



UNIVERSITY
OF
LUSAKA

**AN INTERROGATION OF FORMER RULING PARTIES' DECLINING
COMPETITIVENESS AFTER POWER LOSS IN MUNKULUNGWE WARD, NDOLA:
A CASE OF UNIP, MMD, PF**

A RESEARCH REPORT

Presented to the faculty of the School of Post Graduate in partial fulfillment of the
requirement for the award of a Master of Political Science and International Relations
Degree

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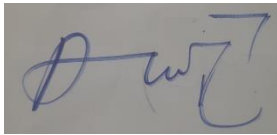
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DECLARATION

I Augustine Kalenga Student number MPIR 23119099, do hereby declare that this research report represents my own findings and that it has not previously been submitted for any degree, diploma or any other qualification at this or any other university. All reference materials used in this study have been fully cited and acknowledged.

The study has been guided by my supervisor and prepared in accordance with the guidelines from the School of Post Graduate of the University of Lusaka. All views expressed in this report remain my sole responsibility and do not represent those of the University.

Augustine Kalenga.



Signed.....Date:15/01/2025.....

CANDIDATE

Mrs. Precious Chilifya

Signed:.....Date:..17/01/2025.....

SUPERVISOR

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated firstly to the Almighty God the creator of the universe and the giver of all that is good. Secondly it is dedicated to my beloved late wife who died in July 2024 while this dissertation was being written; who at the time felt my absence but encouraged me to go on despite her sickness. Thirdly it is dedicated to all the loving and peaceful Zambian people whose self-determination relies on the political dispensation of this country.

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To you all I salute and may the Almighty God richly bless you.

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LIST OF ACRONMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Dev – Development

ECL- Edgar Chagwa Lungu

ECZ- Electoral commission of Zambia

Fig- Figure

IMF- International monetary fund

KANU – Kenyan African National Union

MMD – Movement for Multi-Party Democracy

NDC- National Democratic Conference

PF- Patriotic Front

POP- Population

UNIP- United Independence Party

UPND – United Party for National Development

RB- Rupia Banda

SAP- Structural adjustment programme

SOP- Standing operating procedures

Sq.- Square Kilometers

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ABSTRACT

This study is aimed at interrogating the factors contributing to declining competitiveness of former ruling parties' in their post power loss era, thereby contributing to strengthening good governance and democracy in Zambia as espoused by Chipenzi, (2019). The study seeks to achieve the following objectives: To identify the historical and contextual factors contributing to the initial rise of former ruling parties in Zambia, to analyse constituents perception, preferences and primary reasons for shift of loyalty in Munkulungwe ward and finally to explore the leadership dynamics and internal wrangles and their impact on former ruling parties competitiveness .

The study employed a mixed study approach for a comprehensive analysis as explained by George, (2023) and adopted a sequential explanatory design. Self-administered questionnaires; both structured and open ended were used to collect data. A special package for social sciences (SPSS) and thematic analysis using both deductive and inductive methods were used to analyse the data. The targeted study population was approximately 303 and a sample size of 61 subjects was arrived at using rule of thumb. Random sampling and purposive sampling techniques were used to select the subjects.

The study revealed the existence of the problem in Munkulungwe ward of Bwana-Mkubwa constituency in Ndola district; that is declining competitiveness of former ruling parties after power loss. It further discovered that there are historical factors that contributed to the rise to fame of former political parties which have affected the political system in Zambia, (Chipenzi, 2019). Further the study found out that voters in Munkulungwe ward are influenced by many factors and that peoples' vulnerability is attributed to failure of former ruling parties, causing shift of allegiance. In the study it has been brought out that the former ruling parties are affected by a number of leadership challenges such as factionalism, party dynamics (Kunda, (2017).

The study therefore concludes that historical factors have largely affected the way the political system in Zambia operates and how the system is manipulated to disadvantage the opposition political parties largely due to constitutional powers of the executive. It further concludes peoples' vulnerability causes shift of allegiance which diminishes former ruling parties' competitiveness. The study equally concludes that as long as there is no change of leadership and party dynamics are primary reasons for loss of competitiveness of former ruling parties

CHAPTER ONE – INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction to the study

Zambia is a multi-party democratic country with over twenty eight registered political parties with the registrar of societies, an agency of government mandated by societies act of 2017 of the laws of Zambia. All of these parties have the right to participate in Zambia's elections. Zambia as country holds general elections after five years and since the re-introduction to multi-party democracy four political parties have progressively governed the country namely: United National Independence Party (UNIP), Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD), Patriotic Front (PF) and the current ruling party the United Party for National Development (UPND) whose political position is centre-left and its political ideology is liberalised social democracy, (ECZ,2021).Despite the number of registered political parties being big, only four political parties have representation in the national assembly as follows: UPND; 89 of 156 seats, PF; 59 of 156 seats PNUP;1 of 156 seats and UPPZ; 1of 156 seats .Exponentially, the shift to a more participatory political system,would have triggered a more competitive political landscape. However former ruling parties in Zambia often find difficulties to maintain their competitive edge after losing power.

World over former ruling parties face significant challenges in America and Europe alike, however in developed democracies after soul- searching and re- branding they often regain the support. In the United States of America dominated by a two party system; a party that loses the presidency can experience a period of soul-searching and internal re-organisation before regaining its footing (Abramowitz, 2010). Similarly Pugh, (2010) argues that the United Kingdom's political landscape, dominated by the Conservative and Labour parties, has seen instances where former ruling parties either struggle to return to power or successfully rebrand themselves to regain voter confidence, however with the employment of several strategies such as leadership changes help to regain support, the example in question is the Labour party which after losing power in 2010 underwent leadership changes to reposition itself to what it is today.

In African politics the political landscape is almost homogeneous in as far as competitiveness of political parties is concerned, with a few exceptions and this has inclination to historical connotation of leaders clinging to power and authoritarianism. In

Kenya, the Kenya African National Union (KANU) has remained largely marginalised since losing power in 2002, as the party struggled to shed its association with decades of autocratic rule under Daniel Arap Moi (Lynch, & Crawford, 2011). On the other hand in Ghana, the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP) have alternated in power since the 1990s, demonstrating that in a context of relatively strong democratic institutions, former ruling parties can remain competitive (Bratton & van de Walle, 1997). The NDC, for instance, returned to power in 2008 after losing the presidency in 2000, which shows that a well-organised opposition can regain power in a robust democratic environment.

The transition to plural politics in Zambia began seriously with the reintroduction of multi-party democracy in 1991, ending nearly two decades of one-party participatory democracy under the United National Independence Party (UNIP). However, a pattern emerged where once-dominant parties struggle to regain their former influence after losing power. Understanding this phenomenon requires examining both systemic factors and localised dynamics.

Munkulungwe Ward, located in the Bwana-Mkubwa Constituency of Ndola District, has been used as a smaller unit of the broader political shifts occurring in Zambia. More over a pilot study conducted with the purpose to ascertain the prevalence of the problem in other wards in Ndola revealed an affirmative result. Ndola, a significant urban centre on the Copper-belt, is historically significant for its political engagement and economic impact on the political landscape of Zambia. The region's political landscape has seen significant changes over the years, driven by national trends and local socioeconomic conditions. The reduction of former ruling parties in such areas can be attributed to a number of reasons which includes: Shifts in constituent allegiance, economic factors, party organisation and strategic blunders.

One of the critical factors in the decline of former ruling parties is the loss of their support base. Voter allegiance in Zambia is often tied to the perceived performance of the ruling party in addressing local and national issues. When a party loses elections, it often loses the ability to influence policy implementation, leading to a loss of voter loyalty. This shift is particularly more in urban areas like Ndola, where voters are more likely to be critical of political performance and more responsive to changes in political and economic conditions (Cheeseman & Hinfelaar, 2010).

Additionally, the internal dynamics of former ruling parties can significantly impact their ability to remain competitive. Leadership struggles, factionalism and the lack of coherent policy platforms can undermine the organisational capacity of these parties. The MMD's decline, for instance, has been marked by internal conflicts and leadership challenges that have weakened its political standing (Burnell, 2001). Similar issues have plagued other former ruling parties in Zambia, making it difficult for them to mount effective electoral campaigns and reconnect with their constituencies.

The economic context also plays a crucial role in shaping political competitiveness. The Copper-belt region, including Ndola, has experienced economic fluctuations that impact voter perceptions and party performance. This economic lens is essential for understanding voter behaviour in areas like Munkulungwe Ward, where economic conditions directly influence political allegiances (Fraser & Larmer, 2010).

The struggle to compete of former ruling parties in Zambia, as offered by Munkulungwe Ward in Bwana-Mkubwa, Ndola, is a multifaceted issue that reflects broader national trends and localised political dynamics.

1.1 Back ground of the Study

Zambia, since gaining independence in 1964, maintained a multi-party democratic system characterised by competitive elections. In 1973 the constitution of Zambia was amended to change the political system to one party participatory democracy and the United National Independent Party (UNIP) remained the only party in the country. According to Larmer, (2002) UNIP advanced the need to unify the nation as one and therefore there was no requirement for conflicting opposition parties and through humanism the ideology the party used for revocation of tribal separation. However, literature indicate that the failure to address economic and social issues as well as the rising opposition to that effect made President Kenneth Kaunda to amend the constitution to a single party system.

In 1990 the pressure was mounted on the President by pressure groups forcing the government to revert to the multiparty system and the constitution was amended again to a multi-party system. Carolyn and Morris, (1992) argue that economic decline and resentful of authoritarian were among the causes of shift of allegiance to single party system. Elections were held in November 1991 which saw the MMD winning the elections with a land slide victory. MMD immediately made economic reforms and political reforms which gave hope that stable political situation could be established.

However, few months in office the MMD went back to the UNIP authoritarianism . According Larmer, (2002) MMD adopted many of the UNIP methods of exclusion and repression. This was implemented by misapplication of the political systems theory which views the state as a system composed of various components with different competences that are brought together for the well functioning of the state. However the UNIP , MMD and the PF used power of the executive to manipulate the other components of the political institutions whose office bearers are appointed by the executive to carry out their exclusion and repression tactics on each other. This in a way contributes to the ineffectiveness of the former ruling parties in Zambia

After the MMD made those political reforms ,the country saw growing number of new political parties coming on board. Rakner & Svasand, (2004) posit that the changes observed in Zambia political landscape in terms of number of parties, their relative size and interaction patterns created a competitive political environment. Since the re-introduction of multiparty system in Zambia the country has had competitive political landscape and has seen four political parties handing and taking over power. However, in recent years, a notable trend has emerged wherein former ruling parties experience a decline in competitiveness after losing power. Despite their historical prominence, these parties struggle to regain electoral support and political influence, raising questions about the factors contributing to their decline.

While existing literature on Zambian politics provides valuable insights into party forces, voter compelling and democratic transformations, there remains a significant research gap with regard to the specific reasons former ruling parties are losing popularity after power loss. This gap shades light on the need for an in-depth interrogation into the contributing factors modelling political competition in Zambia's multi-party democracy.

The study focused on Munkulungwe Ward of Bwana-Mkubwa constituency of Ndola district, as a case study area to explore the forces of multi-party and party competitiveness at the local level. Munkulungwe Ward served as a small-scale version of broader political trends in Zambia, offering a unique platform to interrogate the challenges faced by former ruling parties in maintaining relevance and electoral support.

This study therefore intends to inquire into why the former ruling parties in Zambia that is; UNIP, MMD and the PF have failed to remain competitive after losing power. By addressing this research gap, the study aimed to contribute to academic scholarship on Zambian politics, inform policy-making and political strategies and enhance the

understanding of democratic governance in Zambia. Through a comprehensive analysis of the factors influencing party competitiveness, the study sought to provide insights that could contribute to strengthening democratic institutions and political processes in Zambia thereby building democratic resilience and creating a more equitable political environment.

1.2 Problem Statement

Despite the democratic transitions witnessed in Zambia over the past decades, the phenomenon of former ruling parties experiencing a decline in competitiveness post-power loss requires in-depth scrutiny. This lack of in-depth scrutiny of this phenomenon hampers effective political strategy formulation and undermines the democratic stability of the nation. The twenty seven year ruling party; the United National Independence Party (UNIP) after losing power in 1991, its competitiveness has been diminishing. In the same lines the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) lost power to the Patriotic Front (PF) in 2011 and since then their representation in parliament has gone down, indicating its decline. The PF lost its power in 2021 to the current United Party for National Development (UPND) and since 2021 its strength in competition and participation has been dwindling, the party has since lost some parliamentary seats and ward seats in Kwacha and Kabushi constituencies in Ndola through by-elections . According to Larmar, (2002) the November, 1991 elections UNIP scooped fewer seats, about twenty-two percent in the National Assembly. Specifically, within the context of Munkulungwe Ward of Bwana-Mkubwa in Ndola, Zambia, there exists a noticeable trend where former ruling parties struggle to maintain their political relevance and electoral competitiveness According to the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) (2021) general elections results in Munkulungwe ward which was taken by the PF; PF polled; 1623, UPND; 1110 and there was no record for UNIP and MMD. Therefore, the underlying factors driving this phenomenon needs to be explored .Thus, there was a pressing need to investigate the causes behind the descending support base of former ruling parties' in Munkulungwe . The study offered insights that could inform policy interventions and enhance the democratic resilience of Zambia.

1.3. General Objective

To investigate the underlying factors leading to former ruling political parties' declining competitiveness after losing power with focus on Munkulungwe ward.

1.3.1 Specific Objectives

1. To identify the historical and contextual factors contributing to the initial rise of former ruling parties in Zambia, particularly within Munkulungwe Ward, Bwana-Mkubwa in Ndola District.
2. To analyse the electoral behaviour and preferences of constituents in Munkulungwe Ward towards former ruling parties.
3. To explore the role of leadership dynamics within former ruling parties, including the impact of leadership transitions and intra-party conflicts on their post-power loss competitiveness

1.4 Research Questions

1. What historical and contextual factors contributed to the initial rise of of Bwana-Mkubwa in Ndola?
2. How do constituents in Munkulungwe Ward perceive former ruling parties, and what are the primary reasons behind shifts in political allegiances post-power loss?
3. How do leadership dynamics, including leadership transitions and intra-party conflicts, impact the competitiveness of former ruling parties in Munkulungwe Ward?

1.5 Significance of the study

The study addressed pressing issues of governance, democracy, and political development, with potential implications for policy, practice, and societal well-being. The research has contributed to the academic understanding of political dynamics, particularly in Zambia. It has added to the body of knowledge in political science, offering insights into the challenges of democratic transitions and party politics in emerging democracies. By exploring why former ruling parties struggle to remain competitive, the root causes, shedding light on the barriers to political competition and a deeper understanding of political dynamics would help policymakers, political leaders,

and electoral stakeholders devise more effective governance, electoral and party-building policies to enhance democratic stability and political competition.

1.6 The scope of the study

1.6.1 Geographical Analysis: The study was conducted Primarily in Munkulungwe Ward, Mbwan-Mkubwa in Ndola, Zambia. The study looked also at neighbouring constituencies within Ndola for comparative analysis within which the pilot study was conducted.

BWANA- MKUBWA CONSTITUENCY

Below is the map of Bwana-Mkubwa constituency highlighting Munkulungwe ward within which the study was conducted,

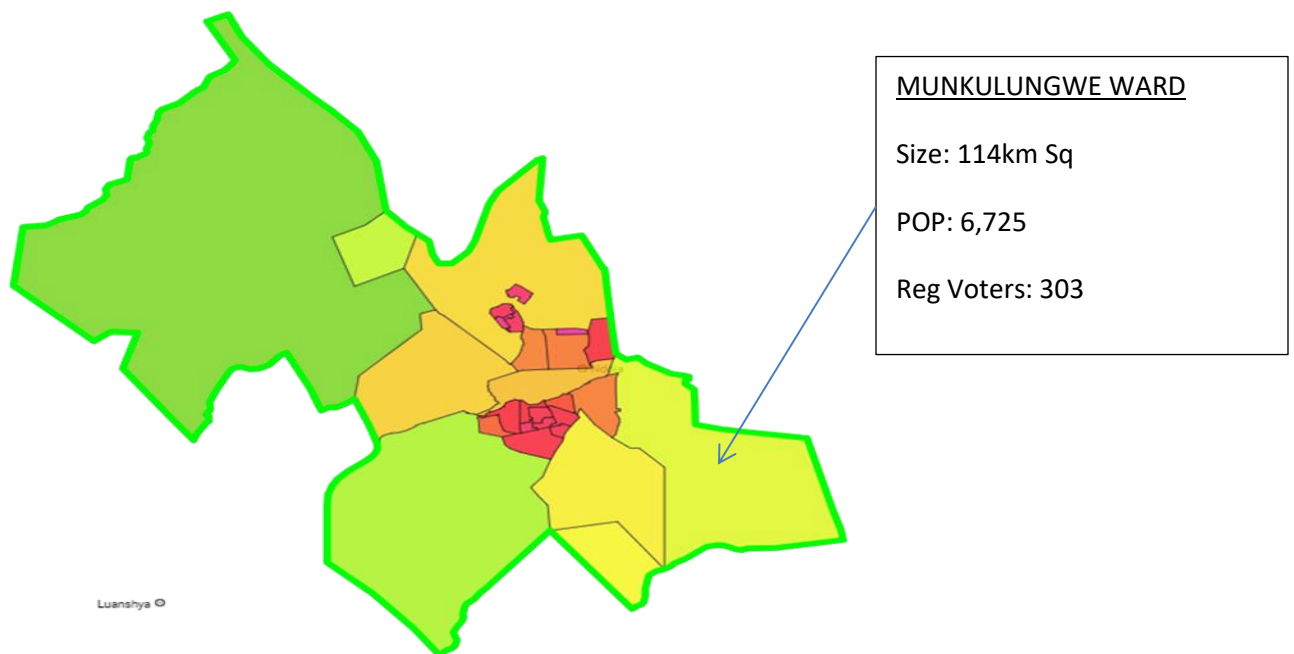


Fig 1: Map of Bwana-Mkubwa Constituency showing Munkulungwe Ward.

