Does Zambia Conform to the Economic Theory of Conflict and Other Theories Explaining the Causes of Civil Wars?

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ABSTRACT

Africa has experienced many civil wars. According to Obwona and Guloba (2009) Africa during the period 1990-2000 saw 19 armed conflicts in different parts of the continent. The continent is therefore prone to civil wars. This paper focuses on Zambia whether the country conforms to the ingredients proposed in Economic Theory of Conflict and other theories as the major causes of civil wars and whether Zambia can provide insight in the prevention of conflicts so African countries and others can concentrate on providing sustainable development.

Keywords: Civil conflicts, civil war economic theory of conflict, theories of causes of wars, Zambia no conflict

1.1 BACKGROUND

Zambia is found in the Southern Central Africa. It is slightly bigger than the State of Texas. It shares a common border with Angola, Botswana, Democratic Republic of Congo, Malawi, Namibia, Tanzania and Zimbabwe. Zambia like Democratic Republic of Congo, Malawi and Zimbabwe is a land locked country and depends on Mozambique, South Africa and Tanzania to have access to the sea. Zambia became independent on 24 October 1964 and Kenneth Kaunda became the first President of the Republic. Several of Zambia’s neighbours have at least gone through a civil war or just mere conflict. These countries failed to provide sustainable development for their people during the time they were at war or in conflict. Others are still in the post-conflict reconstruction facing various challenges on their path to recovery. Conflicts particularly, the long lasting ones, transform societies hence it is not possible to return to the original state (World Bank, 1998). The wars destroy both man made structures and environment. It is therefore important to discuss the theories which explain the causes of civil wars and Zambia for her uniqueness for remaining at peace, a key element in sustainable development.

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1.2 THEORIES OF THE CAUSES OF CIVIL WARS

Before the paper discusses the theories, there is a need to define what a civil war means. Collier and Hoeffler (2000) define a civil war as intra-state conflict with at least 1000 battle related deaths with both rebel group and government troops suffering human losses and the latter at least suffering 5% of those losses. Ajakaiye and Ali (2009) on the other hand, define a civil war as a local conflict that involves the state with a minimum of 1000 battle inflicted deaths per annum. It is assumed that the war results in over a 1000 battle inflicted deaths in the first year. Then in the second year there is a decrease below threshold. If in the third year the threshold is maintained, a crude application of the 1000 death measurement can be used. In such a case, the episode will be classified as a failed post-conflict situation. On the other hand, a lower threshold is used to define restoration of peace; in that case the episode is classified as a continuous war. An episode is a conflict incident in some series of conflict events (Collier, 2008).

The theories of the causes of civil wars include the following: Economic theory of conflict; the Greedy –Rebellion theory; Universal Grievance theory; Relative Deprivation theory; the Marxist theory of rebellion; Ethnic mobilization and conflict theory; and the Theory of Ethnic defection.

1.2.1 Economic Theory of Conflict

According to Collier (2006) motivation is not a factor that causes civil wars. What causes the civil war is the presence and durability of a rebel army with financial and military capabilities. The most important thing is that the rebel army can be able to run its operations both financially and militarily. The major emphasis in this theory is the feasibility of the rebellion. The variables which are proxy of feasibility are mountainous terrain, protection through external agreement (such as France with its former colonies, where it guarantees security to its former colonies), low per capita income, declining and stagnant economic growth and presence of large primary resource in a country. Collier et al (2007) interpret the Economic theory of conflict as focusing on the feasibility of the rebellion. The original objectives of the rebels are not the ones which push them to start war. At the same time if there is space in the conflict, there can be other rebels too (Collier et al., 2007). If the rebellion is feasible it will occur regardless of the objective. The feasibility hypothesis upon which the Economic theory of conflict is based on concludes that when rebellion is feasible it will occur no matter the circumstance (Ali, 2009). The Economic theory of conflict focuses on feasibility while Greed-Rebellion theory focuses on the constraints.

