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DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS AND PUBLIC
MANAGEMENT

THE INSTITUTION OF TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP AND PARTY POLITICS IN
ZIMBABWE FROM 1980 TO 2015. A CASE OF ZIBAGWE RURAL DISTRICT (ZHOMBE)

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APPROVAL FORM

The undersigned certify that they have read and recommended to the Midlands State University the acceptance of a research project entitled: The institution of Traditional Leadership and Party Politics in Zimbabwe from 1980 to 2015. A case of Zibagwe Rural District (Zhombe)

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MARK..... DATE:.....

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OVERALL MARK

DEDICATION:

To my mother Nomuhle Moyo, my father Obert Ncube, my only sister Privilege and my mentor and friend Mr. Bidi.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:

I would like to acknowledge the support, guidance and assistance I received from numerous individuals ranging from my classmates, lecturers and friends during the course of this study.

Firstly would like to convey sincere gratitude to my supervisor, Mr Chikerema, for tirelessly guiding, supporting and inspiring me in shaping this research project. I would also like to express gratitude to traditional leaders, political party leaders, civil society groups members and the staff from the ministry of local government for making this researches a success.

I would like to thank the Ncube family for their unwavering physical, emotional and financial support that they gave to me throughout the course of study. Their contribution is highly noted and acknowledged. I would like to give credit to Mr and Mrs. Bidi for their support, their constructive criticism and contribution made the research study to be a success.

I would like to also pay tribute to my friends Mlondolozu Ndlovu, Mfowabo “Mfoxman” Dube, Edwin “The General” Mhizha, Trust Dzinoruma and Marxwell “Markeller” Chisora for their contribution and words of encouragement.

To all I say May the Good Lord Abundantly Bless You.

ABSTRACT

Traditional leadership institution is one of the most important and respected institution in the rural communities and at national level because of their unifying nature. It is therefore the objective of the institution to serve the community fairly without favoritism or discrimination. The institution unlike the elected officials tends not to serve a certain group of people but the whole community despite political affiliations or background of subjects. Through the above mentioned objective it is therefore the function of the institution to treat all people equally. However it has been an outcry and complains about the functioning of the institution which is condemned of being hampered by political interference which has forced the institution to be aligned to a certain political grouping in the country. It is the aim of this research to dig and reveal the real truth about the outcry of lack of independence of traditional leadership. The research would be mainly qualitative in nature and targeting a specific case study. The research would be done in Zhombe in Kwekwe District. The research targets traditional leaders, political parties' leadership at local level, civil society groups and the Ministry of local Government. These people have been selected because they are the relevant people with the information under investigation. After the obtaining of results of the study recommendations and other suggestions on improving the independence of would be proposed to help responsible authorities with relevant information.

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Abbreviations

ABBREV

DA.....DISTRICT ADMINSTRATOR

MDC-T.....MOVEMENT FOR DEMOCRATIC CHANGE TSVANGIRAI

MKD.....MAVAMBO KUSILE DAWN

WADCO.....WARD DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE

VIDCO.....VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE

VOA.....VOICE OF AMERICA

ZANU.....ZIMBABWE AFICAN NATIONAL UNION PATRIOTIC FRONT

ZAPU.....ZIMBABWE AFRICAN PEOPLES UNION PATRIOTIC FRONT

ZESN.....ZIMBABWE ELECTION SUPERVISORY NETWORK

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CHAPTER 1

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter acts as an introduction to the research study. It contains the background of the study, the statement of the problem, justification for the quest of the study, giving the theoretical and conceptual framework of the study; it also contains the delimitation and limitations of the study and definition of key terms which are going to be crucial to the study. The chapter also includes ethical considerations on the research study.

1:1BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

The history of traditional leadership dates back to the pre-colonial Zimbabwe where traditional leaders had autonomy over the areas of their jurisdiction and they enjoyed independence and authority in their areas. Chikerema and Chakunda (2014) observed that in pre-colonial era, chiefs had unlimited and open-ended powers over the tribe. The chief was the guardian of tribal land and whom he gave to tribesman to farm and for the purpose of residence. The chief was legislator, adjudicator and executorial in one. The institution of traditional leadership suffered a lot of changes after the coming of settlers.

The colonization of Zimbabwe altered the setup of traditional leaders and their position as community leaders. Settlers initially rejected and tried to disband the institution of traditional leadership as they perceived it as an impediment in their rule. According to Khanyi (2010) the colonial rule in Zimbabwe, as elsewhere on the continent, destroyed large parts of the pre-colonial system of governance, through war and through imposing a repressive modern administration on the indigenous population. However when the settlers discovered how crucial traditional leaders were in local politics, they retained the institution and empowered them in a way that favored them. Settlers retained the institution of traditional leadership because they felt that they controlled the masses and can contribute in pushing for colonial objectives. In 1920 that is when they first included chiefs onto the governance structure when they formed the Native

Boards. In 1927 they formed the Native Councils that both encompassed councils and traditional leadership. In 1957 through the African Councils Act chiefs were made vice presidents of councils while the elected councilors were made presidents. During the colonial era the institution of traditional leadership was transformed into a political and administrative system benefiting the minority group.

When the country gained its independence in 1980 the socialist government led by Cde Robert Mugabe stripped off all powers that the traditional leaders initially possessed during the colonial regime. The powers in policy planning and decision making were transferred to WADCOs and VIDCOs. These were village and ward-based structures which were now performing duties that were initially performed by chiefs. This was brought to existence by the Presidential Directive of 1984 which emphasized on bottom up approach to governance. Makumbe (1997) argues that the disempowering of chiefs was a political move of punishing chiefs for their role during the colonial era. Furthermore, the government crafted the Chiefs and Headmen Act which together with the directive from the president reduced the powers of the traditional leaders to merely customary functions and they were now at the periphery of decision making and policy planning. According to Chakaipa (2010) the Chiefs and Headmen Act under Chapter 29:01 of 1982 stripped traditional authorities of most powers they had prior to independence in 1980. Further, the Act excluded Village Heads from rural governance and allocated only three functions of a customary nature to Chiefs and headmen. Powers at district and sub-district levels were transferred to elected officials in the District Council and in Ward and Village Development Committees. Makumbe (1988) observed that all these legal enactments were part of the process of disempowering of chiefs a measure purportedly adopted in order to punish chiefs for their pre independence role as functionaries of colonial oppression.

The government brought back the powers of chiefs and other traditional leaders in 2000 through the Traditional Leaders Act. The Land Tenure Commission of 1994 is believed to be the one that sparked the debate of reinstating the powers of chiefs as its findings revealed that traditional leaders used to carry out governance roles than the new structures. Some believe that the rise of MDC brought the idea on the mind of the ruling party parliamentarians. This ensured the retaining of the institution of traditional leadership in the local governance circles through the Traditional Leaders Act. Makumbe (2003) observed that due to dwindling rural support that

ZANU PF was facing it had to employ Smith's tactics of retaining summoning the powers of the traditional leadership to garner support for the ruling power. According to Ncube (2011) the traditional leaders act retained exactly same powers that the traditional leaders had during the colonial era. Their roles were further strengthened by various legal instruments such as the recent Zimbabwean constitution of 2013 under chapter 13 and the Rural District Council Act. Currently the institution is believed by many to be in the dilemma of political manipulation in policy planning and decision making hence the study focuses on unravelling the truth.

1:2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

The research study seeks to unravel how the institution of traditional leadership has been influenced by political parties in carrying out its outlined duties in the constitution. It seeks to reveal how decision making and policy planning by traditional leadership have been affected by political heavyweights making the institute to seem to be biased to certain political entities yet the constitution clearly stipulates that traditional leaders should be impartial and not directed or driven by any political entity in their duties as community leaders.

1:3 PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

1.3.0 MAIN OBJECTIVE

- To evaluate the independence of the institution of traditional leadership.

1.3.1 OTHER OBJECTIVES

- To inquire if the constitutional provisions on the institution of traditional leadership are observed.
- To reveal the problems faced by traditional leaders in carrying out their duties as community leaders.
- To see if political interference has derailed the institution in decision making.

- To reveal why traditional leaders comply with political interference if it exists.
- To come up with a detailed study which will consists of relevant recommendations on the problem.

1:4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESIS

- Is the institution of traditional leadership independent in carrying out its role as community leadership?
- What does the constitution say about the institution of traditional leadership on their appointment and how they are supposed to carry out their duty
- What are the problems faced by traditional leadership in carrying out their duties as community leaders who are supposed to make good decision in their work?
- Does political interference improve or derail the function of the institution?
- Has political interference affected the community (issues of justice and fair allocation of resources) due to partiality?
- What are the effects of such interference?
- Is there any political party which has been advantaged or disadvantaged because of such an influence?

1:5 RATIONALE/MOTIVATION OF THE STUDY

The study comes at a time when the institutions' functioning is questionable. The functioning of the institution (the way they make their decision and policy planning) is perceived as biased to a certain political parties and policies formulated seem to be favoring for garnering political mileage for a certain political parties. The study comes to test the validity of the general outcry that the institution is marred by political interference in its policy planning and decision making both at National level (chiefs council) and lower level (headmen and kraal heads). It seeks to unravel if it is true that projects in communities (Zhombe) led by chiefs are done on partial lines where opposition sympathizers are sidelined. The study will provide a clear view of what is is

exactly happening in communities and try to come up with recommendations on the subject both at National level and at community level on how to deal with the outcry given that it is true.

1:6 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

These are possible obstacles or hindrances likely to be encountered during the research study what may disrupt or distort the outcome of the research study. These might reduce the level of analysis to certain level which at the end gives shortcomings on the accuracy of the research. Limitations of this study include sensitivity of the information as it implicates political heavyweight. Chiefs might not be willing to disclose the information on the subject because of their age and culture which is against disclosure of information that implicates those whom they perceive as their seniors age and position in the society. Headmen and kraal heads wouldn't want to disclose the chief's alignment with certain political parties. These reasons might lead to data inaccessibility which can finally compromise the results of the research study. Unwillingness by traditional leaders to discuss about the political party that might be bulldozing their authority.