1.6.2 Historical factors: The study examined the historical factors leading to election and weakness of political parties in Zambia, with a focus on activities leading up to and following the loss of power by former ruling parties in Munkulungwe Ward.

1.6.2 Contemporary Analysis: The study investigated the current political dynamics and electoral trends within Munkulungwe Ward, including recent developments and shifts in political landscape. Analysis of factors influencing the competitiveness of former ruling parties, such as leadership, organizational structures, electoral preferences and leadership dynamics were part of the scope.

1.6.3 Socio-economic analysis: The study also analysed the Socio-economic factors by exploring the impact of socio-economic conditions on political preferences and shift of loyalty within Munkulungwe Ward.

1.6.4 Media and communication Analysis: The study equally examined the extent to which the former ruling parties utilise the media in their strategies. However, the role of the media and communication strategies in shaping political narratives and mobilising support for different political actors was not explored.

1.6.5 Methodological Scope

- Qualitative methods: In-depth interviews and semi-structured questionnaire were used. Focus group discussions and participant observation to gather insights into perceptions, attitudes and experiences of key stakeholders, including political leaders, party members, and constituents were never part of the scope due to time factor.
- Quantitative methods: Surveys and statistical analysis to quantify electoral trends, socio-economic indicators and other relevant variables within Munkulungwe Ward formed part of quantitative methodology.
- Sequential Explanatory design: The study utilised a mixed methodology to provide a rich understanding of the specific context of Munkulungwe Ward by leveraging both qualitative and quantitative analysis.

1.7 Limitations

1.7.1 Resource constraints: Limitations in terms of time, funding, and access to data constrained the depth and breadth of the study.

1.7.2 Generalisability: Findings were specific to the context of Munkulungwe Ward and might not be fully representative of other wards or constituencies in Zambia.

1.8 Definition of key terms and concepts

In this study the following key terms and concepts were operationally defined as follows: Multi-party Politics was defined according to Diamond & Gunther, (2001) as referring to a political system characterised by the existence of multiple political parties competing for power and representation. Former Ruling Parties was defined as political parties that previously held power and governed a country or region but have since been voted out of office or lost their majority status (Chandra & Wilkinson, 2008). According to Ware, (1996) competitive referred to the ability of political parties to effectively compete for electoral support, influence, and power within a democratic system. Blondel, & Thiébault, (2004), defined losing Power as referring to the electoral defeat or loss of majority status experienced by a political party, resulting in its removal from government or a decline in its political influence. Yin, (2017) defined Case Study as a research method that involves in-depth investigation and analysis of a specific phenomenon, entity, or context within its real-life context and Munkulungwe Ward was defined as a specific administrative unit within the Bwana-Mkubwa constituency located in Ndola, a major city in Zambia. It served as the geographical focus of the research study, (Local Government Association of Zambia, 2017).

1.9. The organisation of the report

The study on interrogating the descending into oblivion of former ruling parties in terms of competitiveness in Zambia that is to say: UNIP, MMD and PF failure to remain competitive in their post power loss, is broken down into seven chapters as follows

- 1.9.1 Chapter one: Introduction. This chapter introduces the study, giving insights of the back ground of the problem, statement of the problems, objectives and study questions. It furthers explains the scope, significance and limitation of the study, additionally it defines the key words and concepts used in the study.
- 1.9.2 Chapter two: Literature Review. The chapter explains the significance of the study by reviewing what other scholars and researchers have written about the subject thereby identifying the gaps in literature giving the need for the study. It also provides direction of the study by examining the theories resonating with the study and by analysing the relationship of the variable through the theoretical and conceptual framework respectively.

- 1.9.3 Chapter three: Methodology. The chapter outlines the approach and the design of the study. The study population, sample size data collection and analysis methods thereby answering the research questions to attain the goals of the study. By reliability and validity analysis given; the chapter provides the accuracy of the findings and results.
- 1.9.4. Chapter four: Presentation and analysis of results. This chapter describes and interprets the data collected and analysed according to the objectives of the study.
- 1.9.5. Chapter five: Discussion of findings. The chapter discusses and interprets the significance of the findings about the problem being investigated in connection with what is already known about the problem through literature review. Additionally new information about the problem has been discussed in this chapter after the finding.
- 1.9.6. Chapter six: Conclusion and recommendations. The chapter brings out analysed conclusions based on the findings from the discussion of the data collected. Additionally it also gives recommendations for policy, practice and party strategic approach.

CHAPTER TWO- LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Chapter overview

This section has given an insight of what other researchers have said about the topic or a related topic to this study. Fink, (2014) argues that a literature review surveys books, scholarly articles, research reports and any relevant sources to a particular issue, area of research or theory and by so doing, provides a description, summary and critical evaluation of the works in relation to the research being examined. By conducting empirical review, theoretical and conceptual frame works the section has identified the gaps in literature which the study has attempted to close. Additionally it has attempted to provide an insight of how the variables are related in answering the research questions in an attempt to close the gaps identified. Further the section has analysed related theories that explain the phenomenon of former ruling political parties' failure to remain competitive after losing power with Munkulungwe ward used as a microcosm for the study. The study coherently reviewed global, regional and local scholarly works, articles, studies and books.

2.1 Empirical literature

2.1.1 Global perspective

In a seminal work carried out by Huntington, (1991) titled; "The Third Wave: Democratisation in the Late Twentieth Century." Huntington's seminal work discussed the global phenomenon of democratisation, including the processes by which authoritarian regimes transition to democratic systems. It provided theoretical understanding into the challenges and opportunities faced by new democracies, including the role of political parties in competitive politics .In doing so the work concentrated on persuading authoritarian regimes of South America to transition to democracy in a phased manner, firstly by institutionalising decompression, secondly expanding participation and thirdly promotion of civil rights which were all pointing to competitive politics. The proposals that were put across for transition mostly failed due to the fact that the models used were

replicated from other countries without taking into account historical and cultural context of the countries involved and this was a big challenge. Additionally the work did not address the political landscape within which the process of decompression, civil rights and expansion of participation was going to take place whether in single party political dispensation or in a multi-party. However; by analysing the challenges and opportunities states face to transition to democracies it pointed to some of the challenges faced by former ruling parties in post power loss in Zambia.

In a scholarly Journal by Storm, (1989), titled 'The Inter-party competition in advanced democracies'. The author revealed that inter-party competition is a key component in liberal democracy. Storm further brought out the three dimensions of inter-party competition as contestability, conflict of interest and performance sensitivity. He concluded that results were more inclined to contestability and performance sensitivity than on conflict of interest. The second part of the study focused on social demographics such as economics and organisation and their impact on constituents' loyalty. The study equally analysed several consequences of inter-party competition. The paper emphasised the need for strategies to attract public support through party performance. By discussing consequences of inter-party competition the paper was barely pointing to gaining and losing popularity by political parties which are a prelude to remain competitive or to fail to remain competitive. However the journal did not discuss or investigate measures to be taken in achieving contestability in modern politics, which could have assisted political parties to remain competitive. In the same vein Mair, (2013) argues that party politics has been recast based on new dynamics jettisoning their party ideological programme and that parties now resemble more and more to one another, thereby supporting the concept of competition in modern politics. By analysing the resemblance of political parties whether left or right entails competitive dynamics of political parties.

2.1.2 Regional perspective

In a comparative study conducted by Cheese- man, et al, (2020) titled, "Ruling Party Resilience in Africa: Authoritarianism in Kenya, Senegal, and Ethiopia." The comparative study explored the strategies employed by ruling parties in Kenya, Senegal, and Ethiopia to maintain power in the face of opposition challenges. While focusing on ruling parties, the study shaded light on broader

dynamics of political competition and party resilience in African contexts. The study revealed that good party policies and implementation as well incumbency advantage make political parties competitive while recruiting and mobilising new members at the same time. Exponentially Miller, (2019) added that whereas existing theories emphasise radical reinvention and outsider struggle, success is achieved by maintaining ruling party advantage. The study explained some of the factors making these parties survive in competitive modern politics. While this is workable however the environment may differ with this study, where the parties in question are out of power, hence the strategies may differ. However, the study provided insights of how former ruling parties could diffuse the ruling parties' competitive strategies.

In another study conducted by Cheese-Man, (2018) titled: Understanding African Politics: Why we need to bring the state back. The study focused on many challenges of African democracy. It revealed that African states have weak political institutions which are devised by human constraints that structure political, economic and social interactions. Additionally the study found out that official rules in Africa are depicted as being weak and are subject to manipulation by authoritarian leaders and that strategies used by authoritarian leaders have influenced the types of party systems that have emerged in Africa. The study concluded that Africa lacks formal political institution and that formal institutions shape the decisions made by leaders in contemporary Africa. While the study brought out factors affecting African democracy which are killing competitiveness of political parties, it has however not investigated the role of leadership and the mechanism to use in correcting the situation in Africa. Nevertheless by bringing out the factors affecting democracy in Africa the study has pointed out to some of the challenges the former ruling parties in Zambia are facing to regain support.

Mwenda, and Michaela (1999), carried out a study on "The Fall of Mobutu Sese Seko: The Rise and Ruin of Zaire." Mwenda and Wrong's analysis of Mobutu's regime in Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of Congo) offered insights into the decline of a long-standing ruling party and the challenges of political transition in post-colonial Africa. It highlighted the role of leadership dynamics, economic mismanagement, and popular discontent in the downfall of an entrenched regime. The factors that led to the down fall of the Zairian former leader were attributed to a number of issues of bad governance, which could be affecting

some of the former ruling parties' failure to remain competitive after losing power. Leadership dynamics is one of the key variables to be measured in the study.

In another study conducted by Diamond, (1988) on; Class, Ethnicity, and Democracy in Nigeria: The Failure of the First Republic." Diamond's study of Nigeria's political history offered comparative insights into the challenges of sustaining democracy in diverse societies. It examined the factors contributing to the collapse of Nigeria's First Republic, including the role of ruling parties and the dynamics of political competition. The study revealed that failure of the new regional political class to fulfil the expectations of the population, increasing corruption and disregard for democratic norms led to the fall of the first republic in Nigeria. Much as the study analysed the factors that caused the failure of the first republic in Nigeria, it did not analyse the historical context of how the first republic was formed so as to account for the failure of the new regional leadership from the historical perspective. However some of the issues analysed in the study could be some of the challenges facing the former ruling parties in Zambia today with the issue of coming back to competition.

2.1.3 Local perspective

Chipenzi, (2019), published an occasional paper titled, "Zambia's Political Transition and Challenges of Democratic Consolidation." Chipenzi's paper provided a local perspective on Zambia's political transition and the challenges facing democratic transition in Zambia. It examined the role of political parties, civil society, and electoral institutions in shaping Zambia's political landscape, with implications for understanding the competitiveness of former ruling parties. The paper revealed that challenges such as: Weak political opposition, governance issues and rule of law as being on going challenges in Zambia. The paper recommended the need for strengthening institutions of governance in order to strengthen the democratic process. It further highlighted the need to have a vibrant civil society in holding the government accountable and promoting democratic values. The paper concluded that in the democratic dispensation, political parties and civil society organisation must actively provide checks and balances to the ruling government, thus all parties must be proactive. The paper quite well articulated the challenges of Zambia's young democracy but overlooked to discuss the role of leaders and citizens in a democracy. However

the paper provided a bearing to the study of why former ruling parties fail to compete in the aftermath of their power loss.

In a study conducted by Mudenda, (2018), on Party Politics and Democratization in Zambia: Process and Context. Mudenda examines the historical context of party politics in Zambia, tracing the development of political parties from independence to the present day. The study explores the emergence of dominant parties, shifts in party dynamics, and the role of parties in shaping Zambia's democratization process. The study enriches the understanding of party politics and democratisation in Zambia, offering valuable insights into the challenges and opportunities faced by former ruling parties in remaining competitive after losing power. The discussion on party system dynamics, electoral behaviour, and democratization processes provides relevant context for analysing the complexities of plural politics in Zambia.

Kunda, (2017), article on "Voting Behaviour in Zambia: Explaining the 2016 General Elections Outcome", the author investigates the voting behaviour in Zambia during the 2016 general elections, providing insights relevant to understanding why former ruling parties struggle to remain competitive after losing power. Kunda's article enriches the understanding of voting behaviour in Zambia, particularly during the 2016 general elections. The analysis of factors influencing voter decisions, including party performance, ethnicity, and youth demographics, provides relevant context for understanding why former ruling parties struggle to remain competitive after losing power.

Chitiyo, (2015), in his chapter in J. Fruhling & A. M. Magyar (Eds.), titled State Collapse, Insurgency, and Counterinsurgency: on 'The Decline of the Ruling Party, National Unity, and Political Stability. Chitiyo discusses the factors contributing to the decline of Zambia's ruling party, examining internal challenges such as factionalism, leadership disputes, and policy failures. These insights are pertinent to understanding why former ruling parties struggle to maintain their competitiveness after losing power. By examining the decline of the ruling party and its repercussions on national unity and stability, the chapter contributes to a broader understanding of the factors influencing party competitiveness in Zambia.

In a book authored by Chanda (1973), On "Zambia: The Politics of Independence, 1957-1964, explained the historical context of political competition. Chanda's historical study offered insights into Zambia's early political history, focusing on the period leading up to independence. The book highlighted the significant role of political mobilisation and efforts of nationalist leaders in achieving independence. He also discussed the colonial policies and their impact on social economic conditions in Zambia. The book further discussed how the colonial policies led to the creation of nationalist movement. By examining the emergence of political parties and the struggle against colonial rule, it provided context for understanding the dynamics of party competition and power transitions in post-independence Zambia.

2.2 Theoretical framework

2.2.1 Party System Theory

Party System Theory examines the structure and dynamics of party systems within democratic contexts. Sartori, (2005) argues that the theory explores factors such as party organization, electoral rules, and voter behaviour to understand the stability or change within party systems over time. This theory provides insights into why former ruling parties may or may not struggle to maintain competitiveness within evolving party systems.

2.2.2 Elite Theory

According to Pareto, (1968) the Elite Theory examines the role of political elites, including party leaders and influential figures, in shaping political processes and outcomes. Within the Zambian context, Elite Theory can help illuminate how leadership dynamics within former ruling parties influence their ability to remain competitive after losing power, as well as the impact of elite alignments and conflicts on party resilience.

2.2.3 Political Culture Theory

Political Culture Theory explores the shared values, beliefs, and attitudes that shape political behaviour within a society (Almond & Sidney, 1963). Applying to this study, this theory will help explain how the political culture in Zambia, including factors such as trust in institutions, perceptions of legitimacy, and

attitudes towards political parties, influences the competitiveness of former ruling parties.

2.3 Conceptual framework

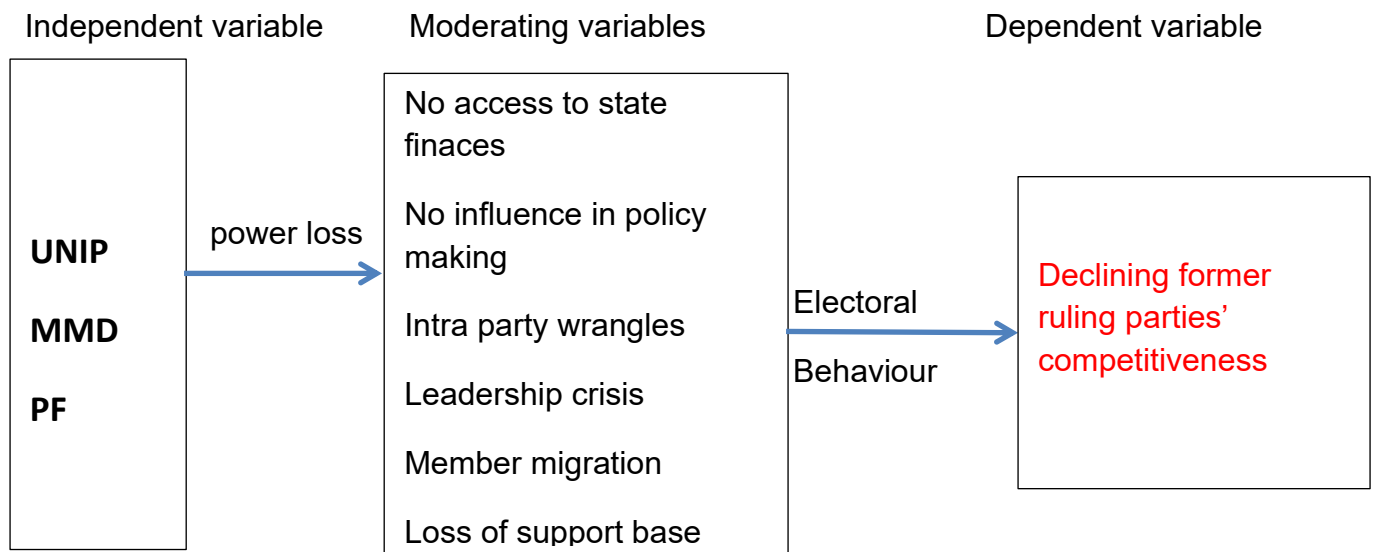


Figure 2: Conceptual framework Diagrammatic layout

2.3.1 The former ruling parties' competitiveness is dependent on the electoral behaviour of citizens. The former ruling parties while in power yield a lot privileges to enact laws and policies which they themselves while in power do not uphold. After relinquishing power they become subject to the same rules and regulations they once made and failed abide to as such access to state finance, influence on making policies, coupled with internal wrangles, leadership crisis, membership migration and general loss of support base impact on the electoral behaviour of the constituents which eventually could cause competitive edge of those parties to decline.

