



**Midlands State University**  
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**FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS AND PUBLIC MANAGEMENT**

**TITLE OF THE RESERCH TOPIC: AN ASSESSMENT OF THE CHALLENGES  
FACING OPPOSITION POLITICAL PARTIES IN ZIMBABWE TO CONSOLIDATE  
POLITICAL POWER SINCE INDEPENDENCE (1980). CASE STUDY, MOVEMENT  
FOR DEMOCRATIC CHANGE (MDC-T).**

**SUBMITTED BY**

**MUSEKIWA EMMANUEL**

**REGISTRATION NUMBER: R136184H**

**SUPERVISOR: MRS MUDZAMIRI**

**DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY IN PARTIAL  
FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE BACHELOR OF SOCIAL  
SCIENCES HONOURS DEGREE IN POLITICS AND PUBLIC MANAGEMENT**

**ZVISHAVANE, ZIMBABWE**

**YEAR, MAY 2017**

**RELEASE FORM**

**AUTHOR’S NAME: EMMANUEL MUSEKIWA**

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OPPOSITION POLITICAL PARTIES IN ZIMBABWE TO CONSOLIDATE  
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**DEGREE PROGRAMME: BACHELOR OF SCIENCE IN POLITICS AND PUBLIC  
MANAGEMENT**

**YEAR GRANTED: 2017**

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**SIGNED: .....**

**EMAIL ADDRESS: [manumusekiwa@gmail.com](mailto:manumusekiwa@gmail.com)**

**PHONE NUMBER: +263772318468/ +263778009966**

**DATE: .....**

**MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY**

**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS AND PUBLIC MANAGEMENT**

**APPROVAL FORM**

**The undersigned certify that they have read this dissertation and have approved its submission for marking after confirming that it confirms to department's requirements**

.....

**Supervisor**

.....

**Date**

.....

**Chairperson**

.....

**Date**

## DECLARATION

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

*Emmanuel Musekiwa*

.....

Date.....

## **DEDICATIONS**

*To my beloved parents Mr. P.M and Mrs.M Musekiwa as well as the late Ms. V Zhande a sister to my mom, sisters and brother for your encouragement, guidance, love and unwavering support through it all.*

## Abstract

*This research was an assessment of the challenges that have bedeviled the success of the opposition political parties in Zimbabwe since independence (1980). Despite looking at the general context of opposition political parties, much reference has been made to the Movement for Democratic Change led by Morgan R. Tsvangirai (MDC-T) that came into the political lime light in the year 1999. Theories played a pivotal role in articulating the challenges. Both qualitative and quantitative methods were employed to amass information. The target population was the opposition political leaders, their supporters as well as general populace. About twenty (20) interviews were conducted where many respondents lamented on the degree of violence, intimidation and corruption ZANU PF is employing and the researcher at times made the use of native languages thus mainly Shona and Ndebele in interpretation of questions. These techniques helped the researcher in the sense that people were able to clearly express their mixed feeling without the barrier of language limitation. In some circumstance the researcher made use of interpreters to translate on his behalf on the Ndebele language. The information provided in this work made use of the theoretical models that replicates challenges facing opposition political parties. The researcher made use of tables and pie-charts in presenting findings, and the information was analyzed and then summarized. The information gathered elaborated that though most of these challenges are as a result of external forces, some of these challenges facing opposition political are also self-inflicted. As a result the researcher had to proffer recommendations on what the opposition political parties should undertake like revolting attending national events such as the independence celebrations and heroes commemorations to address these challenges they are facing since the political independence of Zimbabwe in 1980 to date in order for them be able to improve how they handle their issues in a bid to attain political power.*

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I would like to thank the Most High Living God for awarding me the opportunity to write this dissertation. Thank you Almighty Lord.

Secondly, I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to all Politics and Public Management lectures and my personal supervisor Mrs. J.T Mudzamiri for her guidance and motivation through the project.

I would also like to express appreciation to my parents Mr. P.M and Mrs. M Musekiwa for their tirelessly commitment that I may reach this far. You have provided the much needed financial needs, moral support amongst. Also I would like thank my sisters especially Mavis for being my pillar of strength and my young brother Michael, may the Holy One Of Israel continue to bless you abundantly.

I also thank individuals namely Mr. C. Dambuza, Mr. B. Mapfumo, Mr P. Chakanyuka, Mr. Gwiyo, Mr. Chuma, Mr. Chidhakwa, Mr Bukosi Dube, J. Kautsa among others for assistance and dedicating their time for this research to be fruitful.

Special mention goes to my mother's late sister Ms. V Zhande who stood by me in difficult times. Your support and encouragement is of great value and words will forever ring a bell in my mind... May your dear soul continue to rest in eternal peace Mom.

Lastly, my fellow friends, church mates and classmates thank you for contributing successfully one way or the other.

## ABBREVIATIONS

|                  |  |
|------------------|--|
| BVR.....         | Biometric Voter Registration                               |
| ECOWAZ.....      | Economic Community of West African States                  |
| GNU.....         | Zimbabwe Government of National Unity                      |
| GMB.....         | Grain Marketing Board                                      |
| MDC.....         | Movement for Democratic Change                             |
| MKD.....         | Mavambo Khusile Down                                       |
| MP.....          | Member of Parliament                                       |
| NCA.....         | National Constitutional Assembly                           |
| NERA.....        | National Electoral Reform Agenda                           |
| NPP.....         | National People's Party                                    |
| NRZ.....         | National Railways of Zimbabwe                              |
| SADC.....        | Southern African Development Community                     |
| ZANU-NDONGA..... | Zimbabwe African National Union- NDONGA                    |
| ZANU PF.....     | Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front            |
| ZAPU.....        | Zimbabwe African People's Union                            |
| ZBC.....         | Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation                          |
| ZCTU.....        | Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions                          |
| ZETDC.....       | Zimbabwe Electricity Transmission and Distribution Company |
| ZIM PF/ZPF.....  | Zimbabwe People First                                      |
| ZNA.....         | Zimbabwe National Army                                     |



ZUM..... Zimbabwe Unity Movement

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# **CHAPTER 1**

## **1.1 Introduction**

At the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Zimbabwe experienced political turmoil as a result of a combination of factors among them repressive laws, corruption, political violence, poor government decision makings among other. Despite all these loopholes on the part of the ZANU PF government the opposition political parties have since independence (1980) met a number of challenges to make headways as far as consolidating political power is concerned.

This work will explore the challenges facing opposition political parties in Zimbabwe to assume political power since independence making much reference to the Movement for Democratic Change MDC-T. This study will also seek to give an explanation and effects of the challenges that have continuously haunted opposition parties up to date. Some of the key challenges that are going to be elaborated in this study are factionalism, lack of unity, immorality and the weakness of the regional bodies such as the SADC to mention just a few.

The factors affecting the opposition political parties will be elaborated taking much implication from the MDC-T experiences.

## **1.2 Background to the Problem**

Zimbabwe like any other nation has got a history attached to it and this same history shapes its future. It is this colonial experience which brought about injustice, suppression and oppression subjected on the general indigenous citizens. Like the Maji-maji uprising of 1905 to 1907 in Tanganyika influenced by Kinjikitile Ngwale, the Mandinka empire resistance lead by Samori Toure and the resistance of the Uhehe lead by Mkwawa, to get rid of these inhuman experiences ordinary citizens were motivated by such charismatic leadership of Nehanda, Chaminuka and Kaguvi, well renowned traditional religious figures and waged successive battles of first and second Chimurenga where they fought fearlessly to guard their interests and general will of ordinary citizens. These fearless actions influenced later revolutionary movements which led to the political independence of Zimbabwe in 1980. After attaining independence there was great need to fulfill the promises and improve the wellbeing of ordinary citizens as the core business of the day to day state running. During the first years in office, ZANU PF enjoyed political power managing to address a number of challenges that existed during the colonial era. In the 1995's



tables started to turn around due to mismanagement corruption and poor governance marking the need of new blood of the Zimbabwe political system which lead to the unpopularity of ZANU PF in the political circles but will survive on the historical legacy. These crises within the ZANU PF camp and the government at large provided the fertile grounds for critics giving birth to establishment of opposition political parties in the long run, and this time in the name of MDC first of its kind that has managed to command a broad base as they have caused sleepless night to the ZANU PF party and offering a good challenge to the political system.

This research therefore focuses on the problems being encountered in Zimbabwe by the MDC-T and other oppositional political organizations to consolidate political power at the deepest hour even when it seemed to be a done deal. For ages since the attainment of political independence of Zimbabwe, economically, socially and politically the nation has continuously taken a nose dive in its wellbeing because of a number of problems, namely poor governance, self-alienation, premature/half-baked policies among other challenges yet making the livelihood of ordinary Zimbabweans a menace and yet opposition political parties have continuously faced a number of hiccups to come to the rescue of the nation.

Political leaders have proved to be tyrant likened to “**vampires**” feasting on their own subjects whom they ‘claim’ to have liberated from the bondage of colonial rule and unjust Rhodesian government. Even in such circumstances opposition parties have not managed to champion the interests of the majority citizens since their intensification efforts on the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Factors that are have proved to be the major challenges for opposition political parties to be explored are factionalism, poor policies, persuasion, and media oppression among others.

Dictatorship, miss governance, autocracy, unemployment, massive electoral fraud, deteriorating health services and delivery, corruption, oppression among other things has become the order of the day not only in Zimbabwe but across the global world especially where autocratic and despotic regimes have deep root. In a bid to get rid of these prevalent woes a lot has transpired in as much political order is concerned. The continent has suffered political, economic and social problems that are mainly championed by the imploding dictatorial tendencies and power hungry politicians who have clanged on power for so many years. In such political tendencies most individuals and societies have actively participated in the formation of opposition political parties.