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1.2.2 The Greed-Rebellion theory

The Greed-Rebellion theory makes an emphasis on extortion which occurs because of primary commodity export (Collier & Hoeffler, 2004). A rebel movement can run a racket in the area where it operates. This could be in form of protection fee to the local people who will be mining a primary commodity export such as diamonds or oil. The rebel group charges a fee in return what it perceives to be an undertaking to protect them. The rebel group behaves like a criminal group but does not in fact display the features of common criminals. Extortion conforms to economies of scale in which it is conducted in a large scale than a common crime which does not conform to economies of scale (Collier & Hoeffler, 2004). However, it is not only a rebel group that collects money from the local population. The government also charges high taxes to the producers of the primary commodity export to enable it finance a military defence. It is this military defence which causes the rebel force to increase and engage in extortion activities so too they can build a strong army to match the government (Collier & Hoeffler, 2004). The above factors according to the theory cause the civil war. The Greed-Rebellion theory focuses on the constraints whereas the Universal Grievance theory focuses on preference.

1.2.3 Universal Grievance theory

According to Ali (2009) societies consist of various segments so it is possible that some of them may have grievances and such grievances can lead to occurrence of violence in quest of resolving them. There are three types of grievances. These include: hatred between groups; political exclusion and mere vengeance. Hatred between different ethnics including between different religious groups is one of the major causes of civil wars (Collier & Hoeffler, 2008). Political exclusion may happen when certain section of society is marginalised and excluded from governing a particular country. The Universal Grievance theory focuses on preference while Relative Deprivation theory emphasizes on economic inequality.

1.2.4 Relative Deprivation theory

The theories dealt with earlier on are based on the feasibility of the rebellion, constraints and preference. In this theory however, the emphasis is on economic inequality. If people are convinced that there is a gap between what they perceive they deserve and what they actually get, they will likely develop discontent and this can lead them to rebellion (Box-Steffensmeier, et al., 2005). The origin of the Relative Deprivation theory stresses the degree of the economic inequality in a society (Schock, 1996). Poverty is a good example of the

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economic inequality in a society (Douma, 2006). The Relative Deprivation emanates from one’s judgment in respect of one’s circumstances and social status in the society. Thereafter issues of discontent, anger and resentment and other emotional factors prevail (Douma, 2006). Their intensity depends on the degree of the subjective evaluation of one’s standing or status in the community as one feels is owed by society. How an individual manages self over desired outcomes, is the most important part of the theory (Berstein & Crosby, 1980). This theory focused on economic inequality while the Marxist Theory of Rebellion focuses on class struggle.

1.2.5 The Marxist Theory of Rebellion

The market crisis leads to revolt within the peasantry and other classes who experience secondary exploitation, thereby all the exploited unite to oppose the system (Marx, 1852). When the crisis spreads and involves all classes of society it becomes a revolutionary (Marx, 1850). Marxist ideology of class struggle is a historical force on social change, political conflict and revolution. In the capitalist state, structural inequalities lead to economic exploitation of the workers and this leads to a class struggle between workers and owners of capital (Schock, 1996). The Marxist Theory of Rebellion focuses on class struggle while Ethnic Mobilization and Conflict theory focuses on ethnic

1.2.6 Ethnic Mobilization and Conflict Theory

It is based on reaction to economic and political discrimination which affects certain sections of society and the impact is tremendous compared to Marxist class based theories (Schock, 1996). The ethnicity is independent variable its role is to explain the probability of the outcome at the beginning of the civil war and its end (Kalyvas, 2005). Sambanis (2001) describes ethnic civil conflict among ethnicities and the state capitalists in an effort to make huge profit may be tempted to divide the workers in ethnic groups giving high wages and senior positions to the members of dominant ethnic while marginalising other smaller ethnic groups. Ethnic groups can be distinguished by skin colour, appearance, language, religion and some attributes of a common origin or their combination (Horowitz, 1985). The conflict ethnic groups hold onto their identities and do not accept other identities (Kaufman, 1996). Ethnic Mobilization and Conflict theory focused on ethnic while the Theory of Ethnic Defection focuses on demand.

