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**FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE**

**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS AND PUBLIC MANAGEMENT**

**THE IMPACT OF CITIZEN ACTIVISM ON THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF ZIMBABWE. A  
CASE STUDY OF TAJAMUKA/SESJIKILE CAMPAIGN (2016-2017) IN BEITBRIDGE TOWN.**

BY

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**ZVISHAVANE, ZIMBABWE.**

**OCTOBER 2017**

**APPROVAL FORM**  
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**Declaration**

I the undersigned do hereby proclaim that this dissertation is a product of my own hands and the research findings and investigations have not been offered anywhere else to serve any purpose. Other related sources of information that the researcher has made use of has been fully acknowledged by means of referencing.

MLEYA INNOCENT

.....

Date.....

**Dedication**

To my father and my mom's family who took over the burden of creating a good man in me from my late mom Molly.

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## **Abstract**

Through the use of qualitative and quantitative research, at large documentary review, this study focuses on the impact of citizen activism on the political economy of Zimbabwe. The study is based on Tajamuka/ Sesijikile campaign which embarked and still today offer efforts on organized action against the government of Zimbabwe under Zanu pf regime during 2016 to date. It is from the realization that current citizen activism in Zimbabwe has proved to be having a punch towards calling for a multifaceted reforms, hence the researcher chose to unravel such prominent issues pertaining citizen participation I politics and the third wave democracy were people are airing their views through various means, amongst those is the use of social media. The researcher chose Beitbridge Town as the main site since some vibrant action started in Beitbridge town which in deeper criticism can be seen as one of the actions which perpetrated movements to other towns like Harare and Bulawayo. Prominent government response took root after Tajamuka/Sesijikile campaign and the Cross Border Association collectively flooded Beitbridge town blocking main roads, vandalizing the government property and burning the ZIMRA warehouse. Anticorruption measures like the multi transfers of different officers from government parastatals like the VID, ZIMRA and ZRP in Beitbridge. The turning reversal of the Statutory Instrument also marked to effective efforts by the activists towards informal business. Through the lens of social movement and new social movement theories, the paper argues that while the social media platform have an impact on the mobilization of action, it goes without say that the outcomes of the action detects the its impact. The paper ends by outlining for discursive opportunities and possibilities of the future of citizen activism in Zimbabwe.

## Abbreviations

ESAP	: Economic Structural Adjustment Program
EU	: European Union
GDP	: The Growth Domestic Product
IMF	: International Monetary Fund
MDC	: The Movement for Democratic Change
MENA	: Middle East North Africa
POSA	: Public Order and Security Act
SI 64	: Statutory Instrument 64
TIZ	: Transparency International Zimbabwe Transformation
VID	: Vehicle Inspection Department
ZANU PF	: Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front
ZCTU	: Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions
Zim-Asset	: Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic
ZIMRA	: Zimbabwe Revenue Authority
ZINASU	: Zimbabwe National Students Union



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## **CHAPTER 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1 Introduction**

A series of anti-government protests, uprisings and armed rebellions broke down across the Middle East early 2011 which was popularized by western media as the Arab Spring revolution and it was a reference to the turmoil in Eastern Europe of 1989 (Manfreda 2017). The latter provided to the fact that the 2011 protest movement was at its core an expression of deep-seated resentment at the aging Arab dictatorships, the anger at police brutality, rampant unemployment, rising inflation and prices, and corruption which troubles most developing countries. The Arab Spring protests had some impacts of the political economy of the Eastern European states in line with peace keeping, democracy and at large political and economic change. For Harsch (2011), the events of the Arab Spring protests inspired many African countries who are experiencing the same situations and in those remaining autocratic states, young activists have armed with enthusiasm to emulate the breakthrough achieved by citizen activists in Tunisia and Egypt.

Some scholars argued that fear and social divisions may complicate the motive citizen activism and social movement in Africa however Africans should take note that Arab countries were once marked by fear as well as ethnic divisions, clan and religious cleavages. They had to bridge the gaps for a common good during the popular movements. Along these lines, an anonymous respondent as provided by Harsch (2011) in the Africa Renewal argued that information technology is not highly available in Sub Saharan states but internet use is mounting rapidly and therefore if a revolution is likely to arrive in African countries south of Sahara via the internet, it may arrive via mobile phones. In a way of contrast, Africa Renewal (2011) provided that Nanjala Nyabola, a Kenyan political analyst of University of Oxford argued that the most substantial political movements in Africa have occurred freely of the social media for example the struggle independence and apartheid in South Africa. Hence African movements need to be organized and will successfully do it independent of the technology surround them.

Most day to day efforts of citizens' associations are more mundane than the overthrow, but they are important to the notion of how change happens (Green 2016). Civil servants, political party

member, students and ordinary grassroots people around the universe have realized that getting organized intern give them the collective bargaining power they need to deal with desperate situation and poverty at large. Activism as the main thrust of the research defined by Schuller (2008) means finding partners to help upkeep one's campaign for a multifaceted demands on reforms and that it ties in with the current economic system. By so doing Schlesinger (1946) suggested the fact that activism can also act as public ombudsmen and whistle blowers, thereby attempting to understand all the actions of every form of government that acts in the same name of the people.

The Arab Spring protest of 2011 can be treated as a motivation tool to the protests which took place in Zimbabwe during 2016. Jambawo (2017) in *The Zimbabwean* argued that Zimbabweans have mostly relied on political parties and election to make their preferences known. However he indicated to the fact that recently citizens have recently embraced protests, demonstration, petitions, campaigns, marches and organizations that chase a people's demand for both social justice and political change. The activism demands being that governments must be accountable to oversight and transparency hence activism is an involved citizenry (Dzirutwe 2017). Amongst the 2016 protests is #Shutdown Zimbabwe or Tajamuka under promise Mkhwananzi who is the part of the coalition of youthful political activists who were behind the spontaneous protests that have happened across Zimbabwe. As alluded by *The Herald* July 2016, the group also took part in mobilizing citizens for the 6 July 2016 stay away campaign #Shutdown Zimbabwe. Thus this paper will focus on the impact of citizen activism movement on the Political Economy of Zimbabwe, taking Tajamuka/Sesjikile as the backbone and area of concern. In terms of how the movement has contributed to an alarm on the grievances which Zimbabweans where and still face in relations to governance. However this research will treat Tajamuka and #Shut-down Zimbabwe as one collective action of citizen activism during 2016 since the two embarked on collective action in different towns of Zimbabwe. Such an analysis also presents an opportunity to engage with the polarized understandings of activism during the Arab Spring protests of 2011, and offer a de-polarized analysis of the development of the social movement in Zimbabwe during 2016.

## 1.2 Background

Zimbabwe's conflict is a complex network of sociopolitical and economic challenges. These include issues such as poor service delivery, corruption, poverty, unemployment, poor economic performance, policy inconsistency, lack of independence of the judiciary, lack of rule of law, human rights abuse, dictatorship, lack of civic education, reduced voter confidence and issues with the credibility of elections (Musarurwa 2016). Resistance has been seen in Zimbabwe with labour movements organized under Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) in coalition with civil society actors. By the end of the 1990s civil society activism had a political muscle in the Movement for Democratic Change headed by the former ZCTU Secretary General Morgan Tsvangirai (Moyo and Murisa 2008). The labour movement developed increasingly gallant in its obstruction to ESAP, the reason being that it led to permanent redundancy, desperateness and economic insecurity (Raftopoulos 2000), yet grassroots anger did not automatically translate to mass action and ZCTU was beset with organizational weaknesses. Low attendance headed to the catastrophe of an early protest march in 1992 (Alexander 2001), and many workers did not appropriately understand union functions or the successes that could be made through collective bargaining (Raftopoulos 2000).

The party became enthusiastic as a political force through 2000s (Helliker 2011). The 2008 elections saw the rise of a negotiation for a power sharing government between parties. Musarurwa (2016) argued that Zimbabweans have experienced structural and cultural violence. He equates Structural violence to social inequality and leads to impaired human growth and development. And as for cultural violence, it is the rhetorical excuses that usually follow government's failure to act or deliver on ensuring that its citizens live good lives in all spheres. The deeply felt bearings of the Economic Structural Adjustment Program (ESAP) upon workers and their families led the 1990s to be referred to as the era of 'exceptional industrial and social action' (Bond and Saunders 2005, Matombo and Sachikonye 2010). Labour movement activism during the 1990s signified the full completion of the two key developments noted in civil society opposition in the 1980s: the linkage between labour and other civil society groups, and the development of governance concerns in labor's program together with traditional socio-economic issues.

Non-violence is the appropriate option in Zimbabwe, since the freedom of expression through public events such as demonstrations, marches or merely community discussions is hindered by draconian laws such as the Public Order and Security Act (POSA). Any authorized public meetings are monitored and have resulted in a number of arrests, should the discussions or events skirt on matters deemed to be political. Civic activities are carried out in an atmosphere of intimidation and fear. The failure of activists to apply non-violent strategies result in them falling into the government's trap of breaking laws, and such actions will therefore likely be met with hard-handedness through police brutality, arbitrary arrests.

Since the beginning of the Arab Spring in 2010, there has been a wave of protests led by ordinary men and women with no political affiliations (Harsch 2011). The contemporary world has seen unprecedented historic events unfold in Zimbabwe as young people begin to find their voices and speak out against injustices in the country. With Tajamuka/Sesjikile, citizens of Zimbabwe have started to speak out against their government amid rising calls for socio-economic and political transformation.

There has been number of increasingly recognized movements which have sprung up in Zimbabwe as youth activism sweeps across the country (Chidza 2016). Three of these movements are Occupy Africa Unity Square (OAUS), #This Flag Movement and the Tajamuka/Sesjikile Campaign. Amongst other issues as claimed by the Tajamuka/Sesjikile campaign is the fact that the ruling party is unashamedly pointing fingers to the western governments as citizens embark on action based movements (Chidza 2016). The same scholar argued that the critical issue is that the same government has been sponsoring violence on innocent civilians in Epworth, Mabvuku, Beitbridge, Mufakose, Chipinge and Bulawayo during among other areas which has been captured in the media. Promise Mkwanzani the Tajamuka/Sesjikile spokesperson according to Buchanan (2016), told the International Business Times (IB Times) in an interview that the Zimbabweans are trying to raise to the government questions in line with the 2.2 million Youths who were promised jobs (Manayiti 2015), hundreds of thousands displaced by operation Murambatsvina, victims of the long and short sleeve madness of 2008, families of thousands who were killed and maimed by the Zanu PF regime, millions who are sleeping on empty stomachs, thousands who are sleeping in the open at Chingwizi, thousands whose livelihoods were destroyed by the Chiadzwa looting, civil servants



who are toiling every day without being paid and failing to access their salaries and many other Zimbabweans whose hopes and aspirations have been dashed by the corrupt government (Nhodo et al 2013).

The government of Zimbabwe has gone through a lot of economic downturn during 2015 and governance has suffered a lot on the eyes of the Zimbabwean people and most people have embarked on a multiple survival measures (George 2015). For Sneidman (2016), economic reform initiatives in Zimbabwe has been long overdue. The Growth Domestic Product (GDP) growth dropped to below 2 percent, and the economy was half size the way it was 15 years ago. Some of the economic problems were exceeded by the most severe droughts in 20 years El-Nino conditions and most of the societies were at risk of hunger and starvation. The latter scholar predicted that 2016 will experience a rise of poverty especially in rural areas hence it answers to the fundamental question of why there was rise of spontaneous protest in Zimbabwe. Nijikizana (2015) argued that the cries of the street vendors have become the order of the day to Zimbabwe's deteriorating economy as unemployment rate rise exceedingly, and try to eke out a living through various means.

### **1.3 Statement of the problem**

With the above background in mind, the paper seeks to investigate the reasons that might have galvanized ordinary citizens to take action to the streets even though they were fully aware of the dire consequences of their actions. Secondly, the paper seeks to establish the extent to which social media has changed the African political landscape as most of the citizen movement protests are carried out through social media and instant message applications. Third, using Tajamuka/Sesjikile as the case study, the paper intends to find out if the rise of citizen protests has also been matched by a corresponding decline in the influence of opposition political parties who were once the vanguard when it comes to calling on the government to account for its actions. Lastly, the paper intends to identify all the role players in this new wave of citizen activism and find out whether the citizens themselves have the ability to sustain it and see it through to the end.

