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**An Analysis of Democratic Transition in Zimbabwe and the Clamour
for Leadership Renewal. A Case study Of Zimbabwe's political
Experiences and the Hegemony of ZANU PF From 2000-2013.**

BY

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ABSTRACT

Political systems and processes in Zimbabwe have attracted much commentary and attention in the world over, with much attention hinged and fixated on elections and the amassment of political hegemony by ZANU PF despite ruling in a dire state of a crippled and plummeting economy that should be inciting social and political dissent. Elections are associated with vote rigging, political violence and unscrupulous political activities that range from appointment of party loyalist in key, strategic and influential positions that define and determine politics of the day. The cry has been that such appointments have been in electoral and state institutions that have the mandate to necessitate democratic transition, the partisan appointments have led to a manifestation of the hiring of white collar electoral fraudsters who miraculously Nikuv elections to the favour of the mostly contested hegemonic political player ZANU PF. This study adopted a qualitative approach to its gathering of information regarding the hegemony of ZANU PF in Zimbabwe's political experiences and processes, in its qualitative nature it attempted to gain an understanding of the underlying reasons and factors driving the political happenings and establish how people interpret the hegemony of ZANU PF, the interpretation of the Zimbabweans' perception of the state of affairs was thereby established through the use of questionnaires and focus group discussions that showed a true reflection of the political realities on the ground with an aid of purposive sampling. Established was that the hegemony of ZANU PF is convolutedly tied to the lack of political resilience and charisma amongst opposition parties, incompetent political parties, partisan legal systems that favour the incumbent and general stateism. Strategically, with a great level of political astuteness, ZANU PF has seemingly been identified with using the containment-elimination approach in gobbling up its political opponents and adopting a political illusory approach to deceive its opposition by creating facades of democracy that hinder a transition of political power through elections. Notwithstanding is that Zimbabwe needsthoroughly nurturing of political leadership in schools, political parties and if necessary establish political academies to help inculcate a spirit of political leadership in order for political competition to be feasibly witnessed in Zimbabwe's democratic transition story.

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APPROVAL FORM

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

The undersigned certify that they have read and recommend to the Midlands State University for acceptance of a dissertation entitled: **An Analysis of Democratic Transition in Zimbabwe and the Clamour for Leadership Renewal. A Case study Of Zimbabwe’s political Experiences and the Hegemony of ZANU PF From 2000-2013.**

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DECLARATION

I **Tomy Ncube**, Registration Number **R132458G** do hereby declare that this entire research is a product of my own work. It is being submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for Honours Degree in Politics and Public Management, in the Faculty of Social Sciences at Midlands State University.

.....

...../...../.....

Tomy Ncube

Date

DEDICATION

My heartfelt praises go to my wonderful Lord, the Alpha and Omega. Extraordinarily my dedications go my Brother Raphael Mlauzi and his loving wife EstelNgozo for their unwavering love and their resilient support in propelling me to believe in myself in the achievement of this academic milestone. Great thanks to my young brother Teddy for the encouraging words that ignited the power in me to perceive and walk with positivity. Last but not least I dedicate this work to Dr Strive Masiyiwa and Deaconess Tsitsi Masiyiwa and the Higherlife Foundation family for their great support and their prayers, God bless them abundantly.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter shall be fixated on the introduction of the study. It plays an introductory role since it will give the reader an insight into the gist of the research. It shall also delve into the background of the study which is intensely founded on the historical context of the problem under research. The chapter will highlight on the statement of the problem which is the major reason the study is being conducted, linking it with the significance and justification of the carriage of the study. Research objectives and questions will be addressed in this chapter smartly interlocked with the assumptions of the research as they shape the direction and the content of the study in general. The specific timeframe of the study will be highlighted under the conception of the delimitation of the study, bringing in the aspect of a measurable and specific timeframe that will allow the study to be reasonable.

1.2 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

The independence of Zimbabwe marked the genesis of electoral suffrage for the local indigenous peoples of the land. The political landscape could now characterise the citizen input in terms of policy, governance and the general will of law. In the long run, things seemingly did not turn out to be as expected when the two political parties that had the audacity to table competitiveness and broaden the scope of political choice merged to form the renowned ZANU PF from what were initially two political parties, i.e. ZANU and PF ZAPU, as such, ZANU PF has ruled for 36 years since the achievement of the most celebrated political ritual (*Independence*) in Zimbabwe. The existence of other political parties in Zimbabwe therefore characterize the common mushrooming of churches of these days, with new political parties establishing themselves each time and again, as such, notions of alleged ballot fraudulency have been aired with the new political players decrying the electoral and political systems in Zimbabwe. Political intimidation, electoral fraud and political violence have been referred to as the tools for the hegemony of ZANU PF, these same vices have stunted the growth of democratic transition which is the development of democratic tendencies and practices in a political system, thus elections in Zimbabwe have been met with mixed feelings, ambiguity and a dynamic political culture of passivity due to loss of faith in the legitimacy and impartiality of the electoral bodies and a vigorous, active and participatory political culture that seeks to usher a change in the political dispensation of the nation.

1.2.1 A past in the Future

Historical Perspective of the Background (Colonial Zimbabwe)

The Rhodesian political situation before Zimbabwe achieved independence was marked by repressive measures to eliminate and militate against any political indifference from the local people. The colonial regimes set up draconian and entrapping pieces of legislation were inclusive of the Unlawful Organizations Act and the notorious and common Law and Order Maintenance Act. The LOMA act was used to detain African nationalist who were seen as political threats by the colonial administration in the Rhodesian political setup. The period in the 1960s was characterised by such ruthless repression. It is noticeable that the existence of such repressive laws also outlived the colonial era and erupted into the post-independence era whereby the Public Order and Security Act seemingly came as a resonance of the repressive era in an independent Zimbabwe. It is from this political backdrop that Zimbabwe's political and electoral systems have taken their form and shape. The colonial inheritance has bedevilled the African state to a resemblance of the colonial state as some commentators reflect that the President in Zimbabwe simply replaced Ian Smith with skin colour rather than mind-set and policies.

The existence of the Unlawful Organization Act in Zimbabwe had lasting effects as it curtailed political robustness within the Black Nationalists in Zimbabwe. Notable is the fact that the likes of Joshua Mqabuko Nkomo and other political leaders in Zimbabwe suffered under the existence of the UOA.

This historical gaze over the colonial political and electoral scenario in Rhodesia which is now is Zimbabwe shows the effects of colonialism in shaping the Post- independence political and electoral systems in Zimbabwe and Africa as a whole.

1.2.2 Post-Independence Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe's political and election setup has bred an election winning machine (*ZANU PF*), with each election year characterized by contestations from different political parties which are seemingly not strong enough to topple Zimbabwe's election giant. The post-election era has had condemnations from the contesting political parties. The 1985 election had the PF ZAPU's President Joshua Mqabuko Nkomo labelling the election process as "*flawed*" as he complained that his party could not freely hold rallies in

villages since the ZANU political party had given the chiefs a mandate to inhibit such rallies by opposition parties.

Continuously the 1990 elections had the Zimbabwe Unity Movement also decrying the elections, for Tekere, the elections were shady and left a lot to be desired since ZANU PF had used the media to intimidate the electorate with the popular advert

“There are two ways to die, one is by natural cause and the other is voting for ZUM. Vote ZANU PF and live, Vote ZUM and die”

Seemingly, it is with clear concerns that the existence of some political parties has created quite a huge scenario which however needs investigation in order to be assessed properly. The dawn of the millennium gave birth to the perceived political messiah “*Movement for Democratic Change*” (MDC). The MDC made their way to the electoral stage with vigour and energy, making promises of change, which in their sense was to change the personnel in the president’s office particularly the president. 2002 and 2008 were the years for election, with a new key player in the political vicinity, the post-election era had the MDC President, Morgan Tsvangirai labelling the ZANU PF government as a criminalized regime that survives on unscrupulousness, deception and violence, with more emphasis being on the existence of legislative pieces that stifled the efforts of their campaigning and limited access to media coverage as major stumbling blocks to democratic maturity and positioning of Zimbabwe’s politics. The concept of systems inheritance comes in, in explaining the existence of such a tilted political setup that seemingly makes one political actor have leverage than the other synonymous with the LOMA and UOA in the Rhodesian era even though the current state has clothed political intolerance under the Access to Information and Privacy Act which limits the audacity of media to criticise, publicise and comment unchained.

This brings much inquiry on how ZANU PF has returned so much hegemony electorally. The dawn of the millennium introduces political resilience and resonance from MDC which has however broken into minute political parties, 2013 elections brought a changed phenomenon with the popularization of NIKUV which is still talk of the town as it left the electorate in stiches with the label of *white collar electoral fraudulency*. The so much debated power of ZANU PF in terms of its electoral winning capacity takes its form from socio-cultural backdrop that is characterized by a rural electorate which approves of the ZANU PF party as a guardian of culture and a protector of sovereignty

through heroic acts resembled in the Land reform programme and the historic/cultural richness that the party overtly possesses in the notions of its Anti-gay policy.

The so much contestation of the legitimacy of the ruling party has been grossly aligned to political economy issues with opposition parties decrying the government's failed capacity to have a functioning economy that provides for the people, replacing job security and industries with the famous "*Ipapoipapo, Screen guard dollar dollar*" phenomena. On a political basis, the level of rule of law practices has been questioned with pressure groups, civil societies and other players labelling the government as a major violator of human rights. This has led to ZANU PF being a shady character politically though it is seen to be an indispensable player which cannot be toppled out of the game.

1.2.3 The Tag of War (Opposition parties in Politics)

The Zimbabwean democracy and politics plethora has a nature that takes shifts and turns that are of great amazement to the politically hungry citizens. The formation of the Government of National Unity brings to the ground another twist to Zimbabwe's political problem. The involvement of Movement for Democratic Change parties/factions in the 2009 Zimbabwean government was a situation of political hope and change as citizens, political commentators and pressure groups anticipated a scenario whereby they will be an internal correction of Zimbabwe's problems by the political doctors (MDCs) who had long gone been diagnosing the ZANU PF led government as an ailing government that is incapacitated to rule and govern Zimbabwe.

Still, the democracy issue and the security sector reform concerns have been left unaddressed after 2013 elections with the MDC factions and ZANU PF having had a privilege and honour to address the problems unanimously. The problem goes on; Post-election era in Zimbabwe has had a group of "Cry-Babies" making noise that the ZANU PF government has created stumbling blocks for democracy to take precedence and action in Zimbabwe's political setup. The political problem in Zimbabwe now stands as a question of "Is ZANU PF Zimbabwe's Mr bigger too shoes in the political setup?, Has ZANU PF eroded democratic zeal and institutionalized unscrupulousness as a political norm or simply, ZANU PF is the only political party strong enough to win the hearts of the people with MDC and other political parties lacking political consciousness and languishing in political slumber?".

1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

ZANU PF's worship of tilted democratic practices and the institutionalization of stayism in political processes have led to unprecedented hegemony that has disadvantaged opposition parties in Zimbabwe's political dispensation.

1.4 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

1. To examine the major factors that have led to ZANU PF's hegemony in the political sphere.
2. To investigate and clarify the existence of fraudulency and political impunity as tools for stayism in politics.
3. To make recommendations for the birth of a healthy and responsive democratic political system in Zimbabwe.
4. To empower the citizenry with a popular civic and political culture that seeks to raise political awareness and participation.

1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What have been the reasons for ZANU PF's political hegemony in Zimbabwe despite the existence of a grieving and complaining electorate?
2. Which state agencies, if any, i.e. commissions or departments have played an institutionalized role in promoting stayism?
3. How can Zimbabwe's political system be fully democratized and devolved away from state influence?
4. What have been the hindrances for an active, responsive political culture in the citizenry?

1.6 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

This study shall serve to investigate how ZANU PF has remained a political victor and an election winning machine despite the complaints that the party is non-responsive to citizenry concerns in relation to the nexus between elect-political processes and democratic transition, in the same vein bringing in a new twist to the scholarly consensus that has existed around the Hegemony of ZANU PF with the researcher coming up with personal theories for such Hegemony.

1.7 RELEVANCE OF THE STUDY

The study investigates the dominance of ZANU PF in Zimbabwe's political scenario with such dominance having brewed and created perceptions of alleged military state takeover, rigging, sacrifice of human rights and a number of politically worrying concerns, as such the study seeks to relevantly give etymological and empirical information to the following groupings:

Institutions: This study's findings seek to help institutions to locate their positions in the state-government relations in order to help them maintain an apolitical standing so that they fulfil their roles as per necessity than bias. Institutions may include the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission and Civil society organizations.

Electorate: The electorate are the core consumers of political end products and participants in the process of elections. They are the ones who vote and they are the ones who are affected by the election outcomes and the governments they elect. This study therefore seeks to help them understand the mystifications that take precedence in election processes and make them grasp the dynamics of the environment in which politics takes place in.

Government: Since governments are the ones that call election dates, and to some level determine the level to which election processes can be undertaken under. Governments are burdened with a grotesque of expectations from their citizens in concern to election outcomes and election processes, this study seeks therefore to let government(s) and government agencies be of knowledge on what citizens expect of them in the celebration of their electoral and political rights and help governments minimize suspicions of them [governments] being labelled as fraudulent or dictatorial.

Future researchers: This study seeks to set in place a springboard for other researchers who might be interested in researching in the area of governance and democratization in Zimbabwe.

1.8 ASSUMPTIONS AND OPINIONS

The study was founded on the assumption that elections conducted on non-democratic foundations are flawed and do not produce expected political change such as renewal of leadership thus defying the wills of the electorate with scholars such as Sabelo-Gatsheni and John Makumbe taking the lead in justifying that cause.

1.9 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The research sought to focus on democratic transition in Zimbabwe and the clamour for leadership renewal visa-vis the hotly contested ZANU PF hegemony in political processes in Zimbabwe. In the epicentre of the research rested the investigation of where ZANU PF's hegemony is hinged in order to correct unscrupulousness if any, if not, demystify the mysteries that hang above the assumptions surrounding ZANU PF's hegemony.

1.10 DELIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The study focused on ZANU PF hegemony in Zimbabwe's elect-political process in the period from 2000 – 2013 in a comparative systematic approach that compares democratic transition visa-vis leadership renewal. This scope covers the dawn of the millennium which saw the coming into life/birth of theMDC-T party which is the opposition party that signalled multi-partyism (*which is an ingredient to democracy*) and the widespread connotations of maladministration and contested elections in Zimbabwe thus therefore the period 2000 – 2013 is of significance in the study as it directs the research due to its fertility with developments such the POSA and AIPPA which were seen as an antithesis to democratic transition.

1.11 LIMITATIONS

The study addresses a critical issue in Zimbabwe which is power politics and the concept of the investigation of the notions of state power and stayism as allegations levelled against the ruling party. This poses threats to the populace (electorate) at large in terms of their common livelihood in union with how the electorate or masses view the government surrounding the culture of violence that is allegedly associated with the government. This will come as a barrier towards getting interviews setup since the people will be suspecting the researcher's intentions.

Access to the mentioned herein political personnel (Political Activists, Councillors, Members of Parliament and Civil society representatives) might be cumbersome since they will be need for appointments. Some of the information that they have might be held back due to the culture of avoidance to be caught in the storms of political allegations.

As such, the Researcher will create a conducive environment for the participants of the focus groups or and interviews. This will militate against the phobia that exists around the giving out of information from the intended control and experimental groups. For the

processes of cumbersome processes in setting up meetings and appointments, the Researcher will book the appointments prior in order to avoid inconveniences.

1.13 CONCLUSION

The chapter richly dished out the research objectives and questions that guided the study, whilst in the same hand tabling out the assumptions of the research and largely exposing the gist of the research through a snapshot into history through a pregnant background of the study which had a borrowing of historical recollection.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 CHAPTER SNAPSHOT

The chapter feeds from the previous section which had a background of the study and the statement of the problem, noteworthy is that the background was skeletal and rather a fly past to the study's historical development. This section of the paper will invite and appreciate the existing literature on the matter under discussion, giving out what other scholars, commentators and authors have researched and documented. The chapter shall also bring out the theoretical framework that the study is founded upon, giving supporting theories in relation to political processes in Zimbabwe. It also brings the reader in common grounds with the terminology that will be used in the research paper.