1:7 DELIMITATION

The study is geographically limited to Zimbabwe particularly Kwekwe district's rural area of Zhombe which falls under Zibagwe Rural District. Focus will be on Chiefs Ntabeni and Gwesela and the lower traditional leaders who fall under their jurisdiction. The study focuses on the above mentioned areas because there is an outcry of political influence on the institution of traditional leadership. The research topic was chosen in a pull of topics, due to the desire to reveal the truth about what is really happening between the institution of traditional leadership and political parties, the researcher saw the topic appropriate to the study.

1:9:0 DEFINATION OF TERMS

1:9:1TRADITION

The term “tradition” literally refers to passing of elements of a culture from generation to generation, especially by verbal communication and they are cultural performs that are conserved by the society .A certain scholar defines a tradition as a certain mode of thought or behavior followed by people incessantly from generation to generation; a custom or usage. A set of such customs and usages viewed as a coherent body of precedents influencing the present. Under this research the institute of traditional leadership depicts a custom that have precedence in its selection, how they govern and the practices they have jurisdiction to preside on. A tradition is set by our elders and it is passed to the coming generations and it has to be respected by the society.

1:9:2 TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP

The term refers to any hereditary leader of the community. In this research the term refers to kraal heads, headman, and chiefs who are not elected but who inherit the leadership from their forefathers. According to Khanyi (2010) the term refers to customary institutions or structures, or customary systems or procedures of governance, recognized, utilized or practiced by traditional communities. D’Engelbronner-Kolff, Hintz and Sindano (1998) state that “traditional leadership” refers to the authority that is based on the belief in “sacred traditions in force since time immemorial” and the legitimacy of those who are called to govern by said traditions. Oomen (2005) supports this assertion when arguing that traditional leadership like any other legitimate authority is coming from God and without it Africans would not have a community hence they are community leaders. This authority is bestowed upon traditional leaders to shepherd traditional communities against unorthodox and orthodox sieges directed at destroying African nations. In this vein, traditional leaders are leaders in charge of the lives of the people and the safety of the nation. They are leaders who rule and govern their societies on the basis of traditional practices and values of their respective societies Ntsebeza, (2003).

1:9:2 POLITICS

The term refers matters of public concern which involves struggle for power, authority and influence. Lasswell defines politics as who gets what, when and how. The definition by Lasswell reveals that politics is no bed of roses but an arena for struggle for influence by all means possible. Politics is the process by which the society organize how they it can live together. Politics requires institutions that collect ideas from the society for the organization of betterment of their living as a society, and then represent, discuss, decide and implement them on behalf of subjects hence the emergence the institution of traditional leadership and the political parties.

1:9:3 PARTY POLITICS

This can be defined as the battle between political parties in an area to gain control thus controlling the hearts and minds of people in that particular area. This type of politics involves political parties reframing from association with other political parties trying by all means to fight for control. Those who are on power distribute or offer government services on party lines. In Zimbabwe it will be ZANU PF sympathizes shunning any cooperation with other political parties in the community or the vice versa. This type of politics is popular on the third world countries like Zimbabwe.

1:9:4 POLITICAL PARTIES

Political party is a special form of social organization created by interested members of the society. A prominent American political scientist Antony Downs termed a political party as a team of men seeking to control the governing apparatus of the government by gaining office in a duly constituted election. The Italian scholar Giovanni Sartori quoted in Welhelm and Grabow (2011) defined a party as any political group identified by an official label or seal that presents at elections, and is capable of placing through election, candidates for public office. Example of political parties in Zimbabwe and which will be focused by the study are ZANU PF (Zimbabwean African National Union), MDC-T (Movement for Democratic Change), ZAPU (Zimbabwe African Peoples Union) and MKD (Mavambo Kusile Dawn)

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Before carrying out the research the researcher will first seek acquiescence from the responsible authorities in a bid to comply with research ethics before proceeding with the research. The researcher will introduce himself to the accomplices as a Bachelor of Science in Politics and Public Management final year student at the Midlands State University conducting an academic research on the stated topic which will be assisted by the presence of a letter confirming the study by the Politics and Public Management Department. The respondents will be of assured concealment in answering interviews and filling the questionnaires through indicating that the research is strictly for academic purposes.

SUMMARY FOR THE CHAPTER

The chapter acted as an introduction to the research study highlighting the background of the study, the statement of the problem, justifying the quest of the study, giving the theoretical and conceptual framework of the study, it also highlighted the delimitation and limitations of the study and definition of key terms which are going to be crucial to the study. The next chapter will look on the literature review.

CHAPTER 2

INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the literature review and the theoretical framework. The chapter contains various studies and research by other scholars and its usefulness is to guide this research and to offer the researcher an opportunity to compare the findings from other scholars and the current study. It also gives the researcher the opportunity to note the gaps on the study and how other scholars have failed to fill the gap. The topic under research has been researched by a number of scholars both local and internationally and they developed their own perspectives on the topic. This chapter would try to trace the contribution of these scholars to the topic giving a critical analysis of the validity of their findings. The chapter will also look on the theories that best explain the behavior of political parties towards lower institutions in governance in this case the institution of traditional leadership their applicability on the topic. This chapter will be organized into sub topics as follows; the traditional leadership and colonization, traditional leadership and post-colonial Zimbabwe, traditional leadership's theoretical framework, traditional leadership's legal framework, and role of traditional leadership.

2:1 TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP AND COLONIALISM

As an inception note Chakaipa (2010) the institution of traditional leadership existed back to immemorial, the institution enjoyed sore powers of being community leaders. The institution is said to have been altered by the colonial era. Even the current outcry of the institution being influenced by political parties is said to have been borrowed from the colonial regime. Beall, Mkhize and Vawda (2005) in Chikerema and Chakunda explain that colonialism and other forces

of modernity did not only disrupt and destroy most of the moral economy, but they undermined the social and political authority of traditional leaders. The view by the scholars reveals that the leadership of the community that existed before was altered or their performance was now under the colonialists' scrutiny. The assertion is also supported by Tarugarira in Chikerema and Chakunda (2014) when he observed that the institution of traditional authority had to be suppressed and redefined to be congruent to the new political order. They changed the role of many leaders from guardian of the well-being of their society to colonial bureaucrat. The scholar understanding of the changing of the roles of traditional leadership after colonialism gives a clear view on how political muscle was used by European colonialist to make African leaders to adhere to their set rules and these are the same tactics that are employed on contemporary Zimbabwe on the political battle of ruling Zimbabwe. This view helps this study to have an insight of the genesis of political manipulation of chiefs.

Von Trotha (1996) argues that civil chieftaincy cannot adequately represent the local order without being constitutionally integrated on the level of the central state. Colonial governments changed the nature of chieftaincy by giving them specific administrative responsibilities, incorporating them into the modern ruling apparatus and, hence, politicizing them. This assertion proves to be valid even to the contemporary Zimbabwe which is characterized by constitutional changes which well suits those in power to benefit from the institute of traditional leadership. There were various constitutional changes from 1980 to 2014 concerning the institute of traditional leadership. VanRouveroy vanNieuwal(1996)discovered that in many cases the institution of chieftaincy itself was reshaped, lost its independence of the state and became more or less part of the political system, it was simply politicized. Van Rouveroy van Nieuwal (1996) observed that the overall purpose of these enactments was to strategically position traditional leaders to enhance colonial interests. Even today the enactments concerning chiefs are designed to strategically give mileage politically for a certain group or political party. The Europeans designed the enactments that made the institute of traditional leadership to be directly controlled by them.

Chikerema and Chakunda (2014) are of the view that in an endeavor to consolidate colonial administration in Southern Rhodesia, successive colonial regimes passed a plethora of legislation that suppressed the political and judicial authority of traditional leaders. These enactments were

designed in such a way that the traditional leaders were to be loyal to them. To instill fear to the chiefs those who failed to adhere to these laws were replaced with the competent ones. The herald explains the reason why there was power wrangles on the Gwesela clan in Zhombe which they attribute to the colonial era were the whites who removed the chief and replaced him with his brother who was loyal and who adhered to their rules. Mamdane (2001) argues that the institution of traditional leadership in Zimbabwe has gone through colonial and post-colonial acceptance, usage, and political corruption. It has also shown considerable resilience and clout in terms of influencing sub-national development processes and, increasingly, national political structures. There are inherent contradictions in terms of the functions of the institution that Zimbabwe's ruling elite has exploited capitalizing on its continued legitimacy in the eyes of the majority of Zimbabweans.

2:2 TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP AND THE POST COLONIAL ZIMBABWE

Chigudu (2015) noted that in the post-colonial era, there has been a massive outcry of electoral manipulation through the institute of traditional leadership in Southern Africa and elsewhere in the sub Saharan Africa. To contextualize on the Zimbabwean situation it is wiser to highlight that when the country gained independence there were a number of changes that took place which were politically motivated or aimed at garnering votes for a certain political party.

Osei Tutu (2004) noted that as far as postcolonial African regimes were concerned, it is hardly contestable that they saw traditional authorities as a dangerous citadel of rival political power and largely succeeded in dismantling or attenuating their authority. In 1980 the country gained its independence and that implies that there was the first black government. The socialist government led Cde Robert Mugabe sought to clip the wings of traditional leaders whom they perceived as puppets of the Rhodesian front. Politically it was very clear that traditional leaders danced according to the white man's tune and every new black government sought to clip the wings as the institution was evidently harmful to the ruling party. To safeguard his relevance

president Mugabe and his government designed legal instruments and structures that reduced the institution to mere customary leaders. Chikerema and Chakunda (2014) noted that nationalist government in Zimbabwe deemed traditional leaders to be an anachronistic vestige of colonialism that had no place in the new administration and thus relegated the latter to the periphery zones of governance, condemning them to play customary and cultural custodial roles through the Chiefs and Headman Act, Chapter 29.01 of 1982. This view by the two scholars reveals that the traditional leaders were seen as enemies of the ruling party because of their alliance with the whites during the colonial era and a threat to consolidation of power for the regime. Tarugarira (2010) noted that, the new government felt a strong suspicion and possibly fear for chiefs who had associated with the Rhodesian Front government hook-line and sinker. This view reflects how crucial the institution of traditional leadership is in the political arena. The ruling party feared the institution because of its connection with the whites.