The fourth wave democracy as asserted by Howard and Muzzamilli (2011) has changed the face of international politics. The use of internet, mobile phones, and social networking have been believed by a number of scholars have enormously transformed politics across North Africa and the Middle East. In as much as the digital media is concerned with upholding the Arab Spring protests, different researchers are undoubtedly flocking to the research on the impact of digital media use through new communication networks. Protests which sparked on the 6 June 2016 in Zimbabwe comprised of different groups which almost shared a common ideology of applying methods of political and economic stability. Thus an observation from The Move (2016) made mention that social media was not obviously the one and only factor to the citizen action within protests, therefore digital activism played a massive logical role which was not in most people's plans and aims. Whilst the demonstration in Zimbabwe were far from the realities or scale of the zealous Arab Spring protests, Tajamuka/Sesjokile, #This Flag, Shutdown Zimbabwe and many more served as an important reminder that digital activism can genuinely create commonality within citizen action.

#### **1.4 Research objectives**

This study is aimed at scrutinizing the impact of the 2016-17 Tajamuka/Sesjokile action towards the campaign's aims and objectives. What started as peaceful movements in the social media turned to be an outbreak of violent strikes and demonstrations? Hence it calls for an empirical research to unravel the causal effect of the later actions in Zimbabwe. Overall it;

1. Examines what brings about citizen activism in an ever-changing environment.
2. Unravels what constitutes Tajamuka/Sesjokile campaign.
3. Analyses the implications of civil activism to Zimbabwe political and economic performance

#### **1.5 Research questions**

This research has been prepared with an opinion of answering the following fundamental questions specifically;

1. What spear-headed citizen activism movement in Zimbabwe during 2016

2. To what extent are Zimbabweans adopting to the ideas of citizen activism
3. What are the challenges of youth activism in Zimbabwe
4. What are the implications of Tajamuka/ Sesijikile campaign
5. Will it ever be possible to get rid of the problems which Zimbabwe is facing
6. What are the possible suggestions that can be raised to solve the grievances of Zimbabwean citizens

## **1.6 Rationale/ justification**

A complex web of socio-political and economic challenges has been the order of the day in contemporary Zimbabwe and many of associations and organizations have been formed so as to equip people on political participation, in a bid to call for reforms. Most of such aims failed in the face of the ZANU PF regime in such a way that most lost hope on calling for reforms. The events of 2016 in the face of #tags, shut down, and other forms of demonstrations have shown a joint zeal over the concern for the government of Zimbabwe but less has been considered in the empirical current researches embarked by different researchers.

It is with no doubt that the current wave of protests in Zimbabwe are mostly accessed from the newspapers and few journals. While there exists some research that analyses how social movements are using new media technologies, less sustained analysis has been made of the discursive struggles that confront these movements in their mobilization strategies and their outcomes. This paper examines discursive practices of such social movements, the Tajamuka/ Sesijikile Campaign, a grassroots-driven social movement formed in 2016 to respond to multifaceted economic and political problems in Zimbabwe. Also this research serves as an analytical and explorative tool to dig into what motivated ordinary citizens within and outside Zimbabwe to take illegal action against the labour Act of Zimbabwe. Much has been unraveled concerning trade union actions and less attention has been put forward concerning ordinary people's action, the vendors and the unemployed youths in the streets. The study is to fill the knowledge gap on grassroots activism in Zimbabwe and also collectively embracing recommendations that the government of Zimbabwe might consider in relation to the forth wave democracy by Diamond (2011).

## **1.7 Limitations**

There are challenges likely to be encountered in carrying out this research which may disrupt or falsify the outcome of the research. Some members of the relevant sample might disengage themselves from releasing sensitive information to their own interest.

- Some activists might not be fully willing to provide with such useful data.
- Some crucial activists are not easy to get in touch with
- Some research are so critical in relation to the current culture of violence
- Since this is a matter of politics, there might be bias of information
- Investigating on respective areas were Tajamuka took action might cost a lot of finances

## **1.8 Delimitations**

The study is characterized by a number of respective advantages to the researcher:

- Citizen activism touches majority of the citizen in Zimbabwe hence wide range of information.
- Most Tajamuka events were posted in the media hence wide range of useful views by political analysts
- Social networks are easy accessible as one of Tajamuka strategies of passing on their agendas and events e.g. Facebook, twitter and WhatsApp.
- The political economy of Zimbabwe is a subject with a lot of analysis already researched on hence give the researcher a room to criticize or cite information from respective scholars.
- Views of the youths would be accessible since Tajamuka happened in the eyes of everyone.

## **Summary**

This research will take into play the provisions of forth wave democracy interlinking them with grassroots activism in different scenarios in relation to the political economy of Zimbabwe. The study will therefore analyze the strategies at which Tajamuka/Sesjikile employed to become a

prominent social movement in Zimbabwe without fear of being found at the wrong side of the law. The study will also breakdown the empiricism on the causal effect of the 2016 protests altogether and therefore provide predictions on the possibly future protests. In a way of providing a manual and the examination of facts, the study will bring into play the relevant legal obligations, rules, regulations and specific Acts of parliament in line with the 2016 protests in Zimbabwe, in as much as each and every demonstration aims to reach goals and objectives.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter will focus on literature review whereby the researcher will be acknowledging the views brought forward by other schools of thought and academics, regarding the impact of citizen activism on the political economy of Zimbabwe. According to Adams, J. et al (2007), a literature review is a text of a scholarly paper, which includes the current knowledge including substantive findings, as well as theoretical and methodological contributions to a particular topic. Literature reviews are secondary sources, and do not report new or original experimental work. Most often associated with academic-oriented literature, such reviews are found in academic journals, and are not to be confused with book reviews that may also appear in the same publication. Literature reviews are a basis for research in nearly every academic field. The chapter will also define the background to the 2016 protests and the timeline. Theoretical framework and how it interlinks with research methodologies and strategies will also be highlighted.

#### **2.2 Literature review**

Various studies on demonstrations generally and the political economy of Zimbabwe in particular, is available, according to Alexander et al (2000). This chapter also examines the main thrust of citizen activism as well as their effects on the political economy of Zimbabwe. In doing so, it commences by briefly exploring the rationale and essence of demonstrations before embarking on a discussion of the causes and consequences of such movements. This study focuses on the role of demonstrations in ensuring good governance in Zimbabwe. One goal of this chapter is to link the extensive literature on the social psychology of citizens at large on the social movement. Klandermans (1997) argued that social movements depend upon highly committed and engaged activists, but support by others is also important. Supporters as they argued, are potential recruits. Freidman and McAdam (1992) note that in many cases, it will suffice that those with power merely believe that there is a large constituency for a given course of action. Therefore it is also an objective of this chapter to provide an empirical discussion of

the social problems in Zimbabwe as Dietz et al (1989) argued that one that is critical thing in struggles is to define social problem.

With the new wave of democracy, researchers have covered a lot of ground on the social media activism thereby concentrating more on the mobilization of movements through social networks, paying less attention to the real momentum shared day by day at the grassroots level. Snow et al (1986) argued that it is from the followers that new activists are drawn. Nomazulu (2016) argued that protests are moments of explosive births and the delivery of something growing in the womb of the old regime. In the Zimbabwean case the womb is that of Zanu PF. In addition the ibid scholar also argues that protests are born out of hope for better future and they strongly believe in transformations and they make gigantic sacrifices to the extent of putting their own lives on the line to create sincere democracy for the betterment of majority people. In this line Tajamuka was born out of the zealous ZimShutDown of Evan Mawarire. Noble as the idea of collective momentum towards demonstrations may seem to be, it is important to go beyond basic political assertions and consider strongly whether or not the demonstrations has itself become a threat to human rights and democracy in Zimbabwe. ZSF-SA (2009),”

The Research and Advocacy Unit (2016) assessed that, Zimbabwe therefore demonstrates a polarization between an anti-authoritarian, urban-based opposition movement emphasizing governance concerns and political rights against an authoritarian, anti-neoliberal regime with a rural base strengthened by its flawed yet undoubtedly popular redistributive land policies. The complex social realities of Zimbabwe go beyond such shallow MDC and ZANUPF, urban and rural rights and redistribution contradictions, yet these divisions have been evident as broad social cleavages and exist strongly as broad realities, framing the actors’ perceptions of Zimbabwean politics and creating notably contrary readings of Zimbabwe in the left-leaning academic literature. A large part of Zimbabwean history is now analyzed and interpreted in relation to contemporary polarities, making a thorough engagement with these polarized perspectives all the more relevant.

### **2.3 What is citizen activism**

This chapter contains a more in-depth discussion of who citizen activists are and how they pursue change. Green (2016) defines citizen activism as any individual action with social consequences, and much of it involves collective activity. Green also alluded to the fact that this type of activity has grown exponentially across the world, and is driven by several factors: rapid increases in literacy and access to education (particularly for women), a greater openness to political activity, and the spread of new norms regarding rights and justice. Urbanization too plays a role, for cities are vibrantly political places, dense with social movements demanding housing, schools, clinics, or decent water and sanitation. Technology is also a factor, most recently through the spread of social media and mobile telephones, which greatly expand the possibilities of networking among large groups. Moyo (2016) argued that one of the common place statements in contemporary Zimbabwe is anything to do with protesting, be it suggesting one, participating in one or even joking about protesting against the most ordinary of things. Be that as it may, it goes to show that protests have been part of human development throughout the ages, be it in politics, religion or social issues. Zimbabwe is not exempt from this historical thread, as people have had their fair share of protests and uprisings. However, for long Zimbabweans have been arguably known to be a timid people who hardly have time for mass protests, but this has also been aided by the use of repressive state apparatuses to intimidate anyone who might have been harboring those thoughts.

They has been a change in the faces of protests in Zimbabwe right from the period of 1980s up to date. Moyo (2016) argued that strikes and protests of 1981-98 were rapidly crushed by the ZANU-PF led government which ensured absolutism through merging various workers unions into one autonomous Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU). The ibid scholar also added that when more economic problems smashed the government, students from the University of Zimbabwe and other tertiary institutions formed Zimbabwe National Students Union (ZINASU) and questioned poor governance and demonstrated against corruption and later on ZCTU under the leadership of Morgan Tsvangirai supported the protests against the same issues. These were the first early warning signs of public discontent across Zimbabwe. ESAP in 1990 worsened the economic problems and opposition against the government grew to high level in the face of civil servants and general citizens. Many have referred to this period as the era of extraordinary



industrial action and frequent strikes from 1996 to 1997 ended into a two-day general strike which started on December 9, 1997. It became known as the “Red Tuesday”.

With the coming of the new millennium, Zimbabwe experiment such actions like operation Murambatsvinato lynched by the ruling party to get rid of the urban areas of illegal structures. Hundreds of thousands of urban dwellers, who most of them were already jobless, were left homeless and further pauperized. From 2006 inflation continued skyrocketing to a point where it reached 8000% in 2007. Economic meltdown continued to 2008 and this period is remembered as the worst and no one wants to re-live it. Fast forward to 2013 saw the emergence of OUSIS by Itai Dzamara with the idea of changing the face of protests in Zimbabwe became unfortunate and his mission was left suspended. With the 2013 constitution that permits peaceful marching, different towns has become places of protests by different activists who seek for different reforms from the government of Zimbabwe. However Madhuku (1995) argued that the right of workers to strike is probably the most controversial component of labour law. It raises complex questions. For instance, is the right to strike a human right? Does an individual worker have a right to strike? Hence it is a subject of debate. The MDC-T on the 14 of April 2016 organized a march against the alleged ‘disappearance’ of \$15 billion in diamond revenue and poor governance among other issues, which pulled quite a crowd.

The above event witnessed the rise of a fellow pastor Evan Mawarire on the 19<sup>th</sup> of April 2016 with an influential social network video calling for reform. With the explanation of the colors on the Zimbabwean flag along with his critique of the economic hardships in Zimbabwe, the video made sense to most Zimbabwean citizens. However the later contradicts himself when he utters that he is neither a politician nor an activists. In accordance with Marxist theory, such actions by Evan Mawarire can be treated or classified to the transitional demand which implies a partial realization of a maximum demand after a revolution or an anxiety demand made by an actor with an aim of linking current situation to progress towards the goals of the society. In addition to this, Mawarire also promised on his viral video to stop standing on the sidelines and start fighting for his country. Perhaps this safely explains him as an activists basing on Lasswell (1936)’s views that values are desired goals and power is the ability to participate in decisions, and political power as the ability to produce intended effects on other people. Steuer (2017) commented in line with Lasswells’ definitions that they still hold more water in the

contemporary world in the sense that it provides the reality of political relationships, based much more on individual agency and freedoms. But it is a subject to debate if it remain the regulatory principle of politics in stimulating tendencies for public discontent and opposition to everything politically sensitive.