2.2 DEFINITION OF TERMS AND ACRONYMS

TERMS

- **Democratic Transition** : A movement along the scale of democracy either negatively or positively. Positive democratic transition will in this research refer to the upright upholding of democratic principles and stalled/negative democratic transition will refer to a partial allegiance to democratic principles or a total negligence of such.
- **Leadership Renewal** : The term leadership renewal is somewhat inclined to regime change in this paper, though in most recent researches, the term has been aligned to the “person in the president’s office”. Leadership renewal will be interchangeably used to refer to the change in government leadership or the president.
- **Political process** : Activities that happen to determine the political climate of the state, such as elections, appointments of judiciary personnel and or even the enactment of laws.
- **Stateism** : This term was coined by the researcher to refer to a great intensity of involvement of state power to outshine citizen rights or powers.
- **Voter stereotyping** : This term was termed by the researcher to explain to the notion of electorate strongholds in Zimbabwe, since urban areas are seen and viewed as opposition party strongholds whereas rural areas are strongholds

for ZANU PF. The researcher sees this as voter stereotyping since they are variants that are swept under the carpet in coming up with such a “strongholds phenomenon”.

ACRONYMS

- **LOMA** : Law and Order Maintenance Act. An act that was used by the Smith Regime in colonial Zimbabwe to restrict and constraint political activities from local African nationalist.
- **POSA** : Public Order and Security Act. Enacted into law by the Government of Zimbabwe in 2002.
- **AIPPA** : This was an Act that the government of Zimbabwe enacted into law in 2002 to control the media and the general consumption of news from the print up to radio.
- **ZANU-PF** : Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front.
- **MDC** : Movement for Democratic Change. This is an opposition political party in Zimbabwe. Has factions that are either MDC-T or MDC 1999, MDC-N led by Professor Welshman Ncube

2.3 ELECTIONS IN ZIMBABWE

The political events in Zimbabwe from 2000 up to 2013 have been quite a scenario that has drawn much commentary and with that, scholars, academics and journalists have compiled necessary volumes of writing to reflect on the unfolding of the political events. At the core/epicentre of the storm of the discussions has been the need to invite inquiries of how ZANU PF has been so successful in keeping up in political game, in this need to establish arguments, two camps seem to have come into existence, the first camp is of the *Pro-Africanist school* which stands to purport positively on ZANU PF's existence as beneficial to protecting the heritage of independence, on the other side has been the *Modernist* or *Reformist* school of thought that has preached the gospel of change, democracy and emphasized on the point of decentralization of state institutions in order to have fair, equitable and reasonable political processes that promote efficacy and fairness. For these two camps, polarity seems inevitable as the pro-Africanist sees democratic transition with spite labelling it as a western mechanization to undermine the vanguard of nationalism and independence (ZANU PF). The *reformist/modernist* (New Political parties such as the renowned MDC-T, National Constitutional Assembly and

civil societies like Solidarity Peace Trust) have argued that democratic transition is a necessary need for political processes to be clear, beneficial and sensible to the needs of the masses, as such these reformists have argued in writing that ZANU PF's rigidity has hindered sensible and humane political practices that can lead to the socio-political uplift of the Zimbabwean masses.

Tracing the political events to 2000 will need a backdrop of history to show how the scholars have tried to assess or comment on the political happenings. In the 1985 elections in Zimbabwe before the millennium scholars had started noticing irregularities and discrepancies in the political systems in in the new Zimbabwe that had won *Uhuru*, arguments had come in the form of allegations that the political processes were characterized by intimidation and vote buying.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2012) points out that ZAPU was quite a formidable challenge to ZANU PF during the 1980 elections and hence therefore leading to ZAPU's prevention from campaigning in Mashonaland provinces and Mutare. The efforts to stop, inhibit and prevent ZAPU were accompanied by violence as articulated by Ndlovu-Gatsheni who cites reports that were compiled by the Group of Independent British Observers and other key independent and international observer groups. This shows that political violence has been to some point been employed by the incumbent ZANU PF to secure the political office in Zimbabwe.

Nkomo (1987) argues that the 1985 general elections were a flawed process and procedure because unfair circumstances prevailed as the chiefs and village heads inhibited PF ZAPU access to rally holding and mobilization of an electorate base. Makumbe (2002) writes that the rural electorate apart from being secluded from attending rallies held by the opposition, they were taught who to vote for instead of being taught how to vote. These allegations have made elections in post-independence Zimbabwe to be controversial since the electoral systems have been pointed out as ailing systems that are institutionalized and bastardized for the perpetuation of incumbent government's hold on power.

Scholars have reflected that political violence has been a culture that has been used to outmanoeuvre opposition's efforts. Political violence on its own is an anti-thesis to the achievement of democratic transition and leadership renewal, political violence

eliminates the capacity of an active political culture since the electorate will be held back from political participation. Bracking (2002) posits that 1990 elections in Zimbabwe were highly characterized by violence with ZUM's highly top ranking officials being imprisoned without much legal proceedings. The Centre for Peace Initiatives in Africa and the Southern Africa Democracy Institute alleges that the 1990 elections in Zimbabwe were characterised by prevailing political violence and a lack of free campaigning space for the opposition with the media privatized as a partisan tool for campaign (*propaganda*). Meredith (2007) reflects that Mugabe and the ZANU PF use violence to secure political gains; Meredith pushes this point when he says power to Mugabe was not a means to an end but the end itself. Meredith (2007) points out that violence is a culture in the ZANU PF party as he recalls Nathan Shamuyarira and His Excellency bragging about violence with Shamuyarira saying

“The area of violence is an area where ZANU-PF has a very strong, long and successful history”

Further, the 1995 elections have been also condemned by Makumbe (2000) who posits that traditional leaders were dogmatized to adopt ZANU PF's ideology and philosophy. This brings up questions to how then democracy can be achieved if officials are made partisan than apolitical service providers. Makumbe (2000) quotes a chief from Makoni district in a Traditional leader's inauguration ceremony saying

“Ticharamba tichitevera VaMugabe kusvikira madhongi ava nenyanga”

The above statement translated from Shona language to English means

“We will follow and pay allegiance to Father Mugabe until donkeys grow horns”

As such, the reflection is that the separation of power and the initial concerns of the independence of state institutions are allegedly being undermined. The notion of the separation of power was highlighted by the great Montesquieu who argued that there was a great need for arms of government to be separated in order to let the idea of independence be manifestly felt in all corners of governance. Locke in his 2nd Treaties of government makes reference to such a concern of how power should not be centralized thus he proposes that government tiers be given their initial delegatory and independent power in order to incite a spirit of balances and checks.

Meredith (2005) points out that the 2000 elections in Zimbabwe were marked by irregularities, this point is driven home through postulating that three weeks before the election in June 2000, the MDC reported that only twenty-five (25) constituencies were free and safe for campaigning, and in the forty-six (46) other constituencies campaigning was affected by high levels of intimidation with Tsvangirai saying “What Mugabe wants is to intimidate the whole country into submission”. Meredith (2005) is of the view that without intimidation ZANU PF would have been defeated since MDC secured 57 seats and ZANU PF won 62 seats despite its employment of violence to direct voting behaviour and voting trends. Intimidation seems to be a tool which seemingly dominates most of the literature about Zimbabwean political processes with much weight given to it as an influencing factor towards voter participation.

Literature has deemed elections in Zimbabwe as a loud sounding nothing since they do not reflect the general will of the masses. Chikerema (2014) points out that election in Zimbabwe are just a window dressing ritual and a façade of democracy that lacks quality and meaning though they meet the “quantity” referring to elections being conducted after every five years. The 2002 elections in Zimbabwe have not faced an exception with allegations of vote rigging, political violence and intimidation being pointed out as influencing factors for the victory of ZANU PF. Saki (2010) claims that the government in power in the 2002 elections made the political contestations cumbersome, unfair and undemocratic since they was POSA and AIPPA which limited liberties on association and media broadcast. The Media Monitoring Project of Zimbabwe (2002) avers that media was also instrumental for the ZANU PF government to get a land slide victory, through the bare manipulation of the national broadcasting station and the closure of media houses that the government saw as adversaries. To some point, the national media especially the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation has been criticized for its partisan nature with it [ZBC] lambasted and lampooned as *ZANU PF Broadcasting Corporation*. Nkomo (2012) points out that the Media Monitoring Project of Zimbabwe in the 2008 election reflected that ZBC allocated ZANU PF 755 minutes of campaign airtime, 310 minutes for MDC-T faction, 115 minutes for MDCC-N and 217 minutes for independent candidate Simba Makoni. For Nkomo these numbers indicate biased programming by the public broadcaster. Fair political campaigning marks one of the hallmarks of electoral democracy, the tilting of media coverage as cited can be seen as a dent on Zimbabwe’s democratic maturity hence lessening the weight of the nation’s democratic value, thus

this allegation of manipulation of the ZBC comes in handy for alлегers who posit that ZANU PF's longevity is maintained through institutionalized stayism.

To further bisect and dissect the political concerns surrounding ZANU PF hegemony, Chikerema (2013) reflects that the 'minister shall' concept and dogma has made it a point that decisions that are made in all institutions safeguard the status quo in terms of the ZANU PF party and government; this is put across through Chikerema's "*Politics of Patronage*" conceptualization. Politics of patronage as outlined by Chikerema, shield the altering of the system by making it a point that decisive actions are put in the hands of affiliated persons who will safeguard party loyalties than choose common sense or follow logical reasoning. Nkomo (2012) proposes that the hegemony of ZANU PF may also be associated with its broadcasting privilege that assures it much political popularity amongst the electorate since ZBC's leadership is compromised by the appointments of the minister who according to Nkomo is a political appointee with allegiance to a political party. Chikerema (2013) reflects that the centralization of power has led to an intensified and stinking clique of a beneficitation process with the appointee seeking to worship the appointer leading to a vicious circuit/circle of power politics.

Such assessments have led to inquiries and queries pertaining ZANU PF's hegemony, to some point the appointment of ministers by the President in strategic positions of influence seem to be compromising the legitimacy of the offices since the appointees hold their own political ideologies thus also denting their views of issues. Political processes such as national elections are therefore in critical position to survive independently without being influenced by loyalists. However Chigora (2016) points out that it is absurdly utopian to cite ZANU PF's hegemony in relation to pointing out issues of being apolitical and impartial in ministers or institutional personnel since people who are chosen in political offices are somewhat and somehow associated with political ideologies or parties somehow. This argument by Chigora poses so much questions around the allegations that are mostly cited as springboards to ZANU PF's hegemony, the so called lack of leadership renewal crisis seems not to affect Zimbabwe nationally but even in the primaries of party politics, leadership renewal has been a serious issue with Tsvangirai himself standing for MDC-T for 15 years without handing over the button to his next team colleague.

The role of violence to influence voting patterns in Zimbabwe has been continuously referred to as a point of strength for the incumbent government. Meredith (2005) is of the view that violence has been a vehicle/mode/means of garnering votes and making it clear that voting ZANU PF is the wiser political move thus compromising the voting environment. Such tendencies will reflect a negative democratic transition since political outcomes will be moulded by fear than choice, consensus and freedom. The use of commandist and threatening language towards elections seems to echo through the rallies to inform the cognitive sense of voters. Robert Mugabe ZANU PF's presidential candidate and the President of Zimbabwe was quoted in an election rally saying:

“What we are now headed for is real war, a total war”

Elections in this circumstance are systematically associated with war and it seems this has a bearing on the electorate as per to Meredith's and other scholars conclusions thus justifying other scholars who have labelled the party as congregants who worship in the altar of power.

The 2008 elections have had commentary that has brought questions on the legitimacy of the government; the volumes of writing portray the government as ghostly and a regime that survives on vampirism. For Sachikonye (2009) the election in 2008 marked high class violence and alleged electoral fraud through the minimization of the ballot box since the electorate failed to vote freely. The 2008 elections has led to new findings by scholars such as Gatsheni-Ndlovu (2009) who forward *alas* sentiments towards the post-election environment which had the ZANU-PF government implementing the notorious and bogus *“Operation Mavoterapapi”* which targeted to punish the electorate for voting for the opposition. Operation Mavoterapapi was simply an after election diagnosis as it were, since it sought to ask the crucial post-election question *“Whom did you vote for?”*. According to Staff Reporter (2008), the opposition President, Morgan Tsvangirai decried the legitimacy and fairness of the 2008 election labelling it as

“Unfair, violent, illegitimate and shameful to be called an election process”

The aftermath of the 2008 election led to disputes and contestation that stripped the winning party [ZANU PF] the legitimacy to rule, thus leading to a crackdown of concerns of civil strife and political unrest. Regional bodies and commentators labelled Zimbabwe's political situation as volatile and fertile for more violence and hence

political negotiations were made to save the sinking political ship through the utilization of the mediation skills from Thabo Mbeki, before going far, Kaulemu (2010) alludes that judicial proceedings in Zimbabwe are controversial and uncertain since judges in the courts rule in favour of the ruling party or rule in accordance to instructions given to them, this draws light on how the local courts were deemed as useless by MDC T who then appealed to the Southern Africa Development Community to take political initiative leading to the birth of the Government Of National Unity through the framework of the Global Political Agreement. Some scholars have even argued that the GNU system in new democracies is used by incumbent governments as a survival strategy as noted by Mapuva (2010) who uses Zimbabwe and Kenya as examples, to this point, it can be viewed as if after all ZANU PF used this political alternative to retain and maintain its political hegemony.

Elections have led to a quite cataclysmic and confusing environment in Zimbabwe with lack of consensus. The 2013 elections in Zimbabwe brought much grumbling, disgruntlements and dissatisfactions within the opposition parties. The Zimbabwe Democracy Initiative (2013) made reference to the lack of access to an available and usable voters roll as a flaw and a vice towards a proper election process and labelled the 2013 election as unfair. Moyo (2013) applauds that the 2013 election was infested with election fraud fuelled by the strategic appointment of partisan officers in the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission such as Rita Mukarau. However still on the 2013 Shire (2013) argues that there was no fraud or Nikuving as is the general belief as he argues that such Hi-Tec rigging strategy is Utopian and the elections were free and fair.

Since on an overall note scholars have engaged themselves in a *tag of war* in investigating the topic at hand and brought on the table quite arguable and illustrious information, the researcher served to bring in, new, fresh and relevant information towards the literature that has been in existence regarding and towards building an information base surrounding ZANU PF's hegemony with new theories coming up in explaining ZANU PF hegemony such as the "*containment-elimination theory*".

2.3.1 Zimbabwe and Democracy: Locating Zimbabwe's Political Processes

Zimbabwe's political processes precisely elections have brought many concerns and labels not to mention criticism, making the existence of democracy a contested political creature in Zimbabwe's political life. Levitsky and Way (2002) are of the view that

elections do not necessarily reflect democratically the level of a regime thus they lament that competitive authoritarian regimes fall in between the extremes of being partially democratic or purely non-democratic. Levitsky and Way (2002) unpack competitive authoritarianism as regime forms that can range from one hand where, elections are competitive, major opposition candidates are not excluded; opposition parties are able to campaign publicly; and there is no massive fraud. On the other hand, elections are often unfree and almost always unfair. Elections may also be marred by large-scale intimidation of opposition activists, voters, and poll watchers, including the establishment of opposition “no go” areas (Cambodia, Georgia, Kenya, Russia, Zimbabwe). The Levitsky and Way positioning of Zimbabwe under a competitive authoritarian regimes gives a positioning that is contestable since the Zimbabwe constitution in the preamble points out that Zimbabwe is a democratic nation.