1.2.7 The Theory of Ethnic Defection

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The theory is based on the fact that ethnic defection is demand-driven as opposed to supply driven and it is endogenous. It is based on the hypothesis that colonizers and occupiers induce ethnic defection because they have financial means than the weak countries facing insurgencies. The other hypothesis is that once initial collaborationist machinery is in place, ethnic defection is helped by dynamics endogenous to the conflict such as revenge (Kalyvas, 2005). The paper has discussed several theories. The next step is to look at empirical evidence.

1.3 EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE OF THE THEORIES EXPLAINING THE CAUSES OF CIVIL WARS

Collier and Hoeffler (2000) tested the risk of civil war using comprehensive panel data set of 161 countries for the period 1960-1999 with 1238 observations. The objective was to test the validity of Greed-Rebellion theory and Grievance theory. They used the following variables: male secondary schooling, GDP per capita, GDP growth, primary commodity/GDP, population, social fractionalisation, geographic dispersion, mountainous terrain, dummy of previous war and peace duration as proxies for Greed model. Secondary school enrolment rate for male was statistically significant. The primary commodity export on the risk of war was significant and non linear (Collier & Hoeffler, 2000). If the primary commodity export composes of more than 25% of GDP the risk of war increases. Religious fractionalisation was statistically significant. The dispersion of population and mountainous terrain were statistically significant. Peace duration was statistically significant (Collier & Hoeffler, 2000). They then examined the role of diaspora in the Greed model. The grievances of diaspora are makeup of the rebel organisation and are not the original cause of the conflict. They used the following proxies, GDP per capita, primary commodity exports/GDP, population, peace, peace duration, diaspora/peace duration and predicted diaspora/peace as proxies. They found the variables statistically significant (Collier & Hoeffler, 2000).

In the Grievance model, they used social fractionalisation, ethnic dominance, democracy, geographic dispersion, mountainous terrain, income inequality, land inequality and peace duration as proxies. They examined the relationship between ethnic dominance, social fractionalisation, democracy and duration of peace. Geographic dispersion of population and mountainous terrain were controlled. The results showed that a large ethnic group (45%-90% of the population belonging to the same ethnic group) has a high probability of experiencing a civil war. They further found that income inequality and land inequality were statistically insignificant. They then compared the two models. The two models were not nested. They found that Greed added explanatory power to the grievance model so was grievance to the

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greed model. However, Grievance model had a very low explanatory power while Greed model had a very high explanatory power (Collier & Hoeffler, 2000).

Sambanis (2001) tested the causes of ethnic wars and non-ethnic wars. There were 5378 observations of no war, 818 observations of wars and 600 were observations of ethnic/religious wars. There were 32 revolutionary wars starts and 77 ethnic war starts in the dataset. The following variables were used: per capita energy consumption, polity index, ethnic heterogeneity index, population, neighbour at war, cold war, regional democracy, geographical region, peace years, war in previous ten years and democratic change. The study found that energy consumption, per capita income was statistically significant and economic growth. Ethnic heterogeneity was statically significant and positively correlated. Ethnic heterogeneity either reduces the risks of war onset or there is no statistically significant association with the risk of war. Cold war was statistically insignificant. Regional democracy was statistically significant. Neighbourhood and long period of peace were statistically significant. Change in the level of democracy and the risk of onset revolutionary war but not ethnic wars (Sambanis, 2001).