Over the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Zimbabwean political climate witnessed the birth of opposition political parties such as the Zimbabwe Unity Movement (ZUM), Zimbabwe National African Union-NDONGA (ZANU-NDONGA) in the 1980's and early 1990's in a bid to unseat the ZANU PF government from the political helm for failing to address the current problems bedeviling the general populace and the nation at large. The working class felt much of the economic problems in the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The coming of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) in the late 1990's to the political lime light provided a great threat to the existence of the ZANU PF, and having been dominated by the working class who were feeling the economic burden worsening because of the prevailing situations hence explains why the party was a product of the labor movement. Opposition parties that were breakaways of the revolutionary struggle failed because of lack of determination and the MDC-T has effectively taken it up from where they left. ZUM lead by Edgar Tekere in the 1985 failed to field candidates in most constituencies sending questions to the electorate of their seriousness to their cause of governing the nation.

### **1.3 Statement of the Problem**

The challenges facing opposition political parties to assume political power has led to continuous violation of human rights, poor service delivery, increase of corruption rate, economic crisis, and high unemployment rates among other problems to the expense of the general citizens. There is a gap between the demands of the people and service delivery of government and as such a number of opposition political parties have been formed across the nation of Zimbabwe. These factors have prompted the need to identify the challenges bedeviling opposition political parties and their causes in a move to try and improve their ways of operation and prevent the challenges they are facing.

### **1.4 Research Objectives**

1.4.1 The main objectives of this research are;

1. To examine the problems encountered by the Zimbabwean opposition political parties.
2. To explain the sources of challenges affecting opposition political parties.
3. To examine the need for opposition political parties.
4. To access the possible actions that can be done by the opposition political parties in order to consolidate power

#### 1.4.2 Research Questions

1. What are the challenges facing the opposition political parties in Zimbabwe?
2. What are the sources of challenges in opposition politics?
3. What is the impact of opposition political parties on the livelihood of their supporters?
4. What should the opposition political parties do to gain political power?

#### 1.5 Significance of the Study

This work is aimed at evaluating the effectiveness of opposition politics. According to the African democratic institute (2017), the role of opposition parties mainly premised on holding governments liable, proffer solutions to the government as well as to critic the government in areas that are neglected especially during parliamentary debates. It is therefore vital to also examine the challenges they are facing in a bid to render development of these political institutions as they seek to address the needs of citizens. Since they push for reforms to be enacted by government, therefore the study is significant in the sense that it seeks to improve the well-being of day to day running of nation and addressing citizen needs and wants with the aid of opposition politics influence.

#### 1.6 Delimitations of the Study

The study seeks to outline and describe the processes leading to the challenges experienced within opposition political parties in Zimbabwe. It also examines impact of factors affecting Zimbabwe's political opposition parties in attaining their bench mark and it focuses on MDC-T as the main political party in Zimbabwe.

#### 1.7 Limitations

The researcher will not have much access to outstations as data from this study will be done mainly on single station, the headquarters hence generalization might lack relevance. Efforts will be made to reach on the outstations and give a detailed account.

Restricted access due to the privacy and confidentiality policies, triangulation will be used to overcome this limitation.

The study is centered of issues that are not mainly public to the people as it is political which people are afraid of participating in fearing, **“to trade in areas where even angels are afraid of penetrating.”** Cooperation from the relevant sources might as well be a problem as others might not give accurate information for better reasons known to them for instance they might fear to share political sentiments on the basis that they will held accountable. The researcher will try by all means explain the purpose of the study that it is not for political reasons but rather academic purpose.

## **1.8 Ethical considerations**

### 1.8.1 Inclination of participants

The researcher will ascertain that the participants taking part in the research do this willfully, without being forced.

### 1.8.2 Confidentiality

The researcher will ascertain that all the information given by the respondents will be kept confidential such that the designations of the respondents will not be disclosed in the research.

## **1.9 Chapter summary**

This chapter has given a platform of the contents of the research. It gave introduction, background of the research, aims and objectives and ethics that were observed during the research.

## **Chapter 2**

### **2.1 Literature Review and theoretical framework**

Literature review is an evaluative report of information that is found in the literature related to a selected area of interest. Literature review helps the researcher to develop an understanding on the field of study for it is the first step that helps and molds the researcher's ideas. The role of critical literature review, according to Fisher et al (2007) is "to provide the raw material from which the conceptual framework is built". Saunders et al (2009) have the same perception with Fisher and he further states that, "crucial literature review helps the researcher to refine further their research objectives and questions and help them avoid simply repeating work that has been done already".

### **2.2 Definition of Opposition**

In simple terms opposition can be defined as the will of disapproving or resisting the prevailing political order due to different political thinking, expectations, beliefs and ideologies. In politics, according to Blondel J. (1997) he says "opposition comprises one or more political parties or other organized groups that are opposed to the government. It is the party that goes against another party".

### **2.3 Definition of independence**

Independence is a state of being able to do what one wants to, without any external interference. Independence is a condition of a nation, country, or state in which its subjects and population, or some portion thereof, exercise self-government, and usually sovereignty, over their territory. The opposite of independence is a dependent territory. Independence does not necessarily mean freedom as a nation can be independent but without enjoying autonomy in all spheres of influence.

### **2.4 Reasons for the emergency of opposition political parties**

#### **2.4.1 To champion the needs of the people and alerting the government**

Most political governments have become reluctant in providing basic needs and standards for their people especially in modern day politics. Mostly they focus much on their personal welfare at the expense of the people who put them into political office. Opposition has therefore in most

cases came into play effectively in advancing the grievances of the general populace challenging the government to meet certain objectives and obligations as to meet and upgrade the needs of people. The refusal of opposition parties in Zimbabwe by voting NO in the year 2000 referendum when the ZANU PF government wanted to enact a constitution that wanted to vest the presidential office with too much power and previously to do away with multi-party system and establish a one party state is a great step in protecting the voice of the people by guaranteeing that citizens should in time to time awarded the opportunity to elect a government for themselves.

#### 2.4.2 Giving pressure

Opposition parties have also effectively managed to exert pressure on government to put in place actions where it turns to be reluctant. They give pressure to government to speedy actions and sometimes force it to act through agitations and in some instances demonstrations. Through the successive protests held in August 2016 at the Beitbridge boarder post after the government had effected taxation and ban certain goods from other countries, this was met with stiff resistance from the unemployed cross boarder traders who earned a living through that and wanting to impose such laws threatened their only way of livelihood. The #tjamuka alongside the #this flag protests as well expressed the mixed deep feeling of the frustrated people of Zimbabwe and taken its cause to seek solution through the influence of opposition political parties.

#### 2.4.3 Providing checks and balances

Opposition political parties are also responsible in providing checks and balance in the way power and authority is wielded. The new constitution of Zimbabwe is a clear indication and important fundamental role played by the opposition politics. The old one (constitution) had a lot of loopholes mostly giving the presidential office too much political powers which were being exercised heavily on the citizens and had too much amendments. This new law has effectively managed to provide checks and balance reducing excessive powers from the presidential office spreading them to respective offices.

### **2.5 Factionalism**

Not only to small or opposition political parties does it exist, but factionalism is a common feature associated with dominant political systems in the twenty first century political phenomena in Sub-Sahara Africa. Magaisa A. (2014) says, “Factionalism has characterized the political landscape of dominant party systems in Southern Africa. In fact, factionalism should be

viewed in non-exclusive terms, that is, as a dynamic process of subgroup partitioning”. Harmel *et al*, (1995) also advanced the view that “...factionalism is a fact of life within most political parties...” He (Harmel *et al*) also adds that, political parties are not monolithic structures but collective mechanisms that are characterized by competition, divided opinions and dissent which creates internal pressures. In turn, these pressures trigger the formation of factional tendencies that render the unitary actor assumption largely arguable.

Mangosuthu Mbele 2016 advances the view that, “the existence of a factional system can have serious negative consequences for a political organization if not handled well. If factional strife becomes intensive and public, the organization may suffer from perceptions of disunity, taken one step further if the conflict is particularly severe, it may cause ruptures within the organization that seriously impede its effectiveness, leading to break up or collapse of organization”.

As advanced by R.Chidza 2015, Douglas Mwonzora argues that formations of breakaway factions are as a result of power struggles and undemocratic tendencies. He (Mwonzora) further stipulates that the 2005 MDC split was as a result of senior members undermining an elected leader and that of 2014 was an attempt to take opposition political power outside the confines of a congress. In the same vein, the MDC has never been spared from this mayhem since its inception in late 1990’s. There were professedly bits of gossip about a group craving Ndebele president, Secretary General Welshman Ncube to supplant Tsvangirai, and in addition gossipy tidbits about tribal preference on the opposite side. In 2005, in the midst of pressure, another report was drafted in regards to the developing brutality inside the gathering. The report expressed that the vast majority of there was a difficult issue with abuse of the unemployed youth, who were not appropriately taught about the gathering belief system, for narrow minded and driven purposes, and that the gathering's standards were being devoured by insatiability, debasement and tribal segregation and that this division in the gathering would have sad results, and was debilitating to undermine the gathering. Various young people were pursued far from the gathering initiative yet no little other move was made. These thought processes were incredibly reprimanded by the gathering's lawful representative, David Coltart as deliberately mischievous or simply undermining the basic principles of political reality in Zimbabwe.

Factionalism has played a great roll in crippling and reducing MDC-T and other local opposition political party's chances of assuming political power. The fights from within and outside the party at the election time proved to be a ghost perpetrating MDC. Job Sikhala who had once lead his MDC-99 before returning to the MDC-T criticized Morgan Tsvangirai of diverting from the fundamental principles that lead to the formation of MDC and this boldly labeled the MDC-T disorganized. Despite all these accusations and utterances it is still baffling to notice that he after some time returned to the party still led by the same leader he wants criticized. During the 2008 harmonized elections the breakaway faction lead by the letter Deputy Prime Minister Author Mutambara saw MDC being shackled as some electoral votes were taken away making it difficult to gunner the fifty percent plus one vote(50% + 1) in order to be declared the sole winner of the election. Factionalism is further weakening the MDC day by day, looking at the current main rivals of Morgan Tsvangirai who were expelled from the party Tendai Biti and Elton Mangoma who have continuously attacked him for becoming Mugabe like by staying at the helm of MDC since its formation. Each time these breakaways occur it is not only individuals who leave a political party but they go with some individuals that are vibrant in some party quarters for example members of parliament, councilors and even supporters among others. This will cause serious problems in election time as votes are splinted among opposition and fielding a candidate who is not familiar to a certain constituency for instance X has influential and has been campaigning in Z constituency and after slits goes to campaign in Y hence votes are diverted to the opponent. Though scholars have pointed out that the factionalism tendencies are as a result of greediness, power struggles, divergent political among others it is important as well to note that ZANU PF is a smart and sophisticated dictatorial party that is effectively employing divide and rule tactic. Some opposition political parties are an extension of the ruling party designed to divide votes and oversee the long continuous survival of ZANU PF thus it is creating its own opposition somehow.