Tarugarira (2010) notes that the reduction of their powers and replacing their authority with elected official can be facetly seen Mugabe's regime commitment to the decentralization and adhering to democratic principles at the same time the move can be seen as Mugabe's tactic to strengthen his support at grassroots level. The move was totally a political gimmick to punish traditional leaders for their colonial sins. According to Ncube (2011) the new government brought new structures called WADCOS and VIDCOS these structures were mainly composed of ZANU PF hardliners though people remained loyal to the traditional leaders. According to Makumbe In Chikerema and Chakunda (2014) the employment of VIDCOs and WADCOs was primarily conceived for purposes of creating a one party state which later collapsed copied from the Russian and Chinese setup. The bringing in of these structures can be seen as a way of strengthening ZANU PFs political mileage since it was made up of the party's sympathizers.

According to Ncube (2011) controversy on the institution raised its face on the late 90s when the government and the ruling party through the Rukuni Commission created a new piece of legislation called the Traditional Leaders Act which brought back the powers of the chiefs, which many scholars believe that it was a political gimmick to bring back the evidently dwindling support of ZANU PF in rural areas. According to a complement to the process of traditional leaders' manipulation, in the early to mid-2000s, ZANU PF began to exploit the possibility of co-opting traditional leaders as allies in the campaign for rural control, adopting a

carrot and stick approach. Chiefs were encouraged to exercise the extensive powers over rural communities that had been restored to them by way of the Traditional Leaders Act of year 2000, and were threatened with removal from their positions or discontinuance of state allowances if those under their prerogative voted against ZANU PF. These tactics proved successfully used in Gutu and Lupane in 2004 by elections, and the strategies were adopted nationwide for the general election of 2005. Acquiescent Chiefs thus used their powers to evict people from villages, prevent opposition political parties from campaigning and to control the distribution of food aid on a politically partisan basis. The alliance between traditional leaders and ZANU PF became explicit with the allocation of youth militia are provided as security aides to Chiefs in Matebeleland and Masvingo. This view by the above scholars seems to be valid as the strategy proved to work on ZANU PFS side. Recent comment by Mnangagwa reveals that traditional leaders have acted as ZANU PFs campaigning tools. He was quoted saying “when we are going for the by elections for Zibagwe- Chirimanzu the chief ,headman and kraal head would be compelled to lead their people to polling stations and that will make ZANU PF aware of people who voted against us”.

Makumbe (1997) is of the view that because chiefs are appointed by the President, are paid monthly allowances by the state, and because of threats made by stage agents; traditional chiefs have indiscriminately supported ZANU-PF, the institution have long been used as political instruments by incumbent ruling parties for their own ends. The appointment of the chiefs as outlined by the constitution of Zimbabwe is in the hands of the President and the Minister responsible for local government. So being the issue ZANU PF capitalizes from that fact as the president the leader of the party is the president of the country and the minister Chombo is ZANU PF secretary for administration. This empowers the two hands to exploit their positions in the favor of their party. Evidently their public sentiments in 2008 when President Mugabe visited chief Ntabeni of Zhombe in Kwekwe district he assigned chiefs to actively participate in mainstream politics to prevent what he termed reversal of the country’s Independence as what had nearly took place in 29 march 2008 election where ZANU PF narrowly survive a humiliating defeat.

According to Matikinye (2015) the President was quoted at a certain gathering saying to chiefs that they should be guardians of national sovereignty and guard against those who delight in

associating with detractors and those who work in cahoots with powers that seek to mislead people. The institution of Chiefdoms is constitutionally recognized and established under the Zimbabwean constitution under and the traditional leadership act of 2000. According to the traditional leadership act of 2000 chiefs are appointed by the President who according to the act with due consideration to the prevailing customary principles of succession applicable to the community over which the Chief is to preside and, wherever practicable, must appoint a person nominated by those in the community who traditionally determine issues of succession. A Chief may be suspended by the Minister of Local Government if charged with any offence involving dishonesty or after an investigation by Ministerial appointees into misconduct in relation to the customs and traditions observed in his area. If the accused chief is found guilty of the offence or misconduct, the Minister may recommend to the President that the Chief be removed from office. This clause is the one that intimidates a number of chiefs and other lower authorities to adhere to ZANU PFs Machiavellian gimmicks.

According to Makumbe (1997) commenting during the period of GNU he observed that given that the Ministry responsible for local government under the inclusive government is still headed by a ZANU-PF Minister, and that the President is still responsible for the appointment of chiefs. These two factors are likely to mean that the chiefs will still feel obliged to politically support ZANU-PF as opposed to the MDC. Indeed, this alone highlights the need for legislative and other related reforms in relation to the role and functions of traditional leaders in Zimbabwe. According to Mbanga (2013), the Lancaster House Constitution Amendment No. 18, which gave birth to harmonized elections in March 2008, it removed the appointed Chiefs from the House of Assembly to the Senate. In addition, the President and Secretary of the Chiefs Council were automatically made Senators. All in, the number of chiefs was increased from ten to 17. The question that has been boggling many progressive minds is whether Chiefs should continue playing their legislative role in the new constitution. This has been necessitated by the fact that since the emergency of the MDC as the only strong force that can offer an alternative to the ZANU (PF) dictatorship, traditional leaders have used their legislative numbers to tilt voting power in favour of the ZANU PF which seemed to be failing to garner required numbers of pieces of legislation to be validated.

According to Mbanga (2013) in 2000 when the MDC won 57 of the 120 contested parliamentary seats and ZANU (PF) had to use 10 Chiefs in the august house to shift this seemingly balanced voting pattern in its favour. This ensured the passing of the notorious legislations, such as the Access to Information and Protection of privacy Act (AIPPA) and Public Order and Security Act (POSA) which were designed to silence opposition though it was against MDC objections. The view by Mbanga(2013) reveals that chiefs both in their appointment and carrying their duties seem to be biased towards a certain political party. This research study comes to unveil the validity of such claims by conducting a research in Zhombe.

2:3 TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP'S LEGAL FRAME WORK

According to Section 45 of the Traditional Leaders Act [Chapter 29:17] which deals with the election of traditional leaders to political office. Section 45 (1) states that no chief, headmen or village head shall be eligible for election as President, Member of Parliament whilst still holding office as chief, headmen or village head. Section 45 (2) goes further to state: that no chief, headmen or village head shall canvass, serve as an election agent, or nominate any candidate for election as state President, member of Parliament or councilor in any local authority. Chief, headmen or village heads may, however, exercise their right to vote in any national or local government election or referendum.

According to Chakaipa (2011) politicians of all persuasions realize the substantial influence traditional leaders wield in rural Zimbabwe, most notably through mediums such as tribe, clan, totem, custom and tradition. Both before and after independence, politicians have sought the assistance of traditional leaders in order to influence both electoral and governance processes. Traditional leaders are also best positioned to communicate programs and ensure community participation in such programs. Parties in government have tended to have an edge in rallying traditional leaders to their cause, be it during elections or in delivery of government programs. Chakaipa (2011) continues to highlight that traditional leaders are an effective communication tool given their hierarchical nature (chief, headmen, VH) and their spread. They are present in all parts of rural Zimbabwe, with the exception of commercial farming areas and mining regions. Their support is, invaluable though the law prevents them from participating in

politics or, more specifically, seeking elective office, they remain a major player in governance, especially at local level. The study is going to focus on fact finding on their awareness on this legal provision.

According to the GPA document (2009) the provisions relating the emphasis of political neutrality of the institution were reinforced in the document and the agreement signed by Zimbabwe's main political parties in September, 2008. The Article 14.1 alluded that:

Recognizing and acknowledging that traditional leaders are community leaders with equal responsibilities and obligations to all members of their communities regardless of age, gender, ethnicity, race, religion and political affiliation, the Parties hereby agree to:-

(a) Commit themselves to ensuring the political neutrality of traditional leaders; and

(b) Call upon traditional leaders not to engage in partisan political

Various scholars believe that the provisions were brushed aside by ZANU PF prior 2013 elections. The standard of 2010 reflects that in October, 2010 several meetings of traditional leaders were convened to ensure and utilize the allegiance of traditional leaders to ZANU PF. A meeting of 30 Chiefs and army officers is reported to have taken place at military barracks in Harare to discuss election strategies which would ensure ZANU PF's retention of power. The VOAnews of 29 October 2010 observed that the annual national conference of several hundred Chiefs in Kariba endorsed Mugabe as their favored presidential candidate and, in an address by former Vice-President Mujuru at the conference; the Chiefs were specifically informed that they were entitled to engage in politics "as pioneers of the struggle for freedom. The behaviour of endorsing Mugabe for presidency was against the traditional leader's act which prohibits the traditional leaders to publicly support, endorse or campaign for a certain candidate or political party. The herald of 1st of October 2010 also noted that the army commander of 3 Brigade in Mutare summoned nearly 200 traditional leaders at a workshop held at barracks during which he ordered them to prevent the MDC from campaigning and its members from receiving agricultural inputs from government. The Brigadier-General, Nyikayaramba, is further reported to have stated that he wants to make it clear to all Chiefs that were gathered that if President Mugabe loses in 2013 elections, they will have a case to answer he emphasizes that they are gone

the days when Chiefs were apolitical. This assertion is of no doubt authentic to make the researcher eager to investigate the validity of the allegations at the chosen case study.