2.4 Chapter summary

The scholars and authors in the books, studies and articles reviewed under the global, regional and local perspective that are aligned to the objectives of the current study from global perspective regional through to local perspective held the view that competition among political parties exist in the plural politics as the basis for democratisation and that due various reasons former ruling parties face challenges to compete after losing power. Huntington observed the difficulties of transitioning to democracy by authoritarian regimes. In a similar analysis Storm discussed the various challenges former ruling parties face to remain competitive. At regional level Chease-man analysed how incumbent governments use incumbency to their advantage, additionally mwenda and Michaele recounted the fall of Mobutu-seseko of Zaire due to poor governance and manipulation. At local level Chipenzi analysed the challenges of Zambia's young democracy. Additionally Mudenda recounted the political land scape of Zambia since independence and Kunda analysed the voting pattern in Zambian 2016 elections. In the same vain Chitiya brought out the challenges faced by former ruling parties and finally Chanda explored the leadership dynamics in the political land scape of Zambia. The chapter further analysed two theories related to the study: the political system theory and Political culture theory. Finally the conceptual framework of the study to give direction of the study through variable interaction in line with the objectives of the study was discussed.

CHAPTER THREE- METHODOLOGY

3.0 Chapter overview

The section focuses on discussing the methodological process that the study employed for reliable and validated results. It analyses the research approach and design adopted in the current study. Target population, sample size and sampling techniques have also been discussed in this section. Further the section has also explained the data collection and analysis methods suitable for the production of expected and reliable outcome of the study. Finally research ethics that have been applied have also been brought out.

- 3.1 Research Approach: The study employed a mixed method approach, a combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches. According to George, (2023) mixed methods can help gain a more complete picture than a standalone quantitative or qualitative study. The quantitative approach through surveys of structured questionnaire was used to measure the relationship of variables while qualitative approach through unstructured questionnaire gave a more leverage and freedom of expressing views and opinions to explain the findings of the quantitative study.
- 3.2 Research Design: In the current study a Sequential Explanatory Design of mixed method was used. Through this design the study first collected and analysed quantitative data and there after qualitative data was collected and analysed and the findings of the qualitative study have been used to explain or amplify the findings from the quantitative data. That was done to ensure a more precision outcome is achieved. According to Subedi, (2016) the benefit of an explanatory sequential research design include; quantitative and qualitative data to provide a

comprehensive understanding of the study. Therefore by adopting a sequential explanatory mixed-methods design, the study was able to leverage the strengths of both quantitative and qualitative approaches to provide a holistic and nuanced analysis of the study. As such a comprehensive result of why former ruling parties fail to remain competitive after losing power was achieved and the recommendation have been made.

3.3 Study population: The study focused on interrogating the decline of political support of the three former ruling parties (UNIP,MMD, PF). in Munkulungwe ward. The ward has a total population of 6,725 people (Zambia Statistics Agency, 2020). However the study targeted only registered voters which included various strata of the target population such as: Political parties' members, election officers and members of the community, political scientists, civic leaders and traditional rulers. According to Electoral commission of Zambia (ECZ), (2021) the total number of registered voters was three hundred three (303) in Munkulungwe ward and that was the target population of the study. However the pilot study used a population from the neighbouring constituency to Bwana-Mkubwa constituency.

3.4 Sample size: The sample size was arrived at using a rule of thumb; which is 20% of the target population, in this case 20% of 303 which is 60.6, therefore the sample used were 61 subjects.

Due to the anticipated sampling error, the researcher distributed 80 questionnaires, 40 structured questionnaires and 40 unstructured. Additionally for structured questionnaires a five point scale response technique was used. All the subjects returned the questionnaires completed.

3.5 Sampling Technique: Due to the requirement for a comprehensive collection of data, the study employed a combination of simple random sampling and purposive sampling.

3.5.1 Simple random sampling was used to ensure that every member of the population in Munkulungwe Ward had an equal chance of being included in the study. The technique enhanced the generalisability of the findings to the broader population of interest.

3.5.2 Purposive Sampling was also used to select participants based on specific criteria relevant to the research objectives such as understanding of the subject, experience in the past elections and knowledge of the political

system in Zambia. Therefore In the current study, the researcher used purposive sampling to target key stakeholders who possessed valuable insights into the competitiveness of former ruling parties in Munkulungwe Ward. Those targeted included: The ward councillor, teachers, military personnel and members of the community.

3.6 Data Collection: Both primary and secondary data was collected in the study through: Surveys, interviews as well as documents.

3.6.1 Surveys: Surveys were conducted to gather quantitative data to determine the association and relationship of historical factors, electoral behaviour, party preferences, socioeconomic factors, and other relevant variables. Surveys were administered through questionnaires.

3.6.2 Interviews: In-depth interviews with key stakeholders were conducted. The councillor, ward chairmen of political parties the head teacher Munkulungwe primary school , the regimental commanders and headmen were interviewed to get insights and perceptions of their experiences about why former ruling parties fail to compete after losing power. Semi-structured questionnaires were used to explore specific themes and issues relevant to the research objectives, which were issued to the rest of the study subjects who could not be interviewed

3.6.3 Document analysis: Document analysis involved examining relevant documents. Documents such as electoral records, party manifestos, media reports and policy documents were analysed to gather data on historical trends, party strategies and policy positions and their impact on the competitiveness of the former ruling parties.

3.7. Data Analysis: In the current study a combination of quantitative and qualitative data analysis methods were used as follows:

3.7.1 Quantitative Data Analysis: Descriptive statistics techniques were employed in the study.

- Descriptive Statistics: Descriptive statistics, such as mean, median, mode and frequency distributions, were used to summarise and describe quantitative data collected through surveys and official records. The analysis provided an overview of electoral behaviour, socioeconomic indicators and other relevant variables in Munkulungwe Ward. .

3.7.2 Qualitative Data Analysis: The study used thematic and content analysis to analyse qualitative data:

- Thematic Analysis: Thematic analysis was applied to analyse primary data to identify and analyse patterns, themes and trends within qualitative data collected through interviews and semi structured questionnaires. Perceptions of the study subjects and their experiences were grouped and similarities and differences in views and perception were compared to explain the quantitative findings. The following themes were used:
 - Knowledge of the topic
 - Historical and conceptual factors contributing to rise to firm of the former political parties
 - Constituents perception and preferences over the for ruling parties
 - Leadership dynamics impact on competitiveness of former ruling parties.
- Content Analysis: Content analysis was used to analyse secondary qualitative data from documents, media sources, or observation notes. Historical factors, voter preferences and leadership dynamics and their impact on competitiveness of former ruling parties were compared through the use of language of the subjects which then were decoded.

3.7.3 Integrated analysis phase: In this phase the study integrated findings from quantitative and qualitative data analysis to provide a comprehensive understanding of the research title. The phase involved triangulation, where quantitative and qualitative data were compared and contrasted to validate and complement each other's findings additionally transformation of data where qualitative findings were used to contextualise and interpret quantitative results.

3.7 Reliability of the Study: In the current study triangulation method was used to test reliability. By using combination of various methods of data collection and analysis the outcome of the study could be consistent if carried out under the same or similar conditions.

3.8 Validity of the Study: The study was preceded by a pilot study which was conducted in other wards of Bwana-Mkubwa constituency, which confirmed

the existence of the problem. Though generalisation on the entire country may not be ideal, but generally it could be found to be the same country wide.

- 3.9 Ethical consideration: The following ethical issues were considered in the study: Protection from harm, Informed consent, Right to privacy, Principle of anonymity and confidentiality, Neutrality and Non guarantee to research participants.

3.8. **Chapter summary**

The approach and design used in the study allowed the researcher to collect both quantitative and qualitative data, which gave the researcher direction to test the hypothesis that former ruling parties in Munkulungwe ward do not remain competitive after losing power. The target group through simple random sampling and purposive sampling techniques informed the study as to the degree of understanding of the title by the subjects. The data collection methods and analysis have given a rigor result of the study. The methodology through triangulation method of reliability test gives authenticity to the outcome of the study. Through a pilot study, validity of the methodology and outcome was tested.

CHAPTER FOUR- PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

4.0. Chapter Overview

The chapter displays and analyses the results according to the responses of the respondents. The collection of data was segmented under the three specific objectives with an addition of the personal identification data of the respondents. Charts and tables have been used to display and analyse data. A five point scale of response has been used in the presentation and analysis of quantitative data, while open ended responses have been used to present and analyse qualitative data.

4.1 PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF QUANTITATIVE DATA

A total of 40 subjects returned the questionnaires completed.

4.1.0 Demographic data

Gender

Figure 5 below shows the number of respondents that participated in the study. A total of forty structured questionnaires were distributed. Out of the forty who responded eight were female; thirty male representing 27.6 percent and 72.4 percent respectively.

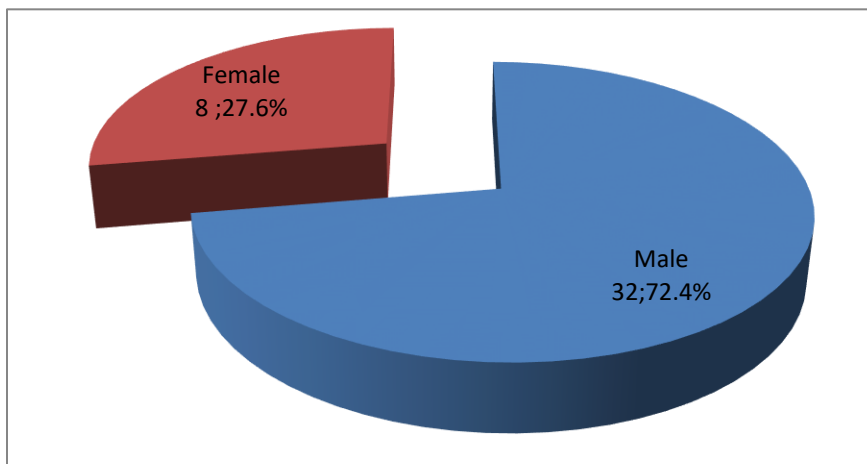


Fig 5: Representation of subjects' gender

Age limit of subjects

Figure 6 represents various age groups of respondents that participated in the study. The results displayed below indicate that, the majority of the subjects were falling between 21-50 years representing 81%.

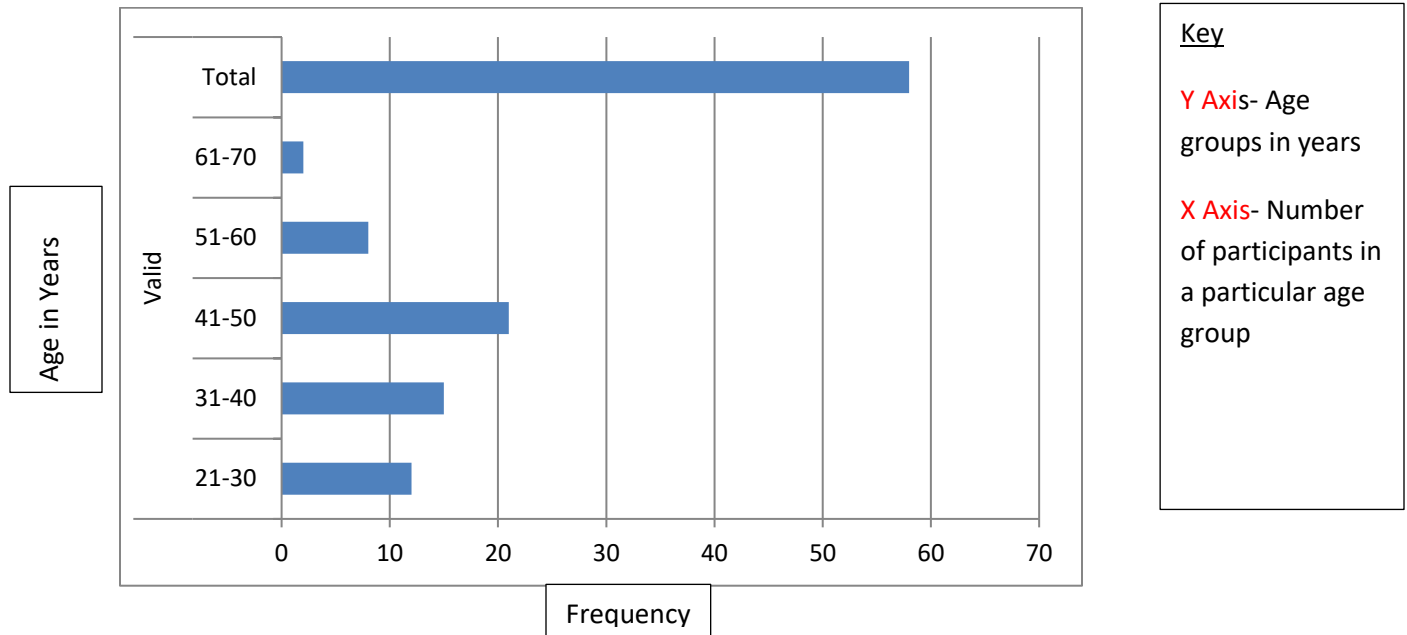


Fig 6: Age Groups of Subjects

Nationality of Subjects

The results below reveal that the subjects who participated in the study were mostly Zambian with only one non-Zambian national.

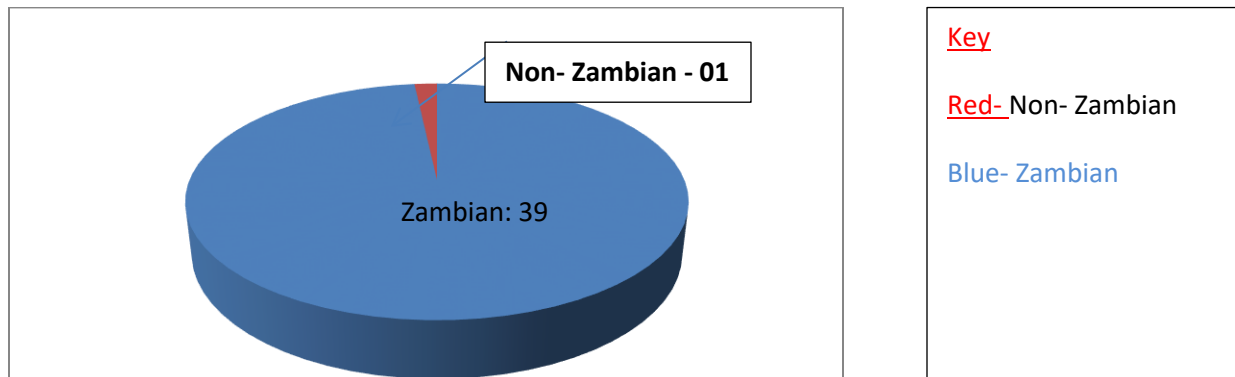


Fig 7: Nationality of Subjects

Occupation

The figure bellow displays the occupation of the subjects who participated in the study. It is revealed that government workers were the majority at 30, followed by 8 who are self-employed and lastly 2 who did not give their occupational activities.

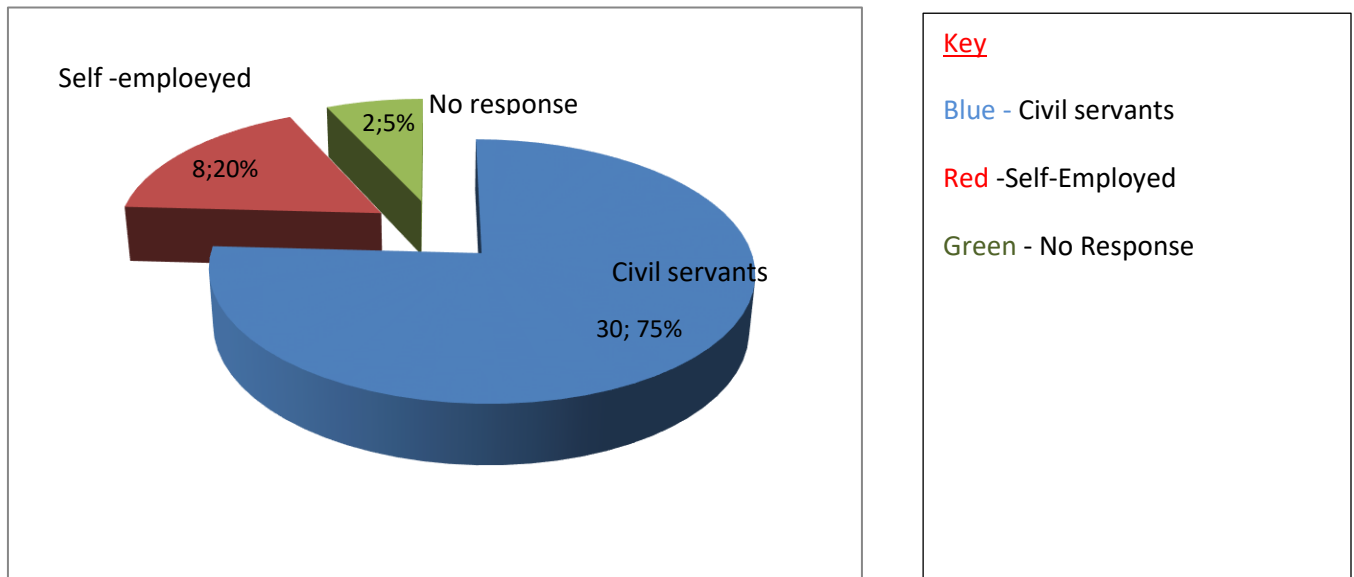
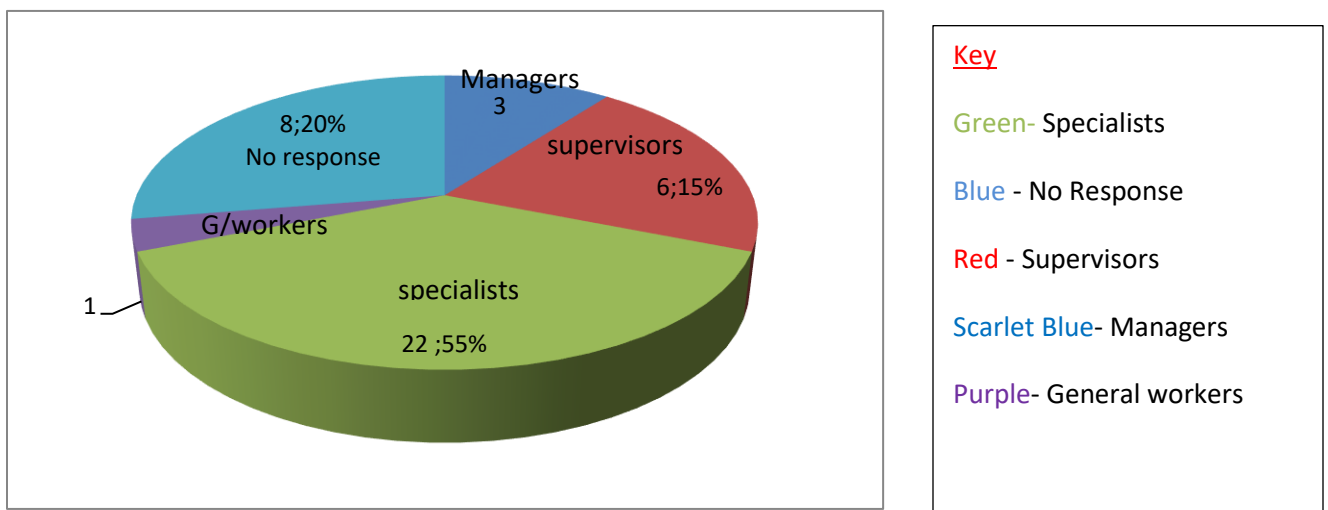


Fig 8: Economic Occupation of Subjects

Designation of Respondents

The designation of respondents in their various organisations is represented in figure 7. 22 were specialist, 12 supervisors, 6 managers and 1 general worker. Additionally 8 remained anonymous about their designation.