Bratton, Mattes, and Gyimah-Boadi (2005) assert that leaders in liberalized autocracies may make promises on the practice, observance and significance of basic freedoms, this illusion can be achieved by allowing pseudo opposition whilst the incumbent continues to rule and maraud on a political plateau pivoted by existence of a limited and state monitored media situation. In such a state, civil organizations and stronger opposition parties are stiffly oppressed to a point that imprisonment is lurking and they can even be banished in contesting in the political contests. This interlocks with the gist of the study which seeks to understand democratic transition in Zimbabwe. An evaluation and appraisal of Bratton et al will reflect that ZANU PF’s hegemony in Zimbabwe is founded on bogusness and hence reflecting what the researcher calls negative democratic transition. For Schumpeter who believes that democracy is a process of governance where a group of political actors campaign and compete to win the power be in the political office, Zimbabwe’s democracy will be in a critical stage of negative democratic transition since there is little choice for the electorate if other parties are barred from contesting.

The different labels that Zimbabwe seemingly gets when it comes to its political and electoral processes seemingly intrigues the urge to find out why there are such labels that necessarily exist and are used synonymously with Zimbabwe. To some point, political massacre has been what ZANU PF has been having a surge protector against since it has remained relevant despite and above all being dragged through the mud.

Democracy in Zimbabwe seems to be shadowed by political expediency and greed. The formation of the GNU signalled that the people in Zimbabwe are not considered as a major contributing ingredient to the political bouillabaisse and democracy in general. The negotiation between the contesting parties and the reaching of consensus between them to illegitimately indulge and reproduce a bastard political child showed that democracy is far from being achieved in Zimbabwe since national referendums are ignored for serious issues (high politics) but inviting citizens for petty issues like constitutional referendums (low politics). This brings a confusing yet clear point that politics shall overtly overpower democracy at all times. The current action by Tsvangirai, who seems to be the host for democracy and the hope to actually initiate the democratic era that the citizens claim is non-existent to install and appoint three (3) vice presidents shows that still the electorate are bypassed when democracy has to be upheld.

2.3.2 Political Violence as a stumbling block

Political violence has a long history, with it being used effectively to suppress dissenting political views in the past and in the present too. It is a great trick in the books of political power, Mussolini under Fascism used it to eliminate Matteoti who was a leading oppositionist to his rule, in Nazi Germany; Hitler used violence to create a state that was controlled by severe punishment such as concentration camps in order to hang a no go area placard/notice on the political arena. According to LaPalombara (1974) in Harrop's *Comparative Government and Politics: An Introduction*, political violence consists of those physically injurious acts directed at persons or property which are intended to further or oppose governmental decisions and public policies, this definition of political violence will be used to discuss whether the actions of ZANU PF in Zimbabwe's political arena fits into this jigsaw of political violence.

Political violence has a serious effect on the growth of democracy and its existence secures the powers of the incumbent and safeguards their existence in power. Studies have reflected that political violence alters, shapes and directs political actions of the electorate. Political violence can be negatively compared to incentivization of voters to direct their voting behaviour. On incentivizing, a political actor uses soft power to mould the malleable character of the electorate through promises such as creation of employment, infrastructure erection, incentives such land, food etc. whereas on the other hand political violence represents the stick either than carrot.

According to Transparency International Zimbabwe (2000) some observers of the parliamentary election noted that the use of violence and intimidation in Zimbabwe's elections had become ZANU-PF's breakthrough and innovation in electoral politics as it creates a sense of tension, political fear and apathy among Zimbabwe's electorate. Noteworthy TIZ (2007) in Makumbe (2006:48) noted and commented on the 2000 elections as follows:

“The political situation did not fairly recognize eligible voters their freedoms. Freedoms ranging from freedom of association, movement and expression which are stand as cornerstones for individuals to freely make independent, personal political decision with a form of coercion. In most sections of the country, due to the uncertain political environment, people are refrained from appreciating and commenting on political matters, especially those considered to be on the opposition side”

The above literature shows that political violence portrays an analogy of the *Baboons and the sowers*, with the sowers being the electorate who are supposed to access the political field whereas the baboons are the thieving culprits in the fields. This analogy comes into life when one looks at a situation that the ruling government has set up political violence as a barrier to political access thus barring/limiting and sanctioning such political rights that citizens are supposed to have with the government becoming baboons who have stripped and thieved the political fruits (*political rights*) of the people/citizenry, the use of political violence as a means to achieve political ends brings in the irony of the analogy of the Baboons and the sowers with the sowers becoming the alien to their fields and the baboons becoming the owners of the field.

2.3.3 Operationalization of Violence: Guise, Disguise and Stratagem

Political violence in Zimbabwe has adopted an operationalized nature opposed to a sporadic, unjustifiable and spontaneous type of violence. The research labels the political violence as operationalized since it is most founded on laws at one point or another, the Operation Murambatsvina / Clean-up was justified under the urban development laws as the settlements that were destroyed were labelled as unplanned and rubbish, the imprisonment and closure of media houses in 2002 was all made legally sensible through AIPPA thus giving it an operational diction.

The nature of Operation Murambatsvina in Zimbabwe has been classified under the umbrella of political violence actions aimed at punishing and directing the voting behaviour of the electorate. The voting patterns in the urbanities of Zimbabwe have reflected that the Movement for Democratic Change has stronghold as reflected by the 2005 parliamentary elections outcome. According to Bratton and Masunungure (2006) in 2005, the month of May, after the parliamentary elections that sent a shocking political message that the incumbent ruling party had lost political monopoly and grip on Zimbabwe's urbanities, the government broke into a situation a clandestine Operation Murambatsvina which sought to exorcise the state of sporadic and disorderly scattered housing structures and the rampant illegal informal economy. Bratton and Masunungure highlight that Operation Murambatsvina appeared as an act of retribution by a vituperative ruling party against a non-compliant electorate which in Bulawayo had voted for pleasingly for the opposition. This shows that political violence in Zimbabwe taken from LaPalombara definition is built in injurious actions such as demolition of housing infrastructures, however notwithstanding is fact that the destroyed structures were unplanned.

That brings a twist to the Operation Murambatsvina campaign that has been covered with literature that associates it with governmental expediency than policy intended to correct the slums, squatters and informal traders. The aftermath of Murambatsvina takes another shape with Garikai-Hlalani Kuhle coming up as an antithesis to the inhuman Murambatsvina. This brings the idea of Murambatsvina to be controversial in line with the intentions of it being a directional hammer to malleably transform and shape the voting behaviour in the urbanities of Bulawayo and Harare.

Mendel and Mukundu (2004) point out that the government in a desperate situation resuscitated its staggering and lurching political power through a massive spin doctoring of repressive laws which ranged from controlling the media through the Broadcasting services Act of 2001 which empowered the government to have monopoly over private media and broadcasters since it had the sole mandate to be an issuer of licences. Noted is that attacks on media practioner and their properties reached a peak, with independent media receiving verbal and physical attacks. Physical attacks involved the Daily News bombing on the 22nd of April in 2000 and the 28th January attack that destroyed the printing outlets of the independent newspaper. Notable is that Mendel and Mukundu reflect that there was the apprehension of readers and journalists of independent

newspaper all done under the banner of AIPPA and POSA. If Mendel and Mukundu's line of thought is taken to analyse political violence in Zimbabwe it is upon this backdrop that one can justifiably say that violence in Zimbabwe is given an operational footing in order to be legitimized and legalized despite its consequences such as political apathy, fear and loss of citizen lives. The argument of "*operationalized violence*" can be deduced from His Excellency the President of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe's comment after Tsvangirai was beaten by the police. The President was quoted saying:

"You cannot say its political violence, the police were doing their job, we cannot allow lawlessness under the concerns of saying democracy"

Political violence dominates the literature on ZANU PF hegemony, with [political violence] being cited as a serious barrier in Zimbabwe's political arena, scholars and non-governmental organizations have lamented on the practice of political violence by the Government to suspend dissenting views that at times will be for progress's sake from the citizens or the opposition parties. Gatsheni-Ndlovu (2012) points out militias were oozed out of the political juricans, together with CIOs and other groups that the government uses as political machinery such regular army officers and youth of the ZANU PF party under the operatives and umbrella of the Mavoterapapi diagnosis strategy which was questioning the electorate the multi-million dollar question of whom had they voted for, Gatsheni-Ndlovu fearlessly exposes that the aftermath of the 2008 elections reflected the reincarnation of the Gukurahundi strategy that the government had adopted and used in 1979 which is markedly linked with high intolerance and elimination of political opposition.

Adding on Mukundu and Mendel (2004) avow that there was the initiation, training and indoctrination of youths under military strategy under the hotly contested youth training service, the result of the youth training released militias which are well known for their brutal misconduct that had a documentation of 180 casualties in the period from 2000 February and 2002 March all done under the land redistribution mantra. This brings logical sense to what the research has seen as operationalized violence, violence that can be justified by means of legalizing it, for instance the training of youths could not be refuted but however be intertwined to National Youth Training Service.

Makumbe (2006) asserts that forcefulness and political bullying and terrorization have become ZANU-PF's emblem of electoral politics and has bred a sagacity of political stiffness, political phobia and despondency amongst the electorate. The impact of political violence seems to indeed have effects on the citizens, since citizens will at times choose not to participate than to risk their lives, this notion of political violence is however flawed since one can argue its relevance with how the African nationalists like Robert Mugabe, Joshua Mqabuko Nkomo and Nelson Mandela were resilient in bringing change despite colonial repression and the violence they encountered. This twist in the effects of political violence makes political violence an uncertain variable in political outcomes evaluation since it can either give the political participant more courage to overthrow the system or rather deter him or her.

2.3.4 State repression and Stateism (Media, securocrats and militias)

Political processes in Zimbabwe have been allegedly seen and labelled as state centred and state dominated with the researcher having coined a new political term *stateism* which means great intensity of involvement of state power to outshine citizen rights or powers. Researchers and writers have pointed out that the ZANU PF government has not remained in power by virtue of political excellence but by means of using state apparatus, thus involving invoking soft power state apparatus up to hard power state apparatus.

Makumbe (2011) points out that the utilization, placement and abuse of ZRP by the ruling ZANU PF as electoral officers during primary elections dents and clouds the impartiality of this part of the state agency which is ought to maintain law and order, realising the unseen yet clear message that is sent is that ZRP is partly an extension of the ruling party and therefore it is with vanity for other political groupings to approach the law enforcement agency in any case of confrontation or violation. Makumbe quickly makes reference to Kombayi as he points out that history has it in the archives with the notorious shooting of Patrick Kombayi in the 1990 elections in Gweru.

Makumbe (2008) questions ZEC and its legitimacy which he purports is perverted and insufficient in its roles to secure proper electoral roles and duties. Makumbe reflects irregularities such as political violence that the ZEC failed to quell/suppress or and discourage, this he points out by lamenting that given the widespread violence that engulfed the nation before the presidential election run-off, the ZEC failed to perform this critical function which is to give instructions to any other persons in the employment

of the State or of a local authority for the purpose of ensuring the efficient, proper, free and fair conduct of elections or referendum. The ZDI (2013) concurs that the failure of the ZEC to make the voters' roll accessible even the soft copy was a flaw on the ZEC as an institution since the lack of access to the roll could have been supposedly used to doctor electoral appearances. This line of thought triggers question on and about the hegemony of ZANU PF in Zimbabwe's political arena. Is it the meticulousness of the party in the articulation of its manifesto that makes the party win elections or the party has created a patron-client network of loyalist that serve as captains in driving the political ship to the final destination.

Alexander and Tendi (2008) point out that the security forces were the key organisers and perpetrators of violence, often using party youth or youth militias (trained and deployed from 2001), and veterans (effectively mobilised by Zanu PF in 1997), to carry out beatings, intimidation and torture, but with senior military, intelligence and political coordination in the 2008 elections. This drives Zimbabwe's political ship away from the democratic land that it has to reach. Studies have shown that democracy involves having free and fair elections that are free from intimidation and other unscrupulous actions that make the voting space tilted and skewed. Beetham (1999) associates democratic elections with their procedures than them being just carried out; he emphasizes the need for elections to be conducted on free environment whereby voter registration, campaigns and choice in the electorate is not compromised. This brings the research paper to a point of evaluating whether Zimbabwe is even democratic or it upholds elections as facades of democracy to smear, spice up and give an impressive aroma to the its political bouillabaisse.

With such scholarly archive the research brings much twists and turns. Does the existence of such flawed political processes annihilate and discourage opposition parties and the electorate and make the government invincible? Or it works against the government making it a bad guarantor depicting the African proverb “*Uthangoludlaamakhomane*” meaning that the ZANU PF government is seen as violator of its own roles which are protection of the citizens and being a guarantor of peace and welfare.

2.3.5 Effects of political violence, state repression and stateism

Politics has been labelled as purely a struggle for power, Laswell (1936), but questions also come as to what level of power does a citizen get out political participation. Is politics a struggle for power diametrically between opposition political parties? Or the struggle involves the citizens too, citizens who need the power to elect, control and vote out officials as they perceive fit. Aristotle (384-322 B.C) in Ernest 1995 argues that politics is natural to man as man is a political and social animal, what effects then does political violence have on citizens despite their naturally insatiable hunger to relate politically.

Huth (2004) makes reference to a phenomenon called political apathy, he notes that political apathy is associated with political indifference or disinterest and is linked directly to political behaviour in political systems such as participation in elections as well as the approaches taken towards the political system. Huth is of the view that a myriad of reasons are considerably interlinked in influencing political indifference thus political apathy can be associated with personal seclusion and exclusion with a view that politics is dirty whereas also apathy can be accounted for through noticing that contentness with the system may lead to unwillingness to engage with the system. If such a thought is taken into cognisance in analysing the alleged political violence documented as a strategy used by the ruling ZANU PF in Zimbabwe, it can be therefore seen that political apathy is not rigidly explained through one variant but has many determinants.

According to Schlee (2011) Zimbabwe's political apathy has been not accredited political violence rather it has been associated with addressing economic issues and concerns by citizens. Schlee (2011) avers that it came out clear that the behaviour of Zimbabweans who were crucified and persecuted on charges of political passivity were all a calculated measure that was a result of a cost-benefit analysis that deduced that involvement in protests is useless and worthless in general since such actions would not make any positive or changing impact on a political platform which single handedly controlled by Zanu-PF. Schlee is of the view that economic crisis in Zimbabwe drove Zimbabweans into private spaces as they individually sought to survive thus Schlee uses the concept of impotence and cements it with the "what can I do gesture" that Zimbabwean adopted towards politics.

Schlee, uses another angle to explain Zimbabwe's political apathy, she points that an important and salient feature of Zimbabwe's traditional culture/ social norm is conflict avoidance. During the old days people who had differing views with traditional leadership left their homes and deserted their community to join new communities or set up new communities, and in the current times those in the same dilemma of having unentertained thoughts and views with the leadership leave the country to go and live in neighbouring countries or even go in as far as Great Britain, statistically 3 to 4 of the estimated 11 million Zimbabweans are considered to have left the country, this can be associated with the plummeting economic situation rather than political violence or conflict as such since studies show that despite their stay outside the country, Zimbabwe are met with serious threats to their peace such as unstable governance systems and attacks like the Xenophobia in South Africa.

Schlee (2011) and Huth (2004) have tabled a twist to political apathy as they show that it can even result from economic issues as Schlee points that most Zimbabweans excluded themselves from the political arena due to concentrating on economic issues and even going out the country as a form of avoidance. To some extent rather, the emphasized political violence in Zimbabwe has not given out much fear for the citizens seen in the demonstrations that took place during the time this research was conducted, the demonstration involved the "**Occupy Africa Unity Square**" led by Itai Dzamara and the "**This Flag Campaign**" by Pastor Evans Mawarire.

2.4 THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK

The research was hinged on theories to investigate the election trends in Zimbabwe, notwithstanding the researcher seeks to come up with personal theories that will fill up the void that exists in the explanation of Zimbabwe's political scene. The research used Machiavellianism and Conservatism as theoretical springboards to the examination and investigation of ZANU PF's hegemony.