The Minister of Local Government who is the member of ZANU PF retains overall authority over traditional leaders as, amongst other powers indicated as quoted from the traditional leaders act that he

“may, by written notice, give to the Chiefs, Headmen and Village Heads such directions of a general character as to the policy they must observe in the exercise of their functions as appear to the Minister necessary in the national interest.”

The provisions from the traditional leaders act are too broad for power hungry ministers driven by ego to manipulate traditional leaders. This provision can cause Minister Chombo who is the Minister of Local government to have much control over the functioning of the traditional leadership institution.

ZANU PF’s intention of co-opting Chiefs has been pursued by leaving ultimate authority over traditional leaders and structures with central government; through the restoration of powers to the Chiefs (which can be used against political opponents) and by largesse

In the post-independence ZANU-PF government began to lose political support in the early as a result of its less appealing policies and alleged poor economic management systems. The poor performance of the Zimbabwe economy was generally blamed on Mugabe and his party’s socialist policies. Realizing the general acceptance of traditional leaders by the majority of the citizens, the Mugabe regime decided to harness this component of customary governance for its political ends. Various schemes were devised to ensure that traditional leaders would not only support ZANU-PF and Mugabe, but would also ensure that their people in the rural communities would also do the same. According to Prof John Makumbe (1997 at a chiefs’ meeting where one of the chiefs stated that they are President Mugabe’s representatives in their respective areas. Quoted from the Financial Gazette of 2003, Manyukwe (2003) captured more of the political alterations more succinctly thus he viewed the Smith’s handling of tribal leaders has come full swing. Faced with the same fate of having to deal with an agitated population, the ruling party having decided to turn back the clock by reconsidering a classic case of how those who were

expected to position with the people decided to sell out. Identifying imminent defeat in the last parliamentary election, the party suddenly recalled the chiefs. By awarding them allowances, by subsequently installing electricity in their homes, by periodically snowballing their allowances without them having raised a finger, history began reiterating itself. Again grateful of this kindness, chiefs have since helped in making rural areas a no go area for the opposition especially MDC. The rural areas have become places for political purgatives and vengeance, flashpoints for those considered not devoted to the 'revolution'. The assertion by Nyukwe condemns the bringing back of the traditional leaders powers under the act as it has resulted in the chiefs being more aligned to ZANU PF believing that some government initiatives are the party's initiatives. This research now comes to investigate if chiefs are able to separate ruling party projects and those of the government visa-vi separation of government from ZANU PF.

Makumbe (2011) captured the events of an annual meeting of the Zimbabwe Council of Chiefs held at Bulawayo's opulent Rainbow Hotel, where promises and demands were made. The government promised to drill boreholes, and give chiefs cars. Chiefs also requested phones. It was at the same meeting that Chief Serima of Gutu said: 'VaMugaberambaimuchitongakusvikiramadhongiavanenyanga' ('Mr Mugabe, continue to rule until donkeys have horns'), to howls of misguided approval. Commenting on the assertion Prof Makumbe raised concern of the situation if the promises are fulfilled. It is not far-fetched that they are sure to shut out the opposition from their areas, regardless of the fact that the winds of change cannot be confined to the towns any longer. According to studio 7 VOA a traditional leader by the name Wait Gwesela from Zhombe warned Ward 10 MDC aspirant candidate for the council that if he contest in the election he risks being relocated from the area under his jurisdiction. The assertion by the above scholar reveals that the ruling party considering how desperate it was for votes had to struggle hard for control over the chiefs and their rural vote. Thereby this study would like to prove the reality of exploitation of the chiefs in Zhombe and how they have influenced the outcome of the political struggle.

Some scholars are of the view that it is extremely difficult for opposition political parties to operate in their rural area, it is of great importance to note that traditional chiefs that sit in Parliament have always voted in support of ZANU-PF regardless of the merits and demerits of the issue. Because they are appointed by the President, and they are paid monthly allowances by

the state, chiefs feel obliged to politically support the President's party at all times. The observation by the author brings to light what senators elected to the august house do as they seek to appease their appointer and evidently they want to be identified as ZANU PF representatives. Also during electoral campaigns Manyukwe notes that state agents compelled chiefs to campaign on behalf of ZANU PF. In part of Manyukwe's article he is quoted as the June 27 presidential run-off were approaching, opposition officials said the ruling party, ZANUPF, was targeting village chiefs in an effort to reverse the losses suffered by President Robert Mugabe in the first round of voting in areas previously considered his stronghold. According to Bhebhe (2008) politicization of villagers by headmen is in full swing ahead of the crucial second round as traditional leaders are calling meetings disguised as genuine village gatherings with nothing to do with politics, once the villagers congregate, the gospel of ZANU-PF will be preached. Bhebhe highlighted that as elsewhere in Africa traditional leaders have always commanded profound respect among rural communities, where they preside over everything from the resolution of disputes to the sharing of resources. The author's perspective is to some extent correct as this is supported by Makumbe (2011) when he highlights that some chiefs and headmen are still revered within some political circles for having worked with nationalists and freedom fighters in the 1960s and 1970s during the bloody and prolonged guerrilla war against Ian Smith's white minority government and this has made them to remain loyal to ZANU PF. There were, therefore two groups of traditional leaders during that time, but the situation has become more monolithic now, with the majority of chiefs politically supporting Mugabe's ZANU-PF.

According to ZESNs report prior 2008 elections it revealed that observed that chiefs who had given the MDC permission to hold campaign rallies in their locality had been harassed by state security agents, who threatened to pull out government support if they continued to do so. According to Bhebhe (2008), those villagers who have shunned the recent village meetings, recognizing them as ZANU-PF gatherings, have suffered terrible consequences. The denial of food to starving villagers simply because they are alleged to be supporters of political parties other than ZANU-PF is the height of hypocrisy. Mwandopertinently notes that human rights groups, aid agencies and the MDC allege that traditional leaders are rejecting starving villager's food aid, accusing them of working against government efforts because they support parties

other than ZANU-PF. In some extreme cases villagers have been threatened with exclusion from their traditional rural homes because they were alleged to support the MDC or other opposition political parties. Professor Makumbe (2011) observed that it is perhaps even more unfortunate that there have never been actual cases where the traditional leaders have proved beyond doubt that the specified villagers had in any way been disloyal to their traditional leaders. The view by the above scholar's has triggered the researcher to be worried about unraveling the truth about how political parties relate to the institution of traditional leadership.

2:4 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

There are a number of theories that are studied under the field of political science but the institutional theory best explains the behavior of political parties' leaders' behavior towards the lower institutions like the institution of traditional leadership. Institutional theory explains that outcomes of public policies and behavior's reflect the will of the strongest or superior force. In this instance the will of the ruling party (ZANU PF) determines the way in which the institute of traditional leaders carryout their traditional duties and how these leaders are selected. The theory is divided into historical institutionalism, sociological and political institutionalism. Historical institutionalism explains that the way of conduct of lower institutions are channeled by existing and past arrangements. The policy choices made in the past shape choices today. It explains the way in which ZANU PF brought back the excessive powers of traditional leaders over its subjects like the ones that they had during the colonial period. Some scholars argue that these powers were brought back to assist ZANU PF in the political battle with opposition parties.

According to the theory the some agencies have more influence than others identities and they provide moral and cognitive frameworks allowing their own numbers as well as third parties to make sense of events and to act in specific circumstances. It asserts that the dominant force which in this instance is the ruling party shape the image and the preferences of administrative and political elites. Krasner (1984) believes that public institutions as all organizations are considered as institutional actors in as far as their field unit appropriate and promote values and interests that are imbedded in the local communities in which they operate and not just as machines implementing goals and values defined by the principal which is the dominant force.

According to Meyer and Rowan (1977) the theory asserts that influencing the conduct of public administrators not only by influencing what they have to do, but also by shaping the imagination of actors about alternatives and solutions. Also according to the theory mechanisms such as coercive isomorphism change results from pressure exerted to the institution by political influence. The theory goes on to explain that even though the institution leaders can know what is good and which is ethically acceptable they tend not to be innovative because conformity reinforces their political legitimacy. The theory clearly reveals why lower institutions like and how the traditional leadership suffer from exploitation and given a direction by seemingly strong institutions like the political parties

2:5 ROLE OF TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP

The constitution of Zimbabwe which was adopted as national law in 2013 outlines the role of traditional leadership being community leaders' mainly in customary issues and in carrying out their functions they should act in a way that is impartial. According to the Zimbabwean new governance charter, it provides an opportunity to define a new role for traditional leaders in National politics, and restore that dignity and honor which was eroded by the past ZANU (PF) regime from 1980. Traditional leaders are the chief custodians of our culture, heritage and the guardians of the environment. Mawaniri (2014) identified main obligation of a the kraal head which is the lowest rank of traditional leaders better known as conservation of the traditions and culture of the Zimbabwean people, wellbeing of the villagers, peace and stability, managing natural resources and encouraging development in the rural community. Mawaniri (2014) observed that sabhuku is required to collect a development tax of \$2 a year per household from villagers. After collecting, 10 percent is for his or her efforts making head men unpopular to the communities at times.

According to the Traditional Leaders act Chapter 29:7 which outline the roles of traditional leadership stretching from kraal heads to chiefs?The kraal head also called village head has the following duties.To assist the chief and headman in the performance of their duties such as solving minor customary disputes and crime, issues of land and grazing areas and to carry out all lawful and reasonable orders of the chief or headman. It is in line with the traditional leaders act

that the kraal head leads his community in all traditional, customary and cultural matters. The kraal head is obliged inline to the Communal Land Act [Chapter 20:04], to consider the customs and traditions of his community. The same act gives the kraal head the power to be the one who forwards requests for settlement by new settlers into the village to the headman and the chief.