## **2.6 Internal fighting and failure to pass power (failure to step down)**

This has also played a pivotal role in the successive problems of opposition politics. There are usually disgruntled figures within the party circles creating room for continuous survival of the ruling party. This has time to time weakened the opposition political parties especially towards election dates. As highlighted by Galbraith (1983), “**power creates its own resistance**” and in this manner failures to address these factors will usually lead to individual not contributing



enough efforts. These fighting may have been triggered mainly by the leadership that have long overstayed at the helm of power. As quoted by Chigundu (2017), Acie Lumumba the chairman of the VIVA Zimbabwe lamented on the leadership of Tsvangirai and likened him to Mugabe as he advanced that he is increasingly becoming power hungry and it is high time he has to cede power to others for he has lead the party now for close to twenty years.

## **2.7 Lack of unity**

Lack of unity has been the greatest weakness for opposition parties of this age. Since independence the ZANU PF government has centralized power in such a way that it has become relatively impossible to dislodge it and any means should probably to have an amalgamated force to stand firmly and do the deed. R. Chidza (2015) argued that the formation of too many political parties further entrench Mugabe's rule. He further quote the words of the late Masipula Sithole who once remarked that, 'if you take two Zimbabweans to the moon, leave them there and visit them the next morning, they would have formed three political parties.' This is resembled largely by the recent breakaway of the Zimbabwe People First (Zim PF) which was led by the former Zimbabwe Vice President J. Mujuru who was expelled from ZANU PF together with other high officials and now Mujuru formed another political party, National People's Party (NPP). E. Masunungure buttress the notion saying the opposition vote is being split. Only if they (opposition political parties) can unite for a common purpose then maybe they can be able to produce something tangible. It is therefore important to note the vacuum which exists as that of ideological differences that shape the goals and expectations of these opposition political parties in Zimbabwe.



*Figure 1: Mr Morgan R. Tsvangirai with his Wife Elizabeth behind him and CDE Joyce Mujuru to his left and CDE Christopher Mutsvangwa to his right during a demonstration in Gweru 2016*

Raftopoulos, (2006) and Magaisa, (2005), concurs that, “in October 2005, the MDC-T split into two factions, one led by the party’s founding president Morgan Tsvangirai and another led by the radical, former university student leader, Arthur Mutambara followed years of infighting along regional, ethnic and class fault lines as well as disagreements over strategy, accountability and violence within the party, was precipitated by a disagreement over participation in the 2005 elections for the re-introduced Senate. The faction led by party President Morgan Tsvangirai then advocated boycotting the elections while the other faction led by party Secretary General Welshman Ncube advocated participation providing a fertile ground for ZANU PF continuous domination”.

A September 2014 International Crisis Group report notes that

*MDC-T’s defeat in the 2013 election exacerbated tensions within the party, but few expected the rapid unravelling of the main opposition grouping in the year that followed. It further notes that, “Its defeat catalyzed and consolidated sentiment against Tsvangirai who had now lost three presidential elections. A*

*push for an expedited elective congress and public calls for his resignation led to allegations, counter-allegations and violence that echoed the dark days of 2005, when Welshman Ncube and others split from MDC, accusing Tsvangirai of anti-democratic tendencies. A series of suspensions, expulsions and counter-measures followed, resulting in a major leadership rift as both Treasurer General Elton Mangoma and Secretary General Tendai Biti parted ways acrimoniously with Tsvangirai. The pace of the current self-destruction staggered many observers and erstwhile supporters, and efforts to reunite the factions have failed. Driven by personality rather than policy differences, both Tsvangirai and Biti continue with their respective programs, although senior opposition figures believe the MDC-T is now rudderless and falling apart. Legal battles over the constitutionality of decisions and control over party assets continue. Tsvangirai's supporters will hold their own elective congress in October 2014, where all positions can be contested”*

The MDC-T had reported amid mid 2004 that it would not partake in any further races in Zimbabwe, until it trusted a free and reasonable vote could happen. However on 3 February 2005, then representative Paul Themba Nyathi told a news gathering that, "It is with an overwhelming heart that the MDC has chosen to partake in the races ... This is a choice construct essentially with respect to the requests of our people".

Converses with join the two MDC groups behind the office of Tsvangirai, the pioneer of the principle group, separated on 3 February 2008. Mutambara apologized to the general population for this disappointment but the damage had already been done, while Tsvangirai said that solidarity couldn't be forced by drive. Investigators saw the resistance's inability to join as making Mugabe's re-race a close conviction, despite the fact that Tsvangirai, while communicating lament, said that he trusted the restriction still had "a battling shot" of triumph. The press is the most suitable means of diffusing the fame of the individual leaders among the masses for popularizing their names as attributed by Micheals (1999). The birth of a seeming grand coalition for the 2018 harmonized election might be the answer to much awaited victory and historical moment for the independence opposition politics in the nation of Zimbabwe.

## **2.8 Allowing themselves to be absorbed and diluted in the long run**

The phenomenon of inclusive governments or coalition governments was not uncommon prior to the 2009 inclusive in Zimbabwe with two major political parties ZANU PF and the MDC-T. At the peak of political influence opposition parties have allowed themselves to be polarized to a level that they take long to recover politically. During the 1980's Dr. Joshua Nkomo under pressure from ZANU agreed to join forces culminating to the Unity Accord and giving a death blow to his own political party ZAPU and in the same vein after winning the much disputed 2008 harmonized elections MDC-T under the leadership of Morgan Tsvangirai allowed itself to partake into the Government of National Unity (GNU) which it short-lived enjoy allowing the dying horse ZANU PF to regroup and later lost in the 2013 election as they long lived in the comfort zone. Diplomacy has undoubtedly proved to be the central reason why ZANU PF has stayed strong for a long period at the helm of political power. This view has been advanced by Tendi B.M (2013) who says that, "however, ZANU PF's power sharing partners also lost sight of the need for rapid and comprehensive institutional reforms in the early years of power sharing, expending most of their energies in fighting for appointments to the Ministry of Agriculture, the Central Bank and to the posts of Attorney General and provincial governors". Masunungure E.(2013) is of the view that during the GNU life time the economy improve owing to the contributions of the MDC-T and they almost lost track of campaigning dedicating their energy much to the governments needs when ZANU PF was regrouping.



*Figure 2: Former South African President Thabo Mbeki with Mr. Morgan R. Tsvangirai and Mr Robert G. Mugabe after the conclusion of the GNU signing.*

This would hinder their progress as ZANU PF was buying time as it knew soon the inclusive government would eventually coming to an end and they had recovered from their political misery that grown before the 2008 election losing grip to the main opposition. According to Chigora and Guzura (2011), “by taking the two MDC formations into government, the Government of National Unity (GNU) has effectively led to the removal of a government in waiting. In reality, it implies that there is no opposition in the Zimbabwean parliament for the duration of the GNU... totally eliminating opposition”. Thus also explains why even after the successful completion of the new constitution of Zimbabwe in 2013 the opposition are still crying for electoral reforms a thing they could have addressed when they had better chance and opportunity as he (Tendi) further postulates that, “despite the limited reforms that where accomplished during the power sharing, Mugabe sought to ensure that SADC deemed the 2013 election credible because this would automatically remove Zimbabwe from the regional body’s political crisis agenda, leaving ZANU PF to consolidate its rule, free from external interference in the longer term”.

After facing serious unpopularity in the same vein the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) led by the charismatic figure the late Dr. Joshua Nkomo went down the drain. A number of elections have been conducted since the attainment of independence in Zimbabwe in which Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) has been winning much with tremendous margin in most; serve for the ones conducted in the 21<sup>st</sup> century whereby it faced serious casualties at the hands of a relative formidable force the MDC-T led by Mr. Morgan Tsvangirai. Unlike other political parties formed before MDC that were commonly identified by the liberation struggle history, the MDC had to find its own way out in order to fill in the gap that bridged it from ZANU PF hence the championed the needs of the people in the urban cities firstly to have a support base. Greene is of the view that, "hire a former enemy and he will be more loyal than a friend, because he has more to prove. In fact, you have more to fear from friends than from enemies. If you have no enemies, find a way to make them". Thus the opposition was contained during the global political agreement and ZANU PF utilized this time to its own benefit. Despite scholars advancing the notion of opposition parties being neutralized through government unions, there has been omission in literature of eluding the fact that by not venturing in such it would furtherer bring untold suffering to the masses. An example is that of 2008 if the opposition did not have accepted the GNU many people could have died as a result of violence, hunger and starvation among other problems.

## **2.9 Failure to capture broad base in support**

During election campaigns the MDC has failed to give a sounding appealing election manifesto to all works partly because of its historical background. Poor manifesto that are not greatly appealing to the general populace has been another challenge. The ZANU PF manifesto is mainly centered on development and indigenization and is easily understood even by the marginalized community as compared by the (Juice) of the MDC which the used in the 2013 election which was unfamiliar and even complex for most of its supporters as advanced by .

