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FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF LOCAL GOVERNANCE STUDIES

ELECTION MANAGEMENT IN ZIMBABWE. AN ANALYSIS OF THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM AND DEMOCRACY.

A DISSERTATION BY:

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DECLARATIONS

I WersleyKapomba declare that this study is my creative work and it has not been surrendered to any other university. The sources I used have been acknowledged.

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DEDICATION

To my parents , you are God given I live to fulfil your expectations.To my siblings , always remember that with perseverance a snail reached an ark.Never give up and always live life with purpose.

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ABSTRACT

The study focuses on the electoral system , election management and democracy in Zimbabwe. The study primarily focuses on how the electoral system in Zimbabwe influence democracy. Essential to this research is to critically look at the factors that impede the electoral system to achieve democracy. The research questions were therefore a replica of the objectives of the research so as to come up with a feasible research with worthy recommendations in the last

chapter. It must be noted that in data collection, thus the research methodology the researcher used both qualitative and quantitative methods so as to ensure the authenticity of the data collected. The major findings in the research were that election management (process) has got loopholes that manifest into distrust and help corruption intervene and eventually causes biases in the result outcome of elections and the electoral agency has an open-door scrutiny to the current political party which is in control of the government therefore creating unending disputes with other political parties. It is therefore recommended that electoral law must provide for full autonomy of Zimbabwe Electoral Commission.

Abbreviations

ZEC

Zimbabwe Electoral Commission

EMB	Electoral Management Body
EU	European Union
DFID	British Department for International Development
SIDA	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
MDCT	Movement for Democratic Change
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front
ZIPP	Zimbabwe People’s Party
NGOs	Non- Governmental Organisations

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

The need for good governance has pleaded for people (citizens) in choosing the rightful government to help them achieve the desired goals especially better standards of living. Since there is a distant relationship between decision makers(central government) and the people , there is need to entrust democratic representatives whom on behalf , will decide for the majority and to help achieve the goal of being transparent , having a free and fair electorate , there should be an independent electoral agency that will oversee the pre-election , during and post election periods. The process of election management is complex and diverse as to the system of governing the elections procedures up until to the elections results and it is done through voting power and the winner mostly has more votes. Elections are said to be a tool of democracy whereby citizens uses them to accept or reject legislative bills , government decisions and resolutions. It is also noted that there is a legislative framework that also guides how elections should be done for example in Zimbabwe the Constitution Amendment number 20 of 2013 provides a whole chapter of how elections should be done and also the Electoral Act guides how the process of elections should be done.Elections in Zimbabwe are said that they are going to reach next dimension of how they are managed in a bid to ensure they are credible , there is transparency.The introduction of Biometric Voters Registration in Zimbabwe is in a bid to ensure the credibility of the democratic process and the reliability of election results.

1.1 Background of the study

History of election management in Zimbabwe dating back to pre-independence , post independence shows a shift from colonial administration to representative democracy.Before independence, concern was over the prolonged minority rule and liberation struggle focusing on the racial imbalances and injustice in Southern Rhodesia.The Rhodesia had poor and suppressive structures .In 1980 Zimbabwe gained its independence and a new government was formed.After independence in 1980 the new government of Zimbabwe introduced a democratic , non-racist

electoral system based upon adult suffrage. A new electoral management structure was established consisting of the Delimitation Commission, responsible for delimitation of electoral districts and the electoral supervisory commission charged with supervising the conduct of elections. The management of elections was done at this stage by the Registrar general of elections under the supervision of ESC. The Registrar General registered voters and compiled voter registers, conducted the voting process and announced the results of the election. The Election Directorate provided logistical support to the Registrar General in the management of the electoral process. The Registrar General was governmental linked hence the objectivity of the process was being questioned thus the rise of the formation of Zimbabwe Electoral Commission.