The village head has the role to play in settlement of disputes involving customary law and traditions. As highlighted by the main provisions of the act the main tasks of village heads is to conserve the culture and the environment. As highlighted by John Makumbe (2011) some political parties seem to be exploiting this role and the influence of this type of leadership to their benefit. It is the task of this study to come up with appropriate research design to unravel the truth about the institution.

The same piece of legislation also provides the roles of headman which are accorded under chapter 3 of the act subsection 9 where it highlights that the duties of the headman like any other category of traditional leadership is to assist the chief in performing his functions of being the community leader . it is the task of the head man to report to the police any crime or offence in his area in among this the presence of the corpse of any person who has died suddenly or was found dead or is suspected of having died violently and the suspicious disappearance of any person.

As accorded by the act the headman has a duty to report anyone who threatened public unrest likely to disturb the public peace, to carry out all lawful and reasonable orders given by his chief. The head man recommends to the chief persons for appointment as village heads and, where appropriate, to recommend their removal from office. Headman reports criminal acts, acts of misconduct and violations of customs and traditions to the chief and any other appropriate authority; and, to preside over a ward assembly when elected as chairman for that purpose in terms of the Act; and to oversee, through the ward assembly, the disposal of settlement, rights in Communal Land and the admission of new settlers in the area under him. The piece of legislation also commands the headman to keep an up-to-date register of the villages and village heads under him and to keep the chief and the rural district council informed of any changes to the register.

The act also outlines the role of traditional leadership which is to perform the functions concerning to the office of a chief as the traditional head of the community under his governance. Chiefs are advised by the act to promote and uphold cultural values among members of the community under his sphere of influence, especially the preservation of the extended family and the promotion of traditional family life. Chiefs are the ones that supervises the headmen and village heads in the performance of their duties; and discharging any functions conferred upon him in terms of the Customary Law and Local Courts Act [Chapter 7:05]. It is the purpose of this study to reflect if these roles are effectively or correctly carried out impartially.

These legal provisions from the traditional leaderships act are further strengthened by the Zimbabwe's constitution which clearly outlines the role of traditional leadership. Under the country's constitution in chapter 15 it is asserted that a traditional leader is responsible for performing the cultural, customary and traditional functions of a Chief or headperson, as the case may be for his or her community. They should observe the rules pertaining to traditional leadership and exercise their functions for the purposes for which the institution of traditional leadership is recognized by the Constitution.

According to the document it is their mandate to promote and uphold cultural values of their communities, in particular, promote sound family values; take measures to preserve the culture, traditions, history and heritage of their communities, including sacred shrines within their areas. They are also empowered to treat all persons under their jurisdiction equally and fairly. This research aims to investigate if they observe these provisions. The constitution outlines that traditional leaders shall resolve disputes amongst people in their communities in accordance with customary law; and exercise any other functions conferred or imposed on them by an act of parliament.

SUMMARY FOR THE CHAPTER

The chapter was mainly focusing on the literature review that is the research conclusion by other scholars. The chapter looked on the literature from other scholars on areas like traditional leadership under colonization, post-independence era, the institution legal framework, the theoretical framework and the role of traditional leadership. The aim of the chapter being the

figuring out the gap and analyzing the finding by other scholars hence coming up with the researchers perspective on what needs to be focused on.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3:0INTRODUCTION

This chapter now converts or turns into theresearch methodology, reflecting the manner in which the research shall be carried out. This chapter shall look on the research design, the population size under investigation, the data collection instruments to be employed in this research as well as the data analysis techniques to be used. It is in this chapter where the most appropriate data collection methods are laid out which will help to come up with the required information. This chapter will attempt to find anefficient or systematic way to solve the problem of party politics on the functioning of the institute of traditional leadership in Zibagwe Rural District.

3:1RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research shall be qualitative. Creswell (2002) identified qualitative research as a process that takes place in a natural setting or environment in which the researcher can be a passive or active participant in conducting the research. This research shall therefore use the qualitative approach since much of the data to be gathered need no quantification and needs the researcher gathering the views of different respondents through appropriate research techniques.

3:1.0RESEARCH DESIGN

According to Singleton and Straits (1999:91) a research design is a detailed scheme which consists of the statement of the problem and the plans of gathering, processing and interpreting the findings in a bid to deliver some resolutions to the problem. Orna and Steven (1995) define research design as a means of critical investigation in order to discover something specific about

the problem through inquiring, collecting and finding of relevant information to solve the problem. The researcher used a case study approach as it allows for in depth account of factors relating to the manipulation of the institute of traditional leadership by political parties as multiple sources of gathering and analyzing data are used which in turn validates the data gathered. Bell (2001) define research design as an arrangement for collecting data with the aim of combining relevance and purpose of the study so as to improve the quality of the research which can only be achieved through better understanding of the research. Accepting the use of the *case study design* the author borrowed the *descriptive research design* to compliment the effectiveness of the design. This type of research design is not only restricted to fact finding, but may often result in the formulation of important principles of knowledge and solution to significant problems. It involves interviews and administrating a questionnaire to a sample of individuals. (Orodho, 2003)

3:2.0 TARGET POPULATION

The research will be conducted in Zibagwe Rural District (Zhombe) and the target population will be the traditional leaders who suffer the effects of political interference on their work. Other organizations that have a direct bearing on the issues of independence of chiefs and human rights activists are also a target for example Zimrights. Politicians from various spheres or all political parties functional in the area are a target. The District administrator is also equally important in the research hence he is a target

3:2.1 SAMPLE SIZE

According to Kumar (2011) sampling is the process of selecting a few from a bigger group to represent the whole population under study. Latham (2007) states that the sample method involves taking a representative sector of the population and using the data collected as research information. Frey et al (2000) argue that a sample is a “subgroup” of a population. According to Erikson (2008) a sample size is a portion or subset of the population that will be used to respond to the research questions. The research shall therefore use traditional leaders in Zibagwe Rural district of Zhombe as the sample population to represent the whole district. The sample population shall also constitute of traditional leaders, officials from various political parties

operational in the district and the District Administrator's office. 10 traditional leaders and 20 members of political parties selected equally according to their political parties.

3:2:2 SAMPLING METHODS USED IN THE RESEARCH

The research will use the best type of sampling the information which will be gathered in the field which is purposive sampling. The sampling technique fits very well on this topic on data collection.

3:2:3PURPOSIVE SAMPLING

Purposive sampling method will be used in collecting data from the sample population. Purposive sampling is whereby a researcher chooses a sample on the basis of their knowledge of the population, its components and the nature of research aims. Babbie (1990). It is a sampling technique that is under non probability sampling that deals with case selection of that are representative of the population (Singleton and Straits: 1999). According to Kumar (2011), purposive sampling can be very useful for situations where one need to reach a target sample quickly and where sampling for proportionality is not the primary concern. With purposive sample, you are likely to get the opinions of your target population. This sampling technique will therefore be used in this research in the selection of traditional leaders, political parties leadership and other civil society groups members operational in the area and these people must have something to do with the political bulldozing of the institute of traditional leadership so that the researcher get relevant information to address the problem.. Purposive sampling will be used to limit the researcher to traditional leaders and political party leaders from Zhombe under Chief Gwesela and Ntabeni. The type of purposive sampling technique to be used is the *extreme case sampling* which focuses on people who have rich information on the issue at hand. In this instance not all people would be targeted because they might not have the information needed but chiefs who are at the core of the research are targeted.

3:3.0SOURCES OF DATA

This research shall make use of two key sources of data which are primary and secondary data. This will help the researcher obtain the most objective and valid information on the influence of political parties on the functioning of the traditional leaders. Singleton and Straits (1999) state

that primary data is constituted as eye witness account of events as they occur which makes the focal peak of the research. This is done through data collection techniques such as questionnaires and interviews that is less prone to racial and political bias. Secondary sources consist of tributary evidence obtained from primary sources through earlier researches conducted which can be in reports or textbooks.

3:3:1RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

The validity and dependability of any research project depends to a large extent on the appropriateness of instruments. Annum (2014). Annum states that research instruments include questionnaires and interviews. Gilbert (2002) defined research instruments as the tools used to gather data during research. In this research, questionnaires and interviews will be used in gathering data. The use of interviews is meant to give options to the officials to answer the questions and add on their views on the paraphernalia of political influence on the institute of traditional leadership, whilst questionnaires were meant to obtain information from both traditional leaders and political leaders and civil society groups. Questionnaires and interviews will be used as the main primary tools of gathering data.

3:3:2QUESTIONNAIRES

According to Gilbert (2002:97), a questionnaire is a research instrument consisting of a series of questions which are used for the purpose of gathering data from the respondents. The data gathered will be used to capture the objective of the research. Harper (2001) points out that a questionnaire is an important instrument for observing and recording data beyond the physical reaction of the observer which can either be structured or unstructured in with aim of recording information that is being researched upon. This research will use a combination of open ended and closed ended questions in the conducting of questionnaires. Open ended questions are questions which are fabricated to give choices to the respondent in saying anything within the

context of the question, whereas closed ended questions have possible answers given which limit the respondent choices in providing his or her response. Questionnaires will be answered by the traditional leaders, political party representatives and the civil society group found in Zibagwe rural district of Zhombe.

Like any other research instrument questionnaires have their own pluses which are that they allow the collection of data in large quantities over a short space of time. They use many people who provide a lot of information. Questionnaires are preferable in the sense that they are faster and cheaper hence time saving. Also they were used in the absence of the author. Their disadvantage lies on the fact that some chiefs might refuse to give information whilst some of the information may be distorted. Also most of traditional leaders as respondents are less literate.

3:3:3 INTERVIEWS

Kuman and Aaker (1999) characterize interviewing as an immediate contact between the interviewer and the respondent in a suitable domain. They are closely related to questionnaires although interviews are an independent entity. One on one interviews give more information as the interviewed people can sumptuous more on issues being asked. However, in some cases some respondents may be sensitive and emotional hence the researcher conducted structured and semi structured interviews in order to get more information from the respondents. This research shall make use of interviews in order to obtain data from the research population. The researcher shall interview the staff at the Ministry of Local governance including District Administrator for Zibagwe Rural District.