## **2.4 The history of citizen activism**

Activism like any other phenomenon in politics varies from time to time as new forms and ideas of how to embark on change are proposed by different activists, ideologists and researchers. For centuries, citizens of different nationalities have gone through the exhaustion of long days spent earning a living and raising families to join with their communities to discuss, organize, and take action to forcefully acquire different needs and wants from specific government. Green (2016) argued that ordinary citizens bravely risk their lives to antagonize what they consider unjust and not in tandem with good governance. Citizen activism comes to birth in different ways and for a number of reason such as to take care of families or improve their localities. Mostly it come in response to their sense of what's good and bad, wrong and right and most importantly when they discover that working together in a common cause for a common good is fulfilling. Some critics therefore choose to embrace contemporary protests and demonstration in a bid to find lessons from today's protests in the history of citizen activism or either political activism per se. Wilson (2016) thus argued that in the histories of protests, activists always consider most importantly the values, the strategy and the timing of protests.

The history of activism can be also drawn from the history of American political activism and action beyond the ballot which therefore offers certain manuals and lessons for such activism today and near future. The special considerations of such lessons being the scrutiny of such actions held by students across the country which were ill-timed and ineffective, too little, too late. Naim (2014) presented an article which also provides a good prescription for what has been witnessed in recent years in the propagation of street matches without a plan for what transpires after and how to keep protestors engaged and integrated in the political process. Therefore history of American political activism demanded for that street protests or demonstrations be based on sustained political organizing which is the only way to change society in as much as social activism is concerned.

Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s proposes the concern for being right and wrong at the same time. Thus the event of this epoch provides to the idea that Marches were a common method of protest during. Wilson (2016) alluded to the fact that in most cases during the 19<sup>th</sup> century to its endings, marches were omnipotent and part of the activists' long term plan while others grew gradually and spontaneously. Noble as the Civil Rights Movement during the 19<sup>th</sup> century might have seemed to be, Kaufman (1998) argued that activists like Stokely Carmichael during this time had a totally different view that it was famous and iconic movement but in reality a waste of time due to the fact that there was no clear guarantee of success or failure.

With ancient history of activism as most schools of thoughts would like to emphasize, such facts meander around various efforts of overalls plans of the activists of that time, partly due to the fact that the movements has been considered as the manifestation of the vision of few activists. Most prominently, the history of the time was much more multifaceted with a number of forms of activism collectively embarked on. Therefore the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century civil rights movement compared to the contemporary movements offers much constructive lessons of grand plan which some activists today are clearly missing. Wilson (2016) argues to the notion that the Civil Rights Movement of 1960s reflects that protests are not effective in vacuum and one type of activism is far from being effective in separation or on its own. Activism in its history days provided for people who went first to great risk. Some got beaten, killed, ignored, ridiculed or defamed but the history of activism in America per se shows that such activists sparked something which became a revolution in which unarmed squads trooped from one objective to another with mystifying speed as argued by Zinn (1964). In the case of Zimbabwe, as argued by Zhangazha (2016) in The Financial Gazette that the citizens collectively embarked on action which signified, to a greater extent a country going through catharsis and coming to terms with the possibilities for political action that social media had to bring to the fore. In support of the collective bargaining effort, activists of like Rustin (1976) argued that the only weapon towards dismantling social and political injustice of their time is their bodies and they need to tuck them into places so that wheels don't turn.

Some scholars argue that the uprising activists in most African states miss the ample signs of activism due to the fact that they don't learn from the past protests and tend to falsely conclude that everyone is sinking in apathy. Thus one cannot assess the scope of activism by whether it

uses a particular set of tactics rather the notion of people banding together to build a momentum and get to the common results. In the case of Tajamuka/Sesjikile which therefore joined hands with others activists groups seems to have understood the lessons of pasts protest and what has been argued by Marima (2016) that collectively gathering people from different backgrounds is a bit like bringing all the various characters in a book together to try get them to talk and listen to each other.

## **2.5 Tajamuka/ Sesjikile campaign 2016 in Zimbabwe.**

According to Burchanan (2016) in IB Times, Promise Mkhwananzi the spokesperson of Tajamuka campaign defined Tajamuka/Sesjikile as a colloquial expression meaning agitated or revolted with an implicit meaning of taking action. The campaign shares ideologies with #ThisFlag campaign led by Pastor Evan Mawarire who collectively use social media to mobilize grass-roots activism. They both worked hand in glove in mobilizing the grassroots and their effort dominated not only in the media but throughout different grassroots carrying out sporadic actions across the country since May 2016, to an extent of shutting down the capital Harare in a chain of protests against what they termed as abuse of office by Mugabe's regime as argued by Mwakideu (2016). These social movements' main objective is to bring to end malicious corruption and the mass embezzlement of government funds, and the missing \$15 billion amongst other political and economic quagmires. The inspiration of protesters by social media was termed as one of the achievement by the social movement activists like Evan Mawarire, who clearly argued in an interview with DW Akademie (2016) that more than 14,000 people have subscribed to the objectives of the movement which therefore provides high chance of success through digital activism.

Tajamuka/ Sesjikile is one of the social movement in Zimbabwe with multifaceted objectives as provided on its Facebook profile on internet titled Tajamuka/ Sesjikile campaign. The profile's information denotes to the facts that the citizens of Zimbabwe are tired of racial, tribal, intimidation and establishment politics which have governed the country of Zimbabwe for the past thirty years and led the country to economic downfall. It states also that it a social campaign of the people of Zimbabwe regardless of differences, born out of the desire to bring sanity, development, accountability and to give the people of Zimbabwe a voice in the running of the

country with the primary aim of forcing the president Robert Mugabe to step down before the general elections to be held in 2018. Hence Tajamuka/Sesijikile sums up the feeling of the exploited citizenry.

There has been a debate on the emergence of spontaneous #tags, shut downs, stay away and over and above the demonstrations which occurred from 6 July 2016 up to the end of the year. Some the constructive debate were based in line with the agendas of the uprisings which Zimbabwean citizen led during 2016.

## **2.6 Comparative framework**

There has been a number of strikes, demonstrations and protests recorded in the sub Saharan region due to different problems and the 21<sup>st</sup> century has recorded a numbers of strategies employed by citizens to in a bid to bring socio-political and economic change. Africa is one of the continents amongst others which lived for long under the colonialist up until they claimed their independence by use of violent means. Zealous events which took place in Arabic states invited a lot of empirical analysis of the impact of the strategies which Arabic states employed so as to bring up change in their societies.

### **2.6; 1 Arab spring protests of 2011.**

Foster (2014) argued that civil unrest, Islamic extremists, limited freedom, military regime and longstanding dictatorships are the features which made up the Arab Spring, witnessed in the Middle East North Africa (MENA) region. It was a phenomenon that stunned and shocked the international community and saved as a lesson to other African states which suffered under their regimes. The 21<sup>st</sup> century world witnessed thousands of citizens in countries such as Iran, Egypt, Libya, Tunisia and others, uprising against which they deemed as unjust with their existing governments. Some scholars argue that the events marked history of 1970s repeating itself but the results of the Arab Spring have introduced new implication on the United States theory of liberal democracy. Sly (2013) argued that an echo of the protest that there has been an echo of the Arab Spring uprisings that have overturned regimes elsewhere in the region. Angry residents have been staging weekly protests against their president and prime ministers, calling reforms, and many more demands.

## **2.6; 2 Citizen Activism in South Africa**

In as much as forces of globalization are concerned, neighboring countries sometime borrow or share ideologies in certain perceived action to meet certain goals. This can also be persuaded by the virtue that neighboring countries somehow share or have common political, social and economic grievances such that they influence each other. Taking South Africa as an example, Chiumbu (2015) argued that social movement in South Africa has combined traditional mobilization methods with the use of new media technologies to mobilize citizens in the long run for social justice. Manqoyi and Laterza (2015) provided to the facts that South Africa has a long history of social movements which dates back to 1948 during Apartheid era. The two argued that the current protests in South Africa marked the beginning of a new phase of democracy thus the emergence of much needed participatory structures to address the needs and aspirations of the majority in what remains at present highly unequal system. One can also argue that such social movements were also perpetrated by the Economic Freedom Fighters Party led by Julius Malema in a bid to expose the defaults of Jacob Zuma's regime. This therefore proves to be related to the social movements embarked on in Zimbabwe during 2016 and somehow acted as a motivation tool to the agenda of social movement in Zimbabwe.

## **2.7) Theoretical framework**

### **2.7; 1) The new social movement theory**

Rootes (1990) argued that theorists and ideologists have the tendency understandably believe in the utility of theory and are true products of enlightenment. Therefore they believe in reason and that hypothetical knowledge is the precondition of effective action to meet desired results. This have been generally justified in most formal political organization which seek to overthrow that which is not good for them. Piven and Cloward (1979) argued that it is indeed subject to debate since such political movements sometimes does not serve the interests of those who have most need of political action to alleviate their condition and minimum livelihood of an effective change by collective political means to ends. The fourth wave democracy by Diamond (2005) provides to the fact that ordinary people are the most active and dominant people in the move to change because they would be desperate for the betterment of their situations and grievances. In Africa, most of the youth and an enormous population of citizens have flooded the streets in a bid to survive on the face of informal jobs.

The new social movement theory emerged from the larger body of interdisciplinary theory called social movement theory. Its main concern being the study of social mobilization in line with its social, cultural, and manifestation and consequences. The drivers of the theory puts forward the desire for social change as the main driving force towards social movements. In way a more constructive way, the new social movement theory postulates that groups manipulate information, identity, and construct or come up with structures to achieve goals collectively.

From time to time, means to reach ends in line with citizen activism shifted from the Marxist form of movement which was mainly associated or guided by the class struggle. New social movements such as antiwar, environmental, civil rights and feminist movements began to take root in the 19<sup>th</sup> century epoch. With time as dynamics of activism experienced a swift shift, the social movement theorists discovered that new social movements were promoting and facilitating new phenomena of collective action and behavior. Fuchs (2006) argued that new social movement developed in the 1960s in response to the traditional social movement theory that viewed social movements to be shrouded with irrationality and the results of personal grievances and discontent. This era therefore marked a shift from the mass behavior notions to political process and new social movements as argued by Edelman (2001). Traditional social-psychological theories of social movements' main focus and born of contention was mainly on the fact that personality traits, grievances, disillusionment and ideology played a pivotal role in attracting individuals to join social movement which was later rebuked by the works of Buechler (1995) in the new social movement theories.

In 1960s and 1970s, new social movement theorists brought about examples of a number of social movements taking root at the time when the traditional social movement theories suffered most critiques due to the change in the face of movements. For example through the antiwar, environmental, civil right and feminist movement in America. This therefore clearly unravel and brought to proof about social movement focus on identity-construction, essential change and information control to effect change. As for Klandermans (1984), at this time of events the ideas of the new social movement theorists outweighed the latter traditional ideas and the new social movement theory broke with the traditional theories of social movement due to the unlocked truth about social movements. With the contributions of theorists like Claus Offe, Alberto Melucci, Alain Touraine and Jurgen Habermas who used examples of social movements from

their European nations of Origin built a strong support base of the new social movement theory. With this literature and empirical discussion of social movements theories in mind, it is somehow safe to argue that such prominent movement like the Arab Spring revolution in 2011, the protest in South Africa, and the prominent Tajamuka/ Sesijikile campaign of 2016 in Zimbabwe are the roots which the new social movement theorists indirectly waters for them to germinate and call for change in different environments. For Singh (2001), he treats a society as a collective social entity, which is always be defined by collective social actions. He adds that social movements and collective actions are interrelated in a way that the actions which a society applies upon itself is for survival and continuity. This is to say that social movements act as tools and means to conserve the society and the universalism of the society assumes the common survival of social movements.

Social movement theory is an interdisciplinary study within the social sciences that generally seeks to explain why social mobilization occurs, the forms under which it manifests, as well as potential social, cultural, and political consequences. More recently, the study of social movements has been subsumed under the study of contentious politics.

