☐ Western
- ☐ Northern
- ☐ Southern
- ☐ Central
- ☐ Muchinga
- ☐ North-Western

Section 2: Electoral Violence Experience and Awareness

1. In your own understanding, could you briefly define electoral violence?
2. Between the period of 2011-2021 (e.g., during elections, campaigns, protests during elections), did you hear, read or watch any election-related violence in Zambia? If yes, could you kindly describe the types of electoral-related violence that you observed, heard, read or watched during this period (e.g., physical violence, psychological violence etc)?
3. Are there any specific regions or communities within Zambia that have been particularly affected by electoral violence? If yes, why do you think these areas are more prone to such incidents?
4. What role do you think media coverage plays in shaping public perceptions and responses to electoral violence?
5. How do you think electoral violence impacts voter turnout and democratic participation in Zambia?

Section 3: Human Security Experience

1. In your opinion, what does “human security” mean?
2. How would you rate the overall state of the key dimensions of human security in Zambia during non-elections periods between 2011 and 2021? On a scale of 1-10, 1 being state of wellness and 10 being worse. Why?
3. How would you rate the overall state of human security in Zambia during electoral cycles (e.g., during elections, campaigns, protests during elections) between 2011 and 2021? On a scale of 1-10, 1 being state of wellness and 10 being worse. Why?

Section 4: Impact and Perceptions

a. Perceptions of Safety and Security:

1. In your opinion, do you believe electoral-related violence (e.g., during elections, campaigns, protests during elections) between 2011 and 2021 has had an impact on the practice and condition of human security in Zambia? Please explain why/how.
2. Are there instances where voters face challenges or obstacles in exercising their right to vote due to concerns about safety? please briefly explain.
3. Do certain regions or communities experience greater barriers to accessing polling stations safely compared to others? Why?

b. Impact on Livelihoods and Economic Security:

4. How does electoral-related violence affect the livelihoods and economic security of individuals and communities in Zambia?
5. Are there discernible patterns in terms of sectors or regions that are more affected economically by such violence during elections? If yes, how?

c. Access to Basic Services and Human Development:

6. Are there instances where communities experienced disruptions in accessing basic services due to electoral violence, and if so, what were main driving factors that attributed to this and what were the likely consequences?

d. Social Cohesion and Community Relations:

7. How does electoral violence contribute to social divisions and tensions within Zambian society, if at all it does?

8. Are there instances where electoral violence incidents exacerbated existing ethnic tensions within Zambian society during the study's coverage period? Please briefly explain.

e. Gender Dynamics and Vulnerabilities:

9. Are women, men, and gender-diverse individuals and vulnerable groups (elderly people, disabled people affected differently by electoral violence, and if so, in what ways?

10. Do electoral violence incidents exacerbate existing gender inequalities or vulnerabilities within Zambian society? if yes, briefly explain how?

Section 5: Government Response and Mitigation

1. Have you observed any strategies or initiatives at the community level aimed at preventing or addressing electoral violence? If so, how effective do you think these efforts have been?
2. Were there any civil society organizations or international organizations

that you think played a significant role in mitigating election-related violence during this period? If yes, were their actions adequate in addressing electoral-related violence during this period? Why/why not?

Section 6: Suggestions for Improvement

1. In your opinion, what measures do you believe could be implemented to reduce the incidence of electoral violence and promote human security during electoral processes in Zambia?

Section 7: Additional Comments

Do you have any additional comments, insights, or experiences related to the impact of electoral-related violence on human security in Zambia that you would like to share?