In 2004 the electoral management system was re-structured. This restructuring was based on recommendations by the Electoral Supervisory Commission, by the political parties and by civil society organisations. The reforms also took account of the principles and guidelines governing democratic elections adopted by the SADC Heads of State and Governments in Mauritius 2004. The Zimbabwe Electoral Commission was then established as an independent body in line with the recommendation in the SADC principles and Guidelines governing democratic elections that elections should be run by an independent management body and not by a government department like that of the Registrar General. The Electoral Supervision Commission was then abolished in 2005 by Constitution Amendment No. 17. ZEC became the body responsible for running elections and this function was no longer performed by the Registrar General. To reflect the new system, the title Registrar General of elections was changed to that of the Registrar General of voters. The function of the Registrar General of voters in relation to elections was now only to register voters under the supervision of ZEC. ZEC was responsible for compiling voters rolls and providing copies of these rolls to those requesting them. However the establishment of ZEC as a controlling electoral body that is independent have created political disorder by its birth and functionality. An example can be noted of the 2008 elections whereby ZEC was overpowered by government in the announcement of the election result. The body is also argued to be partisan aligned because of the appointment of the ZEC's board member by the president of the day. Other parties of the day require constitutional electoral reforms for free and fair elections considering the tendering of ballot papers and boxes and on other various issues.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Ineffective leadership has caused political unease within the sphere of Zimbabwe as other political parties and the human rights agency have denounced how the Zimbabwe electoral Commission operates without an electoral constitutional reform to reduce the risk of being partisianal affiliated and also the commission has been blamed of poor security and observatory role that has affected the results outcome of the electorate which has caused political discontinuity. Currently ZEC has been blamed for providing advanced scope for the government through its way of running elections especially on voters roll , inexisting polling stations , balloting and vote counting through the spectre of other special scrutiny methods such as biometric voters registration might help. The appointment of ZEC chairperson by the president also has created political discontent as other parties feel disadvantaged by notifying that 'puppet' personnel have been running the agency as a wildtrip.

1.3 Study Objectives

- To examine the factors that are influencing the need to separate executive powers from national commissions.
- To scrutinize the need to separate executive powers from the national electoral commission.
- To examine the challenges , benefits and possible outcomes from implementing an effective electoral management system.

1.4 Research questions

- What are the factors that are influencing the commission in the election management role.
- Where is the link between executive powers and the national commission.
- What are the challenges , benefits and possible outcomes from the electoral management system.

1.5 Rationale of the study

The essence of this study is to bring effective solutions especially electoral laws must be aligned to enhance democracy. Of essence is that electoral reforms must be aligned with the constitution and should help safeguard the civil freedom to choose and help address a free and fair election government. This should also call for more involvement of United Nations and other democracy promoters organisations.

1.6 Limitations

Carrying out this research is a process that comes with a variety of challenges. Of note is that there are challenges that are inevitable when carrying out this research. It is noted that in carrying out the research people will be the source of information used therefore a challenge itself as humans are complex, they are prone to change, they are unpredictable and human beings by nature are manipulators hence information is open to bias. Also it is noted that due to official secrecy essential information will be withheld at ZEC and that information will be significant to the researcher to carry out a feasible research.

1.7 Delimitations

The study is anchored on the electoral system and democracy. Thus the research will be focusing on the electoral body responsible for administering elections, Zimbabwe's political donors that includes EU, DFID, USAID, SIDA, DANIDA, AFD, HIVOS. These major democracy promotion organizations are involved in the electoral process that is in all stages directly or indirectly. Essential also are the citizens of Zimbabwe as they have the knowledge of what they witness during the electoral process. Essential to the targeted population is therefore that there is room for more findings as it is a vast targeted population that starts from the management down to the citizens of Zimbabwe.

1.8 Summary

The main purpose of this study was to illustrate clearly how the electoral system that is the structure, process, legislature, security of the system has positively or negatively affected democracy. This chapter revealed the arguments that will be put forward through research

objectives and questions pertaining to the electoral system and democracy. On the next chapter, secondary sources like texts, journals, newspapers to mention just a few will be concentrated on to realize how the electoral system affects the outcome of elections in a bid to ensure that democratic elections are achieved.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