## **2.8 Summary**

Citizen activism as articulated and scrutinized above by respective schools of thought has been a driving force toward pursued change by different societies in Africa and abroad. The literature reviewed showed how social movements come to be in a society of different identities, sex, gender and ethnicity. The theories aforementioned in the theoretical framework proves to have answered the questions on the history, the past and the ongoing forms of protest or rather demonstration that different activists embark on so as to accumulate the change that they deem necessary. Noble as the theories and literature has shown how demonstrations come to be, contemporary world of politics are unlocking new ways of bringing change like terrorism and the prominent digital activism by different activists



## **CHAPTER 3**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **3:0 Introduction**

This chapter seeks to explain the processes that were employed to expose the impact of citizen activism on the political economy of Zimbabwe in the case of Tajamuka/ Sesijikile campaign during 2016-2017. It dwells into details on the outlines of the research methodology, which include means, techniques, tools, sampling methods and frames of reference through which this research is carried out. Ethical considerations and measures to provide trustworthiness are also unraveled in this chapter. One of the crucial notions in research remains as deciding on the choice of research methodology. It is therefore vital that each and every researcher make it clear the relevant methodology to guide the data search process. The choice of qualitative method is guided by the nature of topic, research questions, the literature and the theoretical framework.

#### **3.1 Research Design**

For this study, the research used more of qualitative and less quantitative as it research so as to get the required information which is useful and relevant to the study. According to Polit and Hungler (2004: 233), methodology denotes to ways of obtaining, organizing and analyzing data and mostly depends on the nature of the research question. In this context methodology refers to how the research was done and its logical sequence. The main thrust of this research was the scrutiny and the exploration of the experiences of the Zimbabwean citizens on the impact of social movements on the political economy of Zimbabwe from 2016 up to 2017 thus the research was qualitative in nature. In line with this, Mouton (1996) postulated that methodology is a systematic method or means of conducting or doing something. In line with the main thrust of this chapter, Henning (2004) is of the view that methodology comprises of coherent group of methods that work in tandem with one another and holds the ability to fit to deliver data and findings that intern reflect the research questions and suit the researcher purpose.

Qualitative data has been the most preferable research design because it gives rich explanations of certain trends and produces in depth comprehensive information, hence the relevance of this method to this paper is in that it seeks to disclose the impact of citizen activism on the political

economy of Zimbabwe in relation to Tajamuka/Sesijikile campaign of 2016-17. Trochim (2006) defends research design as the tool and overall strategy that one choose to incorporate the different mechanisms of the study in a comprehensible and consistent way, thereby ensuring you will effectively address the research problem. It is a system for gathering, measuring and analysis of data. Also the most crucial and important prospect of qualitative data is that it provides room for critical analysis and constructive initiatives thus getting most of the necessary information through opinions and other people's take on social movements and political economy of Zimbabwe.

It is also important to note that through qualitative approach, the researcher manage to gather data from different respondents with various constructive views concerning the new social movement format which has lured ordinary man and unarmed fellow youth to take action against their government as argued by Karekwaivanane (2016) in African Arguments. Hittleman and Simon (1997) are of the view that the use of quantitative approach embraces the use of questionnaires to assembly data.

### **3.2 Sources of data**

For the purpose of this study both primary and secondary data are used. The primary data collected from vendors, police officers, taxi drivers, cross borders, civil servants and the informal sector at large who witnessed the events of social movement during 2016 in Zimbabwe. The primary and secondary has been gathered collectively to cover every aspect of the study. The primary data are mostly related to the behavior and response of the aforementioned group of respondents of concern. As for the secondary, it shows the phenomena and constructive views in relation to the main thrust of the study. As per the need of this research, the combination of the two methods provide reliable data altogether. The explanation is provided below:

#### **3.2.1 Primary data**

Primary data refers to the information that has been collected by a researcher in a bid to find new useful data. It is the information that an individual or company must personally collect because no one has compiled and published the information in a setting that is easily accessible to the general public . Researchers generally take the time and allocate the resources which are required to collect primary data concerning an issue or problem of concern which provides the necessity of gathering primary data. Primary data are by nature original and directly related to the issue or

problem of concern and current data. The various methods of primary data collection process are interviews, surveys and questionnaires to mention but only a few.

### **3.2.2) Secondary data**

As alluded by the brief explanation on primary sources that it provides solutions to current situations, it would be prosaic and inadequate to base the research on current information only so as to make fully informed investigation on how Tajamuka/ Sesijikile campaign impacted on the political economy of Zimbabwe. This therefore takes into consideration secondary data compromises of past recorded data. In this case newspapers acted as the secondary data sources which provided a platform for relevant analysis concerning citizen activism in Zimbabwe during 2016 era.

### **3.3) Site Selection**

The study was carried out in Beitbridge town in relation to the 2016 demonstrations by Tajamuka/ Sesijikile after the government issued the Statutory Instrument 64 on the importation of basic goods from South Africa as provided by SABC News (2016). Beitbridge is a town which has a mixed population of Zimbabwean citizens who diverge from different places to Beitbridge in search of living at the Alfred Beit border post. Kieck 2010 argued that cross-border movement of people and goods is common in modern civilization. More over globalization and international trade liberalization initiatives have resulted in rapid growth in the value and volume of goods moving across borders. The zealous protest happened at the face of multiple people, civil servants, informal sector, police officers amongst others hence information about Tajamuka was gathered from such eye witnesses who reside in Beitbridge town thus acts as the sample for the research.

### **3.4) Sampling technique**

The researcher considered random sampling during the application of data collection instrument within the systematic process of research. Respondents or participants were randomly selected in a bid to produce balanced result from the research. Therefore random sampling was used by the researcher in selecting participants for questionnaires and interviews. Newspapers were also used varying from the Herald, Newsday, daily news and Sunday mail and these were selected randomly. A sample as defined by Webster (1985) is a fixed part of a statistical population whose properties are studied to gain information about the whole and when dealing with people,

it can be defined as a set of respondents selected from a larger population for the purpose of a survey. The population referred to here is a group of individuals or items which samples are drawn for measurement. A population of students, teachers or vendors for example. Mugo (2002) defines random sampling as a method of sampling in which all members of a group stand or have an equal and independent chance of being chosen.

### **3.5) Data collection Instruments**

Annum (2017) argues that these are systematic strategies of finding hidden facts and collecting data. Thus in a bid to answer research questions and fulfil research objectives and reach valid recommendations, primary data was complemented by secondary data. Since this paper followed a qualitative research methodology in form of a case study, it was ideal, valid and reliable to use questionnaires and interviews in the systematic search of relevant primary data. Therefore the research considered questionnaires, content analysis and interviews.

#### **3.5.1) Questionnaires**

This research study used structured questionnaires which provides questions that have pre specified answer choices thus closed questions. Also, open ended questions were used so as to much needed opinions of the respondents in line with the main thrust or problem under examination. According to Bulmer (2004), questionnaire is a well-established tool within social science research for acquiring information on participant social characteristics, present and past behaviors, standards of behavior or attitudes and their beliefs and reasons for action with respect to the topic under investigation. Ackroyd and Hughes (1983) stands with the notions that questionnaires provides a large amount of data and it can be obtained from a large number of people or population in a short period of time and in a relatively cost effective way.

The use of questionnaires was of great advantage to the researcher since it was cheap, time conscious and efficient method of gathering large amount of qualitative data. The special use of open ended questions gave respondent the great and free opportunity to give a feedback or provide answer related to respective questions in their own words and vocabulary without any prescribed guidelines which might hinder the respondent from providing initiatives. This therefore gives the respondent a user friendly platform to actually express their useful opinion on the subject matter under scrutiny. The reliability of the questionnaires in terms of conducive time

for the respondents' feedback from intern gave the respondents the freedom of providing answers against prescribed questions.

### **3.5.2) Interviews**

Boyce and Neale (2006) defined interviews as a qualitative research which involves conducting intensive individual interviews with small number of respondents in a bid to explore their perspectives on a particular idea, program or situation. In an effort to balance the inadequacy of questionnaires that data validity could not be fully assured from the use of questionnaires, the researcher used in-depth interviewing. This enabled the researcher to get access to broad views of situations which cannot be obtained from the questionnaires. Hence structured questions were distributed to the targeted population of Beitbridge town that saw the 2016 events of demonstrations. Kvale (1983) views the quantitative research interview as an interview whose main thrust is to gather descriptions of the life world of the interviewee with respect to interpretation of the meaning of the described phenomena. In addition, the collection of such descriptions can be done in a number of ways which includes face to face interviews which are most common in the process of data search.

### **3.5.3.) Focus group interviews**

Within the interview process, the research brought into play focus group interviews which went through selection of three to five people in a group. Focus group interviews helped the researcher to interact with the public opinion concerning the impact of 2016 Tajamuka/ Sesijikile campaign on the political economy of Zimbabwe.

## **3.6) Secondary methods of data collection**

These are some documented sources of information which include textbooks, journals

### **3.6.1) Content analysis**

The study considered content analysis as part of attaining secondary data to conduct the research. The use of newspapers was part of means of secondary data gathering. Neuman (1997) suggested that content analysis is a key non-reactive research methodology that is non-intrusive and describes it as a technique of gathering and analysing the content of text. The internet was also used to access some of the old newspapers to analyse their content. Newspapers from the period of 2016 to 2017 were used during the process of analysing the content for 2016 protest in Zimbabwe.

### **3.7) Data collection procedures**

The researcher required authorisation to carry out a study from the relevant participant. Questionnaires were made to the respondents to collect the much needed data and they were dispersed to the specialists for accuracy reasons because they need somebody who is literate. Structured interviews and focus groups were conducted to obtain data that was not included in the questionnaire. Distributed questionnaires were recovered, collected, piled and grouped. Results were analysed and interpreted

### **3.8) Data analysis and presentation of results.**

This study presents the findings, analysis of data and presentations of major findings. For the purpose of demonstrating the relationship among the various variables, the data is presented in the form of tabulation pie charts and explanatory notes. This means that quantitative approach was also used in presenting the findings of this study

#### **3.8.1) Pie Charts**

Pie charts are simple diagrams for displaying categorical or grouped data. A pie chart consists of a circle divided into segments, one segment for each category. Pie charts communicate simple ideas. Pie charts are easy to understand and to construct.

#### **3.8.2) Tables**

Tables were used to present findings in the study. The researcher used tables to show the response rate of the respondents in order to capture how many questionnaires were sent to the respondents and returned by the respondents.

### **3.9 Chapter Summary**

Over and above, this chapter paid more emphasis on the various methods of qualitative and quantitative data collection. The researcher considered interviews to obtain information, thus face to face interviews for other interviewees who were too busy and occupied for the data search process. Also questionnaires were distributed in a bid to gather information from those respondents who were not accessible for the face to face interview process. Moreover, focus groups also played a pivotal role in gathering information in line or tandem with the research under study. Most importantly the cooperation from the area of study contributed much data

search concerning the main thrust of the research even though some respondents were not fully cooperative.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS**

#### **4.0 Introduction**

This study set out to examine the impact of Tajamuka/ Sesijikile 2016-17 on the political economy of Zimbabwe using most quantitative method of accumulating data. Newspapers, publications, articles and reports on the cross border activities and the Tajamuka/ Sesijikile are the subject of analysis to unravel and explore the research objectives and questions as it is one of the main aim of data representation and analysis. Most of the articles that focused on citizen activism in Zimbabwe in the mentioned period were taken as one of the sample for the study. A content analysis of selected articles was carried out and then an analysis of the frames found from the qualitative textual analysis and quantitative content analysis. The researcher had to interview some important people about the 2016 Tajamuka/ Sesijikile campaign so as to come up with relevant data. Data presentation will be done using pie charts, bar graphs and tables in relation to the research findings of Tajamuka/ Sesijikile.

#### **4:1 Response rate.**

In order to obtain the data to determine or answer the demands of the research questions and objectives guiding this research, the responses were recorded in table one showing the extent at which the sample have a knowhow of Tajamuka/ Sesijikile campaign. As the questionnaires were structured in two ways, one for the eye witnesses and activists and the other for the government entities, the researcher obtained a number of relevant views concerning the case study. Table 4.1 was structured as a way of simplifying the meaning of the data analysis right to the percentages. From the statistics on table one, the response rate was not far from positive which totaled to 42%. The researcher's capability of analyzing data using mathematical table contributed to a clear conclusion based on the frequency of data collected.