4.1.1 **Data for the first question: What historical and conceptual factors gave rise to fame for the three former ruling parties in Mungulungwe ward?**

Poor policies of the ruling party

The respondents were asked to state historically whether the former ruling parties rose to fame due to poor policies of the ruling parties at the time. The responses are as reflected in figure 10. The results revealed a split in response with the majority strongly agreeing to the statement at 25.9%, followed by those who agree and disagree at 25.1% each. 8.8 % strongly disagreed while 13.8% remained neutral and 3.4% gave no response. The combination of those who strongly agreed and those who agreed indicated that the response was in the affirmative at cumulative percentage of 50%.

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Strongly agree	11	25.9	25.9	25.9
Agree	9	24.1	24.1	50.0
Neutral	4	13.8	13.8	63.8
Strongly disagree	5	8.6	8.6	72.4
Disagree	9	24.1	24.1	96.6
No response	2	3.4	3.4	100.0
Total	40	100.0	100.0	

Figure 10: Poor Policies of the ruling party

Citizens fed up with the ruling party

The question asked was to state whether from history the former ruling parties came to fame after the citizen became tired of the governance style of the ruling party at the time. Majority of the subjects concurred to the statement with those who just agreed sat

at 39.7%, those who strongly agreed fell at 22.4 % together accumulated the total percentage of 62.1%. Those in disagreement sat at 22.4% while those who were neutral at 12.7% and 3.4% gave no response. Fig 11 displays the actual numbers according to frequency of responses.

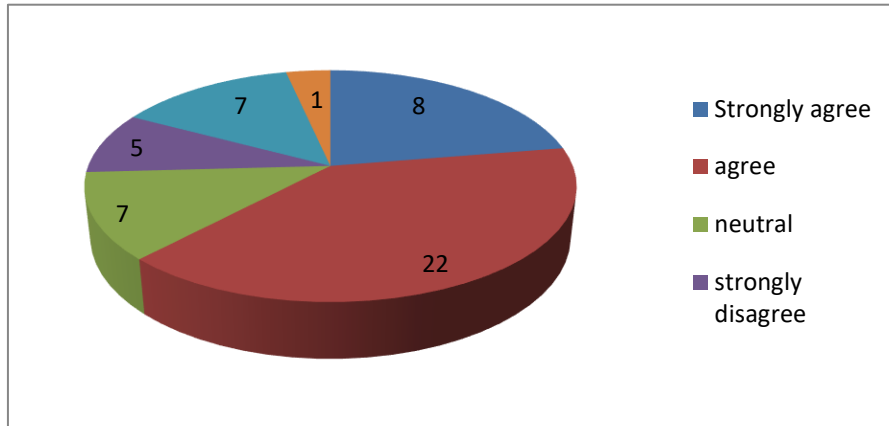


Fig 11: Citizens Fed up with the ruling party

Good manifesto of the party

The respondents were asked to indicate whether on historical context political parties are voted in to office due to their appealing party manifestos. Here the results were in the affirmative as shown in figure 12; which shows those who strongly agree and agree paged at 16 and 18 respectively representing 58.6% cumulative percentages, while 4 and 12 strongly disagreed and agreed representing cumulative percentage of 27.6%.

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid strongly agree	10	27.6	27.6	27.6
agree	12	31.0	31.0	58.6
neutral	6	13.8	13.8	72.4
strongly disagree	4	6.9	6.9	79.3
disagree	8	20.7	20.7	100.0
Total	40	100.0	100.0	

Fig 12: Good party manifesto attract voters from history

Failure to fulfill campaign promises

The question asked based on historical context was whether ruling parties are voted out of office due to their failure to fulfill campaign promises. The results indicate a positive result representing 76% as shown in figure 13. The other responses shared 24%.

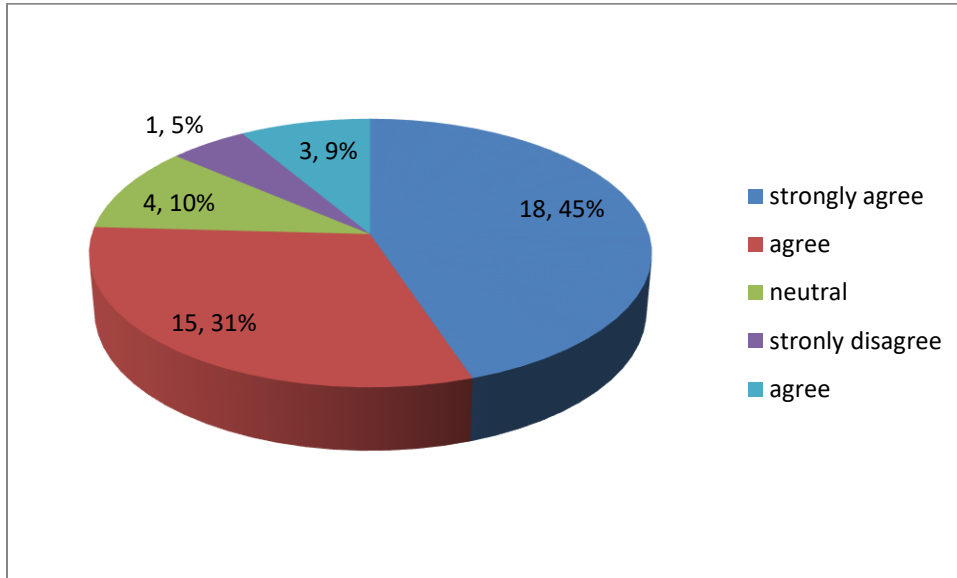


Fig 13: Failure to fulfill campaign promises

Relationship between change of loyalty and failure to fulfill campaign promises.

Respondents were asked to state from a five point scale whether there is a relationship historically in Munkulungwe ward between shift of loyalty by constituents and failure to fulfill campaign promises by former ruling parties. The result showed in the affirmative with 20 agreeing to the statement while 3 strongly agreed representing cumulative percentage of 57.5% as given in figure 14.

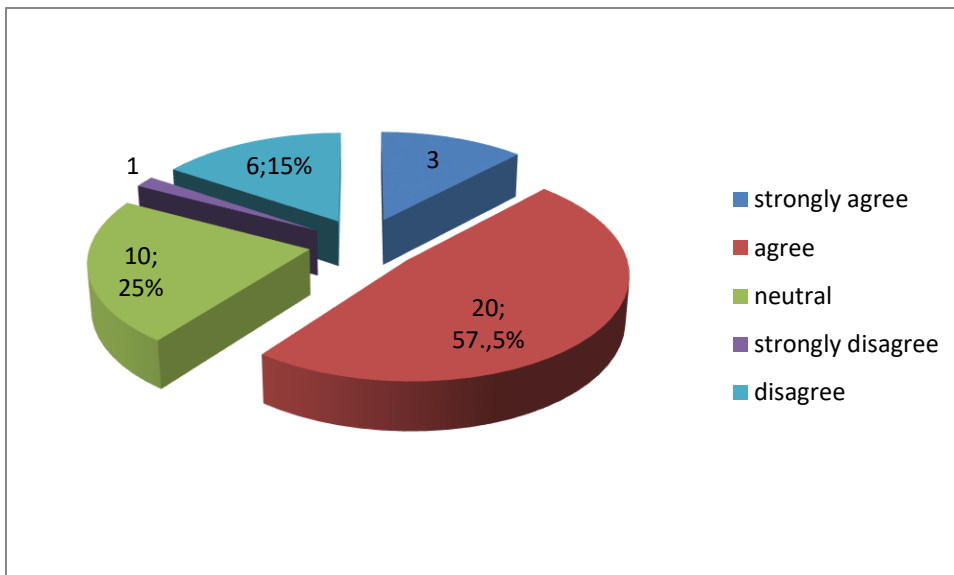


Fig 14: Relation between change of loyalty and failure to fulfill campaign promises

Vote for the party due to liking of the candidate

The respondents needed to indicate on a five point response scale whether voters in Munkulungwe ward vote for the party due the liking of the candidate. The result revealed that 8 and 20 respondents strongly agree and agree respectively; representing cumulative percentage of 53.4% while 2 and 8 strongly disagree and disagree respectively; representing cumulative percentage of 36.2% and 10.3% remained neutral. Overall the result was in the affirmative. Figure 15 depicts the responses.

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid strongly agree	8	13.8	13.8	13.8
agree	20	39.7	39.7	53.4
neutral	3	10.3	10.3	63.8
disagree	2	5.2	5.2	69.0
disagree	7	31.0	31.0	100.0
Total	40	100.0	100.0	

Fig15: Vote due to liking of the candidate

Vote due to the wind of change.

The question posed on this item is to indicate whether in Munkulungwe ward voters are swayed to vote for a party due the desire for change. The result showed a positive response. With 66% cumulative percentage strongly agree response and agree against the cumulative percentage of 20% in the negative as shown in figure 16:

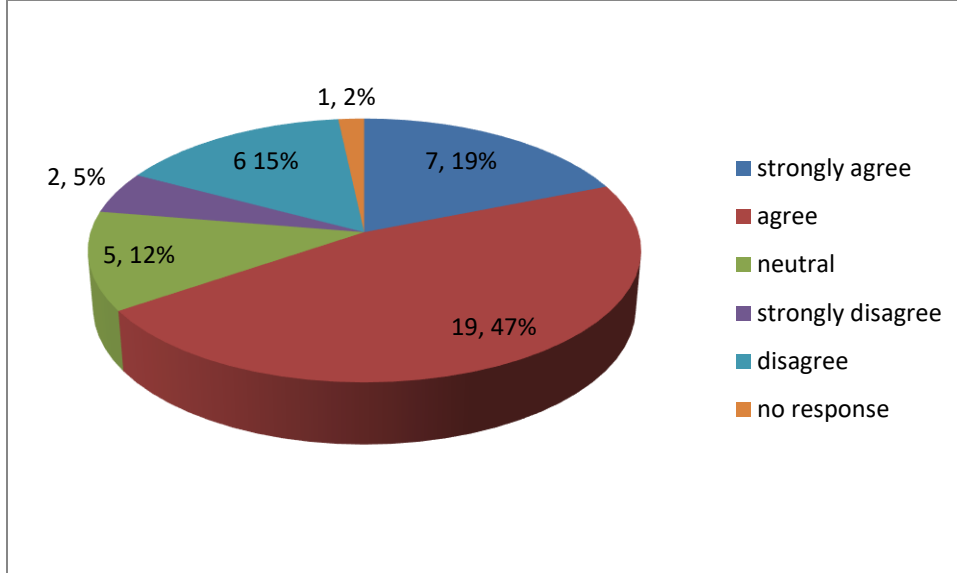
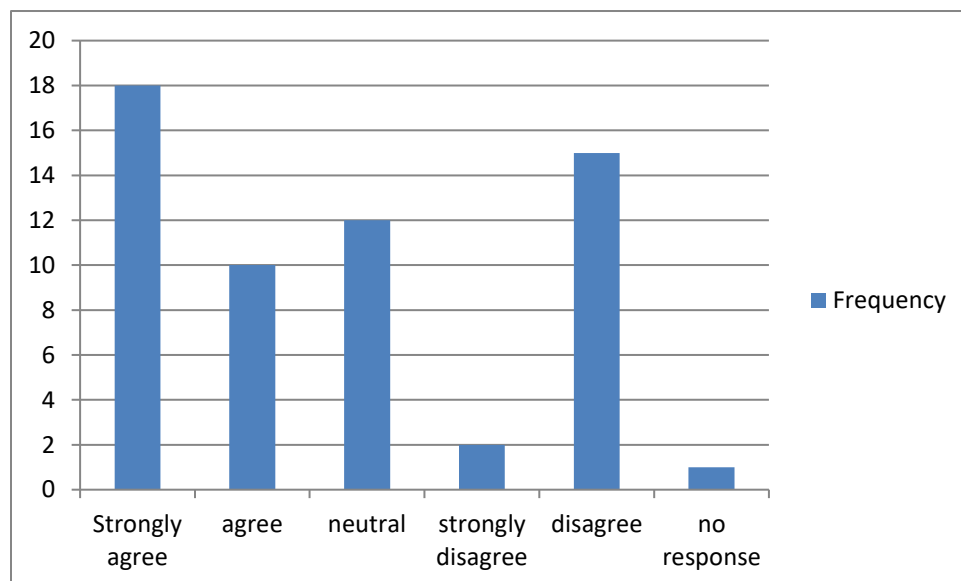


Fig 16: Vote due to the wind of Change

Voters in Munkulungwe ward permanently forget about the former ruling parties

Respondents needed to indicate to whether historically voters in Munkulungwe permanently ditch the party after voting it out of office. The results were split as follows: 14 and 4 respondents supported the statement strongly and just agree respectively representing 48.3% while 2 and 10 subjects disagreeing strongly and just disagree respectively representing 29.3% and the rest shared 22.4%. Thus the result was in the affirmative. Fig 17 shows the result.



Key

Y Axis - Number of respondents per choice of the answer

X - Axis - Scale of responses

Fig 17: Voters in Munkulungwe ward ditch former ruling parties permanently

Political system does not provide good environment for multiparty.

The respondents were asked to answer from historical perspective to present whether the political system in Zambia favours multiparty-ism. The result indicated 11 and 12 respondents saying a strong yes and just yes respectively representing 39.7% cumulative percent while 4 indicate a strong no and 19 just a no; representing 39.7% while the remaining percentage of 20.6 shared between neutral and no response. Therefore the result depicted in figure 18 reveals equal response between agreement and disagreement.

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid strongly agree	7	19.0	19.0	19.0
agree	9	20.7	20.7	39.7
neutral	7	19.0	19.0	58.6
strongly disagree	4	6.9	6.9	65.5
disagree	12	32.8	32.8	98.3
no response	1	1.7	1.7	100.0
Total	40	100.0	100.0	

Fig 18: Political system in Zambia unfavourable for plural politics

4.1.2 Data for question two : How do constituents in Munkulunge ward perceive former ruling parties and What are the primary reasons for change of political allegiance?

Attracted to vote due to economic hand-outs dashed to them

The question posed was to find out whether the respondents agree or disagree to the statement that voters in Munkulungwe ward vote for a candidate and the party due to the economic gifts given to them. The response revealed that the statement was agreed to with strongly positive and positive response at 15%, 6 and 38%, 16 respectively; representing a cumulative percentage of 53%. Strongly disagree and disagree at 5%, 2 and 26%, 11 with a cumulative percentage of 31%, 16%, 5 remained neutral.

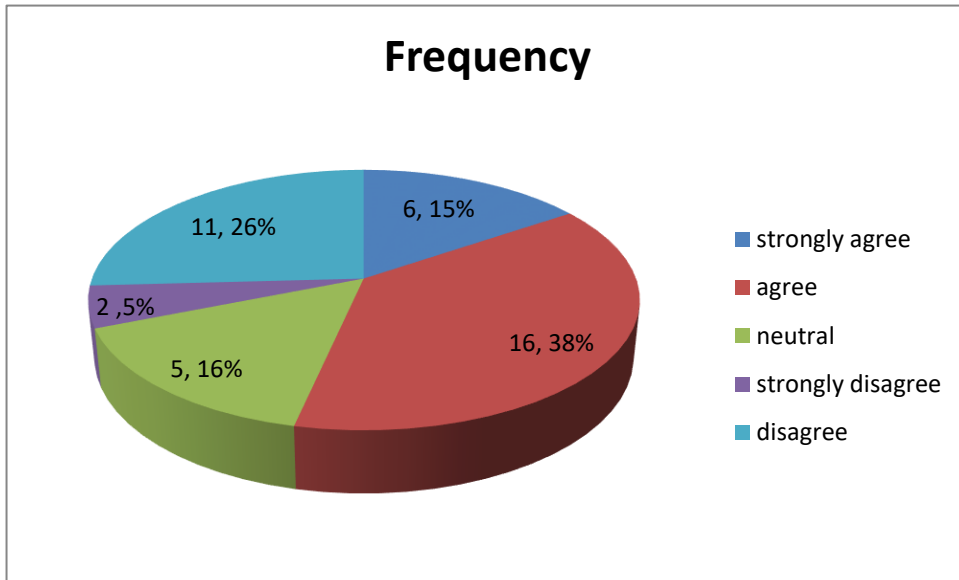


Fig 18: Vote due to economic hand-outs

Economic factor have significant impact on voter shift of loyalty

The response indicate that economic factors such as unemployment, inflation, cash empowerment and agricultural support inputs have significant impact on voter loyalty with 16, 43.1% and 13, 31% for agree and strongly agree while 2, 5.2% and 4, 8.6% for strongly disagree and disagree respectively, with 5 representing 12.5% who remained neutral as shown in fig 19.