Essential to note firstly and foremost is that the research under which the study is taking place is shaped by the literature review. Owl (2003) points out that literature review vehemently assists in studying the depth and width of the topics of interest to a given study. As it is not enough Levy and Ellis (2006) point out that literature review is a systematic comprehensive, explicit and reducible method for identifying, evaluating and synthesizing the existing body of completed and recorded work produced by a variety of schools of thoughts, researchers and practitioners. The duo goes on to say that the function of literature review is to provide a framework, description, evaluation and critical analysis of what other scholars have written in the area under study and this literature review must be in essence, in the context of the topic under study. The overview and history of electoral system and how democracy is promoted through holding elections is going to be reviewed. Moreover that the research under study will be easier to comprehend fully, the final part of literature review is going to focus on the empirical case studies from a variety of countries and within Zimbabwe which are of great relevance to the study area. Published books, journals, internet newspapers and magazines are the literature review sources used. Of note is that to add authenticity and depth of knowing the challenges that are hindering democracy to be achieved through elections in Zimbabwe, unpublished work may be used and greatly acknowledged academically.

2.1 Conceptual framework

To understand the study clearly, there is need to define and explain key terms. Thus is the crucial objective of defining basic terms and introducing some terms which are not usual but familiar and essential to the study.

2.1.1 Election management

Election management is how elections are administered and it encompasses the mechanisms that are applied in pre-election, the election period and in the announcement of elections Nichter (2006). He argues that electoral management has three broad models that include Independent model, Governmental model and Mixed model. Electoral system is said to be a set of rules that determines how elections and referendums are conducted and how their results are determined. Aziri (2013) is of the view that electoral system consists of a set of rules which govern all aspects of the voting process when an election occurs that is who is allowed to vote, who can stand as a candidate, how ballots are marked and cast, how the ballots are counted, limits on campaign spending, and other factors that may compromise the election result.

2.1.2 Democracy

Democracy is defined as a system of arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote Schumpeter (1947). Or rather the rule of the people, where governments are chosen through free and fair electoral competition at regular intervals Diamond et al (1999) but resulting in the transfer of power from one party to another. Citizens periodically choose or even nominate in some cases a leader or government and authorize them to decide and act on their behalf. This classification excludes any bureaucratic or military domains of power not accountable to elected officials.

The study of electoral democracy includes analysis of or an acknowledgement of the need for minimum levels of liberties and the rule of law. These facilitate successful participation when enforced. Even across democracies (those with competitive elections amongst different parties), basic values vary considerably. According to Diamond (1999) this puts the definition of electoral democracy as a "civilian constitutional system in which legislative and chief executive offices are filled through regular, competitive, multiparty elections with universal suffrage."

2.2 Electoral system

Schumpeterian scholars have proposed an understanding of democracy based on elections as the only way to choose and remove leaders out of office. Such academics propose a definition of democracy based on 'procedural minimum' satisfying such key attributes as regular elections that are competitive, free and fair, full adult suffrage, broad protection of civil liberties including freedom of speech, press, and association and the absence of non-elected 'tutelary' authorities (such as militaries, monarchies, or religious bodies) that limit elected officials' effective power to govern which are viewed as necessary for competitive elections to take place. Indeed some 'tutelary' agents do seek to defeat electoral outcomes unfavourable to their cause as in Zimbabwe's elections in 2008, when the military was argued to have taken over executive functions through the Joint Operations Command (JOC). Incumbent regimes can impinge on the concept of uncertainty of election outcomes by fixing the results. Authoritarian electoral regimes rely on manipulating electoral systems to ensure favourable predictability of any electoral outcome, thus making for fixed electoral outcomes, which impinge the will of the people.

Ezrow (2010) argued that most straightforward way how citizens' preferences influence policy is through voting in elections. Elections are facilitated by electoral system that signifies one important set of electoral rules that defines how votes are cast and seats allocated. Colomer (2004) argues that one of the core decisions of a new democracy is the design of its electoral system. Zimbabwe's electoral system is a 'first past the post' system with single member constituencies where the candidate with the most votes wins a seat in the House of Assembly. While the system ensures accountability to constituents for those elected FPTP has, however, tended to create outright winners who care little about building bridges with contesting parties. Therefore used on its own FPTP tends to fail in the proposed task of healing political wounds in Zimbabwe. Judging from past events, the Zimbabwe political landscape is a minefield that has generated a crimonious relations between the two major political parties ZANU-PF and MDC. Pre-election violence, accusations and counter-accusations of electoral fraud and litigations have characterized the elections in Zimbabwe since 2000. Such a political climate calls for an electoral process capable of healing wounds resultant of the political tension obtaining in Zimbabwe since the dawning of the

new millennium. Moreover, the electoral system used in Zimbabwe that is First-Past-The-Post (FPTP) is said to limit democracy. This is so because of its demerits that were noted which include being weak in representation of women in parliament, it over-represents one party which promotes minority government, government may not represent the voter's choice and it becomes one party parliament.