Collier and Hoeffler (2002) investigated the causes of civil wars. They looked at the wars which took place during 1960-1999. They used expanded and updated data covering 161 countries. They tested Greed theory focusing mainly on the ability to finance rebellion in relation to Grievance theory focusing on ethnic and religious divisions, political repression and inequality. In the Greed model they used proxies like male secondary schooling, GDP per capita, GDP growth, primary commodity export/GDP, social fractionalisation, previous war, peace duration, diaspora/peace, post-cold war, population, geographical dispersion and mountainous terrain. The two opportunity costs proxies namely male secondary enrolment and income growth per capita were found to be statistically significant with expected sign. They concluded that income growth per capita measured for the last 5 years decreases the risk of war. Primary commodity export variable was statistically significant but not linear. The higher risk comes when primary commodity export constitute 32% as a share of GDP. The ease of financing of rebellion was statically significant. Three geography variables were all found to be statically significant. They concluded that mountainous countries are likely to experience civil wars. Then they tested whether duration of previous peace itself affected the size of diaspora. They eliminated four variables namely, ethnic and religious fractionalisation, geographic concentration of the population, mountainous terrain and the rate of growth. Only per capita GDP, primary commodity export, population and a number of months since previous conflict remained. They added diaspora/peace to the regression. The variable was statistically significant (Collier & Hoeffler, 2002).

They also tested the Grievance model using proxies such as ethnic fractionalisation, religious fractionalisation, ethnic polarisation, ethnic dominance, democracy, peace duration, income

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inequality, land inequality, population geographic dispersion and mountainous terrain. The results were ethnic fractionalisation was statistically insignificant. It increases the risk of war. Democracy was found statistically significant. They concluded that greater openness of political institution reduces the risk of conflict (Collier & Hoeffler, 2002).

Collier (2006) tested the validity of the Economic theory of civil conflict. The study covered 161 countries during the time in which 73 civil wars had taken place. The study used the following proxies; primary commodity export; geography; history; economic opportunities; ethnicity and religious ethnicity. They found that primary commodity export was statistically significant. Countries which depend extensively on the export of primary commodities are prone to conflict. If for example, the primary commodity export contributes 26% of GDP, then the country is at risk and the risk being 23%. If there is no primary commodity the risk is 0.5%. Countries without primary commodity exports are not prone to civil wars. Geography was found to be statistically significant. A highly dispersed population (geographically) makes it very hard for the state to exercise full control. For example, the Democratic Republic of Congo’s jungle is a problem for government forces. Countries such as Democratic Republic of Congo and similar ones have 50% risk of civil war occurring. In countries whose population is concentrated in a city such as Singapore, the risk of war decreases to 3% because government forces can reach all areas of trouble within less than an hour and there is no jungle to hide in. History was found to be statistically significant. A country that has experienced civil war increases the risk of that country having another one. Economic opportunities were found to be statistically significant. Areas with little education are prone to the conflict. The ethnic and religious factors were also found to be statistically significant. If there is a dominant ethnic group which compose 45%-90% of the population the risk of a civil war occurring is twice (Collier, 2006).

Collier et al (2008) tested empirically the Economic theory of conflict. They used a global data with 1063 observations. They used the following proxies to test feasibility of a civil war, GDP per capita, GDP per capita growth, primary commodities exports, post cold war, previous war, peace, Former French African colony, social fractionalisation, proportion of young men, population, mountainous and democracy. The following proxies were found statistically significant, GDP per capita, GDP per capita growth, primary commodity exports, peace, Former French Africa colony, social fractionalisation of young men, population and mountainous terrain. They found that the risk of war is greater at lower level of initial income. GDP per capita growth reduces the risk of conflict. They also found an inverted U shaped relationship between natural resources and conflict. The primary commodity export was statistically significant and positive. They further concluded that the risk of relying on primary commodity export is at higher level when exports make 25% of GDP. They also

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observed primary commodity export provides finance to rebels to embark and sustain rebellion. The examples being Sierra Leone where rebels financed their rebellion using diamonds and in Angola where UNITA rebels used oil and diamonds to sustain their insurgency. There were further observations that civil conflicts are experienced in the areas where natural resources are mined. In terms of peace, they found that the risk declines as duration of peace lengthens, however this is at very slow pace. The dummy Former French colony in Africa was found statistically significant and negative. They asserted that French government provided defacto security guarantee to its former colonies. The variable mountainous was found to be statistically significant (Collier et al., 2008).