These interviews has a plus in that they are faster and lithe in collecting information as they probe for more specific answers and repeated questions if the respondent proves that they misunderstood. Interviews leave room for elucidation to be given to clarify on the responses given. The researcher can be able to observe non - verbal responses during the interview. However they have their own weakness which are they are time consuming in conducting and peripatetic. They can be affected by the influence of officials who can give

prejudiced information. They provide information in selected place rather than the natural field setting. Some respondents may not be good in uttering facts.

3:5:0 DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

The researcher will follow normal research procedures which are defining the sample size of the research, reflect on the research design, ensuring that research instruments are ready, define data to be collected, request permission from relevant authority which is the letter from the university and make appointments with relevant respondents and pretesting the research. Having ensured all necessary steps for research the researcher will first collect data from the District Administrator's office and civil society groups stationed in Kwekwe before proceeding to Zhombe where then researcher shall spend four days with the community gathering data, making interviews and dropping questionnaires which will be collected after a week. The researcher will make arrangements and schedule of the data collection proceedings such that it is done in a systematic manner. The researcher shall also try to be time conversant in a way to avoid boredom and monotony to the interviewees.

3:6 SUMMARY FOR THE CHAPTER

This chapter outlined the research methodology and research design that will be used in the carrying out the research. The research population, data collection, presentation and analysis were defined in this chapter as a way to guide the researcher in the gathering of data. The research will be mainly qualitative approach to a case study in trying to establish the truth on whether the institute of traditional leadership is independent in carrying out their duties as community leaders. Questionnaires and interviews will also be used in the collection of data. The next chapter will then focus on data presentation and analysis.

CHAPTER 4

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will present the findings of the research study. Data will be presented in words presenting the feelings, opinions of both political and traditional leaderships as well as civil society groups on the influence of party politics on the institution of traditional leaders. Data was collected from Zibagwe Rural District (Zhombe) traditional leaders, political party leaders at local level, non-governmental organization or pressure groups (Zimrights) and the Ministry of Local Government (District Administrators).

RESPONSES

RESPONSE RATE

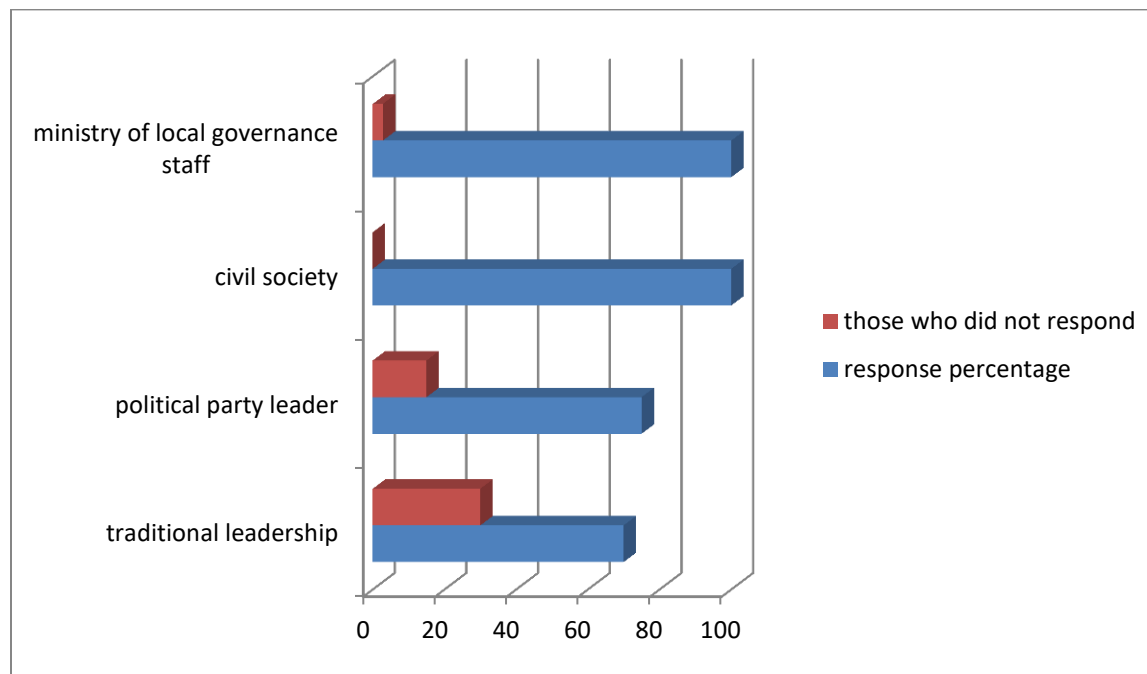
STRATUM	TOTAL QUESTIONNAIRES	THOSE WHO RESPONDED	THOSE WHO DIDN'T RESPOND	PERCENT AGE RESPONSE RATE
TRADITIONAL LEADERS	10	7	3	70%
POLITICAL PARTY LEADERSHIP	20	15	5	75%
CIVIL SOCIETY	5	5	0	100%
DISTRICT	1	1	0	100%

ADMINSTRATORS				
TOTAL	36	28	8	86,25%

Source: raw data

Table 1 shows the response rate for questionnaires by traditional leadership, political party leaders, the civil society group members and the district administrator (DA). The overall response rate was 86, 25%, a very high response rate attributed to the data collection methods employed by the researcher which was direct distribution of the questionnaires. The researcher went to the field and waited for the questionnaires while the respondents answered. 14% of the total questionnaires were not answered and a major contribution was from the traditional leaders as some did not feel free to contribute anything in relation to politics as they feared victimization by politicians. Also another percentage came from political parties' leadership mainly from ZANU PF who said they were committed with other things which was restructuring of the party structures at the day of delivery of questionnaires.

Figure 1 shows the response rate in form of a graph

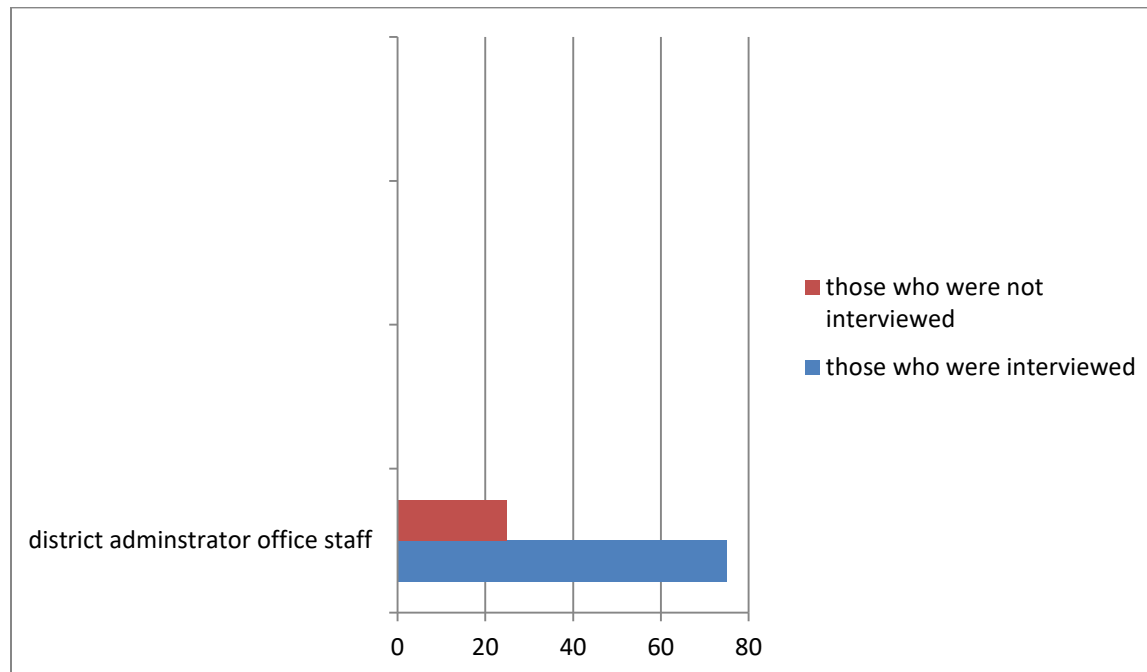


Stratum	Total no of interviewee	Those who were interviewed	Those who were not interviewed	Percentage of response rate
Ministry of local government (District Administrators Office)	4	3	1	75%

Source Raw data

Table 2 shows the results of the interviews conducted at the Ministry of Local Government. The total percentage response rate was 75%. 25% of the interviews were not conducted due to the fact that the respondent was not present at the office at the time when interviews were conducted.

The bar graph below shows the data on interviews



4:2 FINDINGS

4:2:1 TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY AND PARTY POLITICS

It can be noted that of the 70% of Traditional leaders whom managed to give a feedback on the questionnaires they revealed that in their work they are not independent at all. They outlined that ZANU PF threatens them with demotions if they do not adhere to their demands. This concurs with results of the recent study by Heal Zimbabwe Trust (2015) which revealed that traditional leaders are being intimidated by ZANU PF so that they could cajole their subjects to vote for ZANU PF candidates for the upcoming by elections in areas such as Tsholotsho North and Zibagwe-Chirimanzu. From the 70% respondents it was unearthed that there is one of the traditional leaders in the area under study has taken long to be enthroned and his installation date has been postponed several times, the reason being his previous association with MDC. Relating the findings from the observation by Crisis Coalition in Zimbabwe (2013) in Masvingo Province traditional leaders are allegedly being used as pawns in a big political game by ZANU PF which is making frantic efforts to drum up support ahead of the harmonized elections. The research also highlighted that Chief Mugabe in Masvingo province suspended kraal head from his throne

alleging that he is an MDC-T activist. This literature observation supports the research findings and data provided by Traditional Leaders.