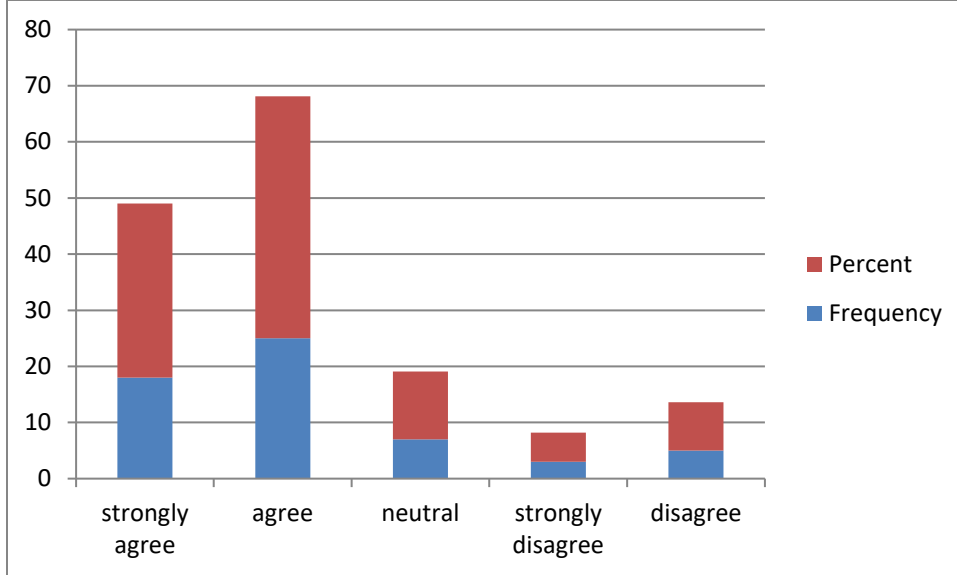


Fig 19: Economic factor having impact on voter behaviour

Relationship between social economic factors and loss of popularity

The respondents were asked to state whether there was a relationship between social economic factors and loss of popularity by political parties in Munkulungwe ward. The response was in the affirmative with 43%, 18 agreeing while 31%, 13 strongly agree while 5%, 3 and 9%, 5 strongly disagree and disagree respectively.

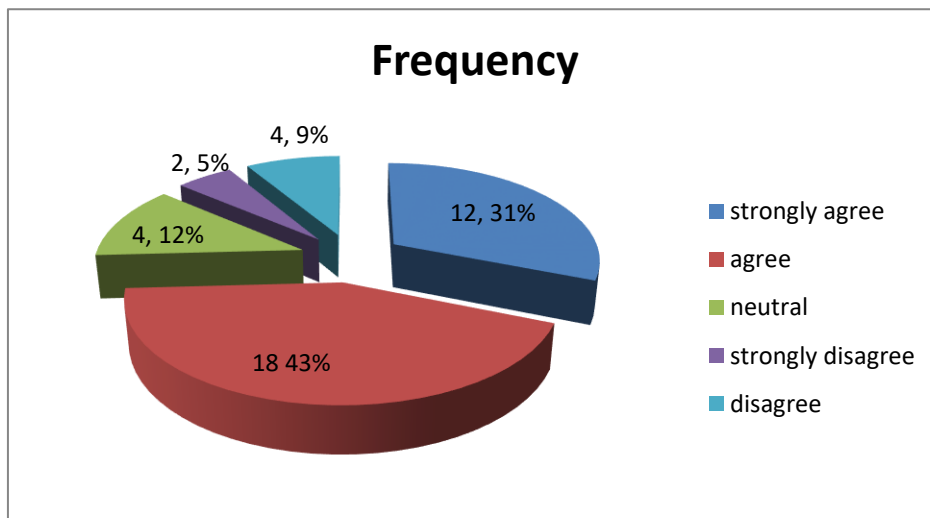


Fig 20: Social economic factors and loss of popularity

Parties in Munkulungwe lose popularity due to failure to bring development

The results in figure 21 revealed that voters in Munkulungwe ward maintain loyalty to the party that is taking development to the area, 45%, 26 and 28%, 16; agreeing to the motion.

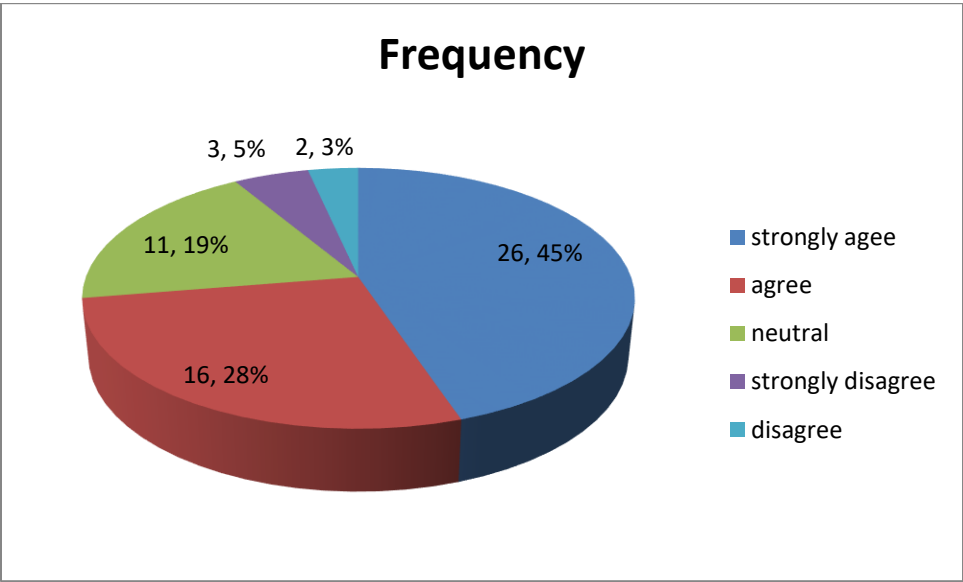


Fig21: Voter maintain loyalty to the party that takes development

Relationship between shift of loyalty and failure to bring development

The outcome shown in fig 22; indicate that there exists a relationship between change of loyalty and failure to bring development to the area with 50%, 20 agreeing and 26%, 8 strongly agreeing, indicating cumulative percentage of 76% affirmation.

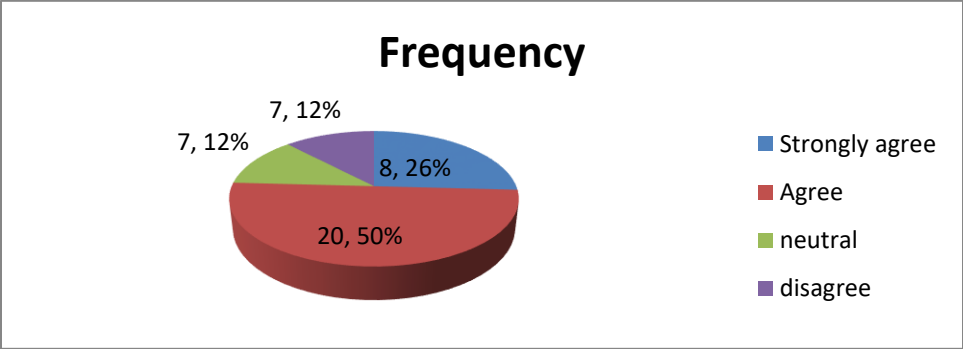


Fig 22: Relation between change of loyalty and failure to take development

4.1.3 Data for question three: How do leadership dynamics, including leadership transition and intra-party conflict impact the competitiveness of former ruling parties?

Leadership remain vibrant after losing power

A negative outcome is recorded on this item with 27.6%, 16 strongly disagreeing, 29.3%, and 17 disagreeing; representing a cumulative percentage of 56.9% while those strongly agreeing and agreeing represent 20.6%. Figure 23 depicts the scenario.

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Strongly agree	2	3.4	3.4	3.4
agree	6	17.2	17.2	20.7
neutral	8	22.4	22.4	43.1
strongly disagree	11	27.6	27.6	70.7
disagree	13	29.3	29.3	100.0
Total	40	100.0	100.0	

Fig 23: Leadership still remain vibrant after losing power

Leadership of former ruling parties becomes weak after losing power.

The result on this item reveals a positive one showing 16 and 14 subjects agreeing strongly and agreeing respectively; representing a cumulative percentage of 65.5% while the negative response is represented by 15.5%.

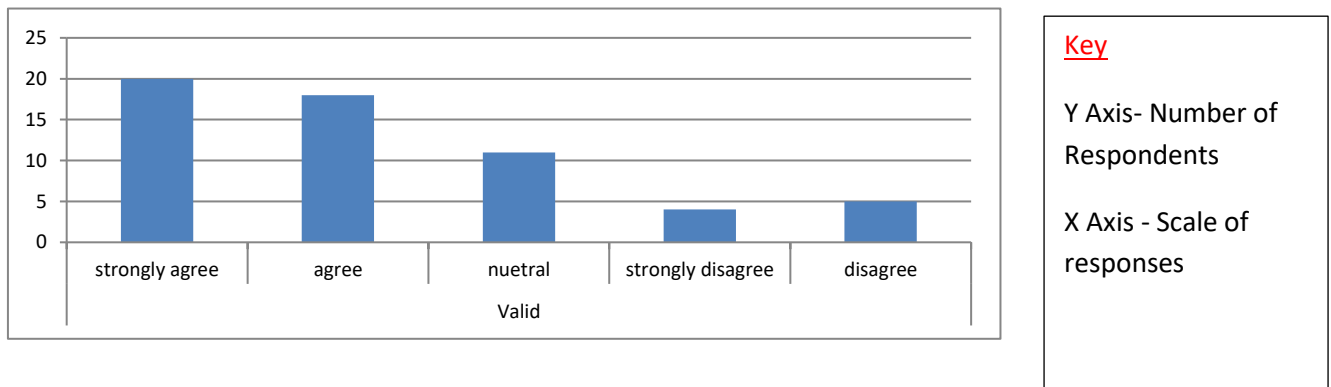
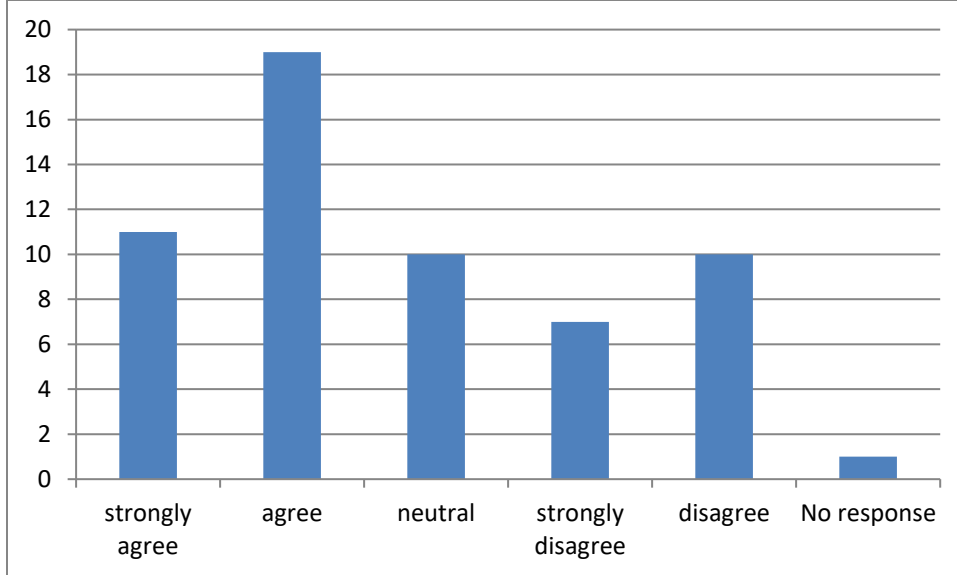


Fig 23: Leadership of former ruling parties becomes weak after losing power

Leadership of former ruling parties contributes to descending competitiveness of the former ruling parties.

The results obtained from the subjects reveal that leadership contributes to the non-competitiveness of the former ruling parties. 9 and 17 subjects strongly agree and agree respectively representing a cumulative percentage of 51.7%. 6 and 8 subjects strongly disagree and disagree respectively; representing 29.3% as shown in fig 25:



Key

Y Axis - Number of respondents

X Axis - Scale of response

Fig 25: Leadership contribute to non-competitiveness

Leaders weaken the former ruling parties due to movement to the ruling party

The outcome is in the affirmative on this item with cumulative percentage of 67% for both strongly agree and agree against a cumulative percentage of 8.2% for strongly disagree and disagree. Fig 26 shows this result.

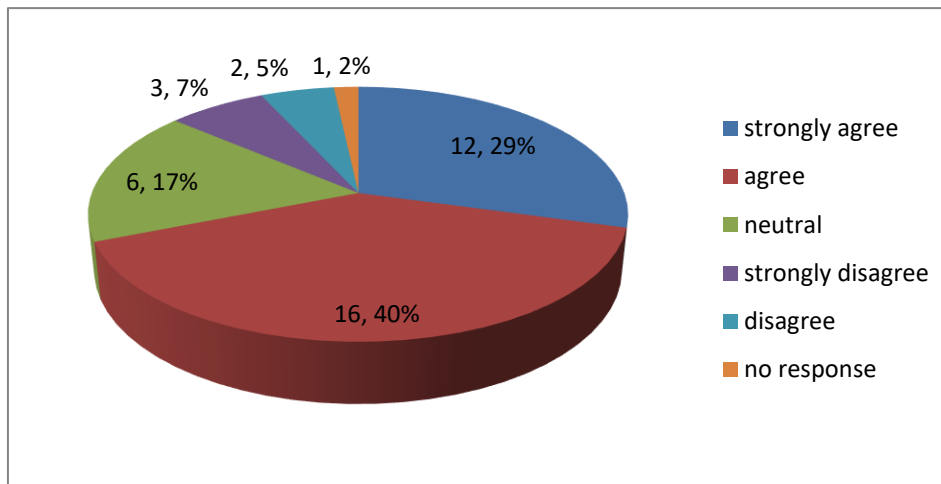


Fig 26: Movement of leaders to ruling party weaken former ruling parties

Relationship between leadership and party competitiveness

According to fig 27, most of the respondents decided to remain neutral, 21, 36%, indicating a doubt in the existence of the relationship. However 8, 14% and 16, 28%

subjects strongly agree and agree to the statement while 3, 5% and 7, 12% strongly disagree and agree.

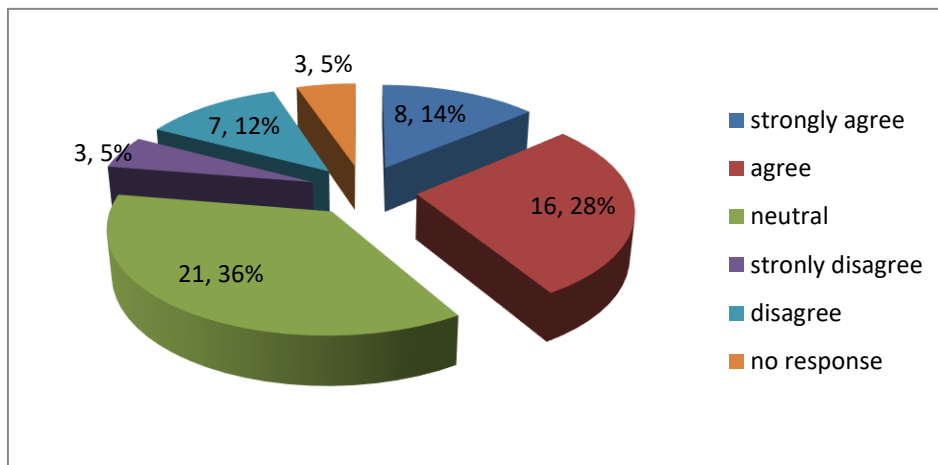


Fig 27: Relationship between leadership dynamics and party competitiveness

Intra-party divisions and conflict weaken former ruling parties

The result show overwhelming positive response of cumulative percentage for strongly agree and agree of 69% while a cumulative percentage of 12% , 17 % neutral as shown in fig 28.

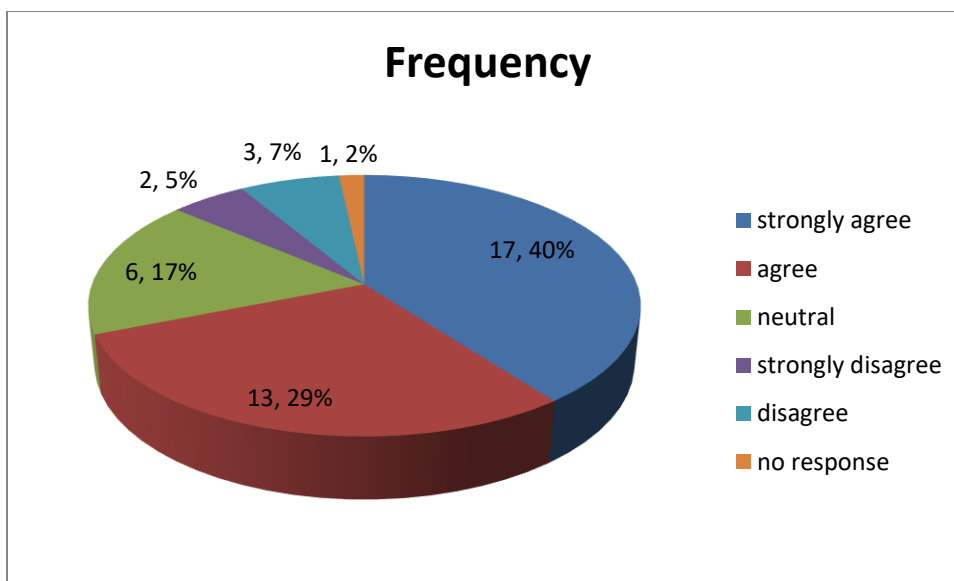


Fig 28: Intraparty conflict weakening former ruling parties.