Collier et al (2008) study tested the risk of conflict reversion by using hazard functions. The data covered the period 1960-2002 covering 68 post-conflict countries. They used the following proxies, per capita income, per capita income growth, democracy, regional autonomy, election shift, economic freedom, diaspora, ethnic diversity, and UN peace keeping expenditure. The study grouped the factors in the following groups: temporal; economic; political; social and military. The results showed that out of the sample of 68 post-conflict countries 31 reverted to war and the average risk was set at 46%. The study also concluded that low income countries are prone to civil conflict. Per capita income growth was statistically significant. Faster growth directly and significantly reduces risk in the year which it occurs in addition to cumulating into higher level income. The study found that a significant difference between countries in which polity is highly repressive with an autocracy ranking worse than -5 (Collier, et al., 2008).

1.4 JUSTIFICATION FOR THE CASE OF ZAMBIA

Zambia is known internationally as the main producer of copper and cobalt. Zambia is the seventh largest producer of copper in the whole world and is the second largest producer of cobalt (Government of Zambia, 2011). Zambia has also the largest quantities of selenium and silver. Then to a lesser extent gold and platinum group elements which are by product of copper mining process (Government of Zambia, 2011). Copper was first discovered at the turn of the century and full mining operations only began in 1930s. It was first mined by Roan Antelope (in Luanshya in 1931), then followed by Nkana in 1932, Mufulira in 1933 and then Nchanga in 1939 (Government of Zambia, 2010). In the late 1950s copper production was more than 400 000 tonnes per annum and by 1969-1976 production had hit 700 000 tonnes per annum then declined to the lowest level of 307 000 tonnes per annum (Government of Zambia, 2011). Over the period of 60 years, Zambia has depended heavily on copper and cobalt even though in later years there have been efforts to diversify the industrial and manufacturing base. The dependency on the two products remains the same. Copper deposit in the Copperbelt alone is estimated to 2 billion tonnes (Government of Zambia, 2011).

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The other significant metal production is zinc and lead from carbonate. This is produced in Kabwe with a deposit of 11Mt of ore with 40% combine zinc and lead. It ranks as one of the highest grade Zn +Pb deposits in the whole world (Government of Zambia, 2011).

According to the Bank of Zambia (2011) Zambia’s earnings from exports were estimated to increase by 40% to US$10.2 billion with copper exports alone increasing by 46%. Copper exports earnings were projected to increase from the level of US$5.7 billion n 2010 to US$8.4 billion in 2011. The increase was due to higher volumes of copper shipments coupled by favourable international commodity prices of copper.

The other justification is in the 1980s the Zambian economy was in a long recession. GDP per capita income significantly fell. Unemployment soared as a result of the difficulty the country was going through. The living standard also fell significantly.

Historically, Zambia was one of the frontline states which provided a home and launching pad for several liberation movements in Southern Africa. The country welcomed Zimbabwe African Peoples Union, ZAPU PF and Zimbabwe African National Union, ZANU PF the two liberation movements in the Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). The country also hosted the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa and SWAPO of Namibia. The country took great risk considering the capabilities of the regimes in then Rhodesia and then apartheid South Africa. Often it paid heavy price from these regimes. The Rhodesian regime created counter revolutionary organization in Mozambique RENAMO which fought the FRELIMO government of Mozambique. The Rhodesian regime exploited on the discontent by Mozambicans with one party state, ascendency to power of Samora Machel without elections and adoption of Marxist-Leninist central planning policies as the vehicle of economic development. According Michailof et al (2001) and Tekere (2007) the Rhodesian regime had created RENAMO to punish FRELIMO for allowing bases in Mozambique to ZANU PF and its armed wing ZANLA to launch military attack on Rhodesia. After Zimbabwe’s independence, the sponsorship of RENAMO was transfer to the apartheid regime in South Africa. RENAMO committed atrocities against civilian Mozambicans. Zambia was at higher risk like Mozambique for the two regimes to create a counter revolutionary army within Zambia.