#### **4.1.2 Analysis of table 4.1 response outline.**

The simple random selection of the sample under study resulted in the selection of a number of vendors along the Beitbridge border post which had limited or little of the much needed data in conjunction with the impact of demonstrations which took place in Beitbridge on the performance of the government both politically and economically. This set that although



sampling technique guards against bias and helps in the completion of a higher degree of objectivity, somehow it is prone to sampling inaccuracies. Further in a more constructive way, the eye witnesses' response showed somehow that what the leader of Tajamuka/ Sesijikile proclaimed as a peaceful movement is totally prosaic as evidenced by the burning of some structures and the breaking down of robots and blockage of roads using multiple blocking materials. This therefore brings into play such theories like the New Social Movement Theory which was undoubtedly employed by the Arab spring revolution as shown in literature review of this study. The response rate on questionnaires was strongly affected by a number of reasons which made the researcher rely on some other data collection means like interviews and documentary review.

#### Reason 1: the nature of the cross-border business

From the study of the site or area of study, most of the cross-border partnered with the Tajamuka/ Sesijikile campaign after the introduction of the statutory instrument 64 (SI 64) of Zimbabwe as provided by one questionnaire respondent. Cross border business people are not reachable every time and they are always busy since their operations strongly need man power. This include the offloading of goods at the searching area at the Zimbabwe border post. This clearly shows that such individuals have no much time to provide information with the use of questionnaires. Only those who sell different products at the border post responded in a positive way but most of them were illiterate to answer to some questions even if they have information.

#### Reason 2: the culture of fear

Even though some recent scholars and Afrocentric views show the changing cultural political mind set in Africa as people say out their views in different platforms. From the questionnaires response rate, the research embarked on ordinary citizen in informal sector of Beitbridge border post shows that some parts of Zimbabwean societies still have the culture of fear and some are on choose to be parochial due to the fact that they think such response about critical issues like demonstration and strikes would disclose their self-interests and political opinions.

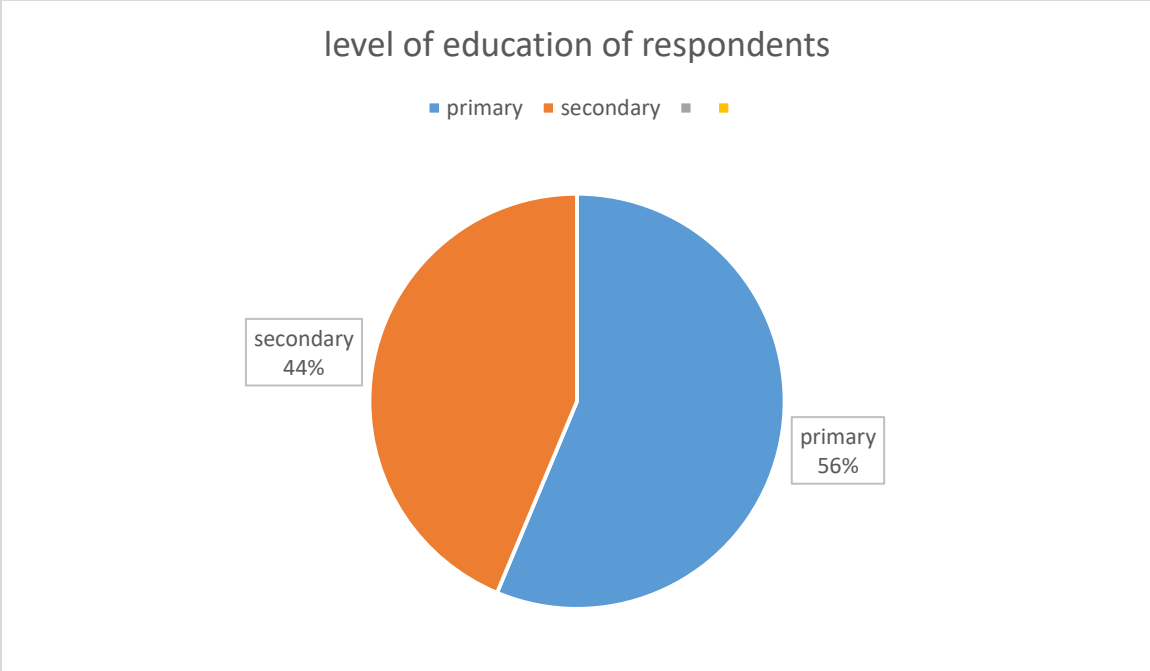
**Table 4.1 Questionnaires response outline.**

<b>Measured variable</b>	<b>Questionnaires administered</b>	<b>questionnaires respondents</b>	<b>Response rate</b>
Government entities	30	12	40%
Citizen activists and eye witnesses	46	20	44%
Total	76	32	42%
<b>Gender</b>			
Female	33	13	39,3%
Male	33	19	58%

**Table 4.2. Level of education**

<b>Level of education</b>	<b>Number of respondent</b>	<b>Percentage of total</b>
Tertiary	18	56, 2%
Secondary	14	43,8%
Total	32	100%

From what is mathematically provided by Table 4.2 and 4.3, literacy rate is also one of the major influence in getting relevant information of the impact of citizen activism basing on Tajamuka/ Sesijikile 2016 as the case study. The researcher had the time to examine the respondents' level of education as it is of much importance .Literacy is of much importance when it comes to decision making and responding to questionnaires ,the respondent has to understand what the research topic is all about and master all the key issues and words. Level of education is important so as to prove the respondent's result effectiveness and how aware is the respondent of the current activities because some did not even know or understand what demonstrations are or what Tajamuka was all about.



**Table 4.3. Level of education.**

**4.2 What spearheaded citizen activism in Zimbabwe during 2016.**

Different views and scrutiny has been put towards this notion and researchers have come-up with umbrella phenomenon of the root causes of different actions in different societies. In as much as men and women take action for different reason, the government at which such actions are embarked on suffer or either rather is forced to react to such organized action. From that response, mostly that’s when one can figure out the impacts of an action embarked on by different citizens. However some action goes without tangible impact rather mere state of confusion and root for political and economic instability. In the views of on article by Chatora (2012), blogs, the micro-blogging site Twitter, the social networking site Facebook and mobile telephony play a crucial key role in facilitating active political expression in the form of demonstrations against high rates of unemployment, poverty, rampant government repression and corruption. However such view would not be enough due to the fact that one of the most vibrant tool towards taking action is undoubtedly the shared momentum and enthusiasm by ordinary men and women towards taking an effective action. This therefore serves the main purpose of this research as to unravel the impact of such political action embarked on by fellow

vendors, cross borders and many more citizens of Zimbabwe in the face of Tajamuka/ Sesijikile 2016-17.

#### **4.2.1 The trend of the Zimbabwe's Economic Crisis.**

Economic hardships in Zimbabwe as provided by different respondents from different interviews and documentary review embarked on from the sample of the study are given valued credit to have manifested gallant frustration and angers within Zimbabwean citizens. The economic hardships in Zimbabwe however has a long history tracing to the start of the new millennium. Such that every year inherits the unsolved grievances of the previous year. The economic crisis in Zimbabwe as provide by The World News (2007) began in 1998 marked by high interest rates and inflation which provoked riots and mass support for the Zimbabwean Congress of Trade Unions headed by Morgan Tsvangirai. The Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) was formed and Tsvangirai was appointed as the leader the next year. In 1999 the World Bank and IMF suspended aid to Zimbabwe over differences with the government on policies.

In 2000 Mugabe's government lost referendum on constitutional reforms, and in the face of growing opposition to his rule, his supporters invaded and seized white-owned commercial farms, saying the land was illegally taken by white settlers (Chigora and Guzura 2008). Mugabe's ruling ZANU-PF party the won parliamentary polls amid charges of fraud and vote rigging by the opposition. In 2001 Zimbabwe suffered food deficiencies that government critics blamed on farm seizures, however Mugabe blames on drought. . Kansteiner (2001) argued that the blame for the political and economic crisis now confronting Zimbabwe must be laid squarely at the feet of ZANU-PF and President Mugabe. Several Western governments quietly withdrew economic aid over human rights abuses by the government and Mugabe's land policy. In 2002 Mugabe won new six-year term in elections and observers condemned poll as flawed and unfair (Kampempe Report 2014). The Commonwealth suspended Zimbabwe, while EU imposed travel sanctions and a freeze on assets of Mugabe's associates. The collapse of commercial agriculture and poor weather contributed to serious food shortages, leaving about half of Zimbabwe's population in need of emergency food aid. In 2003 - hundreds of companies were forced to shut down due to economic hardships and rising inflation. From 2005 when Mugabe's party won parliamentary election, which the opposition argued was rigged, the IMF began the process to expel Zimbabwe from the fund over dues unpaid since 2001. From then the Zimbabwe economy had been hit by inflation, high rate of unemployment, money shortages and some problems

causes by rampant corruption. In line with this view The Financial Gazette (2016) provided that corruption has become so widespread and implanted in Zimbabwe that it has now become the norm of Zimbabwe economic development agenda, it has also arisen to be the most threat to progress in development. The paper also adds that analysts argue that corruption has become so endemic in Zimbabwe that it is now viewed as an acceptable way of life at all levels of society.

Moving on to a year before the main thrust of this study, Mhlanga (2016) argued that there are a number of indicators of economic stress during the year 2015 which might have galvanized a spirit of an uprisings against the government in prerogative of the state's governance. Such aspects like bank failures, the decline in sales of primary consumer goods and reports of company failures. One of the critical aspect was that the employment level continued to decline and formal sector employment fallen to 500 00, half of which is civil service.

#### **4.2.2 The 17<sup>th</sup> July 2015 Supreme Court ruling.**

According to the Herald of July 2015, the Zimbabwe Labour Act was amended following what the Herald of 18 July 2015 described as a shock labour ruling. This therefore was in pursuant to the Supreme Court ruling in Don Nyamande and Anor versus Zuva Petroleum (Pvt) ltd delivered on the 17<sup>th</sup> of July 2015 providing the notion that an employer can terminate a contract of employment on three month notice. According to the new section 12 (4a) of the Labour Act, its binding wording allows for termination on notice in four instances, namely; where it is done in terms of either an employment code or the model code made under section 101(9) of the Labour Act; or the employer and employee mutually agree in writing to the termination of the contract; or the employee was engaged for a period of fixed duration or for the performance of some specific service; or pursuant to retrenchment, in accordance with section 12C. In all the aforesaid four scenarios, an employee whose contract of employment has been terminated is legally entitled to compensation for loss of employment as stipulated in terms of the new section 12C of the Labour Act.

It is noble to note that that it came at a time when the economy of Zimbabwe was in distress and at a time were jobs mattered most to the citizens of Zimbabwe. The ruling together with the poor performance of the economy brought frustration to the unemployed and retrenched citizens. The ruling saw the termination of service for a huge number of people. It is in line with the classic theories of economic growth and development which has the Harold-Demer model. The

model was developed to analyze the business cycle though however it was later adapted to explain economic growth. The model concluded that economic growth depends on the amount of labour and capital. Thus if there is abundant supply of labour and a lack of capital that will hold back the economic growth and development, most people get frustrated and choose to embark on actions that can have an impact to current affairs in a positive way even if the results might reflect the opposite. The retrenchment process because of the capital meant the formal sector not grow or have positive development basing on the latter model.

#### **4.2.3 The alleged missing of 15 billion**

In as much as the economy of Zimbabwe has been suffering from different grievances, bribery, and embezzlement of public funds, fraud and misuse of government property has become the daily norm in the face of unemployed men and women of both formal and informal sector. The Transparency International Zimbabwe (TIZ) reported in October 2016 that Zimbabwe is losing \$1 Billion annually to corruption, with police and local government officials being the top offenders. A number of corruption scandals are reported through newspapers and it seems the stories just end there. Basing on an article by Mugova (2017) in the News24.com, economists have not quantified the effect of corruption on Zimbabwe's for example the issue of the \$15 Billion diamond money which was reported as missing but there was no any quantitative studies of the impact of such leakages on Zimbabwe's economy.