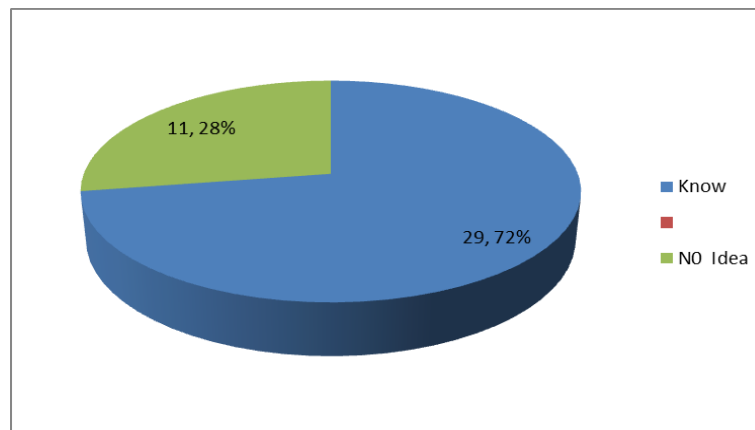
4.2 PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF QUALITATIVE DATA

A total of 40 respondents returned completed questionnaires. The questions were analysed under the following themes,

- Knowledge of the topic
- Historical and conceptual factors contributing to rise to fame of to former ruling parties.
- Electoral behaviour and shift of loyalty in Munkulungwe ward
- Leadership dynamics and intra-party and their impact on party competitiveness
- Other factors related to the topic

4.2.2 Knowledge of the topic

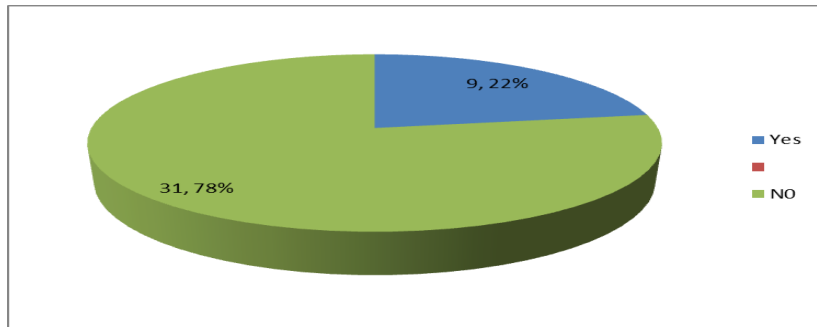
The majority of the subjects showed a good understanding of the topic, in terms of numbers 29 respondents representing 72% defined the key terms well while 11 lacked a good understanding of the topic representing 28%, as shown in the chart.



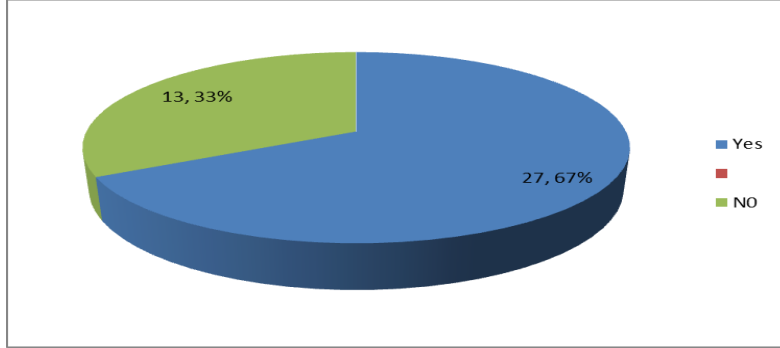
4.2.3 Historical and conceptual factors for the rise to fame of former ruling parties

- The respondents were asked to state whether there were any historical factors in the ward that necessitated the rise to power of the former ruling parties. The response from the majority said there was no known historical factors that helped the former ruling parties to be elected; the response was given by 31 respondents representing 78% while 9;

representing 22% said there was. Therefore the question was resolved into the negative, as shown below



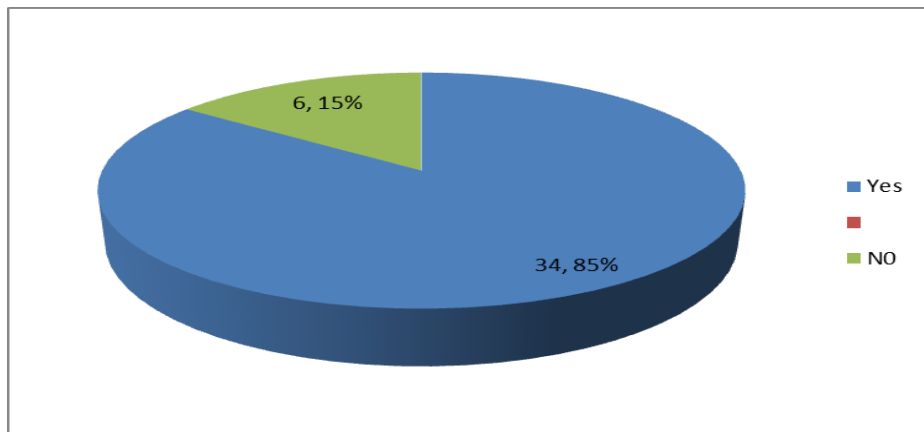
- The 22% who said yes to the previous question; when asked what those factors were indicated the common historical factor as follows:
 - Citizens always hoped to try the new party for what the other old party has failed to deliver to the people.
 - In the case of UNIP, they saw the MMD as the new party to alleviate the sufferings of Zambians which UNIP failed. To do. In a similar way in the case of MMD to PF and PF to UPND.
 - Change also necessitated by failure to neglect the ward by elected leaders especially Members of parliament (MP) who only visit during campaign period.
 - Leadership failure at the grass root that is always neglected, structures of former ruling parties after losing power only exist at provincial and national level, this happens to UNIP, MMD and now PF.
- The respondents were also asked to state whether there were any historical factors which caused the failure of former ruling parties to remain competitive after losing power in Munkulungwe ward. 27 respondents representing 67% said yes to the question while 13 representing 33% said no; to the question as shown below:



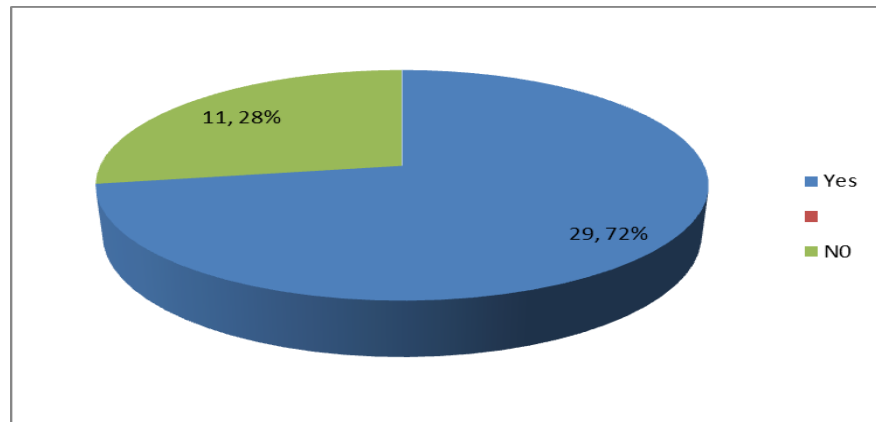
- A follow up question was posed to state what those factors were. In response some of the common responses were: Loss of popularity, failure to fulfil campaign promises, corruption made citizens of Munkulungwe lose trust and confidence, failure to visit and listen to constituents' problems when needed and only seen coming with hand-outs during campaign periods. Further each party that came to power manipulated the system to its advantage, hence once power is lost the former ruling party becomes an opposition and is restricted to whelms of power thus failing to compete and eventually descending in competitiveness like the case is with UNIP and MMD.

4.2.4. Electoral behaviour and Shift of loyalty by voters

- The respondents were asked to indicate whether there were specific reasons why voters in Munkulungwe ward vote for a candidate and their party. To that question; 34 representing 86.3% answered in the affirmative while 6, representing 16.4% abstained from answering the question.



- A follow up question was asked to state those specific reasons and they were brought out as follows:
 - Tribal inclination
 - Loyalty to the candidate and the party
 - Fed up with the party sponsoring the candidate due to failure to address the many developmental issues in the ward.
 - Presenting and explaining the party manifesto in a convincing way.
 - The popularity of the party that has sponsored the candidate.
 - Deliver on the campaign promises
 - Influenced by those with financial power.
- The other question asked was to state whether economic factors have an impact on the shift of loyalty of the voters. The outcome was in the affirmative with 29 respondents agreeing that the economic factors influence voter change of loyalty representing 72% while 11 disagreed to the statement representing 28% as shown below.

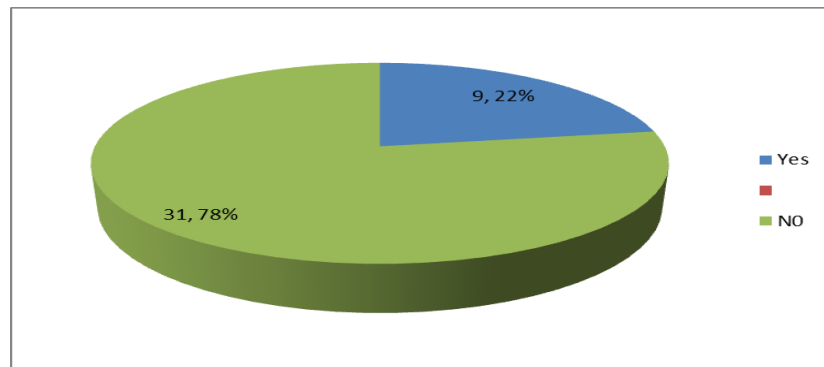


- A follow up question was asked to mention some of the economic factors that influence voter loyalty. The common ones brought out by the respondents are:
 - High levels of unemployment which leads to many families living in abject poverty.
 - Gifts in form of money and material

- Financial support to the vulnerable or less privileged such as: Social cash transfer, agriculture support inputs, youth empowerment etc.
- High prices, high exchange rates and interest rates also contribute to people's vulnerability which leads to their manipulation by those with money and wealth.
- Long hours of load shading have equally contributed to house hold vulnerability.

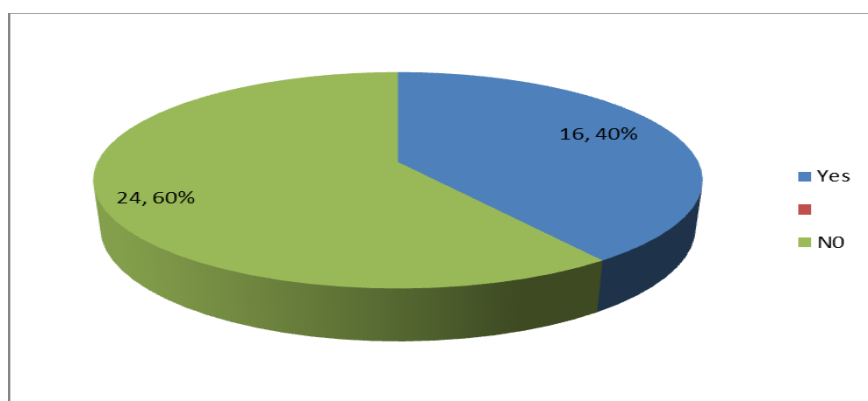
4.2.5 Leadership dynamics and intra-party wrangles and their impact on party competitiveness parties

- The respondents were to state whether leaders of former ruling parties in Munkulungwe ward still remain vibrant in the post power loss to steer up their parties. 31 subjects representing 78% responded in the negative while 9, representing 22% responded in the positive.



- A follow up question was asked for the respondents to indicate what their views were if the answer was in the negative. The answers commonly brought out are as follows:
 - Infighting among the members as who should lead the party
 - Migration of leaders and members to the ruling party and other parties.
 - Discouraged after losing power

- When in power the former ruling parties used state finances to run their parties, after losing power they have no access to state finances hence leaders become inactive.
 - Lack of unity of purpose by all members to support their leaders after losing power.
 - Ruling party instigating confusion in the former ruling parties.
- The respondents were asked to state whether intra -party wrangles after losing power are as a result of leadership. 16 representing 40% said yes while 24 representing 60% said no, therefore the out was in the negative.

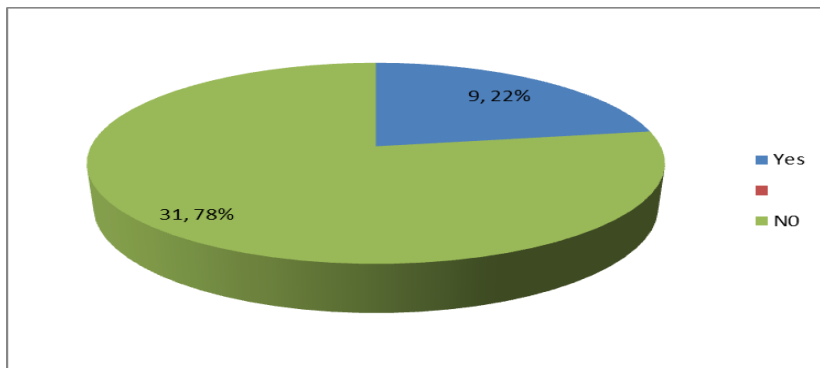


- A follow up question was asked for the respondents to express their views if their response to the previous question was yes. To that; 40% who said yes gave their reasons as follows:
- Reasons why respondents feel leadership dynamics contribute to intra party wrangles according to the 40% who agreed:
 - Failing to prepare leaders to take over the parties in the future, hence party members begin to fight.
 - Corruption and manipulation among the leaders and members, leading to flouting of the standing operating procedures (SOPs) of the party as enshrined in their party manifestos
 - Leaders sometimes begin to accuse each other for party failures thus escalating divisions in the party in Munkulungwe ward.

- The remedies to the above according to the 40% respondents' views are as follows:
 - The former ruling parties should try other leaders.
 - The former ruling parties should go back to the drawing board and realign the rules of choosing their leaders.
 - Holding democratic elections of leaders according to the party guidelines.

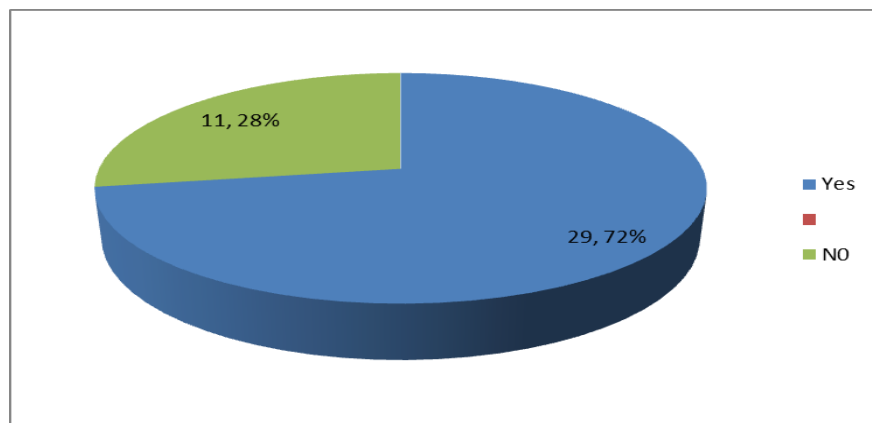
4.2.6 Other factors related to the topic

The respondents were asked to state whether the current political system in Zambia offers a good ground for multiparty. The response was in the affirmative with 31 respondents representing 78% while those said no were 9, representing 22%.

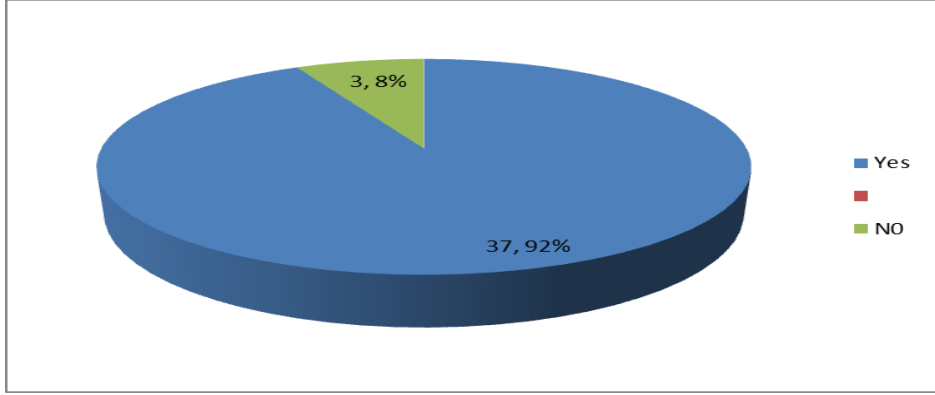


- A follow up question was asked to state the reasons for the choice of their answers.
- **Positive response – Reasons**
 - It is democratic evidenced by the number of registered political parties.
 - It is participatory; citizens are free to join any political party of their choice and are free to choose their leaders through elections which are held after five years.
 - Provides a platform for free campaigns of the parties competing in the elections.
 - Allows debates by stakeholders on electoral aspects

- **Negative response- Reasons**
 - The system is manipulated by the ruling party using state machinery such as the Police to intimidate opposition political parties.
 - Weak political institutions which lack autonomy.
 - The system is mullled with corruption which leads to vote rigging, biased media coverage of the opposition political parties, arrests of political opponents.
- The respondents were also asked to state whether former ruling parties use the media to reach out to the voters. The outcome was in the positive, that former ruling parties especially the Patriotic Front (PF) use the media, with 29 subjects representing 62.7% agreed while 11 said no; representing 37.3%.



- The respondents were asked to state whether the former ruling parties if still possessed popularity in Munkulungwe ward after losing power. The response was as follows: 37 respondents said no; representing 94% while 3 said yes referring to the PF that it still possesses some popularity representing 6%.



4.3 Research findings

The data is analysed by integration of quantitative and qualitative responses into the outcomes of the study, in accordance with the research objectives and questions. The findings are further discussed in detail in chapter five.