Zambia was virtually a one party state under UNIP of Kenneth Kaunda in the 1970s and 1980s. Like in any one party state, no democracy was practised. In fact one party state is

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established to kill democracy. A one party state does not tolerate divergence views except its own views. People experience loss of their freedom and political rights and suffer political exclusion (Erdmann & Simutanyi, 2003). Democracy only resurfaced in early 1990s with the push from Zambia’s Trade Union sponsored party, the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) led by Frederick Chiluba (now late) who successfully challenged Kenneth Kaunda in the first multi party elections upon demise of one party state to become Zambia’s second President (Erdmann & Simutanyi, 2003).

Zambia also shares a common border with Mozambique, Democratic Republic Congo, Angola and Zimbabwe. The first three countries experienced full scale civil war. The last one experienced war of liberation and other political conflicts there after. However all the above have either gone through post-conflict reconstruction or are implementing one.

Zambia has mountainous terrains dotted around the country especially along Luangwa. Geographically Zambia’s population is heavily concentrated in the urban areas. Zambia is relatively urbanised. That being the case, rural population is very much dispersed especially North-Western province (Amicaall, 2012).

Zambia has many tribes and dialects. It has also many language groups such as Bemba, Kaonde, Lozi, Luchazi, Lunda, Luvale, Luyana, Mambwe-Lungu, Mashi, Mbunda, Nkoya-Mbwela, Nsenga, Nyanja, Nyika, Tonga and Tumbuka. The population is generally heterogeneous. The population is more than 9.9million (Amicaall, 2012).

Frederick Chiluba on 29 December 1991, declared Zambia as a Christianity state a departure from Kenneth Kaunda who run a secular state. Most of the governing systems worlds wide are secular governments. Those states which have based the government on a particular religion often are not tolerance of other forms of religion especially where Christianity is not the basis of the government (Phiri, 2003).

The above factors are the major ingredients outlined in various theories on the causes of civil wars world wide and some of them have been empirically validated. This paper attempts to find out whether Zambia conforms to the theories which explain the causes of civil wars/civil strife.

1.5 METHODOLOGY

The paper identified the ingredients outlined in the Economic theory of conflict and others which cause civil wars/civil strife which were also common to Zambia as a country. These characteristics common to Zambia were analysed for the purpose of finding out whether they led to civil war/civil conflict in Zambia as hypothesised in the theories. Further the empirical

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evidence of various theories was analysed in the context of relevance of mitigating factors in Zambia. Various data on minerals, exports, GDP, GDP Growth rates, population, geography and so on was obtained from Government of Zambia and Bank of Zambia and others, nationally and internationally and analysed.

1.6 FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The major feature that comes out in the theories is that the presence of a high primary commodity export increases the probability of a civil war. The risk is at higher level if the primary commodity export contributes more than 25% of GDP. The primary commodity export was significant in all studies which carried out empirical research as the causes of civil wars. The primary commodity export can either be used to finance war by the rebel group or its scramble for control of it can also cause civil war (Collier et al., 2008).

Zambia has a large deposit of copper. This is a primary commodity export of Zambia. Table 1 below shows the contribution of copper to government revenue and GDP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Government Revenue K’m</th>
<th>Contribution to govt revenue K’m</th>
<th>Contribution to govt revenue %</th>
<th>Contribution to GDP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>432</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>448</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>768</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>1575</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>23471</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>498 081</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Bova (2009)

Does Zambia Conform to the Economic Theory of Conflict and Other Theories Explaining the Causes of Civil Wars?
In the table 1 above copper contributed 36% to GDP in 1970 and during the same period contributed 58% to government revenue. In other years contribution declined but remained significant. According to Collier (2006) study if the primary commodity export contributes 26% of GDP then the country’s risk of experiencing civil war is 23%. Taking this into account Zambia’s risk of a civil war was more than 23% in 1970. According to World Trade Organization (2009) Zambia’s primary commodity export, copper accounted for over three quarters of total exports in 2009 while in 2002 copper accounted for two thirds of total exports. According to the Bank of Zambia (2011) exports were projected to US$10.2 billion with copper alone increasing by 46%. Copper export earnings were projected to increase from US$5.7 billion in 2010 to US$8.4 billion in 2011. There is no doubt that Zambia is heavily dependent on copper. According to the hypothesis of the theories explaining the causes of the civil wars Zambia has been at risk and should have experienced one. With abundance of copper and its impact on its economy, Zambia has defied the theories and has experienced no civil war as a result of it.