Ploch (2008) depicts that ideally for elections to be considered democratic there must be transparency in the drawing and implementation of procedures that govern the conduct of such elections. Relevant institutions must be seen to autonomously uphold and enforce such rules and procedures. Thus rules, regulations and procedures must be easily accessible, enforceable, be adhered to in the whole election process and be known to the contesting parties and individuals without exception. Given that agreement on these rules should be at the heart of the integrity of any elections they should not be tempered with or subjected to unnecessary changes without the consent of other contestants. Democratic elections should therefore take place within the confines of the constitution under an autonomous court of law and institutions that enjoy the confidence of the citizen and the contesting parties (Ploch 2008). He argued that democratic elections must also be conducted in a peaceful, secure and stable environment where individuals' security is impartially protected. Those in charge of management of elections must demonstrate that they equally treat the contesting candidates and their supporters. Tolerance, indiscriminate access to mass media and participation of all registered voters should be guaranteed to ensure free and fair polls.

Furthermore, it is noted that certain types of systems can influence the credibility of the electoral process. Birch (2007) has studied the relationship between electoral systems and confidence in the electoral process. In a first piece, Birch analysed the relationship between the type of electoral system and electoral integrity, with a focus on electoral malpractice. Birch argues that the type of electoral system (SMD, single-member district or PRF, proportional representation) shapes incentives for conducting electoral misconduct. She argues that whereas in SMD systems (where people vote directly for individuals) candidates stand to benefit more from manipulation, in PR systems (where people vote for party lists) political parties will protect their reputation to win an election and thus will try to prevent and sanction manipulation. Furthermore, she argues manipulation is more efficient under MD because of

well-known tendency of SMD systems to magnify the success of large parties Birch (2007). From a sample of 24 post-communist countries she finds that single-member electoral districts in plurality and majoritarian systems are more closely associated with election misconduct. Proportional representation systems are less likely to be the object of malfeasance.

Birch builds on this in 2008 where she explores the role of electoral systems that promote a 'level playing field' in the perceptions of electoral fairness. The main hypothesis is that those institutional structures that promote and level the playing field enhance the confidence in electoral processes. Two such institutions are PR systems, which allocate seats according to parties' proportion of the vote and the public funding of political parties, which seeks to ensure that all participants have an equal chance to contest an election (Sarah Birch 2008). From a comparative analysis of 28 elections she concludes that as they level the playing field during an election, both these institutions contribute to a positive perception of the process. She also demonstrates that the formal independence of electoral management bodies is negatively associated to the confidence in the conduct of elections.

Other scholars have focused on how different models of election systems influence the conduct of elections. In an early work on the subject Lehoucq (2002) compares the classical mode where elections are organized by the executive and certified by the legislature to the more recent approach where elections are organized by independent institutions (electoral tribunals and commissions). For Lehoucq, when two different groups are in control of the executive and legislative branch or in a world without political parties, the classical approach works at its best. Each branch of government acts independently of the other, there is mutual monitoring and elections are accepted. However, when political parties come into play the story is a bit different. This is as political parties always wish to maximize their power. Parties are naturally drawn to increasing their grip on power and will use state resources, undermine the opposition and commit electoral fraud in order to do so. Especially in presidential systems, they will seek to control both branches of government. When this happens and incumbents retain state power, the classical theory breaks down. Elections will not be fair and the opposition will be excluded, which can lead to protests, revolts or even insurgencies. However, this consequence of the classical approach can be averted when election governance is delegated to an autonomous third party—an election commission—that organizes the election and settles electoral disputes. By

presenting a number of historical examples from the US and Latin America ,the author shows that this depoliticized model eliminates the conflict surrounding elections and generates consent around election outcomes , strengthening confidence in elections.