2.4.1 Conservatism

Philosophy basics online http://www.philosophybasics.com/branch_conservatism.html posits that conservatism is any philosophy that politically that propelstraditionin all dimensions and circles of human life ranging from religious, cultural, or nationally-defined beliefs and customs in the face of external forces for change, and is critical of proposals for radical social change. Some Conservatives seek to preserve the status quo

or to reform society slowly, while others seek to return to the values of an earlier time. Burke (1790) avers that conservatism is a system and an ideology that enhances and emphasizes that society should practice longevity in its norms, values practices and as a system, conservatism favours maintenance of the status quo which is founded on the wisdom of ages.

Conservatism as a theory shall be used to explain ZANU PF's dominance in the political and electoral trends in Zimbabwe. This theory shall explain why ZANU PF has remained in power; this shall be done through reflecting on how the elder generation views the nonagenarian led party. To a sensible level, ZANU PF has emphasized the upholding of sovereignty and independence which are the status quo that existed after the acquisition of independence. Noble, though strategic moves by the party such as the Land reform programme that reinstated the land status to the indigenous people of the land as it was before colonization will be examples of how conservatism will be used a theoretical approach not forgetting how conservatism has managed to keep the party consciously rigid towards "gay rights" through its anti-homosexuals approach in rallies and national speeches.

2.4.2 Conservatism and Zimbabwean Politics

The adoption of conservatism as an ideology by the ruling ZANU PF has seen the party to be relevant, its reference to Zimbabwean pride and socio political fabric has made the party strong. Philosophy basics online http://www.philosophybasics.com/branch_conservatism.html bisects conservatism into a number of categories which are namely cultural and social conservatism, Philosophy basics online puts it across that conservatism has an angle of being cultural. Cultural conservatism therefore entails safeguarding the history, heritage, pride and national culture. National culture/pride can be linked with language, traditional practices and social norms and values. Conservatism has a set of variants that include social conservatism which emphasizes the norms of societies which ensure morality and social uprightness, this morality and social uprightness has been in the sense of opposing the rights mantra that the LGBT groups have tried to secure together with the emphasis of women covering their faces under the Sharia and Islam world. This theory concurs well with Moyo (2012) who highlights that ZANU PF carries social fabric and popularity and

this creates a bond with the rural folk and the general Zimbabwean populace which does not associate with cultural decadence.

Moyo (2012) quotes Moreleng (2003:29) to cement the cultural relevance of ZANU PF, Moreleng hinges Mugabe's popularity to his proficiency in the articulation of culture and the act of being a spiritual host and vessel which has workably become a political tool of garnering votes and political mileage. Mugabe has went to lengths of identifying himself with prominent spirit mediums in the Shona culture such as Nehanda, Chaminuka and Kaguvi thus adding religious aroma to his leadership together with relighting the glowing splint of the liberation rhetoric. Moyo (2012) also highlights that Mugabe's stance on homosexuality has also won him favour amongst majority of Zimbabweans who are in opposition to homosexual practices since they view them as taboo, ungodly and against African traditional beliefs and the original traditional religious beliefs. This explains how ZANU PF has made itself a leading party, to the contrary MDC-T leader Tsvangirai has made reference to supporting gay rights as he lamented that gay rights are human rights as it is a freedom to choose one's sexual orientation, Muvundusi (2016) and International Business Times online available on <http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/zimbabwe-will-tsvangirai-u-turn-on-gay-rights-help-or-hurt-his-presidential-chances-237219>. The context of conservatism in Zimbabwe therefore brings dynamism in political orientation and a taste of heterogeneous nature between the two competing bulls that want to bellow in Zimbabwe's political kraal.

2.4.3 Which Bull Bellows? Power Politics in Zimbabwe (Machiavellianism)

Politics has been purportedly labelled as a struggle for power, indeed, opposition parties are always in logger heads with ruling parties because of the need to secure such state power. However that power comes after a long and enduring run that needs violence, social appeal and even unknown and unorthodox means. ZANU PF has been allegedly labelled as a group of Machiavelli worshippers who subscribe to force and violence to secure political standing. Machiavellianism therefore was adopted as part of this research in order to understand ZANU PF's other charm if any, which is the direct opposite of social and cultural appeal.

Machiavellianism according to Baradat (2003) is an ideology that purports that the end justifies the means; Machiavelli favours the utilization of force or coercion and deceit for the attainment of intended ends. For Machiavelli as quoted in Boucher (2010) it is better

to be feared than to be loved. As if it is not enough, Machiavelli propagates this by saying that the only way to teach an enemy a lesson is to punish them thoroughly to a point that they cannot imagine or think about fighting back or revenging. As such, after taking a fly past over the political plateau of Zimbabwe, Machiavellian traits have seen to be existent, with the ZANU PF government using violence and the dogmatization of state institutions in perpetuating violence as a means towards guaranteeing itself of political hegemony as an end, as Masungure (2010) labels the 2008 March elections in Zimbabwe as militarised.

Gatsheni (2012) is of the view that ZANU PF's existence in Zimbabwe's political arena has been as a result of the use of violence. Gatsheni reflects that ZANU PF has a deep entrenchment in the use of force, coercion and violence as he quotes his Excellency the President of Zimbabwe saying

“Our votes will go collectedly with our guns. Any vote we shall have will be the product of the gun. The gun which yields the vote should remain its security officer and its guarantor. The peoples' political choice and the peoples' guns will therefore remain conjoined twins”.

Through this statement, Gatsheni therefore concludes that ZANU PF has failed to separate violence and voting. This brings out that the use of force at all costs as a Machiavellian concept has been adopted by ZANU PF, with Meredith (2007) positing that ZANU PF has seen power as a means and an end.

The concept of the use of violence seems to translate to all political parties, with even the opposition parties seemingly adopting a power and coercion standpoint when it comes to accessing the control of the state. Pushed to the corner Tsvangirai responded to ZANU PF's reference to use of the gun by saying

“If they cannot go peacefully, we will remove them violently”

Such behaviourism shows that it is in the nature of all political actors to use violence at one time or another in order to secure state power; hence despite the partial subscription and application to violence by the Mugabe administration it is worth noting that Machiavellianism as a phenomenon is part of ZANU PF's DNA.

2.5 OTHER STUDIES

Masunungure (2010) has taken a stand to conclude in his researches that the ZANU PF led government in Zimbabwe uses force, violence and coercion to secure statecraft dominance as he articulates and comments on the 2008 election as a militarized election. Masunungure cites the use of CIO, Uniformed forces and Militias as electioneering machines for the ZANU PF party. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2012) has in recent times researched and written on Zimbabwean politics and lamented that the ZANU PF government operates under the use of unscrupulous and unethical means that are founded on citizen torture and the infliction of fear.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2012) posits that ZANU PF has clearly showed that it devotedly and zealously subscribes and ascribes to the religion of power politics as they worship in the altar of power. Gatsheni captures that the release and the unleashing of political hoodlums, CIOs and militias are all acts of the persistent reincarnation of the Gukurahundi policy that was first adopted in 1979.

Makumbe (2008) labels the ZEC as a toothless bulldog he purports that the ZEC is perverted and insufficient in its roles to secure proper electoral roles and duties. Makumbe reflects irregularities such as political violence that the ZEC failed to quell, this he points out by lamenting that given the widespread violence that engulfed the nation before the presidential election run-off, the ZEC failed to perform this critical function which is to give instructions to any other persons in the employment of the State or of a local authority for the purpose of ensuring the efficient, proper, free and fair conduct of elections or referendum.

2.6 KNOWLEDGE GAP

The previous researches have related ZANU PF's hegemony with the use of political fraudulency and **political demonism** (*political violence, gerrymandering and bastardization of state institutions*). This study is based on the same footing of evaluating ZANU PF's hegemony but seeks to investigate whether there is any hope that ZANU PF has created itself a political curriculum vitae that is appealing and cannot be tainted or shifted by the new political ideas or rather new political actors .

2.7 CONCLUSIONS

This chapter focused on other scholarly findings on ZANU PF's hegemony, theoretical framework and the knowledge gap that exists around the scope of such hegemony.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH

3.1 CHAPTER INTRODUCTION

This section of the study will be hinged on discussing the research morphology, research design, target population, population sample, research tools, and presentation of data and the procedures adopted in analysing data.

3.2 RESEARCH MORPHOLOGY

The research was carried out on a triangulation approach which encompassed both qualitative and quantitative characteristics under a nature of being longitudinal. Hunn, Fox and Mathers (2009) point out that a longitudinal study rather than taking a snap-shot, paints a picture of events or attitudes over time. The research will be qualitative in its morphology as it will seek to find explanations, opinions and insights surrounding the hegemony of ZANU PF in Zimbabwe's political processes. In another angle it shall borrow concepts of a quantitative nature which shall make usage of numerical data which might entail voter turnout and population size versus constituencies in order to explain circumstances such as the alleged rigging and electoral fraudulency trends via delimitation of constituencies (gerrymandering).

3.2.1 Qualitative Research

MacDonald and Headlam (2009) refer to qualitative research as a study concerned with information that is of high quality since in its nature qualitative research is in a bid to capture, locate the factors, facets, reasons and motivations for decision making and securely outline how societies/people relate, translate and interpret their environments and surroundings around them. As such, qualitative approaches give in-depth concerns on variable of people's perceptions as it gives the conditionalities inspiring / leading to the problem thus helping the building of hypotheses and theories that explain phenomenon.

This study was qualitative in its dimension of explaining ZANU PF's hegemony, the electorate was the main source of information, and the electorate were a vital source to information acquisition since they are the ones that cast votes, the hegemony of ZANU

PF was to be confirmed legitimate or refuted as illicit as per the electorate's explanations and responses in the questionnaires. This qualitative approach however was biased since the electorate at most times have their political understanding engineered by political groupings hence denting the information.

3.2.2 Quantitative Research

Sibanda (2009) points out that quantitative research focuses on gathering numerical data and generalising it across groups of people. MacDonald and Headlam (2009) concur with Sibanda as they posit that quantitative researches seek to quantify things; it asks questions such as 'how many'. Quantitative methods look to quantify data and generalise results from a sample of the population of interest. They may look to measure the incidence of various views and opinions in a chosen sample for example or aggregate results. This research shall borrow such characteristics of being quantitative to explain political apathy and gerrymandering as phenomena in Zimbabwean politics.

3.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

Bhattacharjee (2012) refers to a research design as a comprehensive plan for data collection in an empirical research project. Bhattacharjee adds on to say a research design is a "blueprint" for empirical research aimed at answering specific research questions or testing specific hypotheses, and must specify at least three processes: (1) the data collection process, (2) the instrument development process, and (3) the sampling process.

3.4 RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

This study will use questionnaires, focus groups and interviews as data collection mechanisms. According to Kirkless (n.d) questionnaires are simply a 'tool' for collecting and recording information about a particular issue of interest. It is mainly made up of a list of questions, but should also include clear instructions and space for answers or administrative details. This study will use open-ended questionnaires in order to gather a vast and myriad catch of information.

According to Campbell (2008) a focus group is a planned, facilitated discussion among a small group of stakeholders designed to obtain perceptions in a defined area of interest in a permissive, non-threatening environment. Freitas, Oliveira, Jenkins and Popjoy (1998) posit that a focus group is a type of in-depth interview accomplished in a group, whose meetings present characteristics defined with respect to the proposal, size, composition, and interview procedures. The focus or object of analysis is the interaction inside the

group. The participants influence each other through their answers to the ideas and contributions during the discussion. The moderator stimulates discussion with comments or subjects. The fundamental data produced by this technique are the transcripts of the group discussions and the moderator's reflections and annotations.

This design mechanism will pose critical moderation challenges for the researcher since the study will encompass bringing different participants with different political orientations thus causing agreement tensions.

3.5 TARGET POPULATION

Breakwell, Hammond and Smith (2006) refer to target population as the selection of all persons of interest under the cloak of the study. It is part of all components of analysis associated with the problem for instance elections will be associated with the electorate as the target population whereas a study on student abuse will have the district education officer, parents and students as the target population. This research targets population women and men with an age range of 18-65, this target population is relevant in terms of evaluating voting trends and whether people under the different concerns that are being taken as concerns in Zimbabwe's political arena.

3.6 POPULATION SAMPLE

Explorable online refers to population sampling as the process of taking a subset of subjects that is representative of the entire population though sample must have sufficient size to warrant statistical analysis. For this study purposive sampling was used to select political party representatives, political persons and institutional representatives in order to get first-hand information from the initial sources of discontent or appraisal. To some level again, random sampling was used in order to give every individual along the voting age to get a chance to fall under the research ambit.

3.6.1 Sampling Methods

Advantageously the use of purposive sampling made the research get quality and relevant information from targeted groups that had the necessary traits and characteristics that were of concern to the research. Purposive sampling has its dichotomies; Barreiro and Albandoz (2001) espouse the variations as follows:

(a) Maximum Variation Sampling

This type of purposive sampling aims to bring together a pull of variations under the umbrella of the study thereby achieving a better and greater understanding of the problem under study. This type of purposive sampling is also known as Heterogeneous Sampling as it borders around selecting a population sample across a spatial and wider spectrum relating to the research. For example when one is researching about elections in Zimbabwe and ZANU PF hegemony, it is imperative to include the rural electorate which is considered as the stronghold for ZANU PF in the polls and also include the Urbanities/towns which are considered as the strongholds for opposition parties in order to deduce the concept of *voter stereotyping*.

(b) Homogeneous Sampling

Opposed to Heterogeneous sampling, this form of purposive sampling is concerned about candidates, participants who similarly share a characteristic or trait. For example participants in homogeneous sampling would have same job, political opinion/interest, age etc. the drive for this kind of sampling and research is to draw a confluence of similarity and relate it to the topic. In conducting political researches, with a research topic concerned about State-civil society relations and democracy in Zimbabwe, it is imperative for the researcher to have groups like interest groups, associations, trade unions, churches and pressure groups in order to deduce the relationship they yearn and crave for since there is similarity in named groups which is determining, contributing and evaluating government policy in relation to the larger interest of the groups they represent.

(c) Extreme/Deviant Case Sampling

This is another form of purposive sampling that is centred on individuals that are unusual, uncommon and atypical. This kind of sampling is mostly used to develop knowledge about the unusual or unknown. It may seek to explain the sudden divergence from the common trend or the utter opposition. In this case, this type may be used to explain the Gwanda vote that endorsed Gwanda as a ZANU PF stronghold in the 2013 elections for the first time since ZANU PF had never in its political existence won in Gwanda. It seeks to establish the know-how of how it happened, explaining the change in trends.

(d) Expert Sampling

With its nomenclature, expert sampling is concerned and focused on experts that are in a specific and particular field and thereby taken to be the respondents/participants of the study. This type of sampling is imperative and significant if the research is expected to take a reasonable length of time before its results are reached. It helps when there is lack of observational evidence. This is a sampling method which is a tool favourably to adapt and utilize when investigating non-generalizable facets and facts in order to bring out relevant information. This can be relatedly associated with bringing Voter observation groups, political scientists, political party leadership and human rights activists when investigating the authenticity of the allegations of rigging and voter intimidation

3.7 DATA ANALYSIS AND DATA PRESENTATION PROCEDURES

The data gathered from the participants was presented according to strategic topics which were as a result of focus groups, interview or and questionnaires responses. The study's analysis was mostly rooted on the utilization of excel and thematic analysis.

3.7.1 Thematic Analysis

The study used thematic analysis to analyse the data and also make sense of the study's data and information. Bernard and Ryan (2003) note that thematic analysis involves more of data translation, involvement of the researcher and interpretation as it surpasses the general view of going through raw data, it therefore entails identifying and describing both overt, obvious ideas and seeks also to uncover implicit and hidden ideas within the data. This study at some point reflects the obviously documented and published ideas that have been made available in explaining ZANU PF hegemony in Zimbabwe; implicitly it sought to bring the untold stories of this supremacy and preponderance.