## **2.10 Historical background**

The nexus between ZANU PF and the liberation struggle has played a critical role in the politics of Zimbabwe and the survival of ZANU PF regime. As put across by Chigora P and Guzura T (2011), "in relation to political opposition parties the challenges in the independent state, lies at most, with the setup of independent African politics emerging from the manner in which

independence itself was gained”, and the fact that Zimbabwe independence was hard won after a fierce liberation struggle has also hindered the opposition credibility to assume political power as the greater part of electorate put much emphasizes on the liberation war that gave birth to this independence and continuously vote for a party that has successively failed to address the nations’ problems. Makumbe J and Sithole (1998), have advanced the dominant view that, **“the fate and future of the opposition political parties was decided during the liberation struggle in the 1970’s.”** The fact that MDC has no historical background linked to the guerilla war has proved to be the greatest ulcer hindering its opportunity to assume the prestigious office in the land. In a similar fate ZUM under Tekere has failed to make meaning full headway because they left ZANU PF and contesting against it was portrayed through the patronized media as acts of treachery a political sin that is not easily forgiven in ZANU PF context.

### **2.11 Immorality of opposition leaders**

In addition character has proved to be an important aspect in maintaining support and wellbeing of an individual. After the death of Susan Tsvangirai there was a trend of sexual immoral labeled against Morgan Tsvangirai and at some point was dragged to the courts by Elizabeth Macheke. These were then effectively used by Mr. Robert Mugabe and his ZANU PF party to attack the MDC-T resulting in loss of trust and focus to a number of the MDC-T supporters. In the just ended United States of America elections this also partly contributed to the defeat of Hilary Clinton through her leaked emails that exposed her.

### **2.12 Weaknesses of the regional bodies (SADC)**

The Southern African Development Committee has in a way failed to effectively handle political disputes as a result of different reasons. Mainly favoritism has taken center stage at the expense of justice, whereby the revolutionary parties have become somehow selfish by protecting other regimes because of their shared historical backgrounds. This is resembled during the Zimbabwe 2008 political situation when ZANU PF had lost the election and refused to cede power to the opposition. Unlike the *ECOWAZ* which refused to seat back and watch the situation in Gambia when President Yahya Jammeh had refused to agree to the election outcome and interfered to the matter leading to the inauguration of elected Adama Barrow and assume the presidency office. DRC and Zimbabwe has had wide electoral disputes but the body has done nothing to make sure that they are conducted in a more favorable manner giving protection to incumbent Kabila and

Mugabe's regimes. This has been a major stumbling block as far as the successes of opposition political parties in yielding political power are concerned.

### **2.13 The un-even political field (propaganda, media)**

Access to media has been a problem not only to Zimbabwe but to the entire world. During election times media is mainly restricted by the ruling government to advance their political motives through newspapers, television channels, radio stations among other social platforms. In contemporary situation ZANU PF has effectively used this media to campaign. During broadcasting in election times normally during break periods the broadcasting companies usually play the jingle songs especially those famous reiterating the importance of liberation struggle and land issues, *tore minda tirambe takashinga and vaudzei vavhotere pamasvingo hondo hatidi*, sending threatening message culminating the general of the people. During the 2013 electoral elections the ZANU PF conducted their provincial rallies whereby Mugabe went to each province addressing party supports and these were covered and broadcasted live whilst the opposition were denied the access given one or the other reason including that the equipment was not in good shape. In the same manner comparing the opportunity they got for their campaigning clips to be viewed on television the ratio can be equivalent to one as to fifteen.

### **2.14 Religious beliefs**

Religious beliefs enshrined in Christianity have molded the behavior of many. Biblical illusion has led to acceptance to be governed by it and has been viewed as weakness and people are living in the bondage of it fearing to violate their faith. Unlike in Islamic dominated societies, opposition politics has thrived a lot as they protest and act to get justice done. Incumbent governments have for a long time taken advantage of Christianity which mostly teaches people to be non-violent and take their grievances before God. However the coming of **#thisflag** and **tajamuka** has awakened the opposition political parties, though it might seem fruitful the opposition parties are relatively putting much of their energy on demonstrations than campaigning. Magaisa, A. (2016) notes that, "the **#ZimShutDown** of this week was, in some ways, unique in its galvanizing and mobilizing effect without the aid or leadership of traditional actors on the political and civil society landscape. For the first time in a long time, the traditional political actors, both in the ruling establishment and the opposition were by-standers in an



historic moment championed largely by ordinary citizens. I am careful to say for the first time in a long time principally because it is not the first time this has happened in our polity. The events of 1998 springs to old minds, when Zimbabweans came together in huge flood of dissent against deteriorating economic conditions. Taking the lead was the then vibrant labor movement, with the ZCTU at the apex, led by Morgan Tsvangirai. Many young Zimbabweans have only known him as an opposition politics, but at the time, he was a leader of the labor unions. Civil society movement was still by then in its nascent stages but those were the moments when organizations such as the National Constitutional Assembly began to assume a leading role in campaigning for political reform under the flagship call for constitutional reforms. For the first time since independence, the people of Zimbabwe heeded the call for a mass stay-away. It was also unique in that many employers backed the call, signaling an interesting milieu ideologies in one moment; a strange mixture of capitalists and socialists”.

### **2.15 Militarization of state bodies**

The militarization process of state organs in the parastatal wings such as National Railways of Zimbabwe (NRZ), the Grain Marketing Board (GMB), Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC), Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA), Zimbabwe Republic Police and Zimbabwe Electricity Transmission Distributing Company (ZETDC) among others is a clear indication of how the government wants to entirely control these entities to its own benefit. As advanced by Makumbe (2003), “just before the presidential poles, the top brasses (police, military and prisons) articulated that they were never willing to neither work nor salute a president who has no liberation history”, thus violating the voice of the electoral outcome and influencing it. It is also a way to thwart opposition as their operations are focused on promoting the desire of the ruling elites. The interests of the general populace thus of equality in terms of distribution of resources and equality are violated. Some analysts have come to believe that if not for the abuse of the state instruments ZANU PF could have been history in the politics of Zimbabwe. As quoted by R. Chidza’s analysis Mwonzora remarked that, “Tsvangirai has his power in the masses and that has helped him command a sizeable constituency in Parliament although that has not translated into state power because of the ZANU PF abuse of military”. ZANU PF also created around 150 secret military bases around the country housing its militia that would actively terrorize opposition political supporters as advanced by Sachikonye L.M.

## **2.16 Inconsistent demonstrations**

Protests and demonstrations in some cases are vital in pursuing a need and push on the government. As postulated by Callahan M. (2016), she argued that “in times of political and social unrests demonstrations provide some sort of deliberative democracy”. The take shape when the mass feel that they have been oppressed or the government is not doing enough for them. The opposition has not managed to have a chain of demonstrations as eluded by some scholars. In the cases of some that have been held they are often abandoned prematurely as Coltart D. (2016) puts it. Godwin et al (2004) highlights that “for individuals to take part in a demonstration they look in the benefits of their actions for a better outcome”. This has been evidenced by the NERA #tjamuka demonstrations as well as others that been effected at a time the government has not acted yet towards them. Having articulated incoherent demonstrations as a stumbling block to opposition parties in consolidating power scholars have not looked in the outcomes of these demonstrations as the cause damage to infrastructure and death to the participants in the event that governments do not give in easily for instance the case of Libya, Ivory Coast among others with heavy blow.

## **2.17 Ideological challenges**

According to Schwarzmantel J. (2008) “presents at least in its fullest form a broad range of views which cover the central aspects of how society should be organized, answering such questions as what the role of the state should be accepted, and which should be rejected”. Considering that the MDC was formed and consisted of a wider group of individuals ranging from farmers, workers capitalists among others made it very difficult to come up with an ideal ideological concept rather than being guided by “change” element. As compared to ZANU PF ideology though it might be criticized, but at least there is something they can hold on as advanced by A. Magaisa as he postulates that, “there are ideas like indigenization, land reform, pan Africanism solidarity, liberation...” This problem has continuously haunted them from before as they have not managed to stick to one message during campaigns yet change each and every time. Ideology is just what shapes a mind or way of thinking and in most cases it is dynamic so it does not provide limits in achieving a common good thus the domineering force of achieving a desired outcome should and will cut across to materialize better end.

## 2.18 Political legitimacy

During the election time the opposition in case of the MDC-T has not sufficiently managed to put their word to the voters for what they exactly stand for. As per Waldahl R. "at the point when decisions weigh up the gatherings and government officials that are remaining for races they should dependably consider which values they are battling for and which interests are behind them. Starting there of view, the administration media painted a vague and reliable photo of the MDC-T and its pioneers. The MDC-T was not a national gathering trying to enhance conditions for the Zimbabwean individuals, yet an instrument in the hands of the nation's minority, who were all the while longing for an arrival to an Ian Smith's Rhodesia and of the Britain work government which needed to recolonize the nation."

The lamentations for human rights' ethos and democratic pleas from the MDC-T have been brushed away by most rural dwellers as an advancement of western ideas, with little meaning to the exact needs of economic empowerment. To put it in the words of Mutumburanzou (2006), "it is not alarming to hear people saying they do not eat '*dhemokirasi ne mayumeni raitisi*' (democracy and human rights) but were content that the land is the economy and the economy is the land". He further eluded that, "*rukuvhute rwedu rwuri muvhu irori riri kurambwa naraTsvangirai nevarungu vake vekuHingirandi. Ko iye mwana wevhu apindwa nei chaizwo kudai kubva ada kutidzosea kwamakei? Itsvigiri here mwanangu? Nditaurireka iwe ndiwe unotsvara patakasatsvara.*" Associating with commercial white farmers brought a dilemma into the party as they are viewed as enemies of progress "the white commercial farmers...were dissatisfied with the way things were developing in the country, and so threw their weight behind the MDC. They assisted in forming support groups within the commercial farming areas and made donations in cash and kind" The articulated views however did not look into the fact that the 21<sup>st</sup> century is not dominantly shaped with issues of history but now in the global world there is great need for service delivery and transparency.