Traditional leaders who answered the questionnaires revealed that they want to be associated with ZANU PF for the reasons of safeguard their hold on the position and that it insists that it is the only revolutionary party. They also mentioned the benefits that they got through their re-empowerment by the Mugabe regime as the reason for their continued association with ZANU PF as they believe these benefits came from the party. The herald of April 2015 captured that traditional leaders are now obsessed to lavish life that they are enjoying to an extent that they now want to a 160% increment so that they can surpass the parliamentarians' salaries and being given new cars as parliamentarians. From the above observation it is not doubted that any political party that pushes for those privileges will gain the institution's favor. This is the reason why ZANU PF and traditional leaders are interwoven.

The members of MDC who were given questionnaires to respond reflected that they are treated differently by traditional leaders as compared to their ZANU PF counterparts. They reflected that during elections time traditional leaders at times are spotted campaigning for ZANU PF and they will be leading in the intimidation of the electorate. In a study conducted by Crisis Coalition in Zimbabwe (2013) traditional leaders reflected that Chief Mugabe a senior leader from Masvingo openly told kraal heads in his area they would be fined for allowing the MDC-T to hold meetings in his area and gave them a leeway to summon all those who supported MDC-T and make them pay fines ranging from livestock to grains. The respondents also reflected that even the community development programs are politicized. In this they meant that in most government programs led by traditional leaders those who are known to be MDC sympathizers would be left out whilst their ZANU PF counterparts enjoy the benefits and they gave an example of the recent presidential input scheme where MDC supporters are said to have been dismissed in such gathering before disbursement of the inputs. The respondents who represented ZANU PF stated that traditional leaders are independent but they must stay guided by the founding principles for the country and it is on the power of the politicians to show them direction that is in line with the liberation struggle. This response is in line with Mugabe's usual sentiments that chiefs must be the guardians of their sovereignty and the gains of the liberation struggle as quoted from the *financial gazette of 2011*.

The civil society group members who were tasked to fill the questionnaires clearly showed that the institution from the early 2000s became aligned to ZANU PF and the institution became interwoven with ZANU PF to an extent that it seemed as an extension of ZANU PF. Simply the data collected for the civil society revealed that the institute of traditional leadership is by far from being independent both in their policy planning implementation and formulation. They even highlighted the way in which Chief Ntabeni was selected to be the Senator was controversial comparing him with Chief Cyprian Malisa who is senior and better educated and well respected by the community. They reflected that Chief Ntabeni was on books for being a ZANU PF bootlicker and an enemy of MDC. By this this gave a conclusion that the institution of traditional leaders lacks independence.

Also the district administrator was of the view that them as the ministry responsible always warned chiefs from involving themselves on party politics and he denied any allegations of political influence on the functioning of the institute of traditional leadership. The District Administrator highlighted that if it is true that the institute is aligned to any political party it might be due to good things that the current government had done for the chief and they can't resist these good things. The wisdom from the D.A. can be supported by the recent sentiments by Chief Fortune Charumbira who calls for stupendous salary increase for chiefs which the government is likely to approve (the herald 20 April 2015). According to the Zimbabwean of 14 April 2010 the periodic awarding of chiefs allowances, installation of electricity, pampering them with latest all terrain government vehicle, the chiefs had become reluctant to question the status quo becoming active participants ZANU PFs plans to win heart and minds of rural people.

4:2:2 Traditional leaders and the legal framework

In the set of questionnaires disseminated and collected from the traditional leadership of the 70% the most dominant answer on the issue of legal provisions guiding the institute of traditional leadership was that they were aware of the traditional leaderships act of 2000 which some termed it as the “most important piece of legislation” which brought back their lost powers. However they clearly revealed that they don't know the limitations of their powers under this piece.

Traditional leaders also reflected that they are aware of the new constitution but they are not yet familiar with the provisions which they claimed that they are yet to be conscientised to them. However traditional leaders mainly those who hold low posts of village heads reflected that they relied only from the commands from their seniors which has stirred much controversy as it is understood that chiefs will be by all means struggling to gain favour for their upliftments to the august house.

Respondents from the category of political parties revealed that they all knew the provisions of all legal pieces on the institution of traditional leadership. Mainly those from MDC raised their concern of these provisions being only paper tigers which couldn't prohibit ZANU PF from carrying out its mischievous acts of manipulation of lower institutions. Members from ruling party ZANU PF confirmed their knowledge of the constitutional provisions guiding the institution of traditional leadership though they confirmed that mostly they are less worried of these, narrating their unholy alliance that was forged between them and the chiefs.

The staff from the Ministry of Local government which was interviewed, of the 75% who were reached most of them revealed that chiefs are aware of the constitutional provision of pertaining the institution. They supported their assertion by highlighting that in their periodic meetings with chiefs they advise and teach chiefs about these legal pieces. Almost all respondents confidently approved that all traditional leaders are aware of these enactments especially chiefs who go to periodic meetings. They only singled out village heads who might be the ones with the problems though chiefs are always advised to disseminate the information to the lowest level of traditional leadership.

Civil society group represented by Zimrights .Within the 100% of those who responded most of them highlighted that the traditional leaders are aware of the constitutional provisions whom they believe because they were engaged in constitution familiarization process in Zibagwe Rural District areas of Zhombe. They highlighted that the institution traditional leaders adopt their partisan stance out of their will as they are aware of the constitutional guidelines binding them.

Role of traditional leaders, party politics and challenges

Through the questionnaires the data was collected from the traditional leadership and they gave their outline of their challenges that they face as traditional leadership mainly because of the hand of politics. They revealed that they might not be willing to participate in politics but they are compelled to be involved in party politics. They also revealed that through not supporting ZANU PF they risked being put on the periphery of all developmental programs. They gave an example of chief Gwesela who haven't been enthroned for a long time because of being past association to MDC. Chiefs also revealed that they are forced during election time to gather people for a certain political party and at times to intimidate people on behalf of ZANU PF.

They also revealed that even simple things such as government initiatives they are forced to disburse them according to party line which is against the constitution and what has caused them to be hated by a certain set of people in the community especially those against the idea. This traditional leaders highlighted issues such as the disbursement of agricultural inputs which they were strictly instructed by local ZANU PF structures to reward loyal party members.

4:2:4 Traditional leadership and political parties

The respondents who supplied the data laid it bare that traditional leaders comply with political influence from ZANU PF because of below listed reasons. In the list of questionnaire both groups of people were asked on the reason why traditional leaders comply on being driven on all aspects of carrying out their work which most of the respondents attributed to the selection criteria. Traditional leaders revealed that they are aware that the president who is as well as ZANU PF president is the one who appoints them then they seek to appease the one who appoints them by safeguarding his hold on power. Some traditional leaders revealed that the benefits that they got from the government glued them with ZANU PF whom they believe that it played the major role in ensuring the facilitation of these benefits.

Political parties respondents from the MDC side revealed that chiefs comply with orders from ZANU PF in fear of the intimidation as they are threatened by being stripped off from power. At some instance chiefs are gathered by senior ZANU PF members to give them threats so as to keep the Machiavellian principle of fear amongst chiefs and the general populacy. ZANU PF respondents revealed that chiefs associated themselves with ZANU PF not because of intimidation or being forced to do so but it is because of the good things that ZANU PF did for

them in the past and what it always promise them. Also they knew that it's the only revolutionary party that safeguards their interests of the traditional leaders notably it is the party that pushed a motion that brought back the powers of traditional leadership in 2000.

4:3 SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTER

The main task of this chapter was to present the results of the research with in short are the perspectives and views of the respondents. This research study was presented and analysed qualitatively which involved the laying out of opinions of respondents in words. However a few graphs and tables were employed to present some of the data to make it to be soundly and clear. The data presented in this chapter from all respondents revealed that the institution of traditional leadership is not independent and it's aligned to ZANU PF. From the data it was noted that there are push and pull factors behind the impartiality of traditional leadership. By push it was highlighted that its intimidation by political leadership in the area and threats of being demoted. Pull factors are those that draw traditional leadership to be aligned with ZANU PF. These are promise for benefits such as rural electrification targeting the chiefs, given monthly salaries and other material benefits as well as continued upliftment in their powers. The next chapter will therefore provide the summary, recommendations and the conclusion of the study.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter seeks to give a closing word on the previous chapters and will give appropriate recommendations on the problem. This will include recommendations proposed by the respondents on how the institution of traditional leadership can be made to be impartial in their conduct.

SUMMARY

The research was conducted in a way to test the validity of the assertion that the institution of traditional leadership is affected or given direction by some political parties.

Chapter one of the research introduced the topic, highlighting the background information on the study, defining the objectives of the study, outlining what the researcher wants to ask, justification and rationale of the study, the delimitation of the study both theoretical delimitation and geographic delimitation, highlighting the possible limitations to the study. The chapter was rounded off by defining the key terms to the study. This chapter made it clear that it was selected amongst a pool of topics because of a nationwide outcry on the impartiality of the institution of traditional leadership; the chapter justified clearly why it's worth to conduct a research on the topic.

On chapter 2 the researcher focused on the theoretical framework and literature review. This chapter was highlighting what other scholars say about the topic. In this chapter the researcher gave a critical analysis on the scholars' views. This chapter made the researcher to realize gaps which were left unfilled by the scholars and this laid bare the gaps that needs to be filled and the study focused on those gaps. The chapter also highlighted the theory that explains better why higher institutions tend to manipulate the lower institutions in this case political parties to the institution of traditional leaders.

Chapter 3 was mapping out how the research would be conducted. It laid out the research methodology to be employed by the researcher to carry out the study. The study dwelled on the qualitative research method which needs no quantification of the problem or data. The researcher used interviews, questionnaire and other secondary sources of data to research on the issue of traditional leadership and party politics in Zimbabwe particularly Zhombe. It was a bit challenging to the researcher to conduct interviews and obtain questionnaires because of certain milestones in among is in availability of some local government workers due to work pressure.