Thematic analysis helps to uncover new angles since it focuses on themes, themes can be simply be referred to as a presentation or prevalence of similar responses, experiences or meanings from the data that is gathered in line to the research objectives and questions of the study. As such thematic analysis brings forth the need to authenticate information gotten from the respondents. Becker (1958) is of the view that there are no specific standards that are set in relation to validating and authenticating conclusions in qualitative research, but the need to cautiously look into evidence and methodologies used to reach conclusions is useful and of significance to avoid biases and

misinformation, Becker suggests that the misinformation and bias can be corrected through the asking of the following critical questions that are linked to thematic analysis:

- (a) How reliable was the informant: Were the statements uttered by the informant from just a respondent that the researcher just met or the responses were from a trusted person? If the statement given seemingly sound like they are made up stories that are deviant to reality, can they at least be used to understand the informant's dimension of interpretation.
- (b) Did the statements from the respondents answer or address the questions asked by the researcher, or were they unprompted and spontaneous responses? Extemporaneous responses are more expected to have been uttered possibly when the researcher was not present. This makes thematic analysis more important because it grasps the little and less relevant information as long as it becomes salient in responses.

3.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter housed the research morphology of the study, research design, target population, population sample, research tools, data presentation and analysis procedures.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter of the research paper presents the data that the researcher gathered in the process of field research. There is the analysis of the data and the discussion of the data as per to the findings made. The data was gathered through questionnaires and focus groups. The focus groups were facilitated in order to gather diverse information and opinions from different groups.

4.2 ELECTORATE'S RESPONSES

4.2.1 Questionnaires

The research target to reach out to 40 electorates was met, giving out 100% response rate for the research implying that the research findings could be reliable. The bar graph below shows how the responds to the questionnaires were distributed along their age groups; the statistics is however interpreted in percentages.

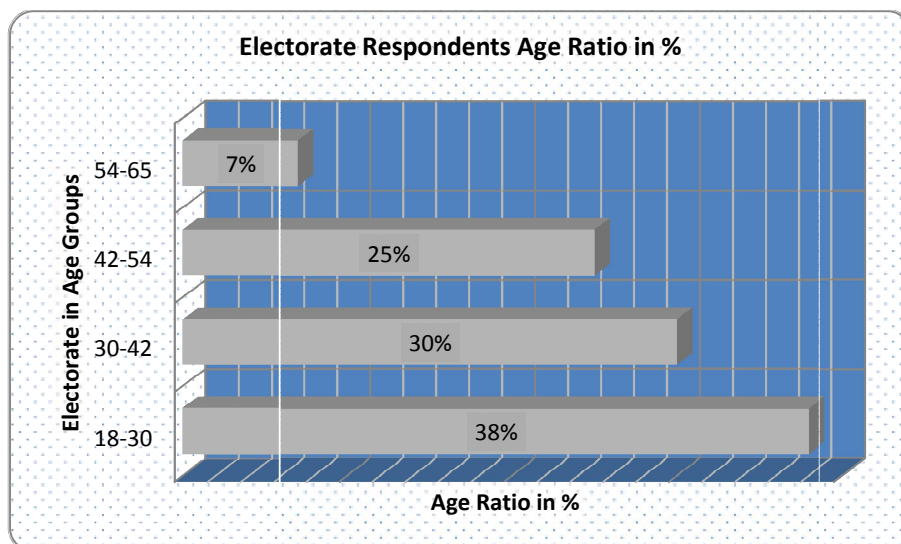


Figure 1 Electorate Age Ratios in %

The responses may reflect the concerns that exist as per age group in line with the research ambit. With the idea of democracy being impacted and affected along lines of age.

In the 40 respondents that were covered in the questionnaire tract, (17) of the respondents were females accounting for 43% of the respondents, with the (23) 57 % of the remaining respondents being males. The findings that may be found as per this research may reflect the gender disparities in the understanding of the phenomena under research, the researcher made efforts to capitalize on engaging the female respondents more during the administration of questionnaires where and when the respondents needed help in a bid to balance the disparities that could impact the research findings.

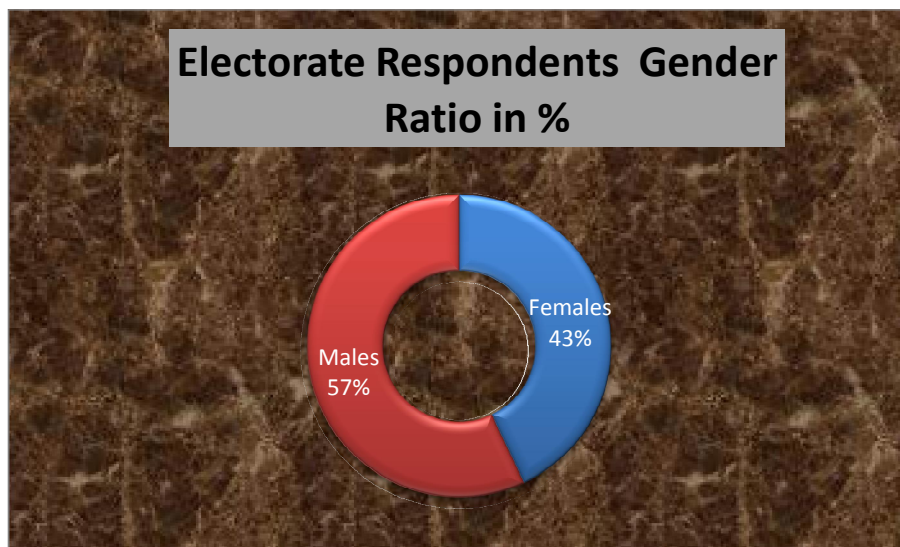


Figure 2 Pie chart shows the gender ratio for the questionnaire/interviews Respondents

4.2.2 Elections and Democracy in Zimbabwe

The need to examine the major factors that have led to ZANU PF's hegemony in the political sphere led the researcher to structure questions that would unpack the notions and perceptions of the electorate in understanding the variables of democracy and election in Zimbabwe.

Democracy and elections in Zimbabwe were understandably seen as political tools that help the citizens engage with the central government and also influence how major decisions to do with governance were being handled. 15 males (65%) of the male

respondents reflected that Zimbabwe was democratic and rated the level of democracy to fair under the ambit scale of the questionnaire. A Mr Dube from ward 8 Bulawayo accentuated and cemented the notion of Zimbabwe being democratic, Mr Dube said:

“Democracy is there, we vote our councillors into power and they serve as we please. As for me, I ask them to give us assistance in issues to do with water, and they bring it with Water Bowsers during funerals, thus the democracy we want, People driven service delivery”.

8 (35%) of the male respondents reflected that the elections were at times a way to legitimize the government but they had nothing to do with the people, though democratically they symbolized a country that is an electoral democracy. On rating the level of democracy they referred to it as weak since the elections were a façade of democracy. One youth (Anonymous 1) respondent reflected:

“You would wonder what elections are about, choice! Whose choice, the Councillors and MPs know each other, last time we had a problem in the primaries of the contesting parties in this ward. Power struggle and the elections were just dirty”.

The research made a discovery along the notions of what democracy is viewed as, along age groups. For the youths, it seems that the notion of democracy means that elections should not involve the genuine fight for political relevance, but must be a gentleman’s game. This however defies Morgenthau’ definition of what politics is, which refers to politics as purely a struggle for power. To some point, Mr Dube’s perception of the level of democracy and elections was hinged on the power of the elector on making the elected act according to expectation of electors, this view of democracy matched with the common Schumpeterian perception of democracy, Schumpeter (1943) refers to democracy as a system of governance in which rulers are held accountable for their actions in the public realm by citizens, acting indirectly through the competition and cooperation of their elected representatives, thus showing a great disparity between the age groups in terms of responses. In the 35 % that placed democracy and elections on ‘weak’ on the questionnaire scale, the age range was from between 18-35 whereas the other 65% which markedly gave a positive position on Zimbabwe’s democracy was

along the age group from 42-65. The age factor seems to play a considerable part in understanding the notions of democracy and elections in Zimbabwe. The age factor may be understood in Mr Mpofu who opined that:

“Elections and democracy for Us are no longer about fighting, we fought for the Independence, now we vote for stewards and leaders”

The disparities in the concepts of what democracy is and what elections have to give out from their existence as a ritual in the celebration of democracy seems to be also interpreted along the lines of age. The elder generation feels that voting is about choosing who leads, whereas the younger generation views elections as a fighting stick to vigorously exorcise the political arena of unaccountable and infidel leaders though non-violently reflecting the gentleman approach of politics, the claim of the younger generation is also cemented by Ncube (1991) who points out that behind the façade of constitutionalism and democracy that has been created by the Zimbabwean state, lies an authoritarian political and legal system, serious violations of basic democratic rights, human rights and the rule of law. This shows the disparities between the youth and the elderly generation.

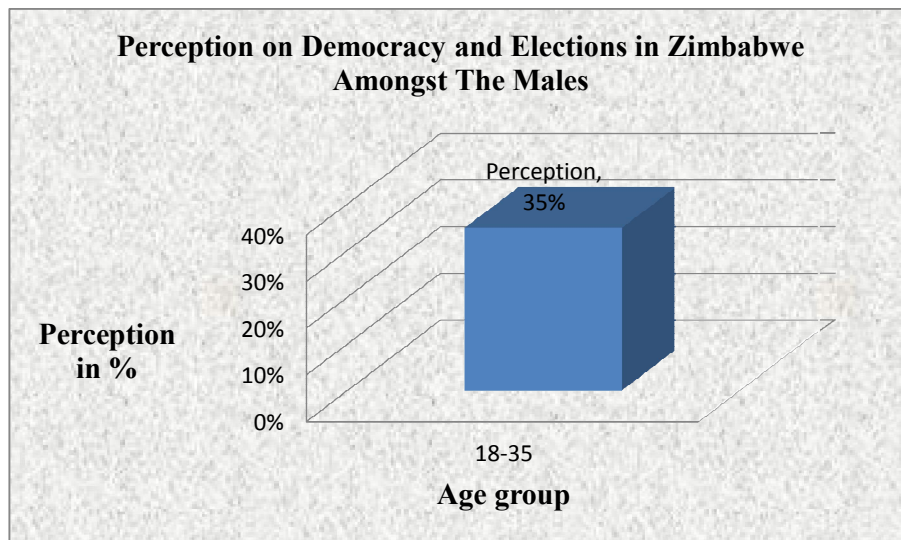


Figure 3 Shows perception of Males on Democracy and election in Zimbabwe on an age group approach (18-35)

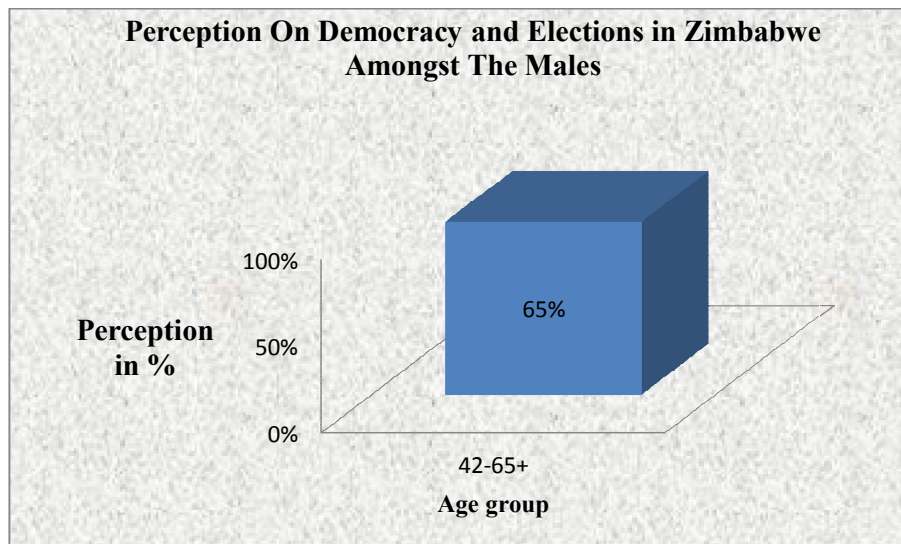


Figure 4 Shows perception of Males on Democracy and election in Zimbabwe on an age group approach (42-65+)

The female respondents reflected that democracy exists in the political systems in Zimbabwe. A lady who preferred to remain anonymous reflected that:

“We have a voice as women, and elections are doing it well for Us, We can Talk with a political voice through our female representatives in the parliament”.

The research therefore unearthed the facet of representation as the major theme of democracy that women want, with most women emphasizing representation, with Mrs Mkhwananzi echoing this view:

“Equal opportunities are there, we vote and we work, access to the courts is fairly distributed, that is what I vote for”

Gender saliently became a feature that drives the perceptions of democracy. The women were positively standing on a representation agenda on the democracy scale whereas the males were all about controlling how the political systems function. This shows how the parochial and patriarchal nature of the society that existed way before had an impact in stemming up the politics of the day; democracy for women is a gender mainstreaming facet.

4.2.2 Voting and Choice in Zimbabwe

With a great contestation of elections in Zimbabwe, the research aimed at establishing whether the elections were a true reflection of the citizens' will. From the questionnaires, the question on whether the citizens considered their vote as a political effort that counts, political escapism and apathy came into the picture. Of the 40 questionnaires only seven (18%) of them had the question answered, with the other 33 (82%) questionnaires having the question skipped. Seems the question about elections and choice in Zimbabwe is a hot and debatable one which is synonymous with opening a can of worms. Amongst the seven who answered the question, 5 of them reflected that their vote counts whereas the other 2 respondents had a deviant perception reflecting that at times the vote counts.

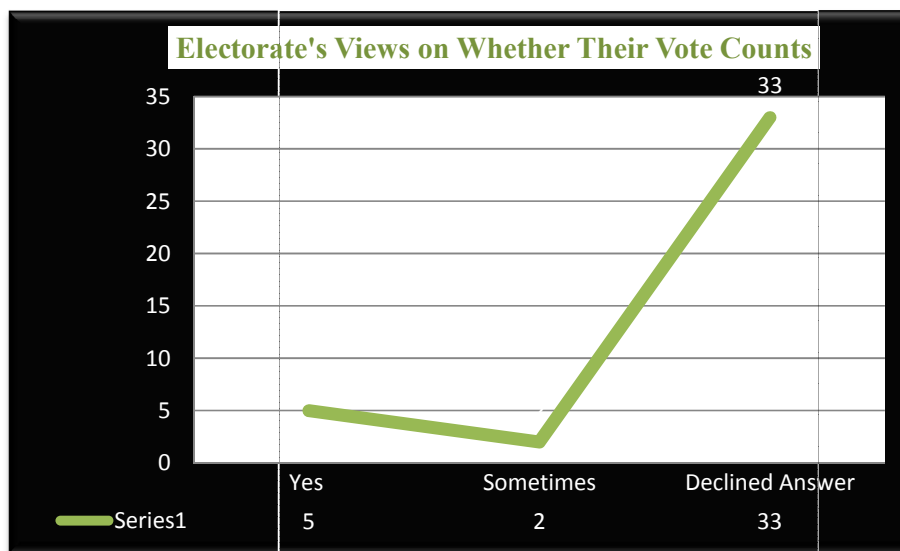


Figure 5 Shows the electorate's views of their vote in deciding the politics of the day in Zimbabwe's political systems.

Since Machiavelli/Machiavellian Theory (1469-1527) accentuates and propounds on the idea of deceit and shrewdness in leaders, it is upon this this level that one can argue that Machiavelli's advice to the prince that he copy the capacities of a fox and also of the lion with the fox's foresight and cunningness enabling him to imagine and perceive his political objectives and help him map up the strategy to achieve it, on the other hand the mimicry of the lion will necessitate him to have the strength to go on willingly and undeterred. With much of the respondents having scrapped off the question of whether

their vote counts, it is upon this juncture that the age factor played a crucial role in influencing the findings with the youths that reflected elections as a stamp of government legitimation rather than a political process thus making them alienate answering the question, it is herein that the research found out that the ZANU PF party has used shrewd and cunning political approaches to achieving political power through elections even if it means that most people do not vote or believe less in the elections. The argument of legitimation can be deduced from His Excellency's response to the Zimbabwe Hash tag Tajamuka/Sesjikile protests as He uttered:

“Joining hands to foment chaos to effect regime change as is being done in some Arab countries will never be tolerated. Why not wait for elections. You don't want to wait for them. But that's democracy! I heard Tsvangirai calling for a coalition to stage protests to topple government. That shows the opposition have no confidence in their electoral chances against ZANU PF” (Chronicle Newspaper 2016)

As such, Levitsky and Way (2002)' argument that competitive authoritarianism as regime forms that have elections that are competitive where major opposition candidates are not excluded; opposition parties are able to campaign publicly; and there is no massive fraud may hold water in Zimbabwe's scenario where voting has multi partyism which however drowns the idea of citizens' activity and input in the dispensation of elections, choice and democracy in Zimbabwe.