Different scholars argue that corruption is a threat to foreign investment because it is an extra cost to business operations. The latter article provides that Zimbabwe has distorted the economic and financial environment hence loss of investment. Views from different respondents showed that corruption is a significant contributor to Zimbabwe's economic growth which is currently at very low levels, inefficiency in provision of public services and massive inequalities in resource distribution. From the sample of the study embarked on by the researcher, some respondents were residents from some other parts of Zimbabwe in search of greener pastures at the Beitbridge border post. This therefore gave the researcher an opportunity to access such information how some top officials in Harare misuse the government's money. It is alleged that some build expensive houses which are more like hotels. Hung (2000) argued that a 1% increase in the corruption level reduces the growth rate by about 0.72%. These statistics are in great appreciation of the impact of corruption on growth rate. Respondents showed that such notions

would be to society's advantage if such resources were allocated to the building of factories and industries which benefits society through employment

Moreover, corruption favors a particular class of people and creates inequality in opportunities. For instance, traffic police have better opportunities than teachers or non-traffic police, etc. Current corruption levels are unfavorable to development as the lack of infrastructural development is largely attributed to corruption and governance issues in the country. Corruption at local government level, for example, leads to inefficiency in service delivery and poor allocation of resources. Gully-like potholes, poor drainage systems, typhoid, water shortages and a general decay in infrastructure have now become common phenomena in Zimbabwe. Inefficient and non-responsive of government service delivery due to corruption and inequality lead to frustration and socio-political instability. The News24.com (2017) is of the view that if it wasn't for corruption the economic growth rate could have been a double digit figure and not a negatively growing one. Zimbabwe lost \$15 billion realized in diamonds since 2009 and has been losing \$1 billion every year since dollarization. Corruption has been a cancer eating into the country's revenue since 1980 probably Zimbabwe could be averaging \$100 billion per year in government revenues. This is a far cry from the current revenues standing at only \$4 billion annually and has been labelled 'a supermarket budget' because it is just equivalent to the 2015 revenue of Pick n Pay Supermarkets. With end of 2015, Zimbabwean citizens as according to such respondents of interviews embarked on at the Beitbridge border post, people had hopes that the situation will change and things will become better in 2016. However basing the Indigenization Minister Patrick Zhuwawo in an interview by VOA Studio 7 (2015), Zimbabwe may face worse economic problems in 2016 compared to 2015 if the government does not take any measures to stimulate growth.

#### **4.2.4 The Statutory Instrument 64**

Industrial initiative policies are special and very important in revitalization of an economy in terms agendas both in national and regional levels. However there is a strong debate on what an industrial policy is and what it should be like. At large as argued by different economists, it touches fundamentally on the role of the government in the process of structural transformation and economic development. Considering a continent like Africa which is undoubtedly occupied

by underdeveloped and poor states in matters of having capacity to formulate and implement policies (dependency theory), it is a subject to debate.

Along with the proceedings of 2016, a year which as for IRIN NEWS 2016 has been argued to have inherited a multifaceted problems of the year 2015 in Zimbabwe. It is with this research that it saw it appropriate to review the Zimbabwean Controversial Statutory Instrument 64 well known as the SI 64. Basing on an article by Mureverwi (2017), SI 64 is a domestic legislation which requires traders to obtain an import permit from the government before importing basic commodities. In line with this notion, different interviews conducted at Beitbridge border post showed that most of cross border do not have those trading permits and the cross border business has become their main survival strategy to keep up the living standards. According to Kipson Gundani who is the Chief Economist at The Buy Zimbabwe Campaign, the country could not continue with this huge import bill driven by extravagance, some policy shock in the market was overdue, and the Minister has done an appropriate response. The latter article provided that the SI 64 suffered challenges in implementation in terms of threats of retaliation from trading partners, tradeoff between balancing employment within retail and distribution outlets that import and protection of the local manufacturing industries.

According to Tshuma (2016) in The Tralac, the regulations were introduced without any notice. In addition the Zimbabwe Revenue Authority (ZIMRA), Regional manager for Beitbridge, Batsirai Chadzingwa advised clearing agents in an e-mail dated 19 June 2016 to take note of the attached statutory instrument 64 which was published last Friday meaning that the effective date of implementation was last Friday. The SI 64 was designed to remove a number of items from OGIL. Any clarifications on the attached SI was to be referred to Ministry of Industry and Commerce. The latter advised people to pass on the information to all importing clients. As a result both private and commercial importers were caught unaware. Goods which were in transit to Zimbabwe and which were already at the border posts were affected. The import license was required despite the quantity or value of items being imported. On average it takes not less than seven (7) days to obtain an import license. The Zimbabwe Revenue Authority enforced this requirement on behalf of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce. However, the regulatory instrument raised strong frustrations to the mass which comprise of the informal sector, but the



Zimbabwean government was also somewhat justified in introducing SI64 on the basis that the country's industry would never recover while the import bill continue to expand.

### **4.3 Why was the SI64 a hard sell?**

From the policy formulation point of view, policies which are formulated through the top down approach and therefore sought to be implemented with a short notice mostly suffers rejection. An article by Sharara (2016) stands for the argument that the introduction of SI64 has confirmed to be a hard sell as evidenced by the demonstrations empowered by Tajamuka/Sesijikile campaign in conjunction with traders association of Beitbridge that climaxed in a warehouse belonging to the Zimbabwe Revenue Authority being burnt.

Noble as the latter statutory instrument may seem to be, the cross border association as provided by some articles by Muleya (2016), another bone of contention against SI64 was that it became effective at a time some individuals and companies had shipments already before the instrument was published and before import permits were required. The list of banned products also included some products that cannot be made in Zimbabwe, something which brought more anger to affected parties including the Zimbabwe Clothing Manufacturers Association. The researcher had a privilege to have an uncle who is part of the cross border business and had his goods affected by the SI 64 that same day. From such an interview, the researcher discovered that one of the strong frustration was pushed by the fact that the good which he was transporting was not belonging to him but to a number of women from Harare. It therefore left him with no option rather than to join the demonstrations in a way of reflecting his feelings towards the published trade regulation.

The other reason is that most Zimbabweans are now surviving on importing products for both consumption and resale and South Africa because of better efficiencies and the weakened rand against the US dollar has been a major source of imports. Along these lines, the researcher managed to interview some cross border women at the Beitbridge rank were the women wait for their products at the busses which transport them to Harare, Bulawayo and some parts of Zimbabwe. Rugube and Matshe (2011) observed that women constitute a bigger proportion of the informal cross-border traders' category of Zimbabwean migrations in South Africa. On the other hand, Zimbabwean manufacturers, some of them still using archaic machinery are failing

to meet demand and in cases where they can be too expensive resulting in Zimbabweans turning to South Africa for cheaper products. Restricting these cheap imports meant most families will struggle to survive.

#### **4.4 The nature of the protests against SI64**

As frustration over the SI 64 grew to become a spontaneous social movement, SABC (2016) gave an alert that operations and traffic at the Beitbridge border post between South Africa and Zimbabwe were disrupted for hours on Friday 1st of July 2016 as South African business owners and ordinary Zimbabwean traders were picketing with Tajamuka/ Sesijikile. Protesters set on fire a section of the border warehouse in Beitbridge on Friday as they demonstrated against the Zimbabwean government's decision to ban most imports and promote locally manufactured products. Different articles argued that what started as a mere demonstration in the morning turned ugly as the day progressed, following which Beitbridge Border Post for the first time in over a century had to be shut down as street protests swelled. Beitbridge, which is 580km south of the capital Harare, borders Zimbabwe and South Africa.

The researcher was one of the eye witnesses of the incidents of the burning of the ZIMRA warehouse in 2016 when I was at work related learning in Beitbridge Town Council. The incidents were accompanied by the blockage of roads, destruction of different banners and robots, one of the Beitbridge town council cars was wrecked by the frustrated demonstrators. The demonstrators were highly frustrated by the SI 64 to an extent of targeting any individual who seemed to be going to work as they considered them as cowards who are not concerned with the ruthlessness of the government towards the informal sector. Such police officers who were labeled as ruthless in terms of strictness at the cross border traders were under a risk of being beaten up by the Tajamuka/ Sesijikile campaign at action. The situation has been getting tense with each passing day since the Zimbabwean government announced a blanket ban on most import items over a week ago.

With the burning down of the ZIMRA warehouse of which thousands of goods were stored there which ZIMRA would have taken from traders in failure to pay the prescribed custom duty of those different goods which include groceries, property, different heavy materials and cars. Such

products in most cases are taken to auctions in failure of paying up the customs duty and the money see its way to the government as revenue



Fig 4.4: Protesters block the Beitbridge highway with stones and fire, source: Herald (01/07/2016)

From different views of eye witnesses, the feeling which was shared by the demonstrators was the fact that it was better for the goods to be burn rather to go freely to the hands of the rich political elites through corruption. However some responses showed that some demonstrators who were available during the early burnings had to grab some products or items that are portable like flat screen televisions, sacks with clothes, bells to mention but only a few.

In the riot, over 30 vehicles were set alight, while the town's major roads were barricaded with burning tires and huge stones. Riot police were outnumbered but used tear smoke to disperse the

crowds, which stretched for more than a kilometer. Sources in the border town said heavily armed military personnel had been deployed to assist police to quell the growing protests. Chronicle Reporter Thupeyo Muleya says that, “Police national spokesperson Senior Assistant Commissioner Charity Charamba confirmed the incident. Early that morning, some people on the South African side were barricading roads and denying Zimbabweans entry into that country and exiting, she claimed.

Beitbridge residents met and resolved to take to the streets to voice their anger at the move by the government, which is likely to leave thousands of families in the border town without any source of income since survival in the town is hinged on cross-border activities. Residents have, however, resolved to defy the police and go ahead with the protest.

Friday’s violence led to the closure of the border with SA for the first time in more than 100 years. Tabheni said the move was not political but a mere reaction by ordinary citizens. “The Beitbridge Taxi Association (SA), the Musina Meter Taxi Association, and residents in Musina have extended an invitation to the Beitbridge Cross-border Transporters” Association and Beitbridge residents who are being refused their right to protest by the hostile and repressive state machinery (Zimbabwe Republic Police) to join them on the SA side,” the statement said. It said the association represented more than 500 cross-border transporters in Beitbridge.



Fig 4.5: ZIMRA warehouse set on fire by the demonstrators in Beitbridge town after the introduction of the SI 64 by the Zimbabwean government (Herald 2016)

#### **4.5 Tajamuka/ Sesijikile motivates actions in South African side of the Border (Musina).**

According to one eye witness who was part of the people who were at South African side of the border during the demonstrations argued that the South Africans from Musina were motivated by the actions which were taking root at the Zimbabwean side by Tajamuka campaign and the Cross Border Association. The statutory instrument 64 also meant heavy loss to the business in Musina. On the South African side, Musina is arguably one of the busiest border towns in Africa. This border town has been booming for more than 10 years now as dozens of retailers jostle for the non-stop flow of Zimbabweans in search of food and other goods in Musina. While Musina has always relied on cross-border trade the demand from shoppers swung sharply since 2005 as Zimbabweans sourced for goods that are either scarce or expensive in their own country.



Fig 4.6: A picture showing a declaration against the SI 64 in conjunction with corruption (picture by Thupeyo Muleya 2016, herald reporter)

E.N.C.A.com (2016) provided that it is because of the economic and political quagmires which Zimbabwe faces which therefore keeps everybody in Musina busy even the women selling bananas in the street. The introduction of SI64 will thus result in loss of business for most operators, hence the demonstrations and the blocking of roads towards the Zimbabwean border last week and threats for more.

## **4.6 The impact of the demonstration in Beitbridge**

According to the Research Excellence Framework (2014), the term impact is defined as an effect on, change or benefit to the economy, society, culture, public policy or services, health, the environment or quality of life, beyond academia. It is from this definition that the researcher chose to discuss about the realities, responses and the effects citizen activism guided by Tajamuka/ Sesijikile campaign of 2016 which some scholars argue that it gave hopes for other spontaneous movements which took root later on. In as much as the demonstrators were armed at successful demonstrations during the year 2016, the playfield at which this happened was with no surprise an environment which does not favor acts of violence. It should be noted that effects will be drawn from both positive and negative side so as to balance the argument of the research. Documentary review will be used as supporting evidence of the points on discussion.

### **4.6.1 The transfer of government department officials after demonstrations against SI64**

While efforts and different measures are introduced to fight corruption, it remains problematic in most African countries since it is arguably that the most top dogs in the forefront of corruptions are the political elites, the law makers, the one who has power and influence to implement the prescription to end corruption. Thupeyo Muleya, in the Herald of August (2016) provided that after the Tajamuka/Sesijikile campaign's efforts to resist the SI64 and against corruption by means of violent demonstration, the government embarked on forced transfer on officials from different departments of government parastatals. This therefore entails that the demonstration in Beitbridge effected the reshuffle of alleged corrupt officials. It made the government to realize the need to take effective action towards the reduction of corruption. According to the latter article, the Zimbabwe Revenue Authority (ZIMRA) and the Vehicle Inspection Department (VID) deployed staff across the country in a bid to curb corruption at those parastatals. Along this move by the government ZIMRA redeployed 200 officers and 46 VID officers were moved countrywide as Thupeyo.