The fourth chapter was concerned with research findings. The research found that it is indeed true that political parties particularly ZANU PF manipulate the institution of traditional leadership to their benefit. It also revealed that the institute of traditional leadership is by far

away from being independent both in policy planning and in community leadership. The research also managed to find out that the institute of traditional leadership align itself to ZANU PF because of good things that the government of ZANU PF have done to them and the memories of those benefits draws them closer to ZANU PF.

In chapter 5 which is this particular chapter that's where the whole research is summarized and that's where recommendations on the problem are brought out in a bid to offer alternatives to those who needs to address the issue.

CONCLUSIONS

The research greatly proved to be a success; it was carried out in such a way that it unearthed a number of issues concerning the relationship between the traditional leadership and political parties. These issues are highlighted below.

The research revealed that most concerned respondents agreed with the fact that the institute of traditional leadership is not independent. They highlighted that it is manipulated by ZANU PF for it to garner support through the institution. They revealed that the exploitative relationship between ZANU PF and the traditional leaders is usually evident during the election time.

The research also brought about a new fact about the institute of traditional leadership and political parties. Some respondents revealed that the good relationship that exists between traditional leaders and ZANU PF is because of the good things that ZANU PF government has done to the institution from the early 2000 to 2014. They also highlighted that issues like electrification of the chief's homes, tractors, cars and farms are among the benefits that have made ZANU and traditional leaders to be interwoven

The research also revealed that most of the respondents aware of constitutional provisions that prohibits traditional leaders to engage in politics. The most dominant view by the respondents was that forcing of traditional leadership by ZANU PF to adhere to its philosophy and to support them in elections. This made the chiefs to brush aside the principle of independence of the institution in fear of victimization.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Having conducted the research and noted the areas that need to be attended to, to improve the apolitical nature of traditional leaders. The researchers from his observation propose the following recommendations. The recommendations include the perspectives from respondents as well.

Legislation

To ensure that the institute of traditional leaders remains independent there is need for the minister responsible for local government to push for an act of parliament that forbids political parties to rope in traditional leaders into their political battles. This will support the provisions of the constitution and the traditional leaders act and provide clarity on how political parties relate to the institution.

Training of traditional leaders

As a way of conscientising traditional leaders about what the constitution say there is a need of a strong civil society that provides constitution interpretation exercise. This will help chiefs to better understand the legal framework. This can also be always be conducted by the Ministry of local government on their periodic meetings as they are the ministry responsible.

Free access to traditional leaders to all members of the society.

Also it is wise for the government if it perceives that traditional can be done without them in the political field to let all political parties to access their service without hindrance

Clarity on government initiatives

When governmental programs to uplift and empower traditional leaders are conducted there is need for clarity that the program is by the government not any political party. If not done so ZANU PF will continue to lie to traditional leaders that some benefits secured using tax payers money are its initiatives. This on the long run it will ensure that there is no political party that will take advantage of these initiatives.

Ensuring even application of law

Application of law governing traditional leaders must be even to all members of the society. Traditional leaders who meddle themselves into political battles much be punished despite the political party they are supporting. Suspensions are only realized when traditional leaders associate themselves with opposition parties whilst those who terrorize villagers aligned to ZANU PF has immunity.

SUGGESTION FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Those who will need to research on the topic in the future can focus on the how government programs are manipulated by political parties to garner their electoral support focusing on the institute of traditional leaders and what impacts do it have to drawing the political landscape in Zimbabwe. This is because of the discovery by this research that mostly the interwoven nature of traditional leaders and ZANU PF is because of the initiatives provided by the government that ZANU PF hijacks to its own advantage.

SUMMARY FOR THE CHAPTER

This chapter focused on giving a summary of the whole research study, drawing conclusions after the research study. It also where suggestions for the better were highlighted, recommendations were presented in this chapter from both respondents and the researcher. The chapter was concluded by giving a possible area that has not been looked on, the area that can be studied by other scholars who wish to conduct study of this topic.

APPENDICES 1

QUESTIONNAIRES

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CHIEFS

My name is Carrington Ncube. I am a 4th year student at the Midlands State University studying a BSC Politics and Public Management Honors Degree. I am carrying out a research on the topic

Traditional leadership and party politics in Zimbabwe from 1980 to 2014; a case of Zibagwe Rural District. The study is being conducted in partial fulfillment of the programme and I therefore ask for your assistance by responding to the questions by ticking on the boxes and filling in the blank spaces.

Information will be used for academic purposes only and no information will be divulged to third parties without your consent.

Your assistance will be greatly appreciated.

Regards.

Carrington Ncube

SECTION A

Kindly write your response on space provided

You are kindly requested to answer in utmost good faith

Name and Surname (optional).....

Age.....

Sex.....

Position in the community.....

Length of service.....

SECTION B

1) To what extent do party politics affect the institution of traditional authority?

.....
.....

2) In your experience are traditional leaders guided by the legal framework that guides traditional authority

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.....
.....

3) In your view what challenges do affect the institution of traditional leaders?

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.....
.....

4) Have you at any moment publicly supported any political party? If yes what was the motive?

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.....

5) What do you think must be done to improve your working environment?

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.....
.....

6) Do people in the community associate you with any political party?

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

6) Is there any political party that meddles in your operation as community leaders?

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

7) Are there any changes in the operations of your institution (comparing early days of independence and late 2000s)

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

Thank you for co-operation

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR POLITICAL PARTY LEADERSHIP IN THE COMMUNITY

My name is Carrington Ncube. I am a 4th year student at the Midlands State University studying a BSC Politics and Public Management Honors Degree. I am carrying out a research on the topic Traditional leadership and party politics in Zimbabwe from 1980 to 2014; a case of Zibagwe Rural District. The study is being conducted in partial fulfillment of the programmes request and I therefore ask for your assistance by responding to the questions by ticking on the boxes and filling in the blank spaces.

Information will be used for academic purposes only and no information will be divulged to third parties without your consent.

Your assistance will be greatly appreciated.

Regards.

Carrington Ncube

SECTION A

Kindly write your response on space provided

You are kindly requested to answer in utmost good faith

Name and Surname (optional).....

Age.....

Sex.....

Position in the party..... Length of service.....

SECTION B

1) Which political party do you belong to

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

2) What is the role of traditional leadership in your party

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

3) What is your relationship as a political party with traditional leadership

-

 4) Did you at one moment summon traditional leaders to campaign on behalf of your party

 5) Do you doubt the institute of traditional leadership as community leaders

 6) Do you see the institute of traditional leadership as an impediment in your political field

 7) Are you aware of constitutional provisions on the relationship of political parties and traditional leadership

 8) Is the institute of traditional leadership aligned to any political party

QUESTIONNAIRES FOR CIVIL SOCIETY MEMBERS

My name is Carrington Ncube. I am a 4th year student at the Midlands State University studying a BSC Politics and Public Management Honors Degree. I am carrying out a research on the topic Traditional leadership and party politics in Zimbabwe from 1980 to 2014; a case of Zibagwe Rural District. The study is being conducted in partial fulfillment of the programme and I

therefore ask for your assistance by responding to the questions by ticking on the boxes and filling in the blank spaces.

Information will be used for academic purposes only and no information will be divulged to third parties without your consent.

Your assistance will be greatly appreciated.

Regards.

Carrington Ncube

SECTION A

Kindly write your response on space provided

You are kindly requested to answer in utmost good faith

Name and Surname (optional).....

Age..... Sex.....

Position in the organisation..... Length of service.....

SECTION B

- In the area of operation of your organization is the institution of traditional leadership independent in their operation?.....
.....
.....
- If no how has it affected the institution in playing their role as community leaders.....

-
-
- Which political party influences the institution of traditional leadership in its role as community leaders?.....
.....
.....
 - What do you think must be done to minimize political interference in the day to day operation of traditional leaders.....
.....
.....
 - As civil society group do you have a role to play in ensuring the independence of traditional leadership.....
.....
.....
 - What is the relationship between civil society, traditional leaders and political parties.....
.....
.....
 - As civil society have you conscientised the institution of traditional leadership about the constitutional provisions about their institution.....
.....
.....

QUESTIONNAIRES FOR THE MINISTRY OF LOCAL GOVERNANCE STAFF (DAS OFFICE)

My name is Carrington Ncube. I am a 4th year student at the Midlands State University studying a BSC Politics and Public Management Honors Degree. I am carrying out a research on the topic the institution o traditional leadership and party politics in Zimbabwe from 1980 to 2014; a case of Zibagwe Rural District. The study is being conducted in partial fulfillment of the programme and I therefore ask for your assistance by responding to the questions by ticking on the boxes and filling in the blank spaces.

Information will be used for academic purposes only and no information will be divulged to third parties without your consent.

Your assistance will be greatly appreciated.

Regards.

Carrington Ncube

SECTION A

Kindly write your response on space provided

You are kindly requested to answer in utmost good faith

Name and Surname (optional).....

Age..... Sex.....

Position..... Length of service.....

SECTION B

- As chiefs are under the ministry of local government, are there impartial in their operation of work?.....

.....
.....

- Are they aware of their limitations concerning participation in politics?.....

.....
.....

- Are they reminded of their role in your meetings?.....

.....
.....

- Have you ever received complains on the participation of traditional leaders in politics?.....

.....
.....

- If answer is yes, which political party was complaining?.....

.....
.....

- What are your suggestions to ensure that the institution remains independent?.....

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

APPENDICES 2

INTERVIEWS

Interviews to the Ministry of local government staff

- 1) Do traditional leaders know about the various legal provisions guiding their work?
- 2) What initiatives as a ministry have you put forward to ensure independence of the institution?

3) Do traditional leaders complain about the hand of politics in their work? If so which political party is a chief culprit in violating their independence?

4) What measures do you think can be brought forward to improve the working conditions of traditional leaders?

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