## 2.19 Theoretical Framework

This research will address the variables under investigation. The concepts that inspire this research are integrated especially with a specific focus on policy development initiation. These concepts will however be under scrutiny separately and making an examination of their influence on this study will be infused to acquire an integrated appreciation of their significance to the

subjects under study. In this case, this research develops a sequential examination of factors behind the failure of opposition political parties in Zimbabwe mainly the MDC-T. This research presents a number of factors which the researcher believes to have contributed to the failure of these political parties.

## **2.20 Conservatism Theory**

It is a political and social reasoning that advances holding traditional social foundations with regards to culture and progress. All through history, there have been the individuals who were against dynamic, or radical, change, either from nonsensical feelings of trepidation or to secure their interests. In political rationality, there were two men who tried to protect these ways and keep them settled, and they favored governments that could save convention. These two men were Niccolo Machiavelli and Edmund Burke. Machiavelli and Burke both understood that advance as a dubious circumstance, in which development could prompt fall. In *The Prince*, on innovation Machiavelli advanced the notion that, “but men with their lack of prudence initiate novelties and finding the first taste good, do not notice the poison within.” The conservatives seek to preserve the standing order emphasizing on stability and continuity seeking to preserve situations “the way they are” as McLean I. and McMillian A. (2009) advanced. There is no single arrangement of policies that are all universally viewed as conservative, on the grounds that the importance of conservatism depends on what is regarded as traditional in a given place and time. ZANU PF has maintained the view that it seek to protect the historical hard earned liberation and maintain its fundamental principles yet it is ironic in actual fact. Conservatism is far beyond a move to advance traditional institutions and more, an arbitration on and theoretical rendition of the felt experience of having power seeing it threatened and trying to win it back as Corey R. (2012) articulates.

Culture conservatives support the preservation of the heritage of one nation, or a shared culture that is not defined by national boundary on sovereign rule and Pan-Africanism said Seaton J. (1996). They hold fast to traditional ways of thinking even in the face of monumental change. They believe strongly in traditional values and traditional politics and often have an urgent sense of nationalism. This thus therefore explains why ZANU PF has been a critic of gay and lesbian rights and go in support of a traditional definition of marriage as being one man and one woman, thus conservatism promote public morality and traditional family values, oppose atheism as

forwarded by Bush G.H.W (2009). This has a major impetus in the portrayed image of opposition as they are usually welcoming the idea of homosexuality. This evidenced through the 2013 constitution outreach feedback comment in which Tsvangirai said he is willing to rule with public opinion, thus if the public agree to these right he will accept tit unlike his counterpart Mugabe who has been vocal concerning these right blatantly disapproving this and condemns those who practice as worse than “pig and dogs”. Conservatives typically oppose abortion, homosexual behavior, drug use, and sexual activity outside of marriage.

### **2.21 Realism theory**

Realists believe that the international system is governed by anarchy, meaning that there is no central authority. Therefore international politics as advanced by Snyder J. (2004) is the struggle for power between self-interested states or parties. Realists believe that no other states can be relied upon to help guarantee the state’s survival and in a self-help system ZANU PF by all means tries to eliminate opposition tendencies.

Since states are in competition with one another this has never spared ZANU PF as such it acts rational autonomous actor in pursuit of its own self-interests with a goal to maintain and ensure its own security thus its sovereign and survival. Realism holds that in quest for their interests, states will attempt to accumulate assets, and that relations between states are dictated by their relative levels of power. That level of power is in turn dictated by the state's military, financial, and political capacities. Realism view individuals as aggressive and thus explains the methods employed by ZANU making sure that they silence opposition subjects.

### **2.22 Chapter Summary**

This chapter put emphasis on literature review and theoretical framework. The chapter has given the definition of key elements central to the research which are; opposition and independence as well as a brief account of the importance of opposition political parties. The researcher also gave detailed analysis of the challenges that are affecting opposition political parties ranging from; factionalism, internal fighting, lack of unity, absorption, historical background among other elements. Theories that affect the research study have outlined as well which are; conservatism and realism.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **3.1 Research Methodology**

#### **Documentary Review**

The researcher will make use of personal observation and references from documented texts are the intended data collection methods for this research. The researcher will also make use of the norms, values, and proceedings of the area under study to complement the findings. Thus the researcher will recognize the importance of the need to exercise the research ethics in an effort to make this research a success. The data collection methods are to be explained in detail below. Documentary research method refers to the analysis of documents that contains information about the phenomenon we wish to study. The documents can be in form of newspapers, public records, journals, text book, dissertation, just mention and will be covering the subject matter under study. The documentary research method is used in investigating and categorizing physical sources, most commonly written documents, whether in the private or public domain. This research method is just as good as and sometimes even more cost effective than the social surveys, in-depth interview or participant observation. This is valuable as it will help the researcher to extract relevant portions that can be deemed as statements of matters of facts to validate individual research objectives. The sources of reading materials have to be acknowledged to avoid plagiarism.

#### **3.2 Introduction**

This chapter summarizes the methods used by the researcher to extract the information on the research topic under study. It looks at the various ways the research was done and methods employed and their merits, demerits and their effectiveness to this study. It goes on to show the way research under study was conducted, the targeted population, key informants.

#### **3.3 Qualitative Methodology**

Wyse E. S (2011) defines qualitative research methodology as an explanatory research used to gain an understanding of underlying reasons. It provides insights into the problem and it also helps to develop ideas for potential quantitative research. In qualitative research, methods used do vary from unstructured to structured techniques. Adopting qualitative research in this study will help to get a deeper understanding of the manner in which opposition political parties operate and the root causes of the problems they encounter in their day to day operations. A

critical advantages of the qualitative research is that, it enables researcher to bring out views, feelings and perceptions of the public and generates ideas which can be useful in the formulation of realistic and testable hypothesis paramount to a particular study, Haralambos and Holborn (2008). Furthermore, qualitative research provides deep descriptions of experiences of people in a certain given research issue.

### **3.4 Research Design**

A research design is a systematic and orderly approach taken towards the collection of data so that information can be obtained from the data, Saunders, 2005. It is a master plan of the methods and procedures that should be used to collect and analyze the data needed by the decision maker says Hair et al, 2003. According to Oppenheim (1996), the function of a research design is to help obtain clear answers to a meaningful problem.

It is concerned with the conditions or relationship that exist, assessments that are held, forms that are going on, circumstances and end results that are evident. The researcher favored this research design since it was cheap, required no complex skills or abilities, facilitated for the accumulation of original data and furthermore permitted the scope of a wider populace. This enabled the researcher to undertake detailed analysis and more comprehensive data was obtained. The descriptive research design goes beyond mere collection and tabulation of facts and opinions about the current conditions of things, (Tuckman, 1994 and Leedy, 1997).

### **3.5 Research Subjects**

Research subjects are defined as comprising of the population, sample, thus the people or objects under study (Saunders, 2003).

### **3.6 Target Population**

Chimedza et al (2001) defined a target population as the totality of all elements under investigation. It is a group of individuals that have one or more characteristics in common that are of interest to the researcher and it can be in the form of human beings and non-human entities such as objects, projects or events, Best and Khan; (2003) and Sproul; (2001). In this research, the target population was opposition political parties. The key informants were politicians, voters, and other general people.

### **3.7 Sample**

Wegner (1999) postulated that, it is not always practical to get data on every observation of the population, which is why samples are used in gathering data. A study sample is a small

proportion of a population selected for observation and analysis, (Leedy, 1997). For quality data to be yielded the sample must be representative of the population and also permit accurate collection of data where all population units should have a fair chance of being included (Mason, 1996). The researcher used a sample of potential voters which constitute above thirty percent (30%) of the total electorate. Thirty percent is the sample size which Cohen and Manion (1999) regarded as being suitable to be the minimum number of cases if researchers plan to use some form of statistical analysis of data. The researcher had an opportunity to interview and administer questionnaires on at least seventy seven individuals. Questionnaires were distributed to forty eight respondents and interviews were scheduled with twenty-nine individuals in the selected political parties. The researcher used a sample to carry out the study because it made the research more manageable and also reduced costs and time spent on the research.

### **3.8 Sampling Technique**

In this study, the researcher used the probability sampling technique of systematic random sampling to select the possible opposition political parties' supporters in which the study was conducted. Jewel (2000) described this sampling technique as being so constructed that every member of a population has a known probability or chance of selection. In selecting the sample of opposition supporters systematically, the researcher first arranged the names of the opposition political parties in the population alphabetically and attached numbers to each of the institutions in that order. The sampling ratio (which is the total population divided by the size of the sample) was then calculated and it was three. A starting point of the fifth position was randomly selected and every third element in the population was selected for sampling.

### **3.9 Sample Size**

Opposition supporters were selected using systematic random sampling and these represented the greater part of the population. From the sample, data was gathered from respondents to whom questionnaires were distributed and interviews conducted.

### **3.10 Sources of Data**

In this research, the researcher used both primary and secondary data sources.

### **3.11 Primary Data**

Primary data is the information gathered for the purposes of the project immediately at hand, (Shajahan, 2005). In this research, questionnaires, observations and interviews were used to collect primary data from the field. The collection of primary data had the advantages that the



researcher obtained first-hand information that is current, reliable and sound for conclusions and recommendations on the challenges facing opposition political parties in Zimbabwe to be made. Even though the gathering of primary data presented such essential merits, it had the challenge it is expensive and time consuming because it involves direct interaction with the respondents either through the e-mails, telephone or personally. Because of this, the researcher had to limit the scope to a manageable level.

### **3.12 Secondary Data**

To complement the primary data gathered, the researcher also used secondary data which is the data collected in the past for an organization and is accepted and can also be used for decision making, (Gravetter and Forzano, 2009). This included data collected from newspapers, company websites, brochures, monthly magazines, annual reports and in house journals. Secondary data allowed the researcher to gather more data at fewer costs and within a short time because there was no travelling, booking of appointments to carry out research or data processing. It was easy and quick to collect data from the secondary sources.

### **3.13 Research Instruments**

Babie (1985) defined a research instrument as a tool that is used for collecting data needed to find solutions to the problems under investigation. The researcher used Questionnaires, interviews and observations were used to collect data.