In line with the forced transfers, one of the parastatals affected by this was the Zimbabwe Republic Police in Beitbridge. The same source argued that over 600 officers from Beitbridge who were suspected to have been involved in the malicious corruption acts and most importantly failure to the July 1 demonstration involving cross-border traders. To the demonstrators it was one of the grand effects to the political economy of Zimbabwe and to the transferred officers it

was a bitter pill to swallow since most of the officers benefited more from the Beitbridge border post.

#### **4.6.2 The government deploys army at Beitbridge Town**

According to a new paper article from News24 (2016), with the realization that the latter demonstrations against the SI 64 was going to be more violent than the actions already embarked on and with the realization that Beitbridge police did not successfully set the acts ablaze, Zimbabwe's army was deployed in the restive border town of Beitbridge. In that face, three people were arrested as provided by ZBC report. The article also argued that the police are on the ground with the army to ensure peace prevails. If one can look closely to this, one can actually argued that the government was forced to respond to the demands of the demonstrators. One of the aims of the demonstrators was not surprisingly to remind the government of the human needs theory which postulate that the government has a mandate to provide needs and wants for its citizens, not to make them suffer as portrayed by the SI 64.

Besides the intervention of the government in resolving the political disorder at Beitbridge, as a Beitbridge resident, the researcher discovered that cross border business continued with less restrictions on the normal product traded by people. This is to say that, in as much as the statutory instrument 64 stipulated that certain products must not pass the border without required custom duty and trading permit, the reality was that goods passed the border with and without recognition. Such a point of view raises some debate on the implementation of the latter statutory instrument. Kangwari (2015) in an article on News Day argued that the reason why it is convincing to say that policy formulation in Zimbabwe is not up to scratch is not due to the fact that there are no good technocrats. It is because the policy must include the public say so that citizens as a whole can identify as theirs and not for pointed individuals or political party. The latter gave reference to the ZimAsset policy in line with these arguments. To clarify on this notion, part of the reasons for the 2016 actions against the SI 64 as argued above was that it was imposed at a short notice. From the fact that cross borders today are importing goods from South Africa without any strong or stern restriction, one can safely argue that the frustration raised by citizen activism had an effect on the political economy of Zimbabwe.

#### **4.6.3 The reversal of the SI 64**

Tajamuka campaign with the International Cross Border Association had an impact on political economy of Zimbabwe if one can bring into play an article by Murirwa (2017) Chronicles reporter. The article holds to the fact that the government has decided to scrape the SI 64, after claiming that the policy has achieved its targets. More so the Minister of Industry and Commerce Mike Bimha is said to have admitted that the policy suffered some challenges and these challenges could only be fixed by removing the Statutory Instrument. The article provides to the fact that another important and critical factor towards the SI 64 was that some countries came up with retaliatory measures to counter Zimbabwe's policy.

However from an economists point of view, it remains subject to debate whether such a move is wise or not in relation with the promotion of GDP and local industries in Zimbabwe. According to the Chronicle (2017), Minister Bimha said

*“To address the challenge of the threat of retaliation from our trading partners, Government will replace the import management programme with a local content policy. Where I come from, we say mushonga unovava ndiwo unorapa, if you can gulp that medicine, you know you will be healed. That is what we can say about SI 64. Other challenges are continued appetite for imports by consumers, poor quality and delays in delivery of goods by the local producers due to less competition from imports, incessant smuggling through the porous border posts resulting in increased black market, monopolistic behavior by some local producers and threat of retaliation from the country's neighboring trading partners such as South Africa and Zambia”.*

#### **4.6.4 Continuous Demonstrations**

The end of the demonstrations in Beitbridge saw the emergence of more spontaneous strikes and demonstrations in form of what the activist leaders like Evan Mawarire termed Hash tag (#tag). Most of these demonstrations were planned or scheduled through the use of social media. The Conversation (2016) argued that protests coordinated on social media have become the order of the day and have emerge in a bid to address different issues concerning socio-economic governance, introduction of bond notes and political issues concerning leadership. Noble as the



mobilizing tool may seem to be, protests have increasingly been challenged by riot police using tear gas and water thus what some scholars opt to refer to as police brutality.

Views from different social media argue that digital activism has proven to be effective and different from previous efforts to challenge the government's defaults in Zimbabwe. Social media as a mobilization tool for social movement has proven to be more fluid and dynamic as compared to traditional protests like Trade union strikes that arguably require much labour and solidarity building. This flexibility makes it problematic for the state to track, but it can also pose difficulties for the social movements, which can quickly lose momentum as activists lose motivation. The strength of new movements can become their downfall if not managed well. From the views of different respondents, the events at Beitbridge border post motivated and gave momentum to more demonstrations which later took place in big cities like Bulawayo and Harare.

#### **4.6.5 Anti-Mugabe protests**

Social movements during 2016 and today still vow to stage massive anti-government protests in an agenda of forcing President Robert Mugabe to resign for ostensibly failing to run the affairs of Zimbabwe. The opposition made up of civil society organizations and Tajamuka led by Promise Mkwanzani argued in the News24 that citizens are going to take more street riots in demand of Mugabe to step down and create way for new choices.

#### **4.6.1 The Hashtag**

#ThisFlag:

One of the social movement which invited more people into citizen activism is the one which was started by Pastor Evan Mawarire in April 2016 when the 39-year-old Baptist minister and activist who took to social media a video of himself explaining the critical problems which Zimbabwe faced and still face today by explanation of colours of the Zimbabwean flag. The latter Mawarire retrieved the Zimbabwean flag as a symbol of protest and a driving force towards protests

However an article by Tendi (2016) in The Standard raises up views on why the hashtags are not enough for a revolution in Zimbabwe. In as much as fellow Zimbabweans and social activism

had hopes of achieving their objectives, the latter article brought about the Arab Spring into play as one of the main drivers towards social movements in Africa. Tendi therefore argues that the 2011 revolution across the Middle East and North Africa was far much different in the notion of military backing and the position adopted by the armed forces being so crucial in determining how the popular protests would play out. For example in Tunisia, the largely apolitical military refused to act in defense of the reigning dictatorship, this therefore gave a safe playfield for the revolution to succeed. Apart from Tunisia, the army in Egypt supported the removal of President Honsi Mubarak and teamed up with the protesters. Taking this situation and scenario to Zimbabwe during 2016 and today, activists had and still have little to say about the position of their military on the current unrest which is one of the critical aspect not considered by activists. Ranger and Bhebhe (1997) argued that the Zimbabwean armed forces are highly politicized and have a long history of close and friendly relations with the president since most of the top military officers fought at Mugabe's front during the 1970s liberation war. In another hand social movement with the use of digital activism and angry -young protesters therefore underestimate the generals' loyalty to the ruling party in their mobilization strategies. From this scrutiny, one can therefore argue that citizen activism in Zimbabwe had little impact on the political economy of Zimbabwe other than bringing about a state of ineffective emotions which were thwarted ruthlessly by the army and Zimbabwe police even if to some extent the protest brought about fear to the ruling party of an uprising opposition party.

#### **4.7 Negative impact of citizen activism on the political economy of Zimbabwe.**

The constitution of Zimbabwe, section 65 (3) provides for the right to collective job action to every employee except members of the security forces. It therefore stipulates the conditions, procedures and nature of such planned action. With this in mind, Tajamuka/Sesijikile campaign amongst others in 2016 had to specify in different interviews that they are not violent groups but mere citizens with an agenda of peacefully airing their demands to the government and effect change. However the reality seems to be contrary and antagonistic with what they projected as peaceful movement. Indeed their actions clearly go against the provisions of the Labour act on the right to strike. Perhaps such activists had borrowed Martin Luther King's ideology on non-violent action in transforming the world. Some scholars and the social movement theorists like Schaff (1973) in a discussion on Marx theory of class struggle argued that violence is the only

tool and step stone towards dismantling social injustices and there is no revolution without bloodshed.

In addition to that, 2016 was occupied by spontaneous demonstrations by different activists with multifaceted demands from the government of Zimbabwe. Of which most of them were associated with violence and police brutality as provided by the media. Noble as it may seem to be, from a tourists point of view, the period of demonstrations in Zimbabwe lowered the tourism business due to the fact that no one can wish to visits a state during such political turmoil due to fear of being a victim of riots. This therefore holds more water to the image which Zimbabwean protesters portrayed in the media all over the world which was a direct strike to the economy of Zimbabwe.

#### **4.8 The future of social movements in Zimbabwe.**

In as much as different activists in Zimbabwe and abroad are looking forward for effective change through various means amongst them being digital activism, the government of Zimbabwe responded to such objectives with the creation of various strategies to what the government argued cause instability in the country (Herald 2017).

##### **4.8.1 Ministry of Cyber Security, Threat Detection and Mitigation**

According to an article by Tendai Mugabe (2017), Zimbabwe announced the introduction a new ministry which is a protective portfolio aimed at protecting the nation from cyber threats which the government believe is being posed by the abuse of social media under the former finance minister Patrick Chinamasa. Perhaps globalization must be highly credited for spreading digital activism throughout most parts of Africa. From an analysts point of view, the events of 2016 strikes, demonstrations, shutdown Zimbabwe and Tajamuka with such activists like Evan Mawarira and promise Mkwanzani can be seen as some of the threats which the current enacted ministry is yet to address since it causes a lot of political disorder as shown previously in the nature of 2016 strikes. Most political analysts argue that the social movements which took root during 2016 were highly organized through the use of social networks like Facebook, WhatsApp, twitter and Instagram and these were effective in planning and organizing people of multiple differences. Noble as the new ministry may seem to be, some critiques argue that it can be seen as a tool to rubberstamp human rights and freedom of speech which is provided by the constitution of Zimbabwe. Opeyemi (2017) in Naij.com argued that while Mugabe and the

government treat the new ministry as protective thus implying a defensive role, there are worries from citizens that it is designed to attack and media use of media use locally.

In line with the above, NEWS 24 (2017) provided to the fact that the newly appointed minister of the latter ministry has five Facebook accounts which intern post a multifaceted prejudice information. However Chinamasa rebuked the allegations and provided to the fact that the ministry have to counter such nefarious activities. In this sense, the future of social movements in Zimbabwe is in threat and high possibility of failure. But one of the fruitful point to note in this juncture is weather the new ministry will be able to fully control social media in tandem with the Zimbabwe's information technology level. The enactment of the new ministry as argued by different newspaper articles during October 2017 provide to the fact that the ministry is a borrowed phenomenon, from developed countries like China, Russia and some western highly information technological countries. One can argue that in Zimbabwe per se, the idea will suffer a lot in the financial backing and implementation.

#### **4.8 Summary**

Over and above, social movement in Zimbabwe has proved to have suffered a number of drawbacks, challenges and hindrance for its survival and to embarking on their agenda. Even if the campaign tried to raise the momentum against the SI 64, corruption and some of its agendas, views from different political analysts and a comparison with some practical examples from the Arab Spring clearly leaves Digital activism in Zimbabwe with less or no hope for effecting change other than bringing about political unrests, riots in the streets and ineffective frustrations posted in social networks. On the other hand, citizen activism during 2016 led to such prominent reshuffle of public officials of different government parastatals in line with the anti-corruption committee as provided by the scrutiny of different articles, questionnaire views and interviews embarked on by the researcher.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **RECOMMENDATIONS, CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

In the long run of building democracy in Africa and embarking on preventive diplomacy to uplift the concern for peace and security in different political and economic environment, there are a number of acts which therefore humper such commitments. Citizens have and still today embark on different means of designed actions in a bid to reach certain deemed reforms over their respective governments. Prominently as provided by the previous chapter, Tunisia and Egypt succeeded in their Arab spring revolutions against dictatorship and ruthless leaderships during 2011. Perhaps Zimbabwean activists were motivated by this movement and sought to embrace it in Zimbabwe against the government to effect change and reforms. From data presentation and analysis, certain subjects were examined to reach certain picture of the impact of the impact of citizen activism on the political economy of Zimbabwe using Tajamuka as the case study. Therefore this chapter dwells much on opinions that may be considered both by citizen activists and the government towards change and eco-political reforms. The conclusion part therefore gives an over and above judgement of the views from people and from documentary review in line with the impact of citizen activism on the political economy of Zimbabwe.