2.3 Election administration

Various scholars pursue that the quality of an election is key for its success and credibility .In one of the first scholarly works on the topic Pastor (2005) presents election administration as the ‘missing variable’ for explaining the causes and consequences of democratic transitions. In his view electoral procedures are ‘simple matter’ and have a political side to it , which is very delicate.Technical problems or even rumours of irregularities can easily lead to boycotts , protests and violence , especially in emerging democracies.After this work a number of studies have shown the quality of an election has a positive impact on its acceptance and on the support and legitimacy of democracy and that of the political system Frank (2014).In short the way elections are managed can either make or break democracy Mserumule (2015).For practitioners there is also a rare unity when it comes to highlighting the importance of this aspect.Good examples of this are election observation reports.Usually statements and reports from intergovernmental institutions such as European Union , the Organization of American States or the African Union or from non-governmental organisations such as Carter Centre link the success and acceptance of an election to meeting international standards of electoral integrity , to being ‘free and fair’ or to having technical accuracy in the conduction of the electoral process.For instance , the 2010 presidential elections in Colombia indicated that ‘the election was developed according to international standards which resulted in decrease in violent acts’Capel , (2010).Then on the 2012 report on the Ghanaian elections , the Commonwealth secretariat mentioned that the (2008) , elections were found to have been conducted in an open , transparent and inclusive manner , and were therefore considered credible Commonwealth (2012).Similarly , election which are not clean and where there is significant fraud fall in the category of flawed or failed elections and are linked to contestants rejecting election results and even to violence and instability

Furthermore the credibility and legitimacy of electoral processes is intimately linked to electoral integrity. The Global Commission on Democracy , Elections and Security identified five major challenges to the conduct of elections with integrity in its (2012) report that is

building the rule of law to substantiate claims to human rights and electoral justice , developing professional and competent electoral management body (EMBs) with full independence of action. creating institutions and norms of multiparty competition and division of power , removing barriers to universal and equal political participation and regulating political finance.Each of these challenges requires a multidimensional design and effective mobilization , implementation and management in practice.

2.4 Legal Framework

The Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment (No. 20) Act of 2013 also guides the electoral system in Zimbabwe.Section 67 of the constitution talks of political rights depicting that there should be free , fair and regular elections , make political choices freely , to form ,to join and to participate in the activities of a political party or organization of their choice , campaign freely and peacefully for a political party or cause , participate in peaceful political activity , the right to vote in all elections and referendums.The constitution also castigates that the electoral system must allow citizen participation , there should be transparency , political tolerance , neutrality and independence of state institutions supporting democracy and simple , accurate , verifiable .. secure and transparent voting system according to Section 155 and 156 of the constitution of Zimbabwe.

Moreso according to Daily News Harare law expert Alfred Mavedzenge challenged the constitutionality of the Electoral Act of Zimbabwe arguing it gives government the power to veto regulations promulgated by the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC).The lawsuit sought an order to declare Section 192(6) of the Electoral Act Chapter 2(13) constitutionally invalid because it gives Justice Minister power to approve regulations or statutory instruments developed by the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission.The Electoral Act has been routinely criticized in recent years by opposition political parties and civil libertarians who say it lacks punitive measures and sanctions to deal with political violence and intimidation as well as ensure equitable access to unbiased media coverage for all electoral contestants.

Alfred Mavedzenge argued the ability of ZEC to prepare for elections in a manner that is independent saying it is undermined by Section 192(6) of the Electoral Act (Chapter 2:13) which gives the Justice minister sweeping powers to interfere with ZEC operations.He also argues that

Electoral Act (Chapter 2:3) was ultra vires Section 2(1) , Section 85(1) , Section 67(1) , Section 235(1) , Section 235(2) and (3),Section 134 and Section 167(3) .In preparing for elections Constitution guarantees and requires that second respondent (Zec chairperson) must conduct all preparations in a manner that is independent of control , direction and interference from anyone.Mavedzenge argued that the purpose of guaranteeing this independence to second respondent is to ensure that she prepares and conducts the elections in a manner that fulfills constitutional right to a free and fair election.The Constitution of Zimbabwe Ammendent (No.20) of 2013 Section 155(1) states that elections must free and fair.