### **3.14 Questionnaires**

A questionnaire is a list of questions carefully formulated, constructed and sequenced to obtain the most useful data in the most effective manner, (Saunders *et al*, 2007). Questionnaires were distributed by hand to politicians and supporters opposition political parties situated in the town of Harare, Bulawayo, Zvishavane and Chitungwiza. The questionnaires were structured with both open and closed forms of questions so as to gather as much data as possible. Closed questions were useful because they enabled the questionnaires to be returned quickly because they were more direct and easy to complete. Open ended questions provided unique additional information.

The researcher preferred to use questionnaires because they were flexible especially with open ended questions thereby allowing more information to be gathered. In addition questionnaires also had the advantage that they avoided embarrassment on the respondents since they were left with the questionnaires and allowed to complete them at their own time that is suitable for them.

However the questionnaires had the limitation, that body language which provides some extra information could not be taken into account and further explanations required for clarity could not be obtained from the respondents. Questionnaires were also subject to delays whilst waiting for responses and in such instances a lot of follow ups on the respondents were done. Questionnaires also involved too many trips to collect the questionnaire on the dates that the respondents were comfortable with even though some were never returned. To cater for these weaknesses, the researcher made arrangements with the respondents to have an exact date for the collection of a completed questionnaire or to receive a scanned copy of the questionnaire on e-mail and persistence with the respondents. Interviews were also conducted to cater for some limitations of the questionnaires.

### **3.15 Interviews**

The researcher conducted personal interviews in order to take body language into consideration and elicit some extra information from the respondents. Personal interviews involve communication between two people, in which there is a two way discussion started by a questioner to acquire data from a participant through asking questions and taking down notes of the interviews to be considered later and evaluated, (Cooper and Schindler, 2003). Interviews were conducted in the institutions where the respondents and the platform permitted interviews to be conducted. Personal (face-to-face) interviews had the benefits that immediate responses were obtained and they permitted the researcher to adjust or rephrase some of the questions to seek clarity. Interviews also allowed the researcher to probe respondents deeper for richer and more elaborate responses. The researcher also had an opportunity to judge the level of honesty in the replies given by the respondents during the interviews. However the personal interviews were expensive and time consuming to conduct because they required the researcher and respondents to be at the same place. In addition some of the respondents were found busy and unable to participate on some of the appointed dates thereby requiring the cancellation, waiting till they show up and rescheduling of interview meetings. Despite these challenges, the researcher conducted a number of interviews for some respondents were unwilling to write due to fear of being held accountable for what they would have written and some were unable to express themselves through paper and ink but preferred to do it verbally.

### **3.16 Observations**

According to Saunders (2009) observations are a neglected aspect of research yet can be rewarding and enlightening to pursue as it aids considerably to the richness of the research data. The researcher did some direct and participatory observations of the activities of the supporters while waiting for a chance to carry out interviews or pretending to be a client respectively on small gatherings. The fact that some interviews had to be rescheduled because the respondents were found busy on the appointed interview dates made observations to be done over a period of time thereby facilitating for the effectiveness of observations. The observations had the advantages that they were cheap and they provided first-hand information, some of which the respondents were unwilling to disclose even though.

### **3.17 Data Collection Procedures**

Data collection procedures are the steps or activities that describe the general way data will be gathered (Haggart, 2002). There are steps taken in administering the research instruments. In this study, the researcher firstly distributed three questionnaires and carried out two interviews for pilot study which showed that some of the questions were not clear and had to be rephrased for clarity. Questionnaires were distributed and interviews were carried out on opposition politicians and their respective supporters where permission to carry out research had been granted. The response rate was high and favorable.

### **3.18 Validity and Reliability of Data and Data Instruments**

Reliability and validity are standard measures that assess the appropriateness of any research instrument and in turn the data. In carrying out the research, there may be possibilities of errors due to responses by the respondents. These result from either respondent's unwillingness to express negative feelings as well as some negative temporary features like fatigue, boredom, pressure at work, impatience or even hunger. It is therefore necessary to ensure that when conducting the research, we measure what we are supposed to measure accurately. Validity is a measure of the extent to which data collection tools accurately measure what they were intended to measure. It means that the researcher's conclusions are valid or correct and corresponds to the real state on the planet, (Shajahan, 2005). In this study, the utilization of questionnaires permitted the respondents more time to translate the questionnaires henceforth giving quality and precise information. An extensive variety of both closed and open ended questions was utilized. Since validity of an instrument depends on the wording of the questionnaire, the questionnaires were

pretested through a pilot study in order to distinguish areas that required clarity and changes were made to the questionnaire before the real study.

Moreover, on the interviews, the researcher provided an interview guide to the respondents well in advance of the interview date and this facilitated for the provision of accurate data by respondents thereby guaranteeing validity of the data provided by the respondents. Van Dyk (1991) defined reliability as the degree to which the repeated application of a research instrument on the same object will continuously deliver the same results. It is an estimate of the degree to which a measurement is free from random or unstable error, (Cooper and Schindler, 2003). Andersen (1981) opined that reliability refers to consistency and is linked to stability over the cause of time. In this study, reliability of data was checked by piloting the instruments to check how different respondents answered the same question. This was done to check for any vague or ambiguous questions. Care was taken in choosing the words or phrases for the questionnaire and interview schedule to reduce the extent to which different meanings are attached to similar statements and ensure that the statements are understandable. The primary data sources that provided first hand, current information and the pilot study conducted facilitated for suitable adjustments to be made and for a valid and reliable final questionnaire to be used in the survey.

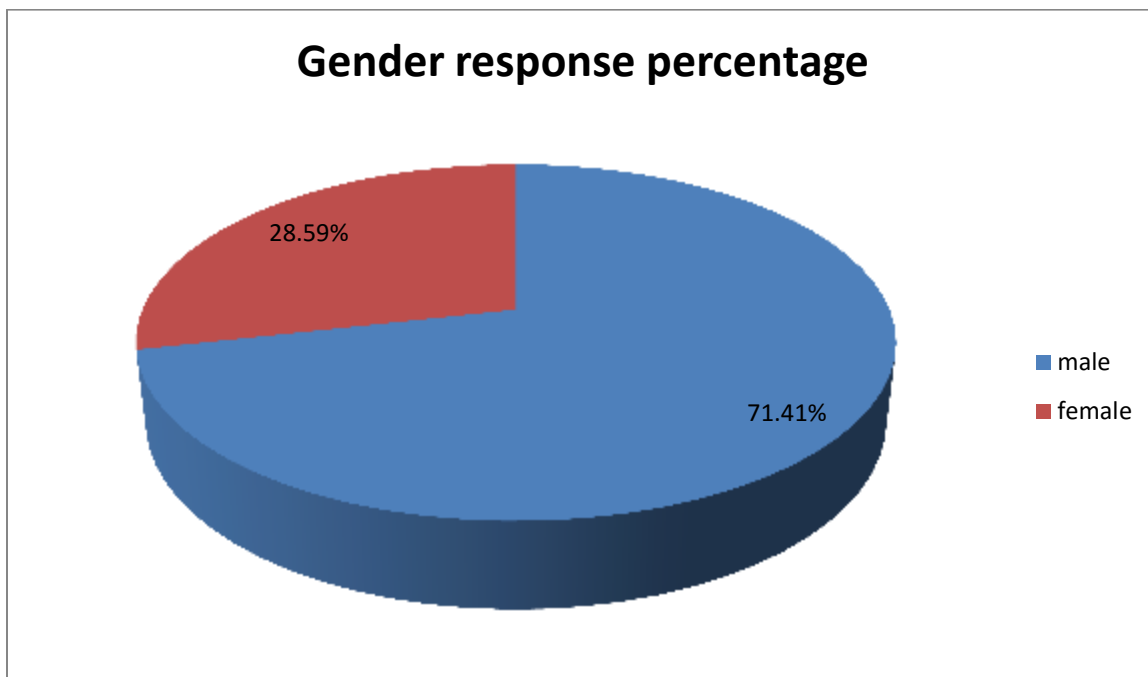
### **3.19 Summary**

Basically this chapter outlined methods employed in the data collection. It explained the methods and gave their strength and limitations and how they have been dealt with in order to gather information that has been used in this research.

## Chapter 4

### 4.1 Data Analysis and Presentation

This chapter is based on the presentation and analysis of research findings acquired by the researcher. It will be done in form of themes in parallel with research questions of the study and making use of research findings. Tables, pie charts and bar graph will be used to elaborate information from research findings. The research findings will be presented in vein with the research objectives which are challenges facing opposition political parties in Zimbabwe, causes of the challenges, sources of conflicts in opposition political parties as well as the impact of opposition politics in line with the prevalent challenges.



**Figure 3** *Gender response (male against female)*

The above information shows that the number of women who responded is low and this is basically because women are afraid of participating in political processes.