Generally the Zambian economy has been dominated by primary commodities. Table 2 below shows exports of principal commodities.

**Table 2: Exports of principal commodities 1965-1993 (copper in Mt, the others in tonnes)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Copper</th>
<th>Zinc</th>
<th>Lead</th>
<th>Cobalt</th>
<th>Tobacco</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>683</td>
<td>45153</td>
<td>15645</td>
<td>1433</td>
<td>9716</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>684</td>
<td>50334</td>
<td>22079</td>
<td>1814</td>
<td>4041</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>641</td>
<td>41265</td>
<td>19349</td>
<td>1344</td>
<td>5394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>30787</td>
<td>8749</td>
<td>1924</td>
<td>1218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>474</td>
<td>19024</td>
<td>5122</td>
<td>1924</td>
<td>2604</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>441</td>
<td>9489</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>4931</td>
<td>2026</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>4498</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>4785</td>
<td>1228</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Mupimpila & Van der Grijp(1995)

*Does Zambia Conform to the Economic Theory of Conflict and Other Theories Explaining the Causes of Civil Wars?*
Table 2 shows Zambia’s exports are generally primary commodities. The country is dependant on these primary products. However, this dependency has not led Zambia into a civil war as propagated by theories.

GDP per capita income is another cause of civil wars. When GDP per capita income declines for very long time or is stagnant a country may be in trouble. Discontent allows a war entrepreneur to recruit rebel forces from disgruntled population of a particular country.

According to Lungu and Fraser (2007) Zambia during the periods 1970-1975, 1976-1990 and 1991-1999, per capita GDP fell significantly by -0.8%, -3.1% and -7.2% respectively. According to Government of Zambia (2002) Zambia has experienced very low growth rates. High growth rates have been illusive to Zambia. The period 1980-1990 Zambia had the second lowest economic growth rate in the whole of Southern Africa. During the period 1990-1999 its annual growth rate was mere 1% the least in Southern Africa. It lagged even the Sub Saharan average growth rate of 1.4%. The theories explaining the causes of civil wars give due importance to per capita GDP. That is when it falls or is stagnant then causes civil wars. Zambia has lived with falling and stagnant low per capita GDP most of the times hence should have experienced a civil war due to the discontent arising from poor economic performance for a very long time. Once again Zambia has experienced no civil war thereby defying the theories.

Democracy is significant as the cause of civil wars. It is understood that when there is democracy the probability of a civil war is low because those who have grievances can channel them in democratic structures. They have an opportunity to use their democratic fundamental rights to decide who to govern them and give a red card to those not serving their interest. However, where there is no democracy, the people have no where to take their grievances and are then pushed to the limit leading to their revolt. It is also concluded in the same theories that undemocratic governments are often repressive and are unstable (Schock, 2007).

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1996). However, experience in Iraq demolishes this aspect of theories as they fail to answer why Iraq was very stable under the dictator Saddam Hussein (now late) than under democracy (when USA introduced democracy). Iraq has remained unstable since Saddam Hussein was toppled.

In respect of Zambia, the country gained independence on 24 October 1964. Since independence up to some time in 1972 the country practised democracy (multiparty system). Then from 1972 to 1991 Zambia was ruled undemocratically (through legislated one party state). Then after 1991 the country reverted to democratic values (multiparty politics) (Erdmann & Simutanyi, 2003). According to the theories during the period Zambia was undemocratically ruled, it was at a high risk of a civil war because there were no democratic structures to handle people’s grievances (Schock, 1996; Collier & Hoeffler, 2000). Those who held other views other than UNIP’s views were politically excluded (Erdmann & Simutanyi, 2003). These were supposed to be pushed to the limit. However, Zambia with a long period of undemocratic government (Erdmann & Simutanyi, 2003), the country defied the theories and nothing like the civil war took place.