Furthermore Section 239 of constitution is said that it sets out some key functions of ZEC:to register voters , to compile the voters rolls and registers.Electoral law lags behind in providing for above functions as it conflates some of these functions with the office of the Registrar-General of Voters and his officials (e.g Section 18).The shared responsibility where the Registrar-General of Voters in the electoral law may create problems interns of accountability and independence of the commission.Section 67(1) of constitution provides that all citizens are entitled to political rights including the right to vote in free , fair and regular elections.This does not discriminate between citizens in or outside the country.Section 1 (1) of the fourth Schedule to the constitution places two qualifications to the right to vote a)Above 18 b) Zimbabwean citizen.Electoral Act does not provide for mechanisms for non-resident Diaspora citizens to register to vote and to cast ballots.

2.5 Models of Electoral Management

A country's electoral management mode is argued that it may either result from a holistic design process or be grafted onto an existing system of state administration.In post-colonial countries , the model is said that it may be strongly influenced by colonial administrative patterns.While they are many variations there are three broad types or models of electoral management that is Independent , Governmental and Mixed models.An Independent model of electoral management consists of an EMB that is institutionally independent from the executive branch of government and in the Governmental model EMBs are part of and accountable to the executive branch.The Mixed model typically consists of two component EMBs that is an independent EMB with policy and monitoring powers and a governmental EMB responsible for the implementation of the electoral process.The form of electoral management and the

individual EMBs of 217 countries and territories are detailed in Annex A, which is based on International IDEA's Electoral Management Design Database (<<http://www.idea.int/elections/emd/electoral-management-design-database.cfm>>) Reynolds, A et al.(2005).However regardless of which model is used , every EMB should be certain that it can ensure the legitimacy and credibility of the process for which it is responsible.This can be done if electoral management is founded on fundamental guiding principles that includes independence , impartiality , integrity , transparency efficiency , professionalism and service mindedness Reynolds et al (2005)

The Independent Model of Electoral Management

The Independent Model of electoral management is used in countries where elections are organized and managed by an EMB that is institutionally independent and autonomous from the executive branch of government; its members are outside the executive. Under the Independent Model, the EMB has and manages its own budget, and is not accountable to a government ministry or department. It may be accountable to the legislature, the judiciary or the head of state. EMBs under this model may enjoy varying degrees of financial autonomy and accountability, as well as varying levels of performance accountability. Many new and emerging democracies have chosen this model, including Armenia,Bosnia and Herzegovina, Burkina Faso, Canada, Costa Rica, Estonia, Georgia,India, Indonesia, Liberia, Mauritius, Nigeria, Poland, South Africa, Thailand and Uruguay.In some countries, two bodies are established to manage elections, both of which are independent of the executive and can be considered independent EMBs. One of these bodies is likely to have responsibility for policy decisions relating to the electoral process, and the other to be responsible for conducting and implementing the electoral process. There may be provisions to insulate the implementation EMB from interference by the policy EMB in staffing and operational matters. Examples of this 'double-independent' framework under the Independent Model include Jamaica and Romania.

The Governmental Model of Electoral Management

In countries with the Governmental Model of electoral management, elections are organized and managed by the executive branch through a ministry (such as the Ministry of the Interior) or through local authorities. Where EMBs under this model exist at the national level, they are led by a minister or civil servant and are answerable to a cabinet minister. With very few exceptions,

they have no 'members'. Their budget falls within a government ministry or under local authorities. Countries that use this model include Denmark, Singapore, Switzerland, the UK (for elections but not referendums) and the United States. In Sweden, Switzerland, the UK and the United States, elections are implemented by local authorities. Sweden and Switzerland, the central EMB assumes a policy coordinating role.