## 4.2 Questionnaire Response

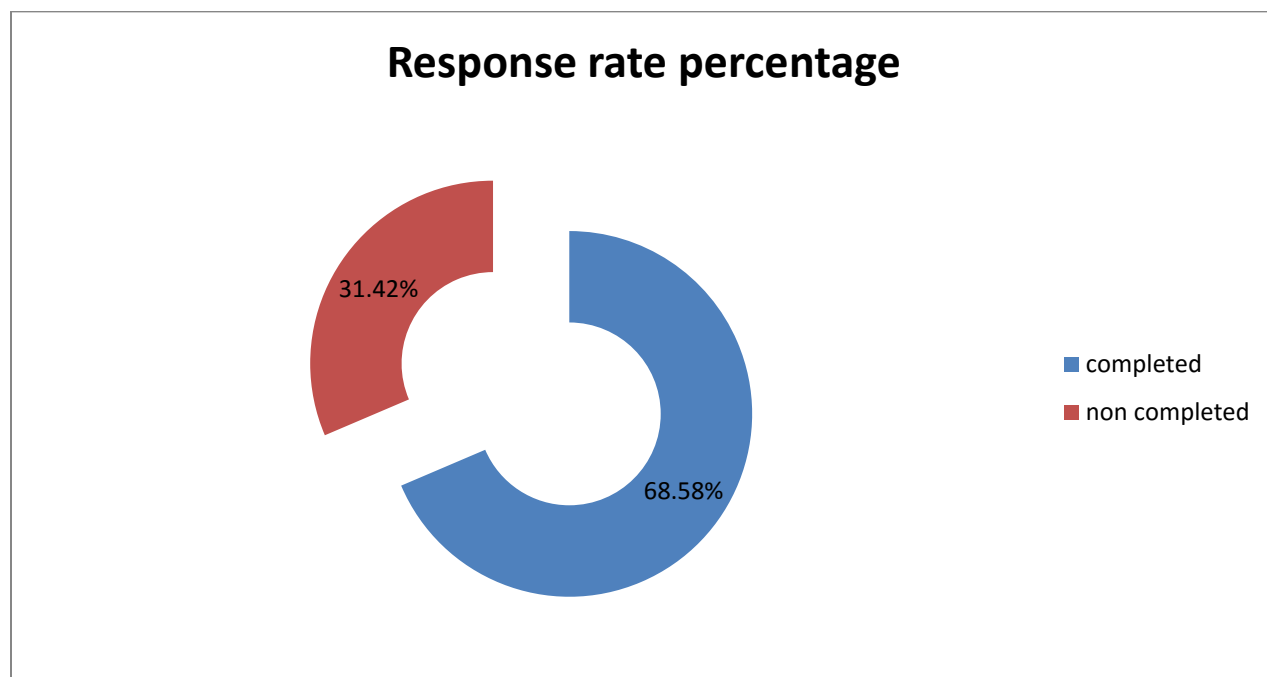
Table 1: Questionnaire Response Rate (%)

| <i>Target Population<br/>(Opposition supporters)</i> | <i>Distributed<br/>Questionnaires</i> | <i>Completed<br/>Questionnaires</i> | <i>Rate of Response (%)</i> |
|--|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>Kuwadzana</i>                                     | <i>15</i>                             | <i>11</i>                           | <i>73.33</i>                |
| <i>Mufakose</i>                                      | <i>5</i>                              | <i>3</i>                            | <i>60</i>                   |
| <i>Chitungwiza</i>                                   | <i>10</i>                             | <i>3</i>                            | <i>30</i>                   |
| <i>Zvishavane</i>                                    | <i>5</i>                              | <i>5</i>                            | <i>100</i>                  |
| <i>Gweru</i>   | <i>5</i>                              | <i>1</i>                            | <i>20</i>                   |
| <i>Harvest House MDC-T H.Q</i>                       | <i>8</i>                              | <i>8</i>                            | <i>100</i>                  |
| <i>Total</i>   | <i>48</i>                             | <i>31</i>                           | <i>68.58</i>                |

Table 2: Interviews Conducted

| <i>Target Population</i> | <i>Interviewed</i> |
|--------------------------|--------------------|
| <i>MDC-T MPs</i>         | <i>1</i>           |
| <i>MDC Councilors</i>    | <i>2</i>           |
| <i>MDC-T Supporters</i>  | <i>14</i>          |
| <i>Zim PF Supporters</i> | <i>3</i>           |
| <i>MKD Supporters</i>    | <i>4</i>           |
| <i>ZAPU Supporters</i>   | <i>2</i>           |
| <i>NCA Supporters</i>    | <i>0</i>           |

|   |           |
|---|-----------|
| <i>RD Supporters</i>                                  | <i>1</i>  |
| <i>War Veterans aligned to Mutsvangwa led faction</i> | <i>2</i>  |
| <i>NPP Supporters</i>                                 | <i>0</i>  |
| <i>Total</i>  | <i>29</i> |



**Figure 4: % Response Rate of Questionnaires**

### **4.3 Challenges facing opposition political parties in Zimbabwe**

Out of the 100% data captured from the completed questionnaires, 100% noted that partisan state institution such as Zimbabwe Electoral Commission, the military force as well as police that are manipulated by the ZANU PF government have immensely contributed to the challenges that have faced opposition in attaining political power. This is also supported by Polgreen et al (2013),

*“who views electoral malpractices and vote rigging as factors that contribute to the partly failure of opposition political parties”.*

(as quoted by Makumbe 2011) scholars advance the view that,

*the police and the army, far from trying to protect the rights of the farm workers are often part of the problem, standing to the side when violence erupts on the farm, and continuing to harass the displaced farm workers, once they have left for the urban centers and refuge....*

#### **4.4 Causes of challenges to assume political power to date**

From responses gathered from interviews conducted, a number of responses lamented on the weaknesses of SADC as a regional body through its interventionistic role it played in the 2008-2009 Zimbabwe's political crisis. They have squarely blamed the decision and advice to form a coalition paving way for a ZANU PF system that had contested 'against itself' in a single man race after the disputed 2008 March pole. Divergent views have further argued, perhaps SADC could have called for a fresh election that it (SADC) should have closely monitored rather than craft such an idea that lacked the will of general populace. According to respondent he advanced the view that

*"SADC is a toothless bull dog for it has no standing army to carry out its mandate. It could have in 2008-2009 Zimbabwe political crises intervened militarily than to give the ZANU PF another chance. Its work and dispute resolution is centered on liberation history as most government that is members, share the liberation straggle history so they adjudicate in favorer of their companions only if could act like ECOWAS perhaps it could reflect the wishes of the people"*

#### **4.5 Sources of conflict in opposition political parties**

The research has alluded according to findings that political power greediness has also played a pivotal role in the challenges facing opposition power. At the hour of need individuals have broken away from stronger opposition political power house in Zimbabwe at critical moments because of personal selfish interests crippling the opposition political parties. The breakaway of the M.D.C in 2005 with a faction lead by Welshman Ncube moving away became to an ulcer that haunted the MDC-T in the 2008 election, then contributed to failure to secure a win in the election by a small percentage for which if added to a united MDC would have sought a great



victory in the history of Zimbabwe's opposition political parties and politics. This is supported by the Nehanda Radio article (April 2017) that has eluded that,

*“the split votes that followed may have cost Tsvangirai victory in presidential elections three years letter”*

In the same manner a respondent flagged the notion that

*“As an opposition party, the game of politics is a game of numbers therefore the more registered the voter the more one gets the highest votes. The MDC-T and other opposition parties are mainly satisfied by large numbers of rally attendance yet they are not registered as voter. This is resembled in the masses witnessed during the 2013 elections where many people attended MDC-T rallies yet most where not registered as voters”*

#### **4.6 Corruption from the M.D.C-T councilors**

MDC was born out in a bid to address the injustices perpetrated by the ZANU PF government that include corruption. It is therefore very difficult to point fingers at others accusing them of something one deems to be wrong yet practicing it behind their own backyards. The MDC-T should shun away corruption and other practices that are haunting their rivalry.

To put it in the word of another respondent:

*“during the Coalition government the MDC counselors were also doing corruption thus gives question marks to the voters, what is different from ZANU PF and also that if they start to present such character enjoying less power what of if they are in total control of the government”*

This is further supported by Dube V. (2017), “five Bulawayo City councilors including deputy mayor Gift Banda have been suspended by the Minister of Local Government, Public works and National housing, Cde Saviour Kasukuwere for corruption. Kasukuwere who was in the city to present findings of a government stipulated investigation on the local authority, said more suspensions should be expected if other councilors that have been spared for now failed to defend their cases.” In the same manner according to the 15 December 2016 article in the Bulawayo.com, Tsvangirai admitted of corruption on the part of MDC-T councilors especially

those in Harare and alluded that he fire them if the trend is to continue. He (Tsvangirai) signaled them of the consequences saying that,

*“I want to warn Harare City Council that they must decisively deal with this cancer both among the councilors and the Harare City Council staff at Town house because it is important to deal with corruption. This party does not tolerate corruption. That is why years back we had to dismiss the Chitungwiza council because of corruption. Harare you are warned”*

#### **4.7 Impact and importance of opposition political parties in Zimbabwe**

The opposition political parties in Zimbabwe are essential in advocating for democracy, human right advocacy representation of oppressed voice among others. It is therefore vital to note that a number of respondents share the view that the MDC-T and other opposition parties have successfully managed to address a number of these elements through advocating for a new constitution and their representation in the parliamentary house. Human rights violations have not gone unquestioned as one respondent advanced that,

*“The NERA pact is a clear indication that the opposition parties are working toward the development of a better society by advocating for electoral reforms though they are meeting stiff resistance from the current political system”.*

#### **4.8 Methods to be taken by the M.D.C-T and other opposition political parties**

From the research conducted there about 60% of the data gathered think that in time to come a revolution is essential in addressing the challenges that are at stake. The have strongly argued that repressive governments in the Islamic world have been overthrown through wedging revolts and civil wars whereby the general masses have successfully done making reference to Ivory Coast, Egypt, Tunisia among others. Despite making these expressions some within the 60% have further argued that even if they might be possible (revolts/demonstrations) to be carried out there is a high probability that many will die and great loss of property because of the brutality and merciless character of the ZANU PF government taking cognizance of the Gukurahundi massacres and violence syndrome that is associated to it. Even if they (people) can be intimidated the spirit is not eliminated as another interviewee puts it across

*Even the in the French revolution people were living in great fear because of the harsh laws but one thing that is common is that one cannot live in fear for long. The worsening burdens are heavily affecting the mass and like a volcano they will erupt. And it does it can be unstoppable and in due course the people might be by situation forced to go out in streets in numbers*

This view concurs with Roy Bennet's idea after the announcement of the disputed election of 2008 that,

*"Let us take a blow for a blow in retaliation for ZANU PF political violence"*

#### **4.9 Chapter Summary**

This section elaborated on the research findings through the use of themes in line with the research questions. The researcher made use of pie charts to vividly present statistical data amassed. The information indicated that intimidation of opposition subjects, corruption within opposition, politics of patronage are a great challenge to the success of opposition political parties. These factors explain why the opposition has not managed to enjoy the political power to date. Greatly the information compiled in this chapter was gathered through using questionnaires and interviews and secondary sources.