- The first objective was to identify the historical and contextual factors contributing to the initial rise of former ruling parties in Zambia, particularly within Munkulungwe Ward.: The outcome on this aspect by the responses showed that there are historical factors for the rise to fame of former political parties as shown by the results of the quantitative augmented by the reasons given by the subjects qualitatively.
- The second objective was to analyse the electoral behaviour and preferences of constituents in Munkulungwe Ward towards former ruling parties. The results revealed that the voters in Munkulungwe ward are influenced by many factors as indicated in the responses of the subjects. Some of these factors have been brought out qualitatively. The result further indicated the relationship between voter change of loyalty and economic factors in Munkulungwe ward. It further indicated that there is a relationship between loss of popularity and failure to fulfil campaign promises.
- The third objective was to explore the role of leadership dynamics within former ruling parties, including the impact of leadership transitions and intra-party conflicts on their post-power loss competitiveness. In the study it has been brought out that the former ruling parties are affected by a number of leadership challenges. It further revealed that intra-party wrangles are as a result of

leadership dynamics the former ruling parties caused by selfish interests of the members all who want to be leaders.

- Other factors related to the topic: The political system in Zambia has been viewed by many respondents of the study as one that offers good environment for multi-party politics. Further the respondents indicated that there is currently massive use of media including social media by the former ruling parties to reach out to the voters and resell their manifestos. Further it has been revealed that the former ruling parties have drastically lost popularity though the PF is seen as still enjoying a considerable level of popularity.

4.4 Chapter Summary

The chapter has presented and interpreted the data collected from both quantitative and qualitative data. Quantitative data indicated how the subjects' understood the association and relationships of variables in the topic. Through a structured questionnaire, subjects were asked to choose from a five point scale of response, the appropriate response according to their understanding. The qualitative data through an open ended questionnaire under four themes gave an opportunity for the subjects to express their opinions, views and experiences which then leveraged the findings from the quantitative data. It is established in the study that historical factors have perpetually engulfed the political land -scape in Zambia. Further voters' vulnerability compel voters to have preferences in the manner they shift their allegiance and finally the study has found out that leadership contributes to the descending into oblivion of former ruling parties.

CHAPTER FIVE - DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

5.0 Chapter Overview

The chapter discusses the findings of the study from the responses provided by the study respondents. The findings are answering to the research questions and therefore the discussion is based on the aspects that are already known about the topic of the study and those discovered through views, perceptions and opinions expressed in the responses provided. The chapter focuses on the following:

- Historical and contextual factors for the rise to fame of former ruling parties
- Electoral behaviour, perceptions, preferences and shift of alliance by constituents
- Impact of leadership dynamics, including intra-party wrangles on former ruling parties' competitiveness.
-

5.1 Historical and contextual factors for rise to fame of former ruling parties

The findings on this aspect revealed a split of outcomes between the quantitative outcome and the qualitative outcome. In the quantitative it is established that there are known historical factors causing failure of ruling parties to compete, while in the qualitative it is established that there are no known factors connected to historical or situational conditions; however the few that supported the statement qualitatively explained their reasons for the support of the quantitative outcome. Those factors were viewed together under the following items: Poor policies of ruling parties, citizens fed up with the style of governance, failure to fulfill campaign promises, Liking of the candidate, Wind of change and permanently ditch the lost ruling party.

Poor policies of the ruling party

Historically in Zambia there have been three ruling parties that have handed over power to new political parties since the return to multi-party system of politics in 1991. It is established in the study that towards the end, UNIP failed to provide good policies in almost all the sectors of the economy, that saw most of the sectors depending on the government subsidies and recapitalisation for survival as established in the study. UNIP further failed to uphold human rights. According to the literature reviewed Mwenda and Michaela, (1999) recounted how Mabutu the President of Zaire was dethroned due to poor policies that led to discontentment by the citizens. In similar lines people of Zambia were not happy of President Kaunda's policies . According to the findings of the study

MMD came on the scene as a saviour party capitalising on the poor policies of UNIP. Further; at the time MMD introduced policies which initially improved the country's economy. However after the year 2007 following the death of President Mwanawasa, the policies formulated could not support the growth of the sectors of the economy hence falling out of favour of the electorates and the PF under President Sata campaigned on the failures of the MMD and won the elections in 2011. Again after President Sata's death similar error was committed by President Lungu's poor economic policies which found the country in huge external debt. With reasons adduced by the respondents there has been an established trend in political dispensation that is connected to historical factors where parties once in power inherit the policies of the former in order to remain in power as eluded by Lamar (2002).

Citizens fed up with the style of governance

It is established in the study that citizens get fed up with the ruling party which is not listening to them and addressing their problems is a contextual factor for change of loyalty. The poor governance style of Mobutu of authoritarianism, economic mismanagement and corruption as espoused by Mwenda and Michaela, (1999) led to the civil war that ousted Mobutu from power. The study revealed that citizens despite the party that is in opposition is not liked they tend to vote for that party. When UNIP became a liability of the citizens of Zambia because of President Kaunda's approach to governance which did not favour democratic tenets but was characterised with police intimidation of the citizens, human rights abuse and lack of freedom of expression the citizens looked for the opportunity for any party at that time that could emerge to challenge UNIP and MMD was formed at the right time as the only democratic party and campaigned on those lines. Thus the study's finding of people in Munkulungwe ward getting fed of a party, one such period was the losing of UNIP's popularity as a favourite party in the one party state. In the same vain as revealed in the study MMD became a liability as well with a lot of corruption in the Chiluba Government which was exposed by his predecessor Levy Mwanawasa. After Mwanawasa's death, the Chiluba style of governance returned in President Banda's reign which saw MMD losing to PF. Repeatedly PF under Edgar trekked the same root and PF was removed by UPND. This too points to historical and contextual issues as the trend continued from UNIP to PF and the current UPND has been viewed by the respondents of the study as having adopted some of the errors committed by previous ruling parties.

Failure to Fulfill Campaign Promises

It is revealed in the study that this is a historical factor that sees the former ruling parties failing to return power after losing it. as the case is with UNIP . MMD and PF following slowly. This aspect is clearly brought by Mudenda, (2018) where he discusses voting pattern in the 2016 general elections in relation to fulfilling company promises by the PF government during that period and won the elections and the PF still has support in Munkulungwe ward because of the development they took to the ward. During the one party participatory democracy representatives of the people especially PMs after winning election would not be seen to implement what they promised to do to the people of Munkulungwe and they would be back after three years or five years in time for campaigns, to come and talk about what they would do if they were given another vote. The trend continued in the MMD government which was further compounded with corruption which led to increased external debt and closure of many industries and government controlled companies in what was call Structural adjustment programme (SAP) IMF conditionality for the loan Zambia got from them. The closure of mines and other companies led to increased poverty at house hold level and increased the levels of vulnerability and promotion of politics of the belly or clientelism in the Zambian politics. The PF campaigned on the pro poor concept which excited many voters who were vulnerable at the time and eventually won the elections in 2011.

Constituents voting due to liking of the candidate

Constituents in Munkulungwe ward historically have a tendency of being fond of a candidate due to their charisma or indeed any other gift as indicated by most of the participants in the study. Back in history the subjects indicated that early years of independence Zambia was practicing multi-party democracy with one of the parties being led by Simon Mwansa Kapwepwe called UPP and another by Harry Mwanga Nkumbula called the ANC. The respondents indicated that had the system not changed in 1973 UPP could have ruled the country and not UNIP, this was seen being attributed to loving Simon Mwansa Kapwepwe at the time. According to literature reviewed, Chanda (1973) narrated the dominance of emergent political parties like the UPP which threatened the position of UNIP at the time. In the same vain Larma, (2002) states the reasons why Dr Kaunda was compelled to amend the constitution to a single party largely because the dominance of the opposition to his poor policies. Consequently, the people voted for MMD because of the party President at that time President FTJ Chiluba who was liked by the people because of his skillful language apart from the change they so desired. Additionally in 2011 one of the factors people elected the PF

was partially due to President Sata's popularity among the citizens and because of that everyone who stood on PF then won the elections in Munkulungwe ward.

Further the liking of candidates has been on tribal lines as revealed in the study. It is established that historically in Zambia people have been voting for candidate according to inclination of the candidate to their tribe. According to Mukunto (2016) the voting pattern at constituency and National level from 2005 through to 2021 general elections has been on tribal lines. That provided evidence of candidate liking due to tribe as one of the attributes of a particular candidate. Munkulungwe ward is not an exceptional.

Permanently forget a party after loss of power

Constituents in Munkulungwe ward historically do not give chance to a party and their candidate who have once failed to address their issues and listening to them as revealed in the study. It is very difficulty for the people to listen again to a party that failed lamentably ;this is a case as brought out by Lynch & Crowford, (2011) the challenges KANU party of Kenya has failed to shade its bad governance under Arap Moi to convince the Kenyans that it is a re- branded party. The respondents of the study indicated that there is no member of UNIP; neither is there a member of MMD who is known in Munkulungwe ward. We have seen the two former ruling parties fairing badly in the recent elections, (ECZ, 2021) indicates no polls for the two former ruling parties.it is evidenced that people in Munkulungwe just like at national level fail to indulge with parties that once held power and lost it. The study revealed though that there is still a strong presence of PF members in Munkulungwe ward.

Political System favorable for supporting plural politics

This factor has been brought out by respondents of the study as one of the historical factor affecting former ruling parties to remain competitive. It is revealed that the political system offers good environment to support plural politics. The political system allows many political parties to be registered, allows campaigns freely despite violence here and there, allows party mobilisation of any political party and many other democratic tenets. However the study has also revealed that the political system in Zambia is manipulated from time in memorial by the party in power. As literature indicates that the political institutions in Africa are weak to support democracy (Cheese-Man, 2018) In another study Chasse-Man et al, (2020) argue that ruling parties in Africa use strategies aimed at disadvantaging the opposition political parties. From the UNIP time the political system has been manipulated due to weak political institutions. Firstly UNIP

manipulated the system throughout its reign by enacting laws that weakened those institutions. MMD took over power and continued manipulating the system through further weakening of institutions of governance and corruption. The PF used the same style to impose their will on the people. It is evidenced in the findings of the study that each party that is voted into power manipulates the system to disadvantage the opposition political parties. MMD manipulated the system by appointing members of the opposition to ministerial positions and by appointing cadres to government positions. The PF likewise appointed cadres to key government positions which the current government is equally doing according to the study participants' views.

Summary

The outcome of the study that historical factors gave rise to fame of each political party that has been in power is established by integrating both quantitative and qualitative explanations. A number of factors have been explained to amplify the quantitative findings. Taking advantage of those factors parties campaigned based on those and gained the favour of the electorates, however the trend has continued leading to voters ditching parties that have held power before permanently.

6.3 Electoral behaviour, perception preferences and shift of allegiance of constituents in Munkulugwe ward

The study has discovered that the behaviour of voters in Munkulungwe ward is influenced by a number of factors. Some are coerced to behave in a certain way before, during and after elections by offering those hand-outs, money and other things. According literature 2011, 2016 and 2021 general election saw an increase in electoral corruption (Kunda, 2017). Additionally the study established that voters in Munkulungwe ward shift loyalty from one party to the other if the ruling party fails to address their economic challenges and failure to fulfill the campaign promises. This aspect was measured under the following: Economic hand-outs, Impact of economic factors on voters, social economic factors and loss of popularity, failure to improve the well-being of the voters and loyalty and failure to bring development.

Economic hand-outs

The study has established that voters' behaviour in Munkulungwe ward is influenced partially by the gifts which are given to them by political aspirants and their agents. It is obvious with some sect of the population of Munkulungwe ward being peasant farmers it is easier for those with financial power to manipulate them. This has been observed as brought out by participants in the study, the 2016 and 2021 saw an increase in the issuance of hand-outs in the ward. Despite this aspect being proved otherwise in 2011 and 2021 election, some portion of the population is still bought by gifts. Kunda, (20 17) state that the 2016 general election in Zambia was mullied with voter buying through, exchange of material gifts, including money which led to some election disputes, however in 2011 similar things happened but the people did not succumb to MMD manipulating them through gifts indicating a yes and a no at the same time to this item as a measure of electoral behaviour in Munkulungwe ward.

Impact of economic factors on shift of allegiance

The study revealed that economic factors have significant impact on voter behaviour. Such economic factors as unemployment, farmer input support programme, youth empowerment, social cash transfer, loans and other forms of economic factors contribute to the behaviour of voters in Munkulungwe ward. Storm, (1989) observes that performance sensitivity in developed democracies measures the party's popularity. It has been observed in the recent past elections that in 2011, 2016 and 2021 general elections youths have driven elections for the winning side, hoping those voted for would provide those economic aspects to them, therefor the PF provided youth empowerment programme prior to 2016 elections such as fuel tankers for youths and was seen as good performance by the youths . Exponentially the social factors such as free education, free health care, community services and other social factors inculcate the liking of the government and its policies by voters in Munkulungwe ward. On the other hand the study revealed that failure to address or look into the wellbeing of the masses in Munkulungwe ward compel voters to shift their allegiance to another party as the case was in 2011 and 2021 general elections.

Loyalty and Failure to bring development

The study has established that voter loyalty in Munkulungwe ward is strengthened by political players who take development to the ward. Political parties that build roads, schools, health posts and hospitals, provide employment and reduce poverty. It is revealed that the MMD government in 1991 when it changed the economy of this country by introducing a liberalised economy, whereby there were no shortage of goods on the market, the government became a darling to almost all the people of Zambia(Lamar, (2002). The PF between 2011 and 2015 opened a number of districts and realigned provinces the policy that led to developments of those areas through road opening to closed areas, took services closer to the people, thus the party gained popularity. Inversely when the same governments became corrupt and failed to continue on the path of development the citizens shifted their loyalty.

Summary

The revelation in the study about the voter allegiance in Munkulungwe ward that external factors such as hand-outs, money, employment and other forms of economic and social factors influence the manner in which voters in Munkulungwe ward behave politically. Additionally, voters would change loyalty to support candidates that would take development to Munkulungwe ward.

6.4 Leadership dynamics and intra-party wrangle and their impact on former ruling parties' competitiveness

The study has revealed that former ruling parties in Munkulungwe ward face numerous leadership challenges. It further revealed that intra- party wrangles are as a result of leadership dynamics in former ruling parties. The factor was measured under the following items: Vibrancy of leadership in former ruling parties, Leadership weak after losing power, Leadership and party competitiveness, leaders and members migrating to the ruling party and Intra-- party wrangles weaken party competitiveness.

Vibrancy of leadership in former ruling parties

It is established in the study that the leadership in former ruling parties is not as vibrant as it used to be while in power. Chanda, (1993) argues that the efforts of nationalist leaders in mobilising was the driver for achieving independence which is not seen done in the former ruling parties..The respondents indicated that internal wrangles, lack of preparing others to take leadership, migration of leaders and members to the ruling party and the feeling of losing the elections retard their motivation to continue with the

vigour to lead. Chitiya, (2015) posits that factionalism, leadership disputes and policy failures are some of the factors diminishing competitive advantage of political parties. In 2004 when President Chiluba failed to clinch a third term, leadership wrangles ensued which saw some senior leadership of the party leaving and forming their own party called FDD. Further after the appointment of President Mwanawasa as Chiluba's successor, it also caused further divisions in the MMD which saw President Sata and others breaking away to form the PF. Those issues all point to the lack of preparing successors and members' mind set. The same thing is now happening in the PF. After ECL's retirement a number of members aligned themselves to take over the leadership of the party and confusion erupted within the PF, even after his return the previous year on 28th October the party has failed to resolve internal divisions which are slowly weakening the party as evidenced by the subjects' responses and views.

Weakness of Leadership after power loss

The leadership of former ruling parties becomes weak after losing power. According to Chipenzi, (2019) weak opposition political parties necessitated by leadership failure is one factor failure of democracy in Zambia. The respondents stated that the feeling of losing election discourages most leaders of former ruling parties especially the former Presidents as the case was with RB and ECL who retired from active politics after losing power to HH the current President of Zambia. This turn of events coupled with internal squabbles weakens the competitiveness of the former ruling party. Therefore it is established that leadership dynamics in the former ruling parties contribute to the failure to compete favourably by former ruling parties.

Migration of Leaders and senior members to the ruling party

According to the respondents' views and perceptions this item contributes more to the weakening of the former ruling parties. As Chitiya, (2015) observes that factionalism in ruling parties weakens the competitive nature of political parties. During the MMD era we saw a number of leaders and members leaving UNIP to join the ruling MMD. Consequently the PF won the election and again there was mass movement of party members of the MMD to the PF. The vice weakened UNIP, MMD and now PF in the long run as suggested by the participants which eventually would reduce competitiveness of the party in the future elections.

Intra party wrangles weaken the former ruling parties' competitiveness

This is another factor that reduces the competitiveness of the former ruling political parties. According to the revelation of the study intra party fighting are as a result of leadership weakness and member selfishness. Leadership dynamics, disputes in political parties weaken the opposition in Zambia (Ibid, 2015). It is established that most members after their party losing power or even before the president steps down, members become selfish not to support others but themselves. We saw this in the MMD, we have seen this in the PF and it is yet to be seen in the UPND as perceived by most respondents of the study.

Summary

Leadership dynamics in the former ruling parties exacerbated by internal wrangle, migration of leaders to other parties, lack of preparation of those to take over when leaders step down weaken the former parties' competitiveness.

Chapter Summary

The chapter has discussed the findings as analysed from the quantitative and qualitative data collected from the respondents of the study. The findings discussed are responses to the research questions generated from the objectives of the study. The chapter has brought out the factors and their effect on the failure of the former ruling parties' competing ability after losing power. The factors have been viewed and opined historical and contextual factors that contributed to rise to power of former ruling parties, electoral behaviour and shift of allegiance by the voters and finally influence of leadership dynamics and internal wrangles on former parties' viability and loss of vigor.

CHAPTER SIX- CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Chapter overview

The chapter summarises the major findings of the study into conclusions. Further the conclusions also are derived from the literature reviewed related to the current study. Exponentially the conclusions are summarised to state whether the problem of the study exists or not, that is to say declining competitiveness of the former ruling parties; UNIP, MMD and the PF in their post power loss. It also summarises the research objectives by answering the research questions. Further the benefits of the study to the former ruling parties and the current ruling party are also summarised. Thereafter recommendations for stake holders have been brought out.