The Mixed Model of Electoral Management

The Mixed Model of electoral management usually involves two component EMBs and a dual structure: (1) a policy, monitoring or supervisory EMB that is independent of the executive branch (like an EMB under the Independent Model) and (2) an implementation EMB located within a department of state or local government (like an EMB under the Governmental Model). Mixed Model, elections are organized by the component governmental EMB, with some level of oversight provided by the component independent EMB. The Mixed Model is used in France, Japan, Spain and many former French colonies, especially in West Africa, for example Mali and Senegal. The powers, functions and strength of the component independent EMB in relation to the component governmental EMB vary in different examples of the Mixed Model, and the classification of a particular country as using this model is sometimes not very clear. In the past, the component independent EMB was sometimes little more than a formalized observation operation, although this version is dying out, having been abandoned, for example, in Senegal. In other cases, the component independent EMB supervises and verifies the implementation of electoral events by the component governmental EMB, and tabulates and transmits results, as in Congo (Brazzaville). In some Francophone countries, the Constitutional Council is engaged in the tabulation and declaration of results and can be considered a component independent EMB within the Mixed Model. In Chad, this applies to referendums only, and not to elections. In Mali, where elections are organized by the Ministry of Territorial Administration, both the Independent National Electoral Commission and the Constitutional Court undertake their own tabulation of results; the country thus has three component EMBs (one governmental and two independent). The relationship between the component EMBs in a Mixed Model is not always clearly defined in legislation or practice, and friction can result. In the 1999 elections in Guinea (which used the Mixed Model at that time), the majority and

opposition representatives in the component independent EMB had conflicting approaches to its role in supervising and verifying the election.

2.6 Guiding Principles for Electoral Management bodies

Independence

Hartlynet (2008) argues that there is some confusion over the meaning of EMB independence because the term 'independent' embraces two different concepts that is structural independence from the government (the Independent model) and the fearless independence expected of all EMBs no matter which model is used, in that they do not bend to governmental, political or other partisan influences on their decisions. While one issue is formal and the other is normative they are seen as linked in many parts of the world, the Independent model is regarded as the one most likely to ensure an EMBs independence of decision and action. Institutional or structural independence can only be found in the constitution or the law. Hartlynet et al (2008) depicts that independent and professional EMBs that are free from government control offer a much greater chance of successful elections. The simplest way to promote independence of decision and action in an EMB is to create a legal framework that embeds EMB independence as provided in the constitutions and principal EMB laws of many countries such as Mexico, South Africa, Uruguay and Zambia. While this is always feasible with the Independent model and may be feasible when the Mixed model is used, it may be more difficult to embed under the Governmental model, apart from strict requirements for impartiality of action, given the integration of the EMBs into ministries or local governments. Alternatively the appointment of a respected public figure who is known for political non-alignment may advance the independence of the EMB for example Burkina Faso tackled this issue by appointing a civil society leader as the EMB chair. In governmental EMBs, the appointment as executive head of a public servant known for his or her integrity and unwillingness to be politically directed, as in Northern Ireland, can have similar effect.

Impartiality

Birch (2011) is of the view that to establish the integrity and credibility of electoral process and promote the widespread acceptance of election results an EMB must not only conduct electoral events in a fearlessly independent manner, it must also be impartial in its actions. Clark (2014)

depicts that without impartial electoral management and independent action, the integrity of the election is likely to fail, making it difficult to instill widespread belief in the credibility of the electoral process, especially among losers. Yet governmental EMBs in some countries that use the Mixed Model (such as Spain) and some countries that use the Governmental model (such as Finland and Sweden) are generally regarded as impartial. Conversely, some EMBs that follow the Independent Model may be independent in name only. Impartiality may be imposed by the legal framework or EMB structure, but it has to be put into practice through the EMB's behavior and attitudes towards its stakeholders. Impartiality is said to be a state of mind more than a statement in law, although it can be encouraged by a constitutional and legal framework that enables the effective external review of EMB decisions and by an EMB code of conduct with strong sanctions that are independently administered.

Integrity

To have credible elections there is need to have elections with integrity. Norris (2014) is of the view that electoral integrity relates to “international commitments and global norms surrounding elections, endorsed in a series of authoritative conventions, treaties, protocols and guidelines which apply to all countries worldwide throughout the electoral cycle, including during the pre-electoral period, the campaign, on polling day and its aftermath”. Using the Electoral Integrity Project's and other scholars' measurement of the concept, electoral integrity is composed of 49 indicators clustered into eleven stages reflecting the entire electoral cycle. Norris (2014) depicts that these eleven stages range from the laws regulating the election, to electