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**RELEASE FORM**

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## **DEDICATION**

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents Mr. G. Tapera and the late Mrs. B. Tapera, my family members and my friends.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I would like to thank the Lord Almighty for the love and care He has shown me throughout my academic years. My Supervisor Dr. J. Matunhu, for his guidance and patience that he has showed during this whole dissertation process including also the whole Development Studies Department, ZimRights Staff, my wife Tanyaradzwa Gore my friends and everyone who have played a positive part in my life. I would also like to thank the whole Tapera family for the financial support, inspiration and motivation they have provided in my life from the very onset. Had it not been for all of these people my life would have been in shambles.

## **ABSTRACT**

*The research sought to analyze the role played by CSOs with specific reference to ZimRights a grassroots based organization in the harmonized elections of 31 July in Zimbabwe. The main problem has been that the role of CSOs in elections has been down played and to some extent CSOs has been labeled as regime change agents and allies of opposition parties. A review of related literature was carried out to establish what other renowned scholars and authors had to say on the role CSOs play in elections. The researcher used qualitative method to analyze and present data in the research in order to obtain a critical analysis in the topic in question. The study established that CSOs played a significant role in the harmonized elections of July 31 2013 in Zimbabwe, as the roles it played led to increase of women and youth participation, election awareness, increase in registered eligible voters and reduced cases of political violence. Conclusion and recommendations were made on how to make the role played by ZimRights in elections to be more effective and efficient in the future elections.*



## **ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS**

ADZT	-	Artist for Democracy in Zimbabwe Trust
CIZC	-	Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition
CSOs	-	Civil Society Organizations
MDC	-	Movement for Democratic Change
NANGO	-	National Association of Non-Governmental Organizations
NGO	-	Non-Governmental Organization
GNU	-	Government of National Unity
ZADA	-	Zimbabwe Association of Doctors for Human Rights
ZPP	-	Zimbabwe Peace Project
ZESN	-	Zimbabwe Electoral Supervisory Network
ZimRights	-	Zimbabwe Human Rights Association

## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.0 Background to the study

Civil Society Organizations have emerged to be a vibrant and crucial element in the world system. Civil Society Organizations have been part of many democratic processes which include elections. CSOs are simply the voice of the voiceless and have contributed immensely to the elections of the world. CSOs contribute greatly to the election, during the pre election period, during the election and the post-election period. The CSOs have been involved in the running of elections and CSOs are regarded as the mediating realm between the individual and the state otherwise known as the citizens' mouthpiece. In Zimbabwe elections were first held in 1980 soon after the liberation struggle and the electorate was mostly the Zimbabweans. Since then elections have then become a regular phenomenon in Zimbabwe and they have been held in the years 1985 June/July, 1990 March, 1995 April ,1996 March, 2000 February,2000 June , 2002 March, 2005 March ,2008 March and June and 2013 July.

In these elections the role of the CSOs was still very limited and the then registered CSOs such as NANGO were still dominated by minority white people who had their own interest to safeguard. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century role of the CSOs in elections has greatly improved. In nations like Afghanistan have CSOs who have been dominant in the running of elections and according to Amnesty International (2014) the CSOs have demanded for a bigger role in elections. In Kenya the CSOs dominated the recent elections that have transpired in the country. According to the Crisis Coalition in Zimbabwe (2013) CSOs such Crisis Coalition in Zimbabwe, Election Resource Centre ZESN among other civil society organizations have been involved in recent

elections. Civil Society Organizations play various roles in the electoral process as it involve various aspects such as peace building , lobbying and advocacy ,civil and voter education and voter mobilization among other roles.

Harmonized elections are when all elections are conducted concurrently thus the presidential elections, parliamentary elections and elections for councilors.(Sachikonye2011) denotes that, the last elections to be held in Zimbabwe before the 2013 harmonized elections were the 2008 controversial elections which resulted to a bloody election rerun and later resulting to the formation of a government of national unity which became active on the 11<sup>th</sup> of February 2009. Due to mostly the negative effects of the 2008 March/June elections, the bridge between the government and citizens which is the CSOs had a heavier load of work which awaited them.

The government of national unity had a timeframe and its effectiveness was supposed to be ended by elections and those elections were supposed to be only free and fair in order not to repeat the 2008 atrocities which left many citizens disabled (Sachikonye2011).The role the civil society played in the 2013 elections can hardly be questioned due to the increase in the number of voters, reduced cases of political violence (ZimRights 2013). With ZimRights being a grassroots based organization with membership all over Zimbabwe and with more than eight projects running concurrently its impact can greatly be felt. This was evidenced by reduced cases of violence report, reports given by election observer teams, increase in the number of voters legal assistance to victims of political violence among other roles.

### **1.1Statement of the problem**

Civil society organizations have played a pivotal role in the harmonized elections of Zimbabwe.

This has seen the 2013 elections being marked by a significant change evidenced by the increase

in the number of voters and limited reports of cases of violence .However the level and the grip that civil society organizations have played has been down played. This research sought to asses, analyze and scrutinize the role played by civil society organizations in the Zimbabwe harmonized elections of July 2013.

### **1.2 Justification of the Study**

The research will enable the researcher to get to the root causes of the problem and in turn help with appropriate recommendations for future elections. In this case the research will look deep into the opportunities and challenges faced by Civil Society Organizations during the elections. CSOs have been timeously linked to regime change agenda and also to be in synergies with opposition parties, this research will help in bringing up on who benefits most from the efforts of the CSOs, the opposition or the citizens .The harmonized elections of 31 July in Zimbabwe were a very important phenomenon to the citizens of Zimbabwe and they were also unique in their own way in that they were the first elections held under the new constitution approved in a referendum. This research will show how CSOs have contributed to the elections of Zimbabwe.

### **1.3 Research objectives**

The broad objective of this study is to analyze the role of CSOs in the Zimbabwe harmonized elections of 2013. The specific objectives of the study are:

- To analyze the role played by ZimRights in the 2013 harmonized elections of Zimbabwe
- To analyze what are opportunities and challenges ZimRights faced in the harmonized elections of 2013 and how it contributed to the success of its programs.
- To analyze how the communities responded to activities, interventions and initiatives undertaken by ZimRights.

### **1.3.1 Research questions**

- What role have CSOs taken in the 2013 harmonized elections of Zimbabwe?
- How has the challenges and opportunities affected the elections and with what benefits to the running of the elections and to the success of ZimRights programs?
- How did the community respond to activities and initiatives concerning elections undertaken by ZimRights?

### **1.4 Delimitation of the study**

- This research analyses the role and impact played by CSOs in the harmonized elections of July 31.
- The study is only limited to ZimRights which is a grassroots based organization and has members in every province of the country.

### **1.5 Limitations of the study**

- Time-Data collection was limited due to time factor since there was a deadline for the research. To counter this, the researcher used available time to undertake field research.
- Finance-The research needed some financial backup since it required travelling , stationery and refreshments in some instances such as when interviewing community people, they needed to be incentivized in order for them to release valid information.

### **1.5 Ethical considerations**

(Homan1991) denotes that ethics is the science of morality: those who engage in it determine values for the regulation of human behavior.(David 2004) refers to ethics as a branch of Philosophy and field of everyday thinking dealing with questions of what is morally right and wrong.

- The researcher in this study will respect and uphold information passed by his subjects.
- Information would be kept confidential since the issue of the elections is topical and will also involve key informant interviews and structured interviews.
- Study subjects responses will not be disclosed to any one and the subjects have the right to the results from the study

### **1.6 Theoretical framework**

The research made use of the theory of Sustainable Development. The Brundtland report defines sustainable development to be development that "meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (United Nations, 1987). The concept however of sustainable development is always being redefined and explored. The United Nations World Summit (2005) has defined sustainable development as economic development, social development and environmental protection. The definition can be extended to also include cultural diversity as the fourth pillar of sustainable development. The concept has been elaborated by stating that cultural diversity is as necessary for human kind as bio diversity is for nature (UNESCO 2011).

Sustainable development is made possible if there is a working and effective government and that government need to be elected into power by the citizen, thus the link between sustainable development and elections. A successful election is evidenced by its fairness and how free it is. This includes the absence of violence before ,during and after the elections and where there is no conflict there is development .It can also be evidenced by the approval of the elected government by the majority of the citizens especially those eligible to vote.

The link between sustainable development and elections can be enhanced through activities and programs such as community mobilization to participate in elections so as vote for people who

they think will bring development to the country. Voter education is also critical in empowering citizens with knowledge on how to vote and also the importance of voting thus enhancing the social aspect of development. Elections involve the issue of peace building there by creating space for development because where there is peace there is development.

### **1.7 Definition of terms**

Civil society organizations according to the United Nations Global Compact are critical actors in the advancement of universal values around human rights, the environment, labor standards and anti- corruption. As global market integration has advanced their role has gained particular importance in aligning economic activities with social and environmental priorities.

ZimRights refers to CSOs as the aggregate of NGOs and institutions that manifest interests and will of citizens or individuals and organizations in a society which are independent of the government.

Elections are a formal decision making process by which a population chooses an individual to hold public office. Elections may fill offices in the legislature, in the executive and judiciary and local government and the holding of such elections concurrently is known as harmonized elections.

Electoral reform describes the process of introducing fair electoral systems where there are not in place or improving the fairness or effectiveness of the existing system. This is mainly the status quo of CSOs involved in elections and governance related issues.

### **1.8 Chapter Summary**

The chapter mainly focused on the introduction of the research project. Included in this chapter was the background of the problem and it touched on electoral history of Zimbabwe . Statement of the problem was included, that was what the researcher needed to investigate on, objectives of

the research study were also highlighted, the research questions based on the research were also included and also the justification of the study. The researcher also indicated on the limitations and delimitations of the study. The researcher also mentioned about the ethics considered in the research. The researcher also defined major terms to be frequently used in the research study hence concluding the first chapter.



## Chapter 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.0 Introduction

This chapter is aimed at reviewing available literature related to the research topic. It analyses what other researcher think about the variables of the research topic. In this section the researcher looked at what various scholars wrote on the involvement of CSOs in elections. A lot has been written about CSOs involvement in elections but limited literature has been availed for the credibility of CSOs in the role they play concerning election.

A literature review is the selection of all available documents both published and unpublished on the topic which contain information, ideas, data and evidence written from a particular standpoint to fulfil certain aims or express certain views on the nature of the period and how it is to be investigated and the effective evaluation of these documents in relation to the research being proposed (Hart1998). Literature review is the process of searching the existing literature relating to your research problem to develop theoretical and conceptual frameworks for your study and to integrate your research findings with what literature says about them, it places your study in perspective to what others have investigated about the issues and in addition the process helps you to improve your methodology (Kumar2011). A lot of literature has been written pertaining to the role of CSOs role in elections and democratic processes.

#### 2.1 CSOs in elections across the globe

The World Movement for Democracy denotes that Civil Society Organisations have been involved in the business of elections. It also states that they have offered strategies for free and fair elections in some countries such as Ukraine and Nigeria and for elections to be credible they

should be free and fair. This clearly shows that CSOs are actively involved in the running of democratic affairs with elections being one of the most important processes.

Civil Society Organisations in Afghanistan have also advocated for a bigger role in elections and they have done this in confrontation of the Independent Election Commission (2014) to establish a more formal framework for civil society and its involvement in the preparation of elections. Thus the role of CSOs has always been crucial and the CSOs need special recognition therefore the researcher will try to bring out the importance of the CSOs so that they can be given a bigger role to play in the elections of the land.

According to the Council of Europe (2013) in any country democratisation is a process with several steps. One important step is elections and elections provide important indicators as to which direction the democracy in a given country and to what degree human rights and rule of law are respected .As a result CSOs play an important role in election reporting and according to the publications election reporting is crucial for the further development of democracy. It provides a public record of what has been observed and serves as a reference for future elections. Therefore the researcher acknowledged the role which is played by CSOs in election reporting but the research seeks to highlight whether ZimRights has played significant role.

Oxfarm in its (2013) report on CSOs in Elections acknowledges the role of CSOs in elections but alludes that there are certain qualities expected of CSOs when dealing with elections and political parties and these qualities include

- Political neutrality-Political neutrality is essential for successful engagement. Once a CSO is found to be politically biased, it is shunned by the parties, a situation that is difficult to reverse.

- Consistency: Political parties appreciate CSOs that are consistent about the values and principles which they stand for or advocate.
- Evidenced based approach: Political parties prefer to engage with CSOs whose concerns are based on evidence or research.
- Credibility-maintaining credibility should be of concern of CSOs if they want to be effective. Political parties have trust and confidence in CSOs who have invested time and effort in developing long term working relationships with them.

Oxfarm also acknowledges that CSOs face challenges in dealing with political parties during elections and these challenges include

- External factors-these include political party suspicion of CSOs, undermining the engagement process between the two.
- Internal factors-these include fragmentation within the circle of CSOs, poor engagement skills and inadequate human and financial resources.

Therefore this indicates that there certain qualities which are expected of CSOs and also CSOs face certain challenges in reaching their full potential of election works. The research seeks scrutinise whether ZimRights has been working with the expected qualities when dealing with political parties during elections and also if they have faced challenges and how they have managed to deal with these challenges.

(Gocool 2013) in his publications indicates that CSOs play an important role in national development and these include democratic development, electoral reform, good governance, combating corruption, women empowerment, religious or ethnic tolerance, reforming legal systems, rights for people with disabilities, civic education, public sector reform and human rights. This clearly indicates that the role that CSOs play is not to be downplayed, therefore it is

for this research to try and indicate on how significant is the role played by CSOs in the elections.

According to the publications of (EAB) Electoral Assistance Bureau CSOs play a very important role in national development, democracy development and electoral reforms. The roles include democracy development and electoral reform, good governance, combating corruption, reforming legal system, civic education and human rights. This clearly shows the importance of the CSOs but does not acknowledge the impact which is brought by the CSOs in them being involved in the electoral process.

Eric Bjornlund alludes that Civil society must be involved when countries transition from autocratic regimes to democracy. Strong CSOs in transition can provide constructive channels for democratic participation. CSOs can help rebuild citizens' trust in government, promote their rights and interests and encourage the inclusion of minorities and disenfranchised groups. This is total acknowledgement of the roles that can be played by CSOs hence the researcher will try to bring out the impact that has been brought by CSOs in partaking these roles.

According to Gilley, strong CSOs empower healthy democracies by assuring fair elections and then holding the victors to standard of good governance. There a lot of literature has been written on what the CSOs has done and ought to do but never the less the impact they have brought has been down played. The researcher then seeks bring out the impact that has been brought by CSOs in the elections.

## **2.2 CSOs in elections within Zimbabwe**

The Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (2013) acknowledges that CSOs play a part in the elections and this can be through voter education and election observation but there are various legal restrictions upon the provision of voter education and election observation by CSOs. The

CSO must be either registered as Private Voluntary Organisation or to be registered in the Deeds Registry as a Trust. The research seeks to investigate if ZimRights was successful in such roles.

(Lee 2011) also indicates that CSOs have suffered as much as the government of Zimbabwe from the exodus of skilled professionals, which has left many organisations, bereft of the most talented and experienced people. Finally because of trade unions and other CSOs played crucial roles in the formation of the political opposition during the 1990s the sector finds itself extraordinary politicised today. Due to this perceived association with political parties CSOs has in the last decade and a half attracted undue attention from the state. Therefore the research seeks to investigate if ZimRights in its work has been affected by the mentioned challenges and how it has been able to deal with such instances.

(Lee 2011) acknowledges that CSOs play an important role in electoral processes but further alludes that CSOs in Zimbabwe suffers from weaknesses common to the sector across Africa. Challenges can be in form of finances and to a lesser extent agenda setting CSOs in Zimbabwe are creatures of international donor community, which provides most of the necessary material resources. One of the key challenges confronting Zimbabwean CSOs is autonomous existence, According to Lee the problem exists at two level : domestic and external, domestically the challenge is to free CSOs from opposition politics. Internationally CSOs needs to be less dependent on international donors if it is to enjoy meaningful autonomy in crafting its own agenda.

### **2.3 ZimRights in election**

ZimRights has been involved in the elections as evidenced by the Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition (2013) publication on the Voter registration process in Zimbabwe. In the publication ZimRights

commended the move by ZEC to release information concerning the voters role .Justice Rita Makarau revealed that that over 60 000 new voters have registered in time for the polls and about 345000 names of deceased people have been struck of the national voters role. The total number of registered voters was also reported to be 5.7 million at the time the report was published. This reflects that ZimRights was involved in activities to do with voter mobilisation, the research seeks to view the extent to which ZimRights was engaged.

(FIDH2014) shows that ZimRights was involved in the election process in the statement of the ZimRights Director O. Machisa towards the elections when he said “Political figures have the responsibility to ensure that history of violence and impunity does not repeat itself. Security and police services which have always suffered from high of politicisation, must fully abide by the provisions of our new constitution providing for impartiality, professionalism, non-partisanship and respect for fundamental rights. Along with party supporters, they must be fully aware that any act of violence could lead to prosecutions”. This clearly indicates that ZimRights was involved in peace building during the elections and the research seeks to investigate if it was really effective.

## **2.4 Chapter summary**

The chapter looked at the available literature concerning the role of CSOs in elections and also literature concerning ZimRights involvement in elections. A lot has been written about CSOs involvement in elections but limited literature has been availed for the credibility of CSOs in the role they play concerning elections. Some scholars undermine the role played by CSOs as they are perceived as regime change agents. However scholars agree that CSOs play a role in the electoral processes. Some scholars and publications also acknowledge that CSOs do face challenges when dealing with electoral processes but did not indicate the types of challenges

faced and how they can be countered. A few literatures have been availed on the community responsiveness to CSOs programs. Therefore the researcher tried to analyse the role played by CSOs in elections, covering some of the gaps left by scholars in the academia.

## Chapter 3

### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

#### 3.0 Introduction

Research methodology is the study of methods used to obtain data from a research project (Bell, 1993). Research methodology enhances the research internal and external legitimacy while research designs justify in detail steps taken to ensure the validity of the research findings and it gives direction to the research process. This incorporates research methods, research designs, population and sample size, data collection instruments their limitations, validity and reliability. The researcher used qualitative research method.

#### 3.1 Data collection procedure

The researcher sought permission to carry out the research from ZimRights. The researcher liaised with different people who were involved or engaged in the works of ZimRights and these includes, community leaders, community people and ZimRights staff. When permission was granted the researcher applied different data collecting tools to gather findings on the topic in question. These methods included interviews and secondary data to ensure that the weakness of one method is counted by another.

#### 3.2 Descriptive Research

(Bryman 2001) defines research as a formal written form of specification and procedures for conducting and controlling the research project. The descriptive research design was chosen ahead of other research designs primarily because the problem under investigation can best be described qualitatively. In this design, respondents answer preset questions in both structured and



unstructured questionnaires. Questionnaires, interviews, were used to gather data on the existing state of affairs. Descriptive researches are studies designed to obtain information directed towards determining the nature of the situation. This approach was adopted in a bid to come up with credible results on the way ZimRights played a role in the harmonized elections of 31 July 2013.

### **3.3 Data collection tools**

#### **3.3.1 Interviews**

(Oppenheim 1992) defines an interview as a conversation between interviewer and interviewee with the purpose of eliciting certain information from the interviewee. Interviews manifest themselves in two forms thus face to face and telephone interviews. According to Hadgon (1981) in preparation of the interview the interviewer works out a set of questions in advance but is free to modify them during the conversation.

Interviews are useful in obtaining information which is detailed about personal feelings, perception and opinions. The researcher used interviews to gather data. During the interviews the researcher introduced himself, highlighted the purpose of the interview and assured confidentiality in a language intelligible to respondents. Interviews consisted of unstructured questions, which helped in order to reduce errors.

The researcher also employed semi-structured interviews which contain half structured and half unstructured questions to allow respondents to elaborate broadly. Interviews permitted the verification and validation of data which then enabled the researcher to collect detailed information.

#### **Advantages of interviews**

- There is instant feedback as there will be direct interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee more so ample room for clarity of the probing of finer details on the sensitive and unexplained issues.
- Interviews enable the researcher to control the data collection environment and to receive serious attention from the interviewee.

### **Disadvantages of interviews**

- Interviews are costly and time consuming
- The interviewee can give inaccurate information
- The interviewee can give biased information due to fear of victimization leading to inaccurate research findings.

### **3.3.2 Questionnaires**

(Peterson 2000) defines questionnaires as asset of questions designed to generate data necessary for accomplishing the objectives of the research project. (Griffin 1985) goes on to define a questionnaire as a collection of written questions about the respondent's attitudes, opinions, perceptions and demographic characteristics. Questionnaires present a standardized and appropriately framed data gathering technique. Questionnaires have two facets thus open ended and closed ended (Denscombe 1999). Questionnaires are research instruments consisting of a series of questions and other prompts for the purpose of gathering information from respondents. The questionnaires consisted of open ended and closed ended questions which were administered during the research. Some questions were given to the community people as to gather information from the grass roots.

### **Advantages of questionnaires**

- They are a cost effective way of gathering information
- The respondents are given ample room to study and answer the questions at the time convenient to them and in this way meaningful and thoughtful information is gathered.
- Open ended questions enables respondents to substantiate them committing themselves to concrete opinion thereby making analysis of responses easy.

### **Disadvantages of questionnaires**

- Questionnaires are prone to misinterpretation as there is no room for clarity because there is no direct interaction with the researcher. This can lead to inaccurate findings but however will be circumvented by presenting user friendly questionnaires.
- Low response rate for questionnaires.
- Respondents may fill in inaccurate information so as to suit the researcher's needs.

### **3.3.3 Primary data**

(Scattes1994) asserts that primary data refers to original raw data collected by the researcher on the subject under study and would be specifically gathered for the current research problem. Primary data was gathered from ZimRights employees and community members.

### **3.3.4 Secondary Data**

(Denscombe1999) secondary data is collected from existing records that help the researcher to come up with historical background to the work done .This also refers to the data that already exists and was collected for some other sources than the researchers intended use. Secondary data was used to supplement the information acquired in the primary data sources so as to come up with sufficient information for the research study. These included books, journals, and

newspapers among other various sources. The researcher also collect data from written records which are desk research which is a common method and proper for study, mainly because it assisted the researcher to justify the chosen methodology and develop a thorough understanding and insight into previous work and trends that have emerged.

### **3.4 Target population**

According to (Gilbert 1993) a target population is a group from which a research sample is chosen. ZimRights has a membership base of about 50 000 people. In carrying out the study, the target population for this research was composed of the ZimRights secretariat, community members/ZimRights members and community leaders. The target population included 15 community members, 2 ZimRights employees including the top management and 3 community leaders.

### **3.5 Sample frame**

According to (Doherty 1994) a sample frame refers to a list of target population members used to obtain a sample. This is the boundary to which the research was conducted. In the research study, the researcher limited the sampling frame to the 2 employees, 3 community leaders and 15 community people.

### **3.6 Sample size**

A sample size is a subset of the entire population under study whose characteristics are synonymous to the sample population. (Bryman2001) defines a sample as a portion of a population used to carry out a research. The researcher randomly selected the respondents from the sampling frame. Interview questions and questionnaires were distributed to employees of ZimRights, community members and community leaders. The researcher selected 20 respondents

as a sample size of which 2 were employees, 3 were community leaders and 15 were community members.

### **3.7 Sampling technique**

The researcher used non probability sampling technique where subjects are selected because of their convenient accessibility and proximity to the researcher. For this research the researcher used purposive or theoretical sampling and convenient sampling.(David2004) denotes that Purposive or theoretical sampling is when the units are selected according to the researchers own knowledge and opinion about which ones they think will be appropriate for the topic. These individuals are judged by the researcher to hold specific knowledge on this issue. The sample selection is entirely on the opinion of who are the most appropriate respondents to select. Purposive sampling was used in this research because it focuses on particular characteristics of a population that are of interest, which will best enable respondents to answer the research questions making the research vivid. The researcher also used convenient sampling which is a non-probability sampling technique where subjects are selected because of their convenient accessibility and proximity to the researcher. These techniques were also used to counter time factor at the same time getting valid information by selecting few but appropriate members.

### **3.8 Chapter Summary**

This chapter gave an overview of the research methodology which was used in this study which was qualitative and the sampling technique which was used is the purposive sampling which is a form of non-probability sampling. The chapter highlighted the sample size of 20 people from a population of about 50 000 people which are members of ZimRights, employees of ZimRights and community leaders. Primary sources of data such as questionnaires a total of 20 were administered but only 12 were able to be retrieved, 10 interviews were held with community

leaders and ZimRights staff. Furthermore the merits and demerits of the various data collection methods were presented to fully analyze the effectiveness of the data gathering techniques. Interviews and questionnaires were administered some at the ZimRights offices (headquarters) and some in the communities which ZimRights projects are dominant namely Chiweshe and Chitungwiza. The chapter also enables the reader to understand how the researcher came up with the research findings to be presented in the next chapter.

## **Chapter 4**

### **DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION**

#### **4.0 Introduction**

The purpose of this chapter is to present and analyze the findings of the research. Data analysis entails the application of techniques to the gathered information in order to make inference about the study subject. It is a system of transferring data from collection instruments so as to qualify the information collected to make it communicable. The research was conducted by means of questionnaires and interviews as data collection tools. Data obtained from the field was analyzed in qualitative form hence data analysis will be based on qualitative data.

#### **ROLE PLAYED BY ZIMRIGHTS**

##### **4.1 Voter education**

ZimRights played a significant role in providing civic voter education to the citizens about the elections and the new constitution which was the roadmap to the harmonized elections. ZimRights played a key role by helping people better understand how to be involved in the voting process thus starting from registration to the voting.

ZimRights used edutainment as a way of educating people about the importance of voting and how to be part of the electoral process through educative plays, road shows, concerts and theater. ZimRights did 50 road shows nation-wide which involved prominent artists like Sniper, Guspy Warrior and 10 concerts in all province of Zimbabwe which features artists like Jah Praiser,

Blessing Shumba and Sandra Ndebele among other prominent artists thereby making an impact in educating youths. According to one interviewed youth the use of entertainment in spreading information was very influential.

*... "I never knew about the mobile voter registration process but I got to know about the process after I went to a show held at Mabvuku number 1 stadium which Jah Praiser and Blessing Shumba performed for free courtesy of ZimRights and had it not been for those artists I don't think I would have been part of the audience that day..." (Community member)(2014)*

ZimRights did all these activities under the theme "HANDEI – TISU ANHU ACHO" meaning we are the real people in charge lets go and vote. This made the process interesting for the youths who in some cases lack interest in the politics of the land and yet they make up almost 60% of Zimbabwe's total population and they were the main target for the elections under the theme "1<sup>ST</sup> TIME VOTERS".

This is supported by the ZEC which indicated that CSOs play a pivotal role in the elections as they do much of the voter education as it is one of the important roles that CSOs play, thereby making CSOs a significant element of the society and nation at large.

#### **4.2 Information dissemination**

ZimRights made use of its information department and held a number of meetings around the country to inform people about the importance of elections. ZimRights printed fliers, calendars, posters, and sacks, made t-shirts and gave out wrist bands and bangles which informed people about the elections. ZimRights made it an obligation that at every meeting prior to the elections those present would get IEC material containing information about elections. Since 2012 up to July 2013 witnessed ZimRights holding over 300 meetings within Zimbabwe thus an average of 30 meetings per province. These meetings assisted the community in knowing the importance of



elections and why they should participate. ZimRights had a project whereby certain political figures from different political parties were invited to be part of the meetings as panelist and talk about what is expected from citizens with regards to elections to elections. Information was also disseminated through entertainment thus through theatre, road shows and concerts.

ZimRights really made an impact in the dissemination of information and 80% of the people who participated in the research acknowledged the role which was played by ZimRights. Communities gave much weight to the type of IEC material which was used by ZimRights especially on the use of sacks and calendars. One interviewee showered praises to the IEC material which was used by ZimRights.

*...”We never knew that special messages could be conveyed through sacks. At first we only wanted the sacks for stocking our crop produce and maybe for going to the grinding mill until one day when my child asked about the statement on the sack labeled HANDEI TISU ANHU ACHO,I then made an effort to know what the statement meant and since then I became eager to know anything concerning elections...”(ZimRights member)*

This made the some form of indoctrination about the issue of governance issues especially elections to the local citizens since a calendar is used almost daily and in most rural areas sacks are frequently used. ZimRights was applauded for bringing prominent artists such as Jah Praiser in local areas for free and according to the participants it gave them the opportunity to witness great artist perform for free, as most of people in the rural areas are financially challenged. The use of edutainment proved to be effective as most people had the opportunity to win certain prizes in the form of t-shirts and hampers in the event of answering certain election related questions thus spreading the information about the elections .30% of the people who participated in the research approved of the concerts and road shows which were conducted by ZimRights but

they did not know that other than entertaining them ,the events were also meant to educate them about the issue of elections and also thought the concerts such as FEYA FEYA concerts were conducted by Crisis Coalition In Zimbabwe alone yet it was a partnership with ZimRights.

*...”I was part of a concert which the MC frequently shouted FEYA FEYA I didn’t even know the meaning of that slogan and I even went to think that it was some politicians campaigning for the elections as people were being given t-shirts and sacks. After the performance of Sniper and Guspy Warrior we had nothing to wait for as the MC kept on shouting FEYA FEYA...”(Anonymous)(2014)Chitungwiza*

However it should be noted that not only ZimRights was involved in the dissemination of information,40% of the participants acknowledged other organizations who were involved in the dissemination of information related to elections and these included Zimbabwe Peace Project, YIDEZ and Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights. All interviewed community leaders acknowledged the efforts made by ZimRights about the dissemination of governance related issues but also highlighted that not only ZimRights was involved but also other CSOs.

*...”For time we have been working with ZimRights in my community and it seem to have enjoyed a wider base support than other NGOs which come with different programs. Maybe it is because it has many members in this area. Personally I applaud ZimRights because it has brought many activities in this area and this has allowed us as leaders to have time with our community people under different environments. Recently before the elections they had a project which was called Meet Your Leader which gave us as leaders time to talk about governance issues with our people...’Community leader(Sabhuku)*

*...”NGOs have kept this village equipped with information and with economic projects and this has helped in alleviating poverty and bringing about peace in this community. We have managed*

*to work with ZimRights in this community and allowing them to hold their activities especially towards the election days they were very vibrant and that time many NGOs surfaced in my community to talk to my people about elections...”(Community leader)(2014)*

*“...These NGOs are very good in uplifting the community but as a community with have worked with so many of them to the extent that we know which ones are ideal to relate to as some of them come with a hidden agenda. As for ZimRights we have managed to have stable relations and sometimes their programs give us the leaders chance to teach our people about things to do with peace and a violence free community...”(Community leader)2014*

To counter such scenarios and to be able to reach wide range of communities ZimRights merged with other CSOs building synergies to avoid duplication of roles thus being able to increase the areas under coverage.

The issue of information dissemination is also supported and expected of CSOs by the Independent Election Commission which states that CSOs the involvement of CSOs in elections is very important especially on the part of information dissemination as those responsible, mainly the government usually give out information which will be beneficial to their supporters mainly.

#### **4.3 Mobilizing**

ZimRights was involved in the mobilization of people to participate in governance issues with special reference to elections. This was largely characterized by ZimRights encouragement of citizens to register as voters, collection of identity documents as to be able to vote and this was through the provision of information of where to get these services. Much emphasis was given on targeting first time voters. ZimRights created synergies with other CSOs such as Crisis Coalition in Zimbabwe and Election Resource Center in the campaign named “X1G” and “FEYA FEYA” which were mainly meant for the youths and women and this was to encourage

them effectively take part in the elections by registering as voters and also to vote since there has always been voter apathy in Zimbabwe's electoral processes and this was also meant to avoid duplication of roles.

*... "I only got to know what the mobile voter registration process was and where it was conducted in Highfields after someone was asked a question concerning mobile registration at a road show and he walked away with a price. That is when I then registered and was to vote for my first time, it was really great I tell you..." (Community member)(2014)*

ZimRights was really effective in the mobilizing of voters especially by encouraging people to register as voters. The impact which was made by ZimRights in the issue of mobilization prompted political parties leading to the arrest of the Director of ZimRights, Deputy Programs Coordinator of ZimRights and ZimRights as an organization on charges of forgery and printing of voter registration slips, later the charges were dropped due to lack of evidence. This can be seen as an effort to which was meant to frustrate ZimRights in its mobilization efforts. The majority of the participants acknowledged the role which was played by ZimRights in terms of making them registered as most of them did not even know where, how to register and also what was needed for one to register thus making an impact in terms of mobilization. ZimRights was also applauded by most community members in its effort which saw much emphasis being given to previously marginalized groups especially women and the disabled people and also the youths. *"...Personally I had the privilege of being part of two town hall meetings at Chimurega Hall which were held by ZimRights and the theme was youth and women in governance issues. I felt motivated because among the guest speaker was a female MP. I therefore made an effort to register as a voter and also motivated my fellow female colleagues in the community and we made use of the mobile voter registration..."(Community member)*

The mobilizing of voters through entertainment was greatly effective according to the participants as some people are influenced by popular people there by making the featuring of prominent artists in communities to preach the gospel of elections worthwhile.

*“..I’m a very big fanatic of Jah Praiser and its all known by all of my colleagues and sometimes I’m even nicknamed Jah Praiser. Imagine that someone being involved in the spreading of the information about elections, I had no option but to follow the footsteps of my mentor and I was able to be part of the millions who voted on the 31<sup>st</sup> of July last year...”(Community member)*

ZimRights also made an impact on the issue of mobilization through spreading information to communities about the mobile registration process which was conducted by ZEC.

#### **4.4 Research**

ZimRights contributed to the elections through its Network Advocacy and Research department and this was done in an effort to influence the election in one way or the other. ZimRights conducted research in all provinces of the country on issues including voter apathy and how to inspire and motivate people to be part of the electoral process largely as voters. The researches which were made by ZimRights enabled the organization to disseminate information in diverse form through use of theatre, concerts and road shows which proved to be effective as evidenced by the response of the participants in the research and such events were crowd pullers with the highest attended concert witnessing over 30 000 audience thus election related information. Also research enabled ZimRights to come up with projects such as the Peace Building program in order to create space for reintegration within societies and do away with tensions atrocities of the 2008 elections. Research helped ZimRights to identify areas which were affected by political

violence during 2008 and what type of peace building initiatives that would be of significance to certain areas in accordance to the wishes and need of the people in that area.

#### **4.5 Lobbying**

Lobbying is the process of dealing directly with decision makers largely the government with the view of seeking support for a position on some issue of importance. ZimRights and other CSOs also used press conferences and also press statements to lobby for certain demands from the government. ZimRights and other CSOs lobbied to the government seeking the extension of the mobile voter registration process which was conducted by ZEC and this enabled large numbers of people to register as voters after the period was extended. This move was effective as it paved way for some people who were left out in the first stage to be able to register as voters.

#### **4.6 Peace Building**

ZimRights was engaged into peace building within the communities and largely in rural areas. This project by ZimRights was largely meant to counter and curb the 2008 election trauma as the elections according to (Sachikonye 2011) were bloody elections. Though the GNU created a organ meant for peace building which was the National Healing and Reconciliation Organ that was not enough to address the issue of peace and reconciliation. The organ had its own weaknesses as it used the Top to bottom approach and ZimRights as a grassroots based organization uses the Bottom to top approach thereby getting to really know the real needs and desires of citizens. Peace building was conducted through formation of peace clubs in communities and also through sport whereby tournaments featuring different villages were held. Thereby enabling communities to reintegrate and reconcile. The use of sport as a reintegration tool within communities allowed communities which previously had no rigid relations to interact

through sport. These sports were also influential in keeping the community occupied to allow time for preparation of the sports days thereby reducing crime rate within communities.

Community leaders commended the efforts which were made by ZimRights to come to communities through sport as it offered them to meet with community especially the youths who sometimes are reluctant to participate in community activities and programs since they usually associate many programs with old age.

However ZimRights in terms of sport sidelined woman as the sports were only played by men, this only gave men the opportunity to build networks with fellow members of other villages, football was the main sport leaving out other sports like netball to accommodate women thus making the project all inclusive.

*“...I have participated in many ZimRights meetings and activities as its member but what bothered me most was when ZimRights held sports tournaments .It was usually a men’s thing and no sporting activities were availed for women. This really made us as women feel inferior, we could only participate in such events as supporters...”ZimRights member (2014)*

The issue of the formation of peace clubs was influential in the spreading of the gospel of peace as the clubs were composed with of at least 20 people per village and this made an impact as the selection of club members was based on the settlement patterns of the areas thus covering every segment of the villages. These club members were equipped with enough knowledge and IEC material containing peace information as to be able to share with other community members.

The peace clubs were run in a way that there was no an executive structure and no one was on top of the other and this allowed community members to be at par with their community

members. This helped in bring out the point on the issue of peace everyone has an equal role to play.

ZimRights however did not make follow ups of the clubs in the villages. The organization only visited the areas where peace clubs were formed with different projects .This then however indicate the weakness of many CSOs of half backed projects.

#### **4.7 Victim friendly**

In acknowledgement of the political violence which took place in 2008 June Runoff election. ZimRights partnered Zimbabwe Association of Doctors for Human Rights (ZADA).This was to put in place personnel and resources in place of any violence. Thus ZimRights protecting its members through such partnerships it made. There were no cases of violence which were reported to ZimRights during the July 2013 elections hence the personnel and resources which were set aside were not made use of. The absence of reported cases of violence may indicate the effectiveness of such programs as peace building.

#### **4.8 Monitoring**

ZimRights played a vital role in the 2013 elections through monitoring the electoral process thus from campaigning to see if there were no cases of violence and also ZimRights monitored the elections through provision of election observers who monitored many polling stations during the voting process. Out of the 9760 polling stations that were used during the elections of 31 July 2013 ZimRights trained and had 100 observers plus its secretariat which acted as supervisors in all provinces of Zimbabwe. The ratio of the polling stations to the number of observers was not effective as full details of the things that transpired at all polling stations were difficult to comprehend and unlike other CSOs like ZESN which had election observers in every



constituency during the election. Allowances which were offered by ZimRights to the observers were to utopic according to all of the ZimRights observers who took part in the research. ZimRights only offered \$20-00 while ZESN gave its observers \$5-00 worth of airtime and \$110-00. In most cases ZESN observers and ZimRights observers shared polling stations.

*“...The money that we were given by ZimRights for observing the elections did not even make sense considering the time we started and the time we finished. I had to be at the polling station by 6am on the 31<sup>st</sup> of July and we finished the next morning when the counting was through then you receive only \$20-00 yet someone from ZESN got almost \$120-00.It was really demotivating those from ZESN were given airtime on the day of elections and ZimRights observers did not get anything...”(2014)Community member*

This made ZimRights to be vulnerable to distorted information as people would observe without commitment due low incentives as some could make comparisons with other observers. ZimRights hardly supervised its observers during the elections day and according to 80% of the observers who took part in the research they did not even see any ZimRights supervisor during the elections day. This made it possible for some people to only write reports based on assumptions as they could have fulfilled their duty of observing elections.

#### **4.9 Challenges faced by ZimRights**

Most CSO's are deemed to be affiliated with the Movement for Democratic Change hence they tend to be a sleeping partner for MDC. This however becomes a challenge as national issues such as the Elections should be people driven rather than politically driven. CSO's should represent the people rather than sharing interests with political parties. This will however lead to decision making based on politics rather than the interest of the ordinary people who in most cases the voices are never heard if not properly represented. This resulted to ZimRights receiving

different perceptions from the communities especially those in which it operated within especially with ZANU PF supporters thus influencing in the turn up of community participants.

ZimRights also faced the challenge of unnecessary arrests of members of staff as a result of false allegations and wrong perceptions on part of the state. This led to the raiding of ZimRight's offices and the arrest of the Deputy National Programs Coordinator, National Director and the organization itself on charges of forgery and production of fake registration slips. However the charges were later dropped as the state failed to produce evidence. This affected the organization as it affected its operation as much time was spent on attending court sessions. This supports the writings of Lee who state that most CSOs have proven to be a great enemy of the state.

ZimRights as an organization operating in a country which is not financially stable has faces challenges financially to keep its programs going. ZimRights largely depend on subscriptions of its members which pay \$1-00 annually and ZimRights has more than 70 000 members and some funds from various Partners. These challenges came as a result of failure of some members to honour up their subscriptions. This indicates the validity of the publications of Lee who denotes that CSOs face challenges mainly on finance as they depend much on donations and external funds.

#### **4.10 Chapter Summary**

CSO's roles and duties in the elections are important. These role and duties make the process a success and ensure that it is people driven and also to some extent free and fair. The entry of CSO's in the electoral process has given a voice to the ordinary people who usually suffer the fate of the politics of the land. However it should be noted that CSOs also faced challenges

suffering from arrests, violence and intimidation as there were seen or viewed as regime change agencies thereby affecting their role in the electoral process. It should also be noted that the entry of CSO's has a positive impact in the community through information dissemination and research which helps in shaping the electoral process. Through analysis of this chapter the researcher concludes that civil society plays a major role in electoral process as it is an independent body which stands for the people and monitors, researches and evaluates the process.

## Chapter 5

### CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.0 Introduction

This chapter is going to conclude the research findings and recommendations of the role played by ZimRights in the July 31<sup>st</sup> harmonized elections of Zimbabwe. This chapter is going to look at the summary of chapters, major research findings and is also going to address the suggested areas of further research from the study general conclusion and recommendations.

#### 5.1 Summary of chapters

Chapter one introduced the subject by highlighting on the background of the study, statement of the problem, justification of the study, citing the research questions and main research questions, definition of terms, ethical considerations ,theoretical framework and limitations and delimitations of the study.

The second chapter outlined the literature in relation to the role played by CSOs in elections and also in the Zimbabwe harmonized elections. A number of authors and scholars and also reports which dealt with the subject where interrogated and arguments in support of the role played by CSOs in elections were cited as to support the research subject.

The third chapter looked at the research methodology that is the method used to collect primary and secondary data and this research made use of questionnaires and interviews and also gave their merits and demerits. The chapter gave the definition of research design and also highlighted the research to be used by the researcher. The researcher used non probability sampling thus convenient sampling and purposive sampling.

The fourth chapter looked at the presentation and analysis of data from the research findings which were done through interviews and questionnaires. 20 questionnaires were administered but only 12 were able to be retrieved for conclusions to be drawn. A total of 10 interviews were conducted as some participated in both questionnaires and interviews. The data gathered was collected using thematic method since the research was qualitative.

## **5.2 Major research findings**

- CSOs play a pivotal role when it comes to elections as it is mainly the bridge between the ordinary citizens and the government therefore it can be said to be the Voice of the Voiceless.
- Dealing with community using the bottom to top approach is very critical and effective as the grassroots will have the opportunity to bring out what they really feel and what they really need.
- Voter education through various methods such as public meetings and edutainment made people to understand in different ways.
- The theme which was used by ZimRights on the elections which was titled 'HANDEI TISU ANHU ACHO' really empowered people and gave them motivation to be fully involved in the electoral process of the national.
- Use of entertainment for information dissemination was very useful as the main target for the 2013 Zimbabwe elections were the youths and women who are believed to be passive in terms of governance issues. Entertainment managed to be a crowd puller thereby managing to deliver election related information to many people.