## **Chapter 5**

### **Research Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations**

#### **5.1 Research Summary**

The study has been on assessing the challenges facing opposition political parties though focusing mainly on the MDC-T to consolidate political power since Zimbabwe's independence. The background articulates what prompted opposition political parties in Zimbabwe to come into the political lime light. The pitfalls of the government necessitated the surfacing of these movements but in their existence they have not managed to consolidate power.

Literature review kept emphasis on what is hindering the successes of these political parties basing on arguments that have been forwarded by different scholars for instance factionalism, lack of unity, internal fighting, immorality, the weakness of the regional entities like SADC among others among other as alluded. Theories also gave an account why opposition political parties have not yet succeeded in an independent Zimbabwe looking at conservatism and realism that advanced the dominant view that; it promotes retaining traditional institutions, preservation of heritage of the nation, oppose change and struggle for power as well as the aggressiveness nature of human nature respectively. The tools used to gather data, sampling techniques, target population were explained. The data collected was analyzed and presented using pie charts and tables.

Lastly the researcher gave some recommendations that could be considered by opposition political parties in Zimbabwe in order to consolidate political which are participating in national events, revolt and boycott elections if no electoral reforms are put in place to necessitate an even political ground.

#### **5.2 Conclusions**

From the attainment of Zimbabwe's political independence, the nation has faced a number of challenges ranging from political, economic and social crisis as a result of different reasons that include corruption, political violence, half backed economic policies among others. These problems have effectively caused the nation to suffer as far as service delivery of essential needs of the general populace is concerned hence the necessitation of the birth of opposition political

movements in trying to dislodge the government that had not lived up to its standards. The researcher noticed that opposition political parties have a long way to go in trying to solve the challenges they are encountering both internal and externally namely oppression and denial by the current political government to access vital resources, intimidation, factionalism, internal fighting, historical background and ideological challenges among others. The researcher observed that ZANU PF has its strength deep rooted in the liberation struggle and historical background of Zimbabwe's hard earned independence, thus if the opposition political parties are to gain more political ground have to appreciate this fact and convince the electorate that they will protect the fundamental principles of this struggle that brought Zimbabwe's independence.

### **5.3 Recommendations**

This researcher wishes to give recommendations to the MDC-T and other opposition political parties in Zimbabwe as to what they could do to consolidate political power. The themes that will be provided include; unite for a common good, boycott election if they are no electoral reforms, revolt and revenge against unfair laws and abuses, attend or celebrate national events publicly and make sure that their supporters are registered as voters.

#### **5.2.1 Unite**

The history of Zimbabwe opposition politics shows that they have not been able to go through it all on one single basis so there is great need to be united. Most of them are mainly focused on getting rid of ZANU PF for its failure so they have the common ground for their existence. The probable way that is relatively applicable is to join forces after setting their personal differences aside and agree to support whoever is chosen to lead so that the grand coalition will be able to flourish.

#### **5.3.2 Boycott elections**

As witnessed, the electoral process in Zimbabwe has become mostly predictable in all its cause favoring the ruling government. The electoral body has proved to be partisan through the appointments of its top officials thereby making it difficult to be an independent body. Hence there is need in time for the opposition political parties to boycott the elections so that perhaps the electoral system may provide an even and equal platform for political parties.

### 5.3.3 Revolt

Sometimes a wrong can be corrected by another wrong, for instance the justification that has been widely shared of the French revolution as “a necessary evil”. Elections have been held and the outcome has not been generally accepted in some instances so there might be a need to do so. These revolts looking in some instances like the Egyptian crisis, Ivory Coast, Tunisia and Libya have proved to be usefully and favorable to the majority thereby the route might be worth it. For the incumbent is well versed with violence because of the liberation history this might be the only language that the regime might understand

### 5.3.4 Retaliate to violence

The opposition leaders and supports have been harassed intimidated injured without putting a fight back. This has caused great suffering and deterred a lot from the opposition thus they should also fight back to make sure that they survive in the anarchical political society.

### 5.3.5 Secure media coverage on communication platforms

The opposition has faced the wrath of propaganda at the hands of the ZANU PF regime and the only way they can escape it is through the social media. Radios and T.Vs have become essential in the modern day politics communication and the opposition has been denied of this tool by their counter rivalry.

### 5.3.6 Campaign in the rural

Rural areas have proved to be the most strongholds of the ZANU PF and they constitute a great number of the electorate but the opposition has not managed to pervert into such areas well seeking political supporters. They should therefore improve on the campaigning strategy targeting the rural areas.

### 5.3.7 Counter methods employed by their rivalry

As ascribed in the game of chess that the best way to defend is to attack, opposition political parties should not always stick to the receiving end but should also take it up to be on the offensive side too.

### 5.3.8 Attend national events

Opposition political parties are ascribed to be agents of the former colonizers, hence it is their duty to come out and clear their image as portrayed. In South Africa the Economic Freedom

Fighters led by Julius Malema do celebrate the Freedom Day their fallen heroes like Oliver Tambo, Steve Biko and during these times they also take chance to criticize the ANC telling them that these people put their efforts for a better good and not for the ANC to enjoy at the expense of the people. So in the same vein the MDC-T and other opposition political should attend these national events and challenge ZANU PF of its corruption, violence, miss governance among other aspects.

#### 5.3.9 Make sure their supporters are registered as voters

The greatest challenge the opposition is that in areas they have got more support voter registration is not given ample time to conduct the process and the steps required are complex for instance during the 2013 election voter registration the proof of residence required was not easily attainable for urban dwellers. This deterred a lot of peopled from registering hence the opposition failed to reach the required vote thus they should address this challenge try to make it easy for their supporters. They need also to encourage their supports to vote on the Election Day.

#### 5.3.10 Voter Education

Over the past experience, ZANU PF has widely intimidated voters' especially in remote areas and to the elderly that if they vote for the opposition they will be caught through the system. It is therefore vital for the opposition political parties to counter this by engaging such communities and equip the voters with information about the confidentiality of the voting system especially now with the possible Biometric Voter registration (BVR) excise which is done electronically. The BVR mighty be an instrument campaign to be used as a tool to intimidate voters that it will be known where and whom you vote for so there is great need to educate masses.

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## **APPENDIX: QUESTIONNAIRE**

### **MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY**



#### **FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

#### **DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS AND PUBLIC MANAGEMENT**

#### **Bachelor of Science in Politics and Public Management Honours Degree Field Work Research Questionnaire**

**TITLE: An assessment of challenges facing opposition political parties in Zimbabwe to consolidate political power since independence (1980). Case study, Movement for Democratic Change (MDC-T).**

#### **Purpose**

The purpose of the research project is to analyze the challenges faced by opposition political parties in their bid to assume political power in Zimbabwe. The research also seeks to investigate these challenges faced and how best there can be addressed.

#### **Confidentiality and anonymity**

This is a type of anonymous data collection, hence sensitive information such as your name and surname is not required for ethical considerations. Confidentiality and anonymity is guaranteed and the information that you are going to provide shall only be used for research purposes only. Details shall not be disclosed to others and any data used in the formulation will not be linked to any respondents.

**Personal information**

**NB:** Tick the appropriate response in the spaces provided below

1. Gender: Male  Female

2. Age range (years) 20-25  26-30  31-35  36-40  41-50  51 plus

3. Employment status: Formal  Informal  Other...Specify .....

4. How much do you know about opposition politics?

| 1 do not know            | 2 little                 | 3 neutral                | 4 much                   | 5 very much              |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

5 What factors do you think have contributed to the birth of MDC-T and other opposition political parties?

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.....  
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6 Do you see the idea of a grand coalition of opposition political parties in the 2018 election possible?

Yes  No

Why do you think so?

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7 What are the major challenges facing opposition political parties in Zimbabwe?

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.....  
.....

8 To what extent has these elements proved to be a stumbling block to the success of the MDC-T?

|                               | 1 Strongly disagree | 2 Disagree | 3 Neutral | 4 Agree | 5 Strongly agree |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|------------|-----------|---------|------------------|
| Vote rigging                  |                     |            |           |         |                  |
| Authoritarianism/dictatorship |                     |            |           |         |                  |
| Arbitrary laws                |                     |            |           |         |                  |
| Intimidation                  |                     |            |           |         |                  |

9 Do you think elections are important/essential looking the past experience of Zimbabwe?

Yes  No

Why do you think so?

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10 Do you think these measures should be used and to what extent?

Tick the range mark you think is suitable

| Action                                   | 1 Totally disagree | 2 Disagree | 3 Neutral | 4 Agree | 5 Strongly agree |
|--|--------------------|------------|-----------|---------|------------------|
| Revolt against ZANU PF                   |                    |            |           |         |                  |
| Seek foreign interventions               |                    |            |           |         |                  |
| Boycott Elections                        |                    |            |           |         |                  |
| Research on well on ways used by ZANU PF |                    |            |           |         |                  |

Recommendations: What should the MDC-T do to gain political power?

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***The End...Thank You For Your Time***



**APPENDIX: INTERVIEW GUIDE**

- i. Looking at R.G Mugabe’s utterance that, “nyika ino yakauya ne gidi, saka aingaendi ne penzura ne bepa”. Do you think ZANU PF will accept an election defeat?

Response.....  
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- ii. With the history of Zimbabwe in mind do you see non revolutionary party ascending to the highest political office in Zimbabwe?

Response  
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- iii. Should the MDC-T take the wave of Northern African countries particularly Islamic dominated society which is mainly influenced by the Islamic fundamentalism?

Response  
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iv. What do you think about the voting system in Zimbabwe from registration up to result announcement?

Response

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v. Will opposition political parties in Zimbabwe be able to work together in achieving common good?

Response

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vi. Do you think the MDC-T is lacking somewhere? Yes  No

If your answer is yes where is it going wrong?

Response.....  
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Recommendations

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Thank you