Geographical dispersion of the population is significant as a cause of civil wars. The areas with dispersed population are prone to civil wars. Zambia is the most urbanised country in the whole Sub Saharan Africa with its 35% of its population living in urban areas (Amicaall, 2012). Lusaka as a province is the most densely populated with estimated 64 people per square kilometre. The most sparsely populated province in Zambia is North-Western and has 5 people per square kilometre. The average for global Zambia is 13 people per square kilometre (Amicaall, 2012). Given this scenario, the rural population in Zambia is sparsely populated hence prone to civil wars. Zambia has also defied theory on this one.

The existence of mountainous terrain is significant as the cause of civil wars. It provides the feasibility of the civil wars. A mountainous terrain provides hiding places for the rebel force. The rebel force can launch an attack then hide in the mountainous terrain. Zambia has a mountainous terrain such as Luangwa. However, Zambia has not experienced civil war as a result of mountainous terrain.

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Ethnic heterogeneity reduces the possibility of civil wars. A civil war is possible when there is a dominant ethnic group comprising 45%-90% of population (Collier, 2006). This is because the dominant ethnic group has a tendency to exploit minorities in order to protect their privileges. Zambia has ethnic heterogeneity with many tribes, dialects and language groups. There is no one group which is very dominant in Zambia as to constitute 45-90% of the population (Papstein, 1989). Zambia here conforms to the theories because it has experienced no civil wars because no one ethnic group is very dominant to constitute threshold prescribed in the theories. However, whether this could have made any difference if Zambia had a dominant ethnic group considering that the country has remained defiant of theories no one can answer.

Being a neighbour of a country which has experienced a civil war increases the probability of a country to also experience a civil war. This is true for Angola, Democratic Republic of Congo, Liberia and Sierra Leone. Zambia shares a common border with countries such as Angola, Democratic Republic of Congo and Mozambique, which have experienced full civil war which cost human losses and physical destruction was evident. Zambia has once again defied theory.

Poverty increases the possibility of civil wars. A war entrepreneur can easily recruit his/her rebel force from poor people like Alfonso Dhlakama did in Mozambique (Mzumara, 2011). Zambia has high incidences of poverty especially in the rural areas. Table 3 below shows poverty in Zambia in the 1990s.

**Table:3: Overall and extreme poverty in Zambia by residence, 1991-1998**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Zambia</th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>Urban</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Overall poverty %</td>
<td>Extreme poverty %</td>
<td>Overall poverty %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Does Zambia Conform to the Economic Theory of Conflict and Other Theories Explaining the Causes of Civil Wars?**
Rural poverty in the table 3 was the highest in 1993 at 92%. However despite such high incidences of poverty, Zambians have defied the theories.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Value 1</th>
<th>Value 2</th>
<th>Value 3</th>
<th>Value 4</th>
<th>Value 5</th>
<th>Value 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ZIMSTA (1999)

1.7 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

In spite of Zambia having many ingredients which are identified in the theories as cause of civil wars, the country has generally not conformed to the theoretical and empirical evidence associated with the Economic theory of conflict and others covered in this paper. Zambia may provide the answers to many countries around the world on how they can prevent civil wars and civil conflicts when they are at great risk. The Rhodesian regime and the South African regime then could not also create a counter revolutionary force within Zambia as they did to punish Mozambique (Tekere, 2007) yet Zambia provided the same facilities to the liberation movements in Southern Africa. There is a lot that can be learned from Zambia in conflict prevention. The premises of the theories explaining the causes of civil wars need to be reviewed in light of Zambia’s defiance of their premises.

This paper recommends a study on Zambia why it has not conformed to these theories in spite of being at great risk. This study can really help to prevent conflict and revaluate the

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theories themselves so there are scientific and have consistent universal explanations of the causes of civil wars.

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