#### **5.2 Summary of findings**

##### **5.2.1 Objectives of Tajamuka/ Sesijikile campaign 2016**

From the research findings in chapter four, Tajamuka was portrayed as a social movement which had a multifaceted objectives. Its early efforts were witnessed at Beitbridge town in the incident where the international cross borders association revolted against the statutory instrument 64 which laid down a barn of number of products as a measure to stabilize and promote local industries. The findings provided that it was from the demonstrators' effort that led to the government of Zimbabwe to withdraw or reverse the SI 64 and forced different parastatals to transfer some officials in an effort to lower the rate of corruption in Beitbridge. Therefore Tajamuka motivated more spontaneous demonstrations around Zimbabwe due to the success of the demonstration in Beitbridge.

### **5.2.2 Causes of 2016 demonstrations in Zimbabwe**

Views from different articles which the researcher used as source of data search, political and economic hardships played a pivotal role in galvanizing action in Zimbabwe during 2016. This is to say that people therefore blamed the government for economic instability and therefore looked forward for positive reforms from the government with the coming of 2016. Findings in chapter four provided to the fact that economic and political hardships in Zimbabwe have a long history and the economy inherits different problems every year. Unemployment amongst other things are critical in Zimbabwe as graduates occupy the informal sector, the government introduces laws and policies that are oppressive to the informal sector for example the statutory instrument 64 against the cross border business which caters for a huge number of population in Zimbabwe. Political intolerance, law judicial education and some other issues raised frustration amongst citizen such that they had to resort to other means of pushing change such as stay away, demonstrations and hash tags in the social media.

### **5.2.3 The political economy of Zimbabwe**

The economy of Zimbabwe as provided by this paper has been highly controlled by political elites and due to that fact corruption has been an unavoidable and a major practice which affects good governance. This therefore means that corruption by political elites has directly contributed to economic instability. Politics and economics in Zimbabwe are interwoven, intertwined and affect each other both negatively and positively. Economic policies as provided by chapter four proved to be problematic in both formulation and implementation. In Zimbabwe, the prerogative for policy formulation is on the hands of certain political parties and citizen participation in policy making is low which therefore affects policy implementation and the overall success of the policy. Social movements therefore raise concern for the inclusion in such important issues which affect citizens at large.

### **5.2.4 The success of demonstrations during 2016**

Social movements in Zimbabwe has suffered a lot of defaults in line with the movements' objectives. Repressive laws, police brutality and an uncondusive political playfield has contributed a lot to the failure of demonstrations in Zimbabwe as examined in chapter. The findings provided to the fact that activists in Zimbabwe are outweighed by the ruling party due to the control of the army and police. Therefore most of demonstrations in different cities of Zimbabwe were violently thwarted by the police and the army which was condemned by the

European Union delegates. This therefore clearly shows the importance of military backing as evidenced by revolutions in Egypt during 2011.

### **5.3 Recommendations**

#### **5.3.1 Accommodating Participative democracy**

From the research embarked on by the researcher, most of the articles in line with the political economy of Zimbabwe which is arguably lack citizen participation in policy making therefore recommends that the government must accommodate participatory democracy in all levels. Marquetti (2000) stated that participative democracy is a process of collective decision making that combines elements from both direct and representative democracy. Economists argues that this may be done in such a way that citizens' proposals be compared with the policies actually implemented. Therefore in such a scenario or either system, citizens together with policy makers can come up with a conducive policy which would suffer less rejection in implementation. ZimAsset suffered a lot of rejection in the implementation process due to the fact that it was a policy designed by Zanu Pf for the Zimbabwean people. Therefore one can argue that, with the inclusion of citizens of Zimbabwe in the policy making process can prevent possible future demonstrations against policies for example the case of the SI 64 during 2016.

#### **5.3.2 Political tolerance**

From the study of the political field of Zimbabwe which some scholars argue that somehow it has an unconducive playfield and shun different view point which therefore leads the general citizens to embark on other means of showing their concern over certain issues. The data analysis hold to recommend the government of Zimbabwe to take into consideration the notion of political tolerance. Avery (2000) therefore defines political tolerance as the willingness to extend basic rights and civil liberties to persons and group whose viewpoint differ from one's own. It is one of the central tenet of liberal democracy and entails individual rights and freedoms which encourages people to think for themselves without being afraid of intimidation, even if their views might frustrate other people. A good example of this concept can be drawn from South African Constitution. Political tolerance there exposes more political ideas to criticism by embracing or allowing its citizens to freely voice their political opinions. The blunder therefore manifest in the case where the majority of population is suppressed of giving their evaluation on ideas thereby perpetrating other means of showing out their opinion by violent strikes and

demonstration. This therefore serves as one of the measures towards systematically preventing possible demonstrations in Zimbabwe.

### **5.3.3 Bring to end police brutality.**

Strikes and demonstration are some of the critical aspects in the study of politics. Different government therefore put forward certain rule and regulations to govern the behavior of its nationals. Some actions that social movements embark on clearly are in contrast with the provision or stipulations of some regulatory instruments. To thwart such violent action, Zimbabwe therefore resort to use of police brutality to deal with such social movement which is termed by the international law as violation of human rights. The Newsday of August 2016 argued that the European Union delegates and heads of mission in Zimbabwe commend police for the way they have violently crushed the 2016 demonstrations. They argued that it was an effort to the constitution which guarantees various freedoms, right to protest amongst others.

In addition to police brutality, one can recommend that Zimbabwean government introduce more peaceful means and strategies to prevent demonstrations from happening at the first place. Such systematic strategies like negotiation between the ruling party and the opposition parties or demonstrators.

### **5.3.4 Judicial Empowerment**

From the study embarked on by the researcher, it has been noted that some people join demonstrations or either movement with little or no knowledge about the rules and regulations which guide such action. This therefore implies that the government must educate its citizens on the position of law regarding political participation that citizens can exercise their right to political participation within the parameters of the law. This means that the government must embark on judicial empowerment for such laws, rules and regulations provided by the constitution and certain binding legislations like Acts of parliament.

## **5.4 Conclusion**

In most cases as supported by the New Social Movement Theorists, actions embarked on without being calculated for end up to be mere wasted efforts and state of confusion and disorder. Noble as this view may seem to be, the spontaneous social movements in Zimbabwe during 2016 seemed to be having elements of social mobilization in the face of digital activism. Considering the views of Promise Mkwanzani the then spokesperson of Tajamuka/ Sesijikile campaign which



he argued that the campaign is a peaceful movement aimed at reaching a number of objective. From critical analysis of this strategy of effecting change by Tajamuka, it seemed to have contrasted with the real action embarked on at Beitbridge, Bulawayo and Harare during 2016. Some scholars argue that violence is the useful means to effect change as evidenced by the Arab spring revolution of 2011 and peaceful movement always suffer possibilities of being thwarted by those who have power and control. In addition, one can actually conclude that social movement in Zimbabwe under the Zanu pf regime will never record any success due to the fact that the ruling party controls the army and police which is omnipotent in the livelihood of a regime. The only change that can be successful is the one that has a military backing and that goes without say, military support is omnipotent.

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## Appendix A

### Questionnaire guide for government staff

#### Research Topic: The impact of citizen activism on the political economy of Zimbabwe.

#### Case study Tajamuka/ Sesijikile 2016-17.

My name is **Innocent Mleya** a bachelor of politics and public management student at midlands state university. I am carrying out my HPPM dissertation research focusing on the impact citizen activism (social movements) on the political economy of Zimbabwe using a case study of Tajamuka/ Sesijikile campaign 2016-17. The main objective being to provide an analysis of primary data on the nature and dynamics of social movements and their usefulness in different environments.

I am therefore kindly requesting for your cooperation in answering the questions which follow in a bid to contribute to a successful research which can be used as a source by different users.

N.B: some questions below require you to tick in the space or box provided and some gives you room to provide more views.

Name of your organization.....

Position in the organization.....

1) Are you aware of the demonstrations which took place during 2016 in Zimbabwe?

[    ] Yes

[    ] No

2) Are you aware of the agenda or causes of Tajamuka/Sesijikile campaign in 2016?

[    ] Yes

[    ] No

3) Do you think demonstrations at Beitbridge town was a success?

[    ] yes

[    ] no

[    ] not sure

4) Were the demonstrations during 2016 associated with violence?

[    ] Yes

[    ] No

[    ] Not sure

5) What in your words might be reasons why Zimbabwean citizens embark on demonstrations, strikes and stay away during 2016?

Explain your answer here

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

6) What are the problems that faced Zimbabwe during 2016 and today?

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

7) What can you say has been a hindrance to the success of demonstration activities techniques?

Explain your answer

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8) Do you think the demonstrations in Zimbabwe had an impact on the political economy of Zimbabwe?

[    ] Yes

[    ] No

Explain your answer

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9) Do you agree with the view that the economy of Zimbabwe was affected by Tajamuka/Sesijikile campaign 2016?

[        ] yes

[        ] no

Explain your answer

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

10) Is police brutality a threat to political participation and human rights?

[    ] Yes

[    ] No

Explain your answer

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11) What methods do you suggest citizen activists employ for their movements to be a success?

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12) Does the 2016 Tajamuka/ Sesijikile campaign reduce hopes for the success of digital activism (the use of social networks to mobilize people)?

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13) According to you, what do you think the government and the activists must do towards the demonstrations?

a)Government -----  
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b) Activists -----  
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**Appendix B**

**Questionnaire guide for Tajamuka activists and eye witnesses**

**Research Topic: The impact of citizen activism on the political economy of Zimbabwe.**  
**Case study Tajamuka/ Sesijikile 2016-17.**

My name is **Innocent Mleya** a bachelor of politics and public management student at midlands state university. I am carrying out my HPPM dissertation research focusing on the impact citizen activism on the political economy of Zimbabwe using a case study of Tajamuka/ Sesijikile campaign 2016-17. The main objective being to provide primary data on the nature of the dynamics of social movements and their usefulness in different environments.

I am therefore kindly requesting for your cooperation in answering the questions which follows in a bid to contribute to a successful research which can be used as a source by different users.

N.B: some questions below require you to tick in the space or box provided and some gives you room to provide more views.

1) Are you employed?    YES [    ]                      NO [    ]

2) As a Zimbabwean, what are the overall challenges that you face with the political economy of Zimbabwe?

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

3) Do you think demonstrations are possible means to effect change in Zimbabwe.

[    ] Yes

[    ] No

[    ] Not sure

4) Do you think demonstrations have an impact on the economy of Zimbabwe?

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

5) In your own view why is the government struggling or failing to satisfy the needs of the people

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

6) Was Tajamuka/Sesijikile campaign 2016 a success?

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

7) Did you benefitted from these demonstrations?

[    ] Yes

[    ] No

If your answer is yes, please explain how

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8) What are the strategies employed by the government of Zimbabwe to end demonstrations?

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9) What, according to you should be done to minimize or stop demonstrations in Zimbabwe?

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## MARKING GUIDE

ITEM UNDER OBSERVATION	COMMENTS	SCORE
<p><b>Title [10 marks]</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Is the title clear and precise?</li> <li>• Does the title expose the problem under investigation?</li> </ul>		
<p><b>Abstract/Introduction [10 marks]</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Does the abstract successfully bridge the gap between the title and subject?</li> <li>• Does the student demonstrate knowledgeability about the nature, problem and purpose of study?</li> <li>• Have the objectives of the study been clearly stated?</li> <li>• How relevant is the literature reviewed and theories used?</li> </ul>		
<p><b>Content [50 marks]</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Are the chapters well laid out and coherent?</li> <li>• Does the work show the use of relevant research methods?</li> </ul>		

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Is the evidence authentic?</li> <li>• Is there evidence of research?</li> </ul>		
<p><b>Conclusion/ Recommendation [10 marks]</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Has the work been resented?</li> <li>• Does the conclusion answer the objectives?</li> </ul>		
<p><b>Reference [10 marks]</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Have the references been accurately presented?</li> <li>• Has the referencing style been consistent?</li> </ul>		
<p><b>Layout, Presentation and Editorial Assessment [10 marks]</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Is there continuity in the style of writing?</li> <li>• Is there correct use of English in terms of consistency?</li> </ul>		
<p><b>TOTAL SCORE (100 MARKS)</b></p>		

Signature of the Supervisor.....

Comment on Submission.....

Signature of the Marker.....

Date.....

Signature of the Moderator.....

Date.....



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Student Paper

1%

3

Submitted to Westford School of Management

Student Paper

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Student Paper

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5

Submitted to Pathfinder Enterprises

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