4.3 EXPERTS'S RESPONSES

The researcher's target to interview and conduct focus group discussion with 8 experts was met thus giving 100% response rate for the research, implying that the research findings could be reliable.

The table below shows the tabulation of the age and sex of the respondents.

Variables	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Gender		
Males	5	62
Females	3	38
Age in (Years)		
18-30	2	25
30-42	4	50
42-54	-	-
54-65	2	25

Table 1 Interview Response Rate

4.3.1 Voter educators, Political Leaders and Civil Societies' views on Elections and Choice

With a decline that was observed from the questionnaire respondents, the research utilized the focus group to get a much more pregnant and well painted picture of elections and choice in Zimbabwe.

Amongst the participants engaged in the focus group, 2 were political leaders in the local government tier and 3 were civil society activists and the other 3 were from a voter education forum based in Bulawayo. The researcher questioned whether elections and votes count or play a part in the political situation in Zimbabwe. One of the representatives of a civil society in Bulawayo pointed out that the problem about elections in and votes in Zimbabwe is that they are predetermined before the elections take place thus taking away their value; in unison 2 (25%) representatives of the civil society outlined that the issue of strongholds phenomena is an electoral flaw and vice that has undermined election sense, with Mr Sibanda outlining that:

“Voting is satisfactory to the instinct of political participation, but I doubt it makes any difference, imagine you are a ZANU PF supporter in Bulawayo or Harare urbanities, do you think your vote counts? It doesn't, such votes are seen as oppositionist and they don't matter, so the vote is a 5 year ritual, done to satisfy what I will call political ego”

The notion that was brought out by the civil society representative in the focus group led to what Bratton and Masunungure (2006) outline saying in 2005, the month of May, after the parliamentary elections that sent a shocking political message that the incumbent

ruling party had lost political monopoly and grip on Zimbabwe's urbanities, the government broke into a situation of a clandestine Operation Murambatsvina which sought to exorcise the state of sporadic and disorderly scattered housing structures and the rampant illegal informal economy which however was an act of retribution by a vituperative ruling party against a non-compliant electorate in Bulawayo and other urbanities which had voted pleasingly for the opposition. This point by Bratton and Masunungure coupled with the civil society representative's opinion on elections and votes in Zimbabwe outlines the voter stereotyping that deludes the impact of voting, why people should vote and think that their vote will change anything if there are already labelled as a "strong hold". The stronghold notion is also propounded on by Magaisa who asserts that ZANU PF has prioritized the rural electorate for a guaranteed political mileage in all its election runs, this shows that votes can be undermined by the attitude of voter stereotype hence making the vote worthless.

One respondent from the voter education dimension deviated and reflected that elections and votes in Zimbabwe really count, but what is on the ground is that everyone's vote is a secret, thus why there are uncertainties about whether the vote counts or not. Mr Muyambo, a programmes officer who works in a voter education organization uttered as follows:

"I have seen how people talk, a hundred may say they will vote for you whilst they Are not registered or either whilst they know whom they will vote for. Imagine if you are beaten in such an election, you will say you were rigged or votes don't count"

This response from the voter education dimension of viewing the value of elections in Zimbabwe's elections reflected why there is much controversy in elections; after campaigners have seen turnouts in rallies they convert turnouts to votes which in turn become a political miscalculation.

The other 2 (25%) representatives from the side of the voter education organization reflected that elections in Zimbabwe are not anyhow an ingredient to the political dish that citizens have to consume in the period of 5 years after the political meal has been

prepared. In their perception elections are a procedure that is done to match the country with other democracies; one of them (Anonymous 3) reflected that:

“The issue is that in rural areas and in some parts of the country, people are taught who to vote for than how to vote, so you can see the challenge, is that voter Education?, it’s not.

This twist was now an amazing development to understanding elections in Zimbabwe, the researcher set in motion the question of *“What voter education organization has been teaching people who to vote for”*. The respondents seemingly were hit by shock, in each of them; it came out clear that voter education organizations had a hand in devaluing the elections and democracy since they undermined the processes by being partisan than being apolitical in their conduct of business and operation.

This took the shift to another exciting and intractable link that the research paper sought to address *“political violence”*. Since many political actors have been labelling the ZANU PF led government as a violent political actor, the 2 (25%) representatives from the Local government tier disrupted the motion at the mercy of the government and said:

“That’s one reason the government introduces legislation for Mondus Operando, we cannot allow people to teach citizens who to vote for, that’s as good as allowing terrorists to set up a terrorist training centre and later crying that the state is under siege.

The representatives from the local government tier reasonably showed that the civil society and pressure groups that label the ZANU PF led government as violent and crude forgot to mention that they were also sell-outs and mercenaries than missionaries. It was in this verge that the research associated its findings with the Machiavellian notion of *“Raison D’ Etat”*. According to Machiavellian theory, under the concept of statecraft, Raison D Etat means Reason of State. This doctrine outlines that:

“Conducts, actions and policies promoting welfare and security of the state must not be interrogated, because the state must reserve itself before it upholds the wellbeing of its citizens. For safeguarding and maintaining itself completely all

means used by the state are acceptable. Accordingly politics is conducted on harsh realities of political life which is a continuous and covert struggle for survival and power. The activities and actions of the state must be questioned only on the basis of Raison D Etat".i.e. self-sufficiency, independence and well-ordered and maintenance of the state. Machiavelli advises that the ruler in conserving and protecting the state entirely all means taken are worthwhile. Princes should give precedence and primacy to power. Ethics and morality have dissimilar domains not in politics. It shall not be associated with the reason of the state. To a ruler authority and power of state should be of ultimate significance".

Founded by the research was that the most said violence that has been uttered about, is associated with protecting the state from demise than infringing on the rights of people or citizens, this cause is justified by the Machiavellian advice to Princes and leaders which puts the state on the first page of the book of politics than the citizens. In this perspective, it can be noted that the existence of the POSA and AIPPA pieces of legislation have been a way of controlling the spread of political rot than crushing political dissenting views. However one representative from the Civil society (12%) on the expert respondents declined the justification of violence saying that at times its not used to maintain the power of the state, but power of the individuals, Sibanda thundered:

"Be real, elections lose political sanity if they have violence in them, why do we have to flog, maim or beat people? This idea of voter educators who teach how to vote is a one in a million case scenario, who was Operation Mavoterapapi addressed to? Was it addressed to voter educationists or voters?"

This point reflected that either way, the elections in Zimbabwe has a number of players, with each team expecting a win on their side, thus reports that are done on an election update most times shows what certain players yearned for.

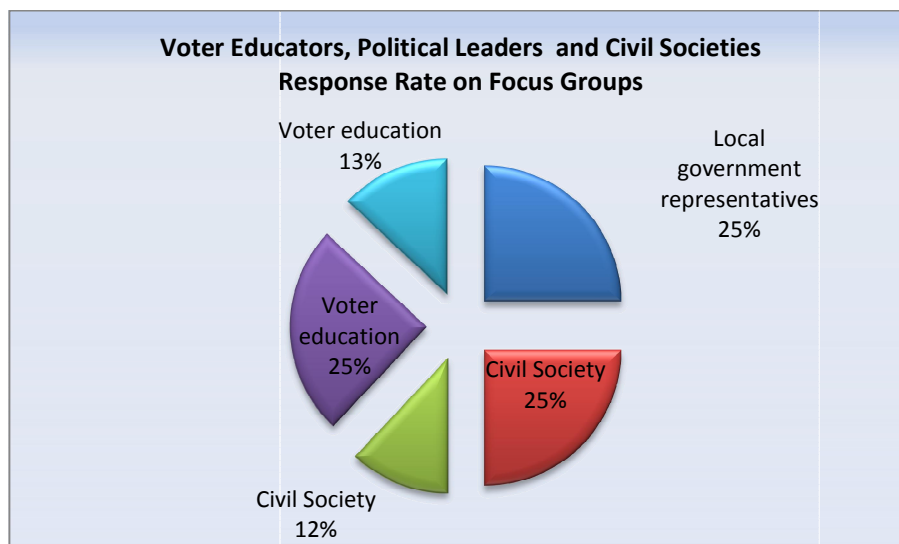


Figure 6 Shows the statistical contribution of each group in the focus group

The different groups in the focus group brought justifications for and against the effectiveness and legitimacy of elections in Zimbabwe; their contributions were heterogeneous even though they belonged to the same departments of operation. Below is the summary of the responses.

Group Name	Response Rate on theme	Theme and Justification
Civil Society	25%	The civil society reflected that elections fail to materialize into sense because they are predetermined under regional/stronghold lines causing what can be called the <i>voter stereotype</i> hence undermining the idea of the ballot in shaping political realities.
Local government representatives	25%	Use of state apparatus (violence/coercion) was justified in election processes not in line with uttering voter patterns but in

		line with protecting the state from saboteurs, mercenaries who want to hide behind voter education and other undefined and electorally unjustifiable notions. Votes count but people should not destabilize the nation hiding under the elections mantra.
Voter educators	25%	The other representative from the voter educators department reflected that voter education in Zimbabwe creates voter bases for parties, it does not teach choice hence votes do not count per se, but are a satisfaction to the political hunger to contribute to the political development of the polity.
Civil Society	12%	Votes do not count in Zimbabwe because there is use of violence and coercion that seeks to drive voters to a certain desired voting behaviour.
Voter Educators	13%	The voter educators' representative also had a deviant case on whether votes count, as votes are a secret. The representative

		referred to political realities and political promises as two different political phenomena that can take place. Hence political promises should not be confused for political realities.
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Table 2 Shows views on elections from different groups in a focus group conducted at Queens Sports club

4.3.2 ZANU PF political hegemony and political competition in Zimbabwe

Since the research sought to establish the realities that surround and characterize ZANU PF’s hegemony and demystify the mysteries ontologically and give deductive information based on the findings, it was imperative to make sure that the questionnaires reflected much on the perceptions that prevail in regards to the research ambit and concern.

The ZANU PF party has been associated much with violence and use of unscrupulous methods to winning elections in Zimbabwe. The respondents for this segment of the paper were haphazardly picked in order to avoid traits and trends in spoiling the research findings (trait and trends are synonymous with Bulawayo urbanities and their votes that portray MDC stronghold per se). The researcher managed to get 11 respondents from Gwanda which is under Matebeleland North, 8 respondents from Bubi district which is under Matebeleland North and the other 21 respondents to add to the 40 respondents which was the target came from Bulawayo as a need to align to the notion of purposive sampling.

From the research, the Gwanda respondents were of interest since ZANU PF had never won any seats in Gwanda up until 2013. The two Gwanda respondents were to be used as the control group due to the sudden change in electoral and voter patterns that took place in 2013. The researcher made use of the Gwanda respondents to investigate and clarify the existence of fraudulency and political impunity as tools for stayism in political and electoral processes in Zimbabwe. From the responses from the Gwanda respondents, it

was deduced that ZANU PF thrives on political resilience than bogus political acts. The 11 Gwanda respondents who contributed to (27%) of the target applauded in unison that:

“Political opposition parties in Zimbabwe lack the zeal to stand up for the Challenge, Look at Joshua Mqabuko Nkomo; he united with ZANU leading to the Unity Accord, and before we knew it, in 2009 we had a Government of National Unity. ZANU PF is just one party that parties do not want to replace but rather join forces with, that’s one amazing part. I do not think they rig any election, people vote, we vote”.

This response brought out that ZANU PF is good at incubating their opposition so as to ultimately eliminate and annihilate them at the end of the day. The elimination or expulsion of Joshua Mqabuko Nkomo from government in the 1980 marked the scheming, shrewd and calculative nature of ZANU PF. The researcher found out that ZANU PF is like a female scorpion that kills its mate after the mating session. This allegory deduces that the engagement of the MDC factions in the government of national unity (GNU) was a mating session that made MDC factions face the fate of political death in the 2013 elections. The “*containment-elimination theory*” was coined by the researcher to therefore point out that ZANU PF contains opposition parties by keeping them close before booting them out of the political office. The loving and darling character of opposition parties in Zimbabwe which have been competing with ZANU PF seems to have been their point of failure in providing arduous and formidable challenge to ZANU PF. Hofmeister and Grabow (2011) point out that common and salient about political parties is their nature of fighting till the bitter end, with a notable readiness and insatiable hunger in making political decisions, taking actions and having capacity for political confrontation which is tied to their ambitions to retain and override the governing power. This contestation amongst the parties is the roadmap and sole path to securing political power and this is not only in elections but it remains the driving force of the party throughout its political existence.

Such participation in political contestation when done with success leads to political representation through the securing of political posts since contestations and participation make the party enhance its primary day to day activities which makes its internal

administration healthy and ready to deliver in government. This is also the main stimulation to participate in party activities and makes a party especially interesting once it is a part of a government, how then do political parties in Zimbabwe present any political/fighting spirit if they are so passionate about political cuddling than political competition? The above response and Hofmeister and Grabow perception woven with the Machiavelli theory that connotes that the end justifies the means justifies ZANU PF's winning as founded of political resilience and political maturity than rigging or political impunity. The End justifies the Means notion suggests that:

“A prince must keep in mind that whatever assures authority, power and success is beneficial even it means using covert means such as deceit, shrewdness and cunningness is justified. Politics therefore is the most hazardous, unpredictable and precarious game, which of course cannot be played in a moral, decent and orderly manner”.

This theory covers the respondents' observation that the Gwanda vote was changed into a positive vote for ZANU PF because of ZANU PF's resilience compared to the opposition darling and emotional behaviour in amongst political parties in Zimbabwe. This can be coupled up with Whande (2016) who points out that

“To date, no party has given birth to more political parties than Morgan Tsvangirai Movement for Democratic Change. It is sad that his party, the biggest opposition party, is identified by appending his name to that of the party: the MDC-T. This is to distinguish it from the worse-than-dead breakaway group, referred to as the MDC-N, led by his former Secretary General, Welshman Ncube. For whatever reason, Ncube installed Arthur Mutambara as president of his party and when they fell out with each other, Mutambara led another breakaway faction known as MDC-M”.

Lack of political resilience in parties in Zimbabwe shows that ZANU PF returns what is referred to herein as *Hegemonic Opportunism* which entails that all childish and emotional political acts that opposition political parties perform are to the advantage of ZANU PF as the party takes opportunity to resuscitate its hegemony under such events as deduced from His Excellency's speech that opposition parties have no confidence in their

electoral chance against ZANU PF. This observation by Whande shows that the lack of political maturity and political resilience in the opposition parties has made ZANU PF stand strong in the opposition that it has been facing, this has led to the researcher coining a political process called “*Hegemonic opportunism*” that ZANU PF portrays in its conduct of political business that is founded upon political discipline and political cohesion preached and indoctrinated amongst party members under the gospel of peace.

2 (5%) respondent from Bubi district reflected that ZANU PF has a social appeal in terms of issues relating to land and social heritage and the spread of national prosperity amongst all Zimbabwe.

*“Talk about culture and respect of our traditional ways, ZANU PF is always
There to understand. Our land is our inheritance from our Ancestors, we are glad
We have such a political party to vote for”*

The respondents showed that ZANU PF has an approach that has much of social fabric in it which appeals to a number of people along all age groups, classes and emphasizes on the growth of the black people, this showed that the emphasis that ZANU PF has in its approach in the safeguard of culture and agriculture as inert grassroots for livelihoods in Zimbabwe has made ZANU PF a political host for the political and spiritual reincarnation of Zimbabwean hopes portraying its upholding of a Zimbabwe that has identity than a Zimbabwe that is turned and twisted by forces of change, Cultural conservatism therefore entails safeguarding the history, heritage, pride and national culture. National culture/pride can be linked with language, traditional practices and social norms and values. Conservatism has a set of variants that include social conservatism which emphasizes the norms of societies which ensure morality and social uprightness, this morality and social uprightness has been in the sense of opposing the rights mantra that the LGBT groups have tried to secure together with the emphasis of women covering their faces under the Sharia and Islam world. The concept of conservatism has led to ZANU PF returning political power throughout its political competition because it boosts its social curriculum vitae since it appeals to the social realities of the nation.