6.2 Conclusions

Existence of the research problem

The study has established the existence of the problem of former ruling parties declining competing ability after losing power. The conclusions are responses to research questions which are: What are the historical and contextual factors for the rise to fame of former ruling parties? The second one is how do constituents in munkulungwe ward perceive former ruling parties and what are the primary reasons for shift of allegiance? And the third one is how do leadership dynamics and internal wrangles impact former ruling parties' competitiveness.

- Historical and conceptual factors for rise to power of former ruling parties: The study has discussed that the weakness of the political institutions in Zambia caused by legal frameworks subject the system to manipulation by the ruling party as supported by Storm, (1989). From the time of UNIP to the current party in power the political system has been manipulated. Although the system is democratic it leaves lacunae for the ruling party to disadvantage the opposition parties. This is revealed through the constitution heaping so much power on the executive as to appoint key personnel to key governance institutions like ECZ, Judiciary and Speaker of the National assembly and law enforcers. These are some of the contextual issues which have made the political environment unfavourable for the opposition including the former ruling parties. Further the former ruling parties while in power had access to state finances which is extended to funding party activities and paying cadres, however after losing power they no longer have finances to organise and mobilise their parties, this

happened to UNIP, MMD and likely to happen to PF. Therefore the historical and contextual factors do affect the competitiveness of former ruling parties.

- Perception of constituents and reasons for shift of allegiance by voters: This factor has been established to have explained why the constituents change loyalty from the ruling party to vote for the opposition and why the former ruling party is ditched permanently making it difficult for a comeback, a factor that contributes to declining competitiveness. Economic factors such as unemployment, input support, inflation, weak currency, high poverty levels and many others have made citizens vulnerable to their leaders; this vulnerability influences the voter behaviour of citizens. When intermediate variables such as hand-outs whatever form, money, cloths, food are introduced people are swayed; though this has been proven otherwise; people in 2011 and 2021 general elections when there was too much distribution of material gifts to constituents did not vote for the ruling parties which lost the elections as further explained by Kunda (2017). In other words constituents' behaviour in elections is influenced by a party promising to address their needs and ditch the ruling party for failing to address those critical issues like unemployment and poverty despite receiving gifts from them. Therefore people's perception of the former ruling parties as having made them vulnerable by failing to provide economic and social benefits contribute to the parties losing popularity and eventually lose competing ability.
- Leadership dynamics and internal wrangles impact on former ruling parties competitiveness: This factor has been explained to be the driver of strengthening or weakening the competitive nature of political parties as supported by Chitiya, (2015). In the case of the former ruling parties this has been established as the major contributor to their current status as opposition political parties. Internal wrangles, migration of leaders to other parties, negative feeling of losing election, lack of preparation of leaders to take over, lack of resilience by the losing president to organise the party and formation of splinter parties are some of the drivers for former ruling parties' leadership dynamics, a challenge that causes failure to compete in a new political environment. Further former ruling parties have been cited to have neglected the grass-root structures which are supposed to be the foundation of the party, like in Munkulugwe ward, no ward structures exist for UNIP and MMD but at provincial and national levels would find these structures existing making it difficult for them to mobilise.

Leadership has also been explained to have caused infighting and division happening in the former ruling parties, thereby weakening the party's ability to compete. Therefore leadership dynamics and infighting is one factor that affect the competing ability of former ruling parties.

6.3 Benefits of the study to Stakeholders

The study has brought out issues patterning to governance and democracy which would benefit stake holders who include: The government, citizens and political parties, key political institutions, law enforcers and political Scientists.

- **Government:** The issues pertaining to historical, shift of allegiance and leadership factors could assist the current government into formulating policies that would avoid errors committed by the previous governments; issues such as manipulation of the political system, undermining the tenets of democracy and weakening of the opposition parties using state machinery.
- **Citizens:** Citizens would benefit a great deal from the study because they are the ones with power to prescribe the destine of the country by ensuring that they put in power political parties that are going to drive the developmental agenda of the country for the benefit of the people. The study brought out many issues such as voter loyalty and what motivates the citizens to permanently shift allegiance in Munkulungwe ward, additionally the kind of manifestos which should be considered should be those emphasising to address and improve economic activities to alleviate people's plight.
- **Political Parties:** Political parties' especially former political parties have everything to benefit from the study. Issues discussed in the study from historical to leadership factors are about political parties guidelines on how to organise their parties and become favourites. Rebranding through soul-searching, trying new leaders as the case is in developed nations where parties still remain vibrant after losing power could happen if the guidelines brought out in the study are followed by political parties.
- **Key Political Institutions:** Political institutions are the bed rock of good governance and democracy, A lot has been brought out in the study about those institutions being used by the ruling party that appoint personnel to those institutions to their advantage. A lot has to be learnt by those institutions from the study in order to build trust, confidence and credibility in the face of the populace.
- **Law Enforcers:** By following the tenets of good governance and democracy law enforcers could uphold and build confidence in the citizens. In the study law

enforcers have been referred to as the state machinery used by the ruling party. From historical and conceptual factors discussed in the study law enforcers and the law itself has been used in what is referred to as law fare to manipulate, intimidate and malign the opposition political parties. Therefore law enforcers would learn on how to carry out their duties responsibly and professionally without infringing peoples' rights. By understanding the views of the subjects of the study law enforcers would work to enforce the law equitably without favouring or biased to saving the interest of the ruling party.

- Political Scientist and Scholars: The study would stimulate further research on the topic by going further to study the issues brought out in the study. A number of aspects have been discussed in the study and require depth understanding. The study would also steer up further debate on issues of governance and democracy in Zambia. Those carrying out political advisory roles should practice the issues brought out in their parties if those parties have to survive and remain vibrant in the Zambian political environment.

6.4 Recommendations

From the discussions in the study and what has been brought out; the following recommendations for stakeholders and researchers have been made:

6.4.1 Stake Holders

- To uphold the tenets of good governance and democracy there is need to formulate policies that strengthen the political institutions in Zambia.
- To exercise the power that rests in the citizens; there is need for citizens to be sensitised to exercise their power wisely all the time in order to realise the benefits of their power.
- To perform the duties professionally there is need to enact laws that protect office bearers of government institutions and that prescribe the code of ethics for personnel in these institutions
- For political parties including the ruling party, there is need to enact laws that restrict the migration of party cadres from one political party to the other in order to promote democracy and competition thereby strengthening the opposition political parties

6.4.2 Researchers and Scholars

- There is need for deeper understanding of the impact of historical factors limiting the competitiveness of

opposition political parties to enhance good governance democracy of our country Zambia.

- There is need to establish in details the relationship between economic factors and voter shift of loyalty and its effect on good governance and democracy in Zambia.
- There is need for deeper understanding of the impact of leadership dynamics on party competitiveness.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Clearance Letter



UNIVERSITY
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mail:unilus@zamnet.zm,ictar@zamnet.zm

UNILUS- RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

Ref no: FWA00033228-3412/24

Date: 1 st December 2024

STUDENT NAME: Kalenga Augustine

PLURAL POLITICS IN ZAMBIA: INVESTIGATING WHY FORMER RULING PARTIES FAIL TO REMAIN COMPETITIVE AFTER LOSING POWER. A CASE OF MUNKULUNGWE WARD, BWANA-MKUBWA, NDOLA, ZAMBIA.

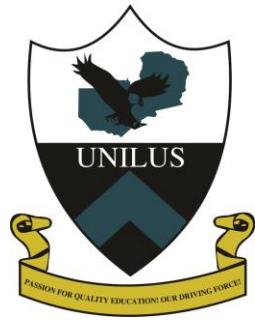
The above research was submitted to the research ethics committee for review. The study has no major ethical problems and is approved subject to the following:

1. The study cannot be changed without express permission of the UNILUS research ethics committee.
2. Approval from the necessary authority should be sought.

The committee wishes you success in your work.

Professor Kasonde Bowa MSc(Glasgow),M.Med(UNZA),FRCS(Glasgow),FACS,FCS,DPH(LSTMH),MPH(UCL) Chairman- UNILUS REC Professor of Urology and Consultant Urologist Deputy Vice-Chancellor – Research and Innovation Executive Dean - School of Medicine and Health Sciences

Appendix 2: Quantitative Questionnaire



**UNIVERSITY
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**SCHOOL OF POST GRADUATE
MASTER OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
GBS 800 QUANTITATIVE METHOD QUESTIONNAIRE**

TITLE: Multipartyism in Zambia: Interrogating former ruling parties descending into oblivion. A case study of Munkulungwe ward, Bwana-Mkubwa, Ndola, Zambia.

1.0 PERSONAL IDENTIFICATION

1.1 What is your gender?.....

1.2 What is your age?.....

1.3 What is your nationality?.....

1.4 What is your occupation?.....

1.5 What is your current position in your organisation.....

.....

.....

2.0 HISTORICAL FACTORS

2.1 Historically the former ruling parties in Munkulungwe ward rise to fame due to poor policies of the ruling party.

a. Strongly agree b. Agree c. Neutral d. Strongly disagree e. Disagree

2.2. Historically ruling parties in Munkulungwe ward rise to fame due to citizens become tired of the ruling party and its style of governance.

a. Strongly agree. B. Agree. C. Neutral . d Strongly disagree e. Disagree

2.3. Historically the ruling parties in Munkulungwe ward are voted into office due to their good manifestos.

a. Strongly agree. b Agree. c Neutral d. Strongly disagree e. Disagree

2.4 Historically ruling parties in Munkulungwe ward are voted out of office due to failure to fulfill their campaign promises.

a. Strongly agree b. Agree. c. Neutral d. Strongly disagree e. Agree.

2.5. Historically there is a relationship between change of allegiance and failure to fulfill campaign promises by ruling parties in Munkulungwe ward.

a. Strongly agree b. Agree. c Neutral . d. Strongly disagree e. Dis agree

2.6. Historically constituents in Munkulungwe ward vote for parties due to the liking of the candidates for that particular party.

a. Strongly disagree. b. Agree. c. Neutral. d. Strongly disagree. e. Disagree

2.7. Historically voters in munkulungwe ward vote for a party and its candidate moved by the desire to change the ruling party or wind of change.

A strongly agree b agree c neutral d strongly disagree e disagree

2.8 Historically once voters ditch a party in munkulungwe ward no matter how good the strategy it can use be, it can't regain its popularity.

a. strongly agree b agree c neutral d strongly disagree e. disagree

2.9. Historical the political system in Zambia does not provide a good environment for former ruling parties to remain competitive.

a. strongly agree b agree c neutral d strongly disagree e. disagree

3.0 **SHIFT OF ALLEGIANCE BY CONSTITUENTS IN MUNKULUNGWE WARD**

3.1. Voters in Munkulungwe ward are attracted to vote for a party and its candidate because of economic handouts given to them.

a. strongly agree b agree c neutral d strongly disagree e disagree

3.2. The social economic factors such as unemployment, inflation, cash empowerment, agricultural support inputs and youth empowerment programmes have significant impact on the electoral behaviour in munkulungwe ward.

a. Strongly agree b. agree c. neutral d. strongly disagree e. disagree

3.2. Former ruling parties in munkulungwe ward lose popularity because of failure to bring developments to the area .

a. strongly agree b. agree c. neutral d. strongly disagree e. disagree

3.4. There is a relationship between social economic factor and loss of popularity of former ruling parties in munkulungwe ward.

a. strongly agree b. agree c. neutral d. strongly disagree e. disagree

3.5 There is a relationship between change of allegiance of voters and failure to bring development in Munkulungwe ward.

a. strongly agree b. agree c. neutral d. strongly disagree e. disagree

4.0. LEADERSHIP CONTRIBUTION OF FORMER RULING PARTIES DESCENDING INTO OBLIVION

4.1. Leadership in former ruling parties such as UNIP, MMD and PF still remain strong and committed to regain power in munkulungwe ward after power loss.

a. strongly agree b. agree c. neutral d. strongly disagree e. disagree

4.2. Leadership of former ruling parties (UNIP, MMD, PF) becomes weak after losing power.

a. strongly agree b. agree c. neutral d. strongly disagree e. disagree

4.3. Leadership of the former ruling parties contribute to the non-competiveness of former ruling parties in munkulungwe ward.

a. strongly agree b. agree c. neutral d. strongly disagree e. disagree

4.4. Leaders weaken the former ruling parties by leaving the parties and join the ruling party or new political parties.

a. strongly agree b. agree c. neutral d. strongly disagree e. disagree

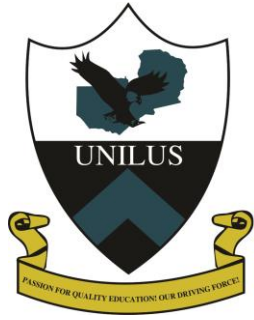
4.5 There is a relationship between leadership dynamics in former ruling parties and competitiveness of political parties in Munkulungwe ward.

a. strongly agree b. agree c. neutral d. strongly disagree e. disagree

4.5. Intraparty divisions and conflict arising from whom should lead the former ruling parties after power loss weaken the former ruling parties.

a. Strongly agree b agree c neutral d. strongly disagree e disagree

Appendix 3: Qualitative questionnaire



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SCHOOL OF POST GRADUATE

MASTER OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

GBS 800 QUALITATIVE METHOD SEMI-STRUCTURED QUESTIONNAIRE

TITLE: Multipartyism in Zambia: Investigating why former ruling parties fail to remain competitive after losing power. A case of Munkulungwe ward, Bwana-Mkubwa, Ndola, Zambia.

1.0 PERSONAL IDENTIFICATION

1.1 What is your gender?.....

1.2 What is your age?.....

1.3 What is your nationality?.....

1.4 What is your occupation?.....

1.5 What is your current position in your organisation.....

.....

2.0 What do you understand by political parties failing to compete?.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

3.0 . Do the former three ruling political parties (UNIP, MMD, PF) still possess the popularity in munkulungwe ward after losing power?.....

.....

3.0. If the answer to the previous question is no, what in your opinion or view could be the reasons?.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

4.0 Historical factors

4.1 What do you understand by historical and contextual factors causing the failure of political parties to compete?.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

4.2. Are there any historical and contextual factors in munkulungwe ward which necessitated the rise to power of the former ruling parties?.....

.....

4.3. If the answer to the previous question is yes; then write them down....

.....

.....

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.....

4.4. Are there historical and contextual factors which cause former ruling political parties fail to remain competitive after losing power in Munkulungwe ward?.....

4.5. If the answer to the previous question is yes, then what are these factors in your in your own experience?.....

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.....

5.0 Shift of allegiance by constituent

5.1. What do you understand by voter behaviour?.....

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

5.2. Are there specific reasons why voters in munkulungwe vote for a particular party and its candidate?.....

5.3. If the answer to the previous question is yes, what do you think in your own experience or view are these reasons?.....

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.....

6.0 Leadership contribution

6.1 What do you understand by leadership dynamics with regard to enhancing political competitiveness?.....

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.....
6.2 Do leaders of former ruling parties still remain vibrant to lead their parties in the post power loss?.....

6.3 If the answer to the previous question is no; what do you think in your view are the reasons?.....

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

6.4 Are intra party conflicts of former ruling political parties after losing power caused by leadership dynamics?.....

6.5 If the answer to the previous question is yes, how does it happen and what do you think should be the solution?.....

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.....

7.0 Other factors

7.1. Does the current political system in Zambia in support offer good ground for plural politics?.....

7.2. If the answer to the previous question is yes or no, what are your reasons for the choice of the answer?.....

.....
.....
.....
.....
7.2. Do political parties especially former ruling parties use media strategy to reach out to voters in munkulungwe ward and sell their parties?

7.3. Do economic factors have an impact on the voter shift of allegiance in munkulungwe ward?.....

7.4. Mention some of these economic factors.....

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

7.5 How do these economic factors affect the shift of allegiance by constituents of munkulungwe ward?.....

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Appendix 4: Plagiarism Report

4.7% SIMILARITY OVERALL 17.61% POTENTIALLY AI SCANNED ON: 15 JAN 2025, 3:55 PM IDENTICAL 0.37% CHANGED TEXT 4.32% LIKELY AI 12.80% HIGHLY LIKELY AI 4.81% AI Detector Results Highlighted sentences with the lowest perplexity, most likely generated by AI. Similarity report Your text is highlighted according to the matched content in the results above. Report #24431789 UNIVERSITY OF LUSAKA GBS 800 – RESEARCH (OBLIGATORY ESSAY) MULTIPATYSM IN ZAMBIA: INTERROGATING FORMER RULING PARTIES DESCENDING INTO OBLIVION. A CASE STUDY OF MUNKULUNGWE WARD OF BWANA-MKUBWA, NDOLA. A RESEARCH REPORT Presented to the faculty of the School of Post Graduate in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the award of a Master of Political Science and International Relations Degree AUGUSTINE KALENGA MPIR 23119099 12th January, 2025

Appendix 5: Dissertation Submission form



UNIVERSITY
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SCHOOL OF POSTGRADUATE STUDIES

SUBMISSION OF DISSERTATION FOR EXAMINATION

Name of student: ... AUGUSTINE KALENGA

Student number: ... MPIR23119099

Programme of study: ... MASTER OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Dissertation title: ... MULTIPATYSM IN ZAMBIA: INTERROGATING FORMER
RULING PARTIES DESCENDING INTO OBLIVION. A CASE STUDY OF
MUNKULUNGWE WARD, BWANA-MKUBWA, NDOLA.

RULING PARTIES DESCENDING INTO OBLIVION: A CASE STUDY OF
MUNKULUNGWE WARD, BWANA-MKUBWA, NDOLA.

Signature of student: [Redacted] Date: ... 15/01/2025

Supervisor's Comments:

I recommend/ do not recommend this dissertation for submission for examination (if
you do not recommend, kindly provide a written report and attach hereto).

Name of Supervisor: ... PRECIOUS CHILUFYA

Signature of Supervisor: ... [Signature]

Date: ... 17-01-2025