- Use of IEC material such as sacks was useful especially in rural areas where sacks are used almost daily due to dominance of agro based activities in rural areas thereby making some sought of indoctrination of the message to participate in elections.
- There were other CSOs other than ZimRights which were involved in election related programs and these include Youth Forum, ADZT, ZESN and ZPP among others. However the building of synergies between ZimRights and other CSOs such as Crisis Coalition in Zimbabwe to come up the FEYA FEYA campaign helped to avoid duplication of activities by CSOs in the same communities.
- ZimRights was instrumental in voter mobilization largely on the issue of voter registration as most people got to know about the issue of registration especially the mobile voter registration process through ZimRights activities.
- To come up with different programs which were useful to community members ZimRights firstly engaged in research on what best programs to implement in specific communities.
- ZimRights along with other CSOs were able to lobby for the extension of the mobile voter registration process and this accommodated people who were left out at first to have the opportunity to register as voters.
- Use of sports and peace clubs in peace building was very instrumental and made communities to reintegrate after the 2008 election atrocities.
- ZimRights had a victim friendly system and reserved resources and personnel in case of any case of political violence and intimidation and the fact that there were no reported cases can partly indicate that the elections were violent free.

- ZimRights during the election fielded few observers. It fielded 100 observers as compared to other CSOs like ZESN who had more than 2000 observers thereby being able to cover all constituencies which had 9760 polling stations.
- Most observers of ZimRights cried foul in terms of the allowances they got from ZimRights for observing elections. ZimRights observers got only \$20 compared to other CSOs like ZESN who got \$110
- ZimRights faced both internal and external challenges, internal challenges included issues of failure of members to pay their subscriptions and external challenges included unnecessary arrests of staff members and misperceptions by the state and some members of the general public.

### **5.3 General conclusion**

In conclusion the researcher managed to analyze the impact of ZimRights in the harmonized elections of July 31 2013. ZimRights has impacted positively in the electoral process through its will to see a people driven election. ZimRights has tried to get the politics out of the electoral process by shunning politically motivated violence though however this has been a great challenge. Through the analysis presented in this research the researcher can conclude that the role of CSOs in the electoral process is important as CSOs are a bridge between the people and Government through that they play a mediator role between the Government and the people.

### **5.4 Recommendations**

- There is need for wider and equal coverage in terms of implementation of various projects by ZimRights as some areas were concentrated with ZimRights activities compared to others.

- There need for ZimRights to increase the number of its election observers in the future elections so that every constituency will be covered thereby coming out with a valid report.
- There is need to increase the allowances in cases where the organization will be depending on input from ordinary citizens, especially on the issue of election observers. This helps in improving the level of commitment among people involved and also quality of information that will be obtained
- There is need for frequent follow ups on implemented programs and project so as to make the projects successful
- There is need for gender balance in every program implemented especially on issues such as sports.
- In terms of edutainment much emphasis must be on the educating side rather than the entertaining side
- There is need for CSOs to improve their relations with the state as this help to avoid unnecessary disturbances and allegations that hinder their progress as they are perceived to be regime change agents



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## Appendix 1

### Questionnaire for ZimRights /Community members

Tichaona Tapera is an undergraduate student in the Department of Development Studies at the Midlands State University. I do cordially appeal for your contribution in this assessment by responding to the listed questions. This research attempts to analyze the role played by Civil Society Organizations in the Zimbabwe harmonized elections of 31 July 2013. The data gathered will be used for academic purposes and it will be confidentially treated and kept.

#### Instructions

1. Do not include your personal details i.e. name and surname.
2. May you kindly respond by ticking the appropriate box or filling the blank spaces.

#### Part A: Demographic data

Do you think CSOs have a part to play in ensuring quality elections in your community?

Yes

No

- i. If answer for i. is Yes, What role do you think CSOs are playing in ensuring quality elections in your community?

.....  
.....

- ii. If answer for i. is No, What do you think CSOs should be doing to ensure quality elections?

.....  
.....

i. How many CSOs have you heard of which deal with election related issues?

.....  
.....

ii. What are some of the activities which were done by CSOs in your community to promote quality elections?

.....  
.....

i. Have there been any differences in elections since the inception of ZimRights activities in your area?

**Yes**

**No**

ii If above answer is Yes please explain

.....  
.....

## Appendix 2

### Questionnaire for ZimRights

- i. To date how many activities and interventions related to elections have you made since the establishment of ZimRights? Please explain also the nature of activities and interventions made

.....  
.....

- ii. What are some of the challenges associated with ensuring success of elections?

.....  
.....

- iii. How have you solved some of the challenges you have mentioned above?

.....  
.....

- iv. What are some of the opportunities associated with ensuring success of elections .

.....  
.....

## Appendix 3

### Interview guide ZimRights members/members of the community

1. Do you know of any organization which deals with election related issues?
2. Have you ever heard of Zimbabwe Human Rights Association (ZimRights) in your life?
3. If answer for question 2 is **Yes**, what have you heard about ZimRights?
4. What problems do you come across as local citizens before, during and after the elections?
5. How do you deal with the problems you come across as local citizens?
6. Who has helped you with your election related problems in the past?
7. What do you think your community leaders should do to protect you in times of elections?
8. What do you think your fellow community members should do to protect you?
9. What do you think CSOs should do to protect you in times of elections?
10. What do you think Government should do to protect you as local citizens in times of elections?

## Appendix 4

### Interview guide for Community leaders

1. Do you know of any organization which deals in election related issues?
2. Have you ever heard of Zimbabwe Human Rights Association (ZimRights) in your life?
3. If answer for question 2 is **Yes** , what have you heard about ZimRights?
4. What problems linked to elections do you think citizens come across in your community and in Zimbabwe as a whole?
5. How do you assist community people to deal with the problems they come across?
6. What role do you think community leaders should play to protect local citizens in times of elections?
7. What role do you think your community members should play to protect and empower themselves in terms of elections?
8. What role do you think CSOs should play to empower people in elections?
9. What do you think Government should do to empower citizens in elections?