One (3%) respondent from Bulawayo reflected that ZANU PF wins elections due to their social taste. The respondent uttered that:

I would rather vote for a party that will make promises and not fulfil them than vote a party that preaches acculturation. What's this we are hearing of, man to man (Gay rights)? At least ZANU PF is there to fight the taboo”

This adds well to cultural consciousness that ZANU PF has in its approaches than opposition political parties that have reached a stage of political stagnation and expediency to an extent of using the homosexuality mantra to lure an electorate base.

4.3.3 Political campaigning and communication as factors in maintaining political hegemony

8 (20%) of the respondents were of the opinion that they vote ZANU PF because ZANU PF is the only party that campaigns more than other parties in their districts, the prevalent voice was mostly amongst those from Bubi district and Gwanda, the questionnaires symbiotically portrayed that ZANU PF campaigns well as it spreads through Zimbabwe, however in those 8 respondents, one (2%) of them confessed that they had an encounter of political violence after resisting invitation to attend a political rally that was organized and spearheaded by the Chief in his village. The prevailing comment from the 8 respondents was that:

“If you go for a tour in Zimbabwe you cannot miss to see an Empower, indigenize, Employ T-shirt or Cap but it is unfortunate that MDC has a talent in campaign reluctance”

This showed that ZANU PF has an outreach approach to politics which is based on reaching out to communities. According to Hofmeister and Grabow (2011) sufficient, clear and adequate communication is the lifeblood of any political party. This includes communication with the electorate, other players in the political sphere and the society as a whole, as well as interior communication system which entail sharing of information within and amongst its own. Simply, parties with a well-organized system of interior communication systems are able to also graduate to having a reasonable external communication skill. Communication can be deduced from the respondents who

reflected that ZANU PF campaigns and communicates more than any other party does; Magaisa (2015) notes that

“ZANU PF, unlike any other party values the decisive and significant rural Vote because that is where the largest part of the population and electorate reside. Censuses conducted have shown that of thirteen million people in the country, 67 per cent are in communal and rural areas, thus reflecting that the remaining 33% per cent resides in the urban areas”

This shows that opposition parties have lacked the power to appeal communicatively with all the electorate bases. Magaisa (2015) outlines an interesting factor that also portrays a Pilate attitude in wiping off his hands as labelling ZANU PF as a rigging or cheating candidate in elections, Magaisa points out that there is worthy motivation why the rural vote significantly matters to ZANU PF thus therefore it should be for the similar reason that opposition parties should appreciate the deciding vote that the rural electorate has in turning around their political fortunes. Up until the opposition advance their interests in rural areas, ZANU PF will determinately occupy a point of advantage in polls and electoral competition since 99.7per cent of the eligible rural population are registered compared to sixty-seven per cent urban vote. This shows that the level of communication that ZANU PF has given it a political leverage as accentuated by the respondents and Magaisa who shows how ZANU PF has managed to access the rural electorate, Machiavelli emphasizes that Princes and rulers should try to win admiration, benevolence and fondness of their people, this proves that ZANU PF is a political party that has created a good political vitae for itself since it has significantly appealed even to the electorate that is in deep Muzarambani and deep Nkayi unlike its counterparts which ascribes to political/voter stereotyping.

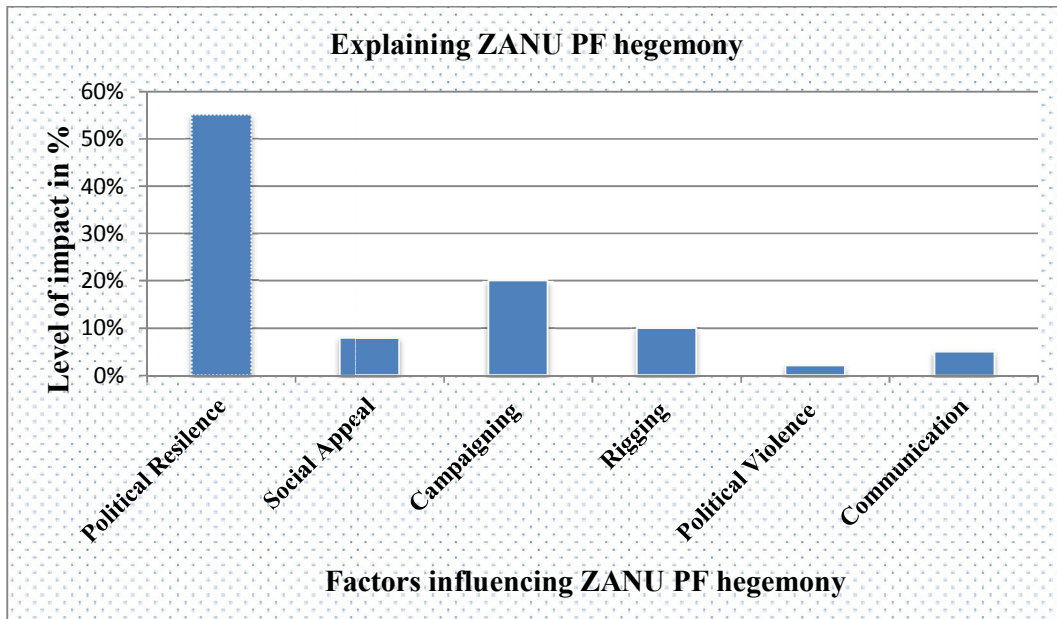


Figure 7 Factors that have led to ZANU PF hegemony (Questionnaires)

4.4 Focus group: Factors influencing ZANU PF's Hegemony

4.4.1 Political culture and Stateism

Notwithstanding it was noted that the experts that were selected for the richness they have in terms of information had a differing view on the concepts of ZANU PF hegemony in the election, political processes, systems and procedures. The focus with experts was adopted in relation to the study's sampling which is purposive sampling.

It was discovered by the research that ZANU PF has been referred to as winner in all elections due to its existence in government positions that are of influence. 2 (25%) experts from the focus group keenly emphasized that ZANU PF wins because of its strategic positioning in the government as it controls all the state apparatus. The issue of ZANU PF campaigning more than any political party was undermined and denounced by the 2 (25%) experts from the voter education side who alleged that ZANU PF uses state media to indoctrinate the rural folk who at most times can have access to television and radio and however lack access to critical print media that is independent hence having the capacity to appraise the government. This concept of media has been cited by (Makumbe 2002, Media Monitoring Project of Zimbabwe 2005, and Nkomo 2012) who assert that the state controlled ZBC has a tilted approach to political advertising and there hence perverting the formation/moulding of a political decisive political culture.

One (13%) of the representatives from the voter education representative side noted that such a tilted broadcasting and dishing out of political meals created political obesity that made the political ideology and culture of Zimbabweans be saturated by ZANU PF dogma and therefore stifling political choice amongst the voters thus showing that democratic transition is delayed and stalled if the media is limited as it is seen as a medium and middle man in the trade of democracy. Lee (1995) is of the view that people can only participate and make their wishes known if public communication is made an integral part of political democracy, effective democracy demands a system of constant interaction with the people, accessibility at all levels, a public ethos which allows conflicting ideas to contend. This point draws back ZANU PF's legitimacy in terms of campaigning in terms of media since ZBC has been delineated from being associated with having a capacity of tabling conflicting ideas in contending positions.

The campaigning strength of ZANU was further stripped down by one (13%) other representative of the voter education organization who mirrored that access to campaign was cumbersome for other political parties considering the existence of village heads and traditional leaders who are rather puppets of the government than the safeguards of their people.

The 2 (25%) representatives from the government reflected that the ZANU PF does not even utilize or abuse state funds anyhow. This was cemented by outlining that the party used forums such as ministries to acquire funding and donations from communities at times, thus exonerating the state from any stateism, this tract emphasized that ZANU PF is a revolutionary party that fights for the people, and they reflected that:

“Opposition parties won't win because they even oppose people's votes.

How can someone say, Hamusatimanzvanenzara after being beaten in

Elections, as it is not enough and say you can rig elections but you cannot rig the economy? You cannot win with such a character”

2(25%) of the civil society personnel reflected that ZANU FP was winning elections through bending the law than breaking it. The concerns were raised on how the court system has been made to serve at the mercy of the party. The respondents made reference to the *Audi-AltremPaterm* principle which suggests that the court system should bring parties together and at that time hear the grievances of each party, instead of being aligned with one party. This claim of the law being bent was professed by the partisan

and political speeches of personnel in the court systems as was uttered by Attorney General Tomana who once was quoted saying:

“I do not see anything wrong in me supporting ZANU PF. Is it a crime to do so?”
(Daily News online 2011)

This reveals that political redress and appeal in the courts becomes insignificant since the party always gets its way around the law since it has political affiliates in the Attorney General office.

One (12%) respondent noted that ZANU PF wins elections because it has a charismatic leader who has political aura citing the 2013 elections as an election won out of political charisma and a well-articulated ZimAsset. The respondent echoed that MDC lacks charismatic leaders, and that is one reason why ZANU PF rules, adding on, the respondent said Tsvangirai who is the major opposition leader is a political power chameleon that does the opposite of what he says because he is into opposition. The respondent said Tsvangirai is fighting Mugabe’s stayism but he is still in the same boat he boarded years back. I guess people are voting ZANU PF because they are saying *“Better the devil you know than the devil you don’t know”*.

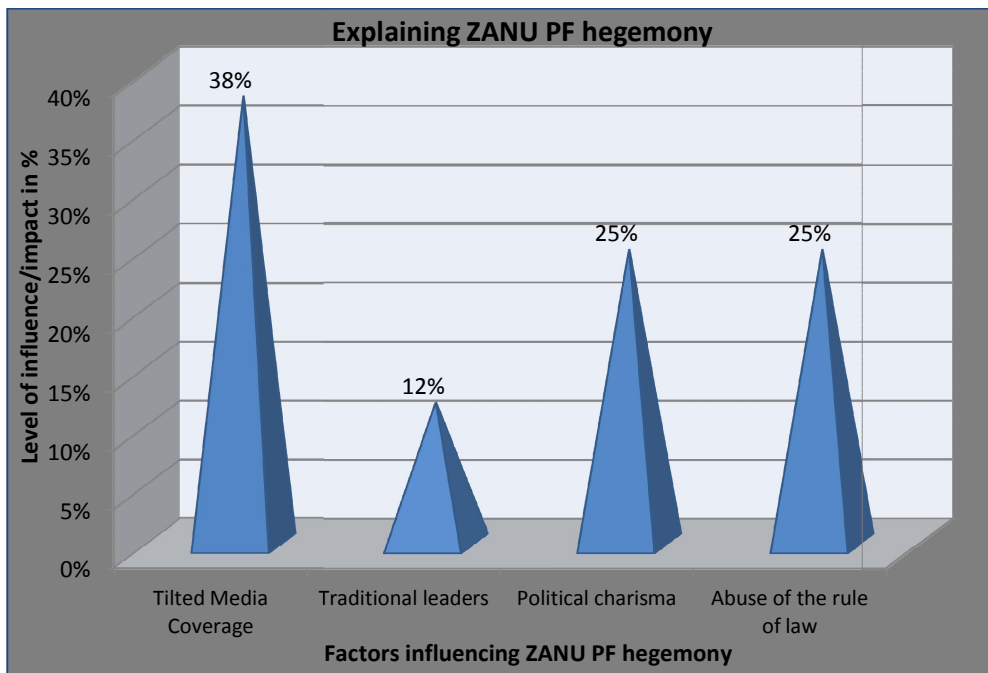


Figure 8 Factors that have led to ZANU PF hegemony (Focus group)

The above findings from the focus group showed that politics in Zimbabwe has more variables if one is to fully comprehend it. The findings reflect the essential use of media, traditional leaders and the abuse of the rule of law.

Notwithstanding that ZANU PF has good leadership in the person of the President Robert Mugabe as articulated by the respondent who reflected the contribution of character to proper election appeal. Hofmeister and Grabow (2011) point out that besides all the labours regarding their systems, political approaches and ideologies, communication setups and programmes, prerequisite for permanent success, political parties need to have suitable and appropriate political leadership to be eye-catching and attractive in the eyes of the populace and the electorate. Political leaders direct the process of creating and shaping political beliefs and decision-making and provide these choices and decisions with legitimacy. As it is not enough, they cement this point by reflecting that personal attributes also play a decisive role. The attributes range from practical perceptive and cognitive thought, knowledge of human nature, personal acquaintances, interpersonal skills and a strategic tactic, ability to take speedy and meticulous action and being patient resonantly add up to political party performance with parties that have weak leadership failing to have impact and live span. This is what President Mugabe of the ZANU PF is

like, this can be deduced in his calm statement after the Zimbabwe Shutdown Demonstration when he said people should wait to vote if they are not satisfied with the government than them [people] going to the streets, this speech reflects practical reasoning since He, Mugabe reflected that if you want to incite violence so that you invite external forces that won't work, this conquers with Hofmeister and Grabow and the respondent's view that leaders must possess a character that appeals.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the findings that the research made in the process of information gathering, giving visual aids to interpret it into reasonable and tangible information through the use of graphs that ranged from bar graphs to line graphs

CHAPTER 5: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 CHAPTER SNAPSHOT

This part of the research discusses broader the findings that were presented in the previous chapter, appraising and reviewing the findings and making conclusions that will enhance the research's capacity to making recommendations for the betterment of Zimbabwe's political processes in the dispensation of democratic transition.

5.2 Summary

The summary and conclusions is based on research questions and responses that were derived from the questionnaires and focus group discussions, where the responses become salient; they became themes that were later used in the development of the research.

65% of the male respondents reflected that there was democracy in Zimbabwe. Democracy in Zimbabwe was closely associated with the capacity of the citizens to achieve service delivery as an end of democracy and political processes. Service delivery becomes efficient if the government is decentralized and the local/grassroots tiers of government are capacitated to make service available in time. Devarajan and Widlund (2007) are of the view that the provision of social services do matter for the quality of democracy, in empowering citizens to make demands, claim their rights and be fully included in society. This brings to the fore that to some level, the level of democracy in Zimbabwe has been measure by male citizens through the concept of service delivery as noted of this research.

The remaining 35% of the respondents pointed out that democracy in Zimbabwe is half baked since elections are more or less a façade or a ritual that breeds fighting amongst the leadership of political parties and the citizens at large than smooth transition of leadership and power. This goes beyond conceptualization and generalization. Since politics is largely associated with power in its practice, it remains fallible to analyse democracy without the idea of bringing the competition that politics brings with it. The notion of elections being labelled as a façade in Zimbabwe is cemented by Tsvangirai's sentiments of the 2013 elections as quoted on BBC News online (2013);

“The credibility of this election has been marred by administrative and legal violations which affected the legitimacy of its outcome. It's a sham election that does not reflect the will of the people”

This shows that democracy in Zimbabwe is strongly married to elections and service delivery though in the long run, elections discredit the length and holy practice of democracy as a political pilgrimage for the new modern world of politics.

100% of the female respondents pronounced that democracy and elections in Zimbabwe are in a positively productive position since elections live up to their expectations and democracy is seen in equal opportunities and representative democracy. Thus therefore females mirrored democracy in line with representation and equal opportunities.

In a statistical approach, democracy and elections in Zimbabwe were endorsed as existing tenets or characteristics of Zimbabwe's political realities/processes, with an overall 32 (80%) respondents endorsing a healthy state of democracy and elections in Zimbabwe. This finding is cemented by Thornycroft (2013) who asserts that ZANU PF's landslide election victory in 2013 was probably at least partly the result of five years hard campaigning for new voters, as there is still no proof of rigging, according to a report from the Solidarity Peace Trust (SPT). This claim is also associated with this research's finding that 8 (20%) of the respondents reflected that ZANU PF's campaigns were better than any other parties.

Since the study focused on finding out ZANU PF's hegemony in Zimbabwe in line with democratic transition, In its nature it inquired the existence of any form of stateism in relation to amassment of hegemony by ZANU PF in the political arena. This part of the study was covered more by focus group discussion in order to have experts in politics to utter more accurately their understanding of manipulation and privatization of state institutions as a strategy of political preponderance and stayism. The use of state institutions was reflected on by 12% who demeaned the use of the police in exerting political violence on assumed or perceived political dissents. The examples cited was the power of the police under the POSA to dislodge and disperse people, the respondent reflected that at times the disperse orders are made out of political insecurity of the ruling party and therefore it entails that institutions are used to enhance the existence of a strong ZANU PF. A study by Makumbe (2009) and the Zimbabwe Human Rights and the NGO

Forum (2006) reflected that there was high level of immunity and feeling of invincibility prevailing amongst the Zimbabwe Republic Police in line with their continuous infliction of political terror against opposition parties and their members. Noted from the study was that impunity coupled with violence exerted by hoodlums and thugs inculcated a culture of political fear and apathy and despondency.

The law was cited as a major source of stateism whereby the government uses it to legitimize its operations. 2(25%) of the respondents on the expert side echoed that ZANU FP was winning elections through bending the law than breaking it. The concerns were raised on how the court system has been made to serve at the mercy of the party. Instances of such can be deduced from Daily News (2011) that cited the Attorney General proudly declaring his support and love for the ZANU PF party. Saki (2010) also questions the legitimacy of the court systems in Zimbabwe in relation to issues related to the government as he suggests that mostly court rulings are predetermined by the political elite from the ruling party. In this essence, the compromise and death of the rule of law shows that ZANU PF' hegemony in the political processes in Zimbabwe may be founded on legal fault lines. This can be coupled with the interpretation of media statutes such as AIPPA that have led to manipulation and control of media that was cited by 38% of the respondents in the focus group discussion whereby there were allegations that the government used its advantage of controlling institutions in turning the political fortunes to its side.

58% of the respondents showed that they are charmed and enticed to vote ZANU PF due to the character of the leadership of the party. Resilience was cited in how ZANU PF pushes forward its political business despite challenges, criticisms and all other smear campaigns. Miles-Tendi (2013) points out that there was a greater sense of unison, determination and discipline in the Zanu-PF campaign than in the MDC-T and the other opposition parties during the 2013 elections. For example, twenty-nine members of the MDC-T who were displeased with the modus operandi of how the party's primaries were conducted rebelled against the leadership and contested as independents compared to 3 disgruntled Zanu-PF candidates who acted likewise. MDC-T factions were predominantly plain and clear in Manicaland province, where the excommunicated imposition of parliamentary candidates by Tsvangirai resulted in a serious split between him and the provincial executive. Manicaland region unlike in 2008 cast the vote in

favour of Zanu-PF in 2013. All observers and opinion polls on the likelihood outcome of the 2013 elections demonstrated a growth in Zanu-PF support while that of the MDC-T was incipiently declining. This is also associated with the findings that were unearthed from the Gwanda respondents that reflected that ZANU PF had a political appeal that was much more composed than the MDC one, Whande (2016) also adds on as he criticises the MDC party for having given birth to many more political parties that later on confuse and divide political votes.

The notion of resilience and charisma in leadership comes in handy for ZANU PF in terms of political hegemony with Moyo (2012) quoting Moreleng (2003:29) to cement the cultural relevance of ZANU PF, Moreleng hinges Mugabe's popularity to his proficiency in the articulation of culture and the act of being a spiritual host and vessel which has workably become a political tool of garnering votes and political mileage. Mugabe has went to lengths of identifying himself with prominent spirit mediums in the Shona culture such as Nehanda, Chaminuka and Kaguvi thus adding religious aroma to his leadership together with relighting the glowing splint of the liberation rhetoric. This professes much evidence that political processes in Zimbabwe are fairly democratic but however other political parties have stumbled on their own and failed to materialise and offer ZANU PF a formidable barricade to the acquisition and retaining of political power.

Incompetence in Zimbabwe's opposition parties was cited as a stumbling block to democratic transition since the incompetence has bred strong factionalism, infighting, political rowdiness which has cost the opposition parties the lion's share in Zimbabwe's political arena.

5.3 Conclusions

The conclusions reached herein in the research were driven by responses gotten and derived from the focus groups and from the questionnaires in line with their relationship with the research questions. The research found out that there have been quite a number of political misconceptions and a largely great void in covering the story of Zimbabwean democratic transition and the hegemony of ZANU PF.

Notable was that most of the respondents reflected that ZANU PF is a resilient political actor that continues to sell its political consommé at all costs despite criticisms that it encounters. A great number of respondents reflected that ZANU PF is one party that does

not follow voter stereotyping but goes out there to try, attempt and turn its political fortunes around thus showing a politically inspired fighting spirit. This has led to the study coming up with a theory called the “*Containment-Elimination theory*”, which entails that due to lack of political resilience most political parties find themselves in a position of being politically contained and ultimately eliminated by ZANU PF bringing out the Machiavellian theory traits of political cunningness and shrewdness as a gift in politics.

The electorate pointed out that at all costs, it was impossible for them not to know of ZANU PF due to its outreach and engaging campaign strategy that made sure that the party has a portion of its occupancy amongst the minds of the electorate. Compared to its contenders and opposition, it was impossible for the research not to realize that the opposition parties lack such a capacity to overstep but are rather engulfed in petty political complacency and slumber that turns them into political invisibles than glowers. The study therefore established what is termed as of this research as “*Hegemonic Opportunism*” which reflects that ZANU PF’s hegemony is associated with its seizure of opportunity and the hit the iron whilst it’s still hot approach. In a situation where all political parties are too reluctant, ZANU PF pitches up.

The research concluded that there is the existence of the utilization of “*Political illusory approach*” in Zimbabwe’s political processes, with ZANU PF using it against its opposition. This was seen in the citation of forced meeting attendances that were aided by traditional leaders in rural areas and the appointment of loyalist in positions of influence, creation of facades

The research came to conclusion that there is political misconception of what Zimbabwe’s political situation is like, this has created a ubiquitous lie that in Zimbabwe there is political bogusness than natural political practice that is driven to achieve citizen participation.

5.4 Recommendations

The recommendations that are reached as of this research paper are founded on the research findings that were made by the research in line with the research objectives and questions under concern. The recommendations made were as follows:

- ❖ There should be a process of nurturing political leadership in grassroots such as schools, political parties and if necessary there should be political academies to help inculcate a spirit of political leadership in order for political competition to be feasibly witnessed in Zimbabwe's democratic transition story. This will lessen the chances of political decay that creates political void and the idolization of political leadership, with such idolization leading to personalization of parties by party leadership
- ❖ Opposition parties should have political composure and political resilience in their carriage and posture of political business and avoid acting emotionally on the political sphere. Political perturbation and agitation leads to poor political decisions such as getting into coalitions without having clear road maps for altering policy, walking out of elections and secluding party members from participating in the reaching of important decisions.
- ❖ The government in power should allow for decentralization and devolvement of power in relation to the control of state institutions such as the police, intelligence and the media in order to enhance equitable dissemination of information, services such as protection of political party premises, members of parties and media houses and their presses as this has an impact in the formation and moulding of political opinion. In a situation where all institutions are state controlled, there is loss of confidence by both the citizens and other groups in such institutions as they perceive them flawed.
- ❖ Opposition political parties should understand the nature of politics and play accordingly to secure their positions than citing political insults such as rigging and other unscrupulousness actions. It is with sorrowfulness that politics remains precarious in all angles since it does not involve orderly activities in it, hence political parties should be ready to play the political game with meticulous and updated strategies, for example instead of complaining about Nikuv, they can have rapid response investigation task forces that investigate and trace fraudulency by checking the credentials of all participating members in the poll processes.

- ❖ Political party financing should be a mandate given to the ruling government in relation to funding other opposition parties since the existing party will be having access to state funds; such efforts can be made possible by liberalizing and reviewing the Electoral Act and the Political Parties Finances Act for amendments in order to ensure equitable distribution of funds for political campaigning and party financing.
- ❖ There should be participative forums for citizens in essence with the idea of “negotiated democracy” which leads to stalled democratic transitions. Most respondents revealed that the Unity Accord (1987) and the Government of National Unity (2009) were a negation of democracy that undermined their participative roles in shaping Zimbabwean democracy.

5.5 Conclusion

The chapter discussed the findings that were made on the previous chapter and drew conclusions from the responses that were derived from focus groups and questionnaires. In line with the discrepancies discovered through appraisal, recommendations were made in improving Zimbabwe’s democratic transition in the same line straightening misconceptions and demystifying the mysteries that exist in relation to Zimbabwe’s political processes.

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Interviews and Focus Groups

RESPONDENTS DATA

Interview Respondents	Date of interview
Anonymous 1	28/09/2016
Anonymous 2	28/09/2016
Mr Dube	30/09/2016
Mrs Mkhwananzi	30/09/2016
Mr Mpofu	02/10/2016

Focus Group	Date
Anonymous 3	30/09/2016
Mr Muyambo	30/09/2016
Mr Sibanda 1	30/09/2016
Mr Sibanda 2	30/09/2016

APPENDIX 1: DATA COLLECTION (QUESTIONNAIRE)



FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS AND PUBLIC MANAGEMENT

RESEARCH TOPIC

An Analysis of Democratic Transition in Zimbabwe and the Clamour for Leadership Renewal. A Case study Of Zimbabwe's political Experiences and the Hegemony of ZANU PF From 2000-2013.

Hello, I am Tomy Ncube (R132458G). I am currently doing a BSc Honours degree in Politics and Public Management with the Midlands State University in Zimbabwe, and I am conducting a field research on investigating Zimbabwe's political and electoral processes. This questionnaire serves to be a data collection tool. It is from this backdrop that I kindly request that you take some of your time to genuinely complete this questionnaire. All the responses that you will give will be kept confidential and anonymous. The information that you will give will be only used for academic reasons only.

Student name and Surname : Tomy Ncube

Contact details : Cell –(+263) 0777 250 204

: Email- tomyncube@gmail.com or tomyncube@outlook.com

Academic Supervisor : Mrs. J. Mudzamiri

Contacts : Cell – (+263) 0774 872 220

PART A

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

(i) SEX

MALE

FEMALE

(ii) AGE

18-30

30-42

42-54

65+

(iii) LEVEL OF EDUCATION

GRADE SEVEN

ZJC

O'LEVEL

A'LEVEL

DIPLOMA

DEGREE

MASTERS

(ii) LEVEL OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Hyper participation *(I follow politics a lot and I vote all times)*

Normal/common participation *(I know about politics and I vote at times)*

Moderate *(I know about politics but I rarely concern my myself*

Too much about it, voting is not a mandate)

Lowly interested *(Politics is dirty, I know about parties but I don't*

Involve Myself)

PART B

Electorate

(a) How do you personally view Zimbabwe's political systems in regards to elections and democracy?

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

(b) Do you think your vote makes any difference?

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.....
.....

(c) What is your opinion/explanation on ZANU PF's political victory in Zimbabwe from 1980 up to date?

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.....

(d) When was the last time you voted?

.....
.....

(e) Have you ever been a victim of political violence?

Yes

No

(f) What do you understand by the term political violence

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.....

(g) Did the election outcomes match your political expectations?

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.....

(h) What do you think are the reasons behind the failure of Opposition Parties in securing political and state power in Zimbabwe

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.....

(i) What do you understand by the term democracy?

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.....
.....

(j) Rate Zimbabwe's democratic position out a scale of 5

<u>Scale ratings</u>	
Strong	<input type="checkbox"/>
Fair	<input type="checkbox"/>
Average	<input type="checkbox"/>
Weak	<input type="checkbox"/>
Poor	<input type="checkbox"/>

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME AND COOPERATION.

YOUR OPINIONS ARE GREATLY VALUED.

PART A

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

.....

(i) SEX **MALE** **FEMALE**

(ii) AGE

- 18-30
- 30-42
- 42-54
- 65+

(iii) LEVEL OF EDUCATION

- GRADE SEVEN
- ZJC
- O'LEVEL
- A'LEVEL
- DIPLOMA
- DEGREE
- MASTERS

(iv) POSITION IN THE INSTITUTION (e.g. Programs officer or Advocacy Officer)

(v) LEVEL OF POLITICAL PARTICPATION

- Hyper participation *(I follow politics a lot and I vote all times)*
- Normal/common participation *(I know about politics and I vote at times)*
- Moderate *(I know about politics but I rarely concern my myself too
Much about it, voting is not a mandate)*
- Lowly interested *(Politics is dirty, I know about parties but I don't involve
Myself)*

EXPERT TOOL

Institutional Representative.(Civil societies, Political Parties, Trade Unionist etc).

PART B

(a) It has been alleged that the ruling party in Zimbabwe uses unscrupulous tendencies to win elections such as institutionalized violence and operationalized electoral fraudulency.

What is your take on that, cite reasons

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(b) As an institution what do you think have been hindrances for active political participation in the citizenry as seen through the low voter turnout and apathy?

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.....

(c) How has ZANU PF used repression to stifle a participative civil society and closed political space for other players?**Cite the means of repression and its impact.**

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(d) What have been the reasons for political immortality in Zimbabwe’s opposition parties? Is that the reason why ZANU PF has remained invincible?

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(e) Is the issue of securocrats, state agencies and reformation of the security sector reforms a serious issue that affects elections and politics Zimbabwe in general?

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.....



The Stamp section applies to organizational/institutional representatives, for information legitimation and validation purposes.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME AND COOPERATION.

YOUR OPINIONS ARE GREATLY VALUED.

APPENDIX 2 DATA COLLECTION(FOCUS GROUP AND INTERVIEW SCHEDULE)



FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS AND PUBLIC MANAGEMENT

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Academic Supervisor : Mrs J. Mudzamiri

Contacts : Cell – (+263) 0774 872 220

SECTION A; PERSONAL INFORMATION

Name of organisation _____

Date _____

SECTION B

1. What is your view of Zimbabwe's political and electoral systems?
2. What do you think has been the hindrance to active political participation amongst the citizenry
3. How do you relate to the notion that ZANU PF has stifled a participative civil society culture and closed down the political space for other political players
4. What have been the reasons for the failure of opposition parties in toppling ZANU PF from power
5. Suggest ways in which Zimbabwe's democratic and electoral system can be synthesized to meet the wishes and expectations of all groups/players involved in the political sphere
6. As an organization have you encountered any victimization?

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME AND COOPERATION.

YOUR OPINIONS ARE GREATLY VALUED.

APPENDIX 3: SUPERVISION CHECKING LIST

NB. THIS FORM MUST BE ATTACHED TO THE FINAL COPY OF YOUR DISSERTATION

NAME OF STUDENT.....REG no.....

STEP 1 LIASE WITH SUPERVISOR FOR TOPIC

SUPERVISOR..... SIGNATURE.....DATE.../.../...

Topic.....
.....
.....

STEP 2 SUBMIT TOPIC TO DISSERTATION COMMITTEE

CHAIRPERSON SIGNATURE.....DATE.....

COMMITTEE
COMMENTS.....
.....
.....
.....

Date of Approval.....

STEP 3 SUBMISSION OF PROPOSAL

SUPERVISOR
SIGNED.....DATE.....

STEP 4 DATA COLLECTION

Approved to proceed to data collection.....signeddate

STEP 5 PRESENTATION OF DATA FROM THE FIELD (RECORDINGS, QUESTIONNAIRES, INTERVIEWS.....)

SUPERVISOR.....SIGNED.....DATE.....

STEP 6 SUBMISSION OF THE DISSERTATION

SUPERVISOR
.....SIGNED.....DATE.....

STEP 7 SUBMISSION FOR VIVA-VOCE

CHAIRPERSON.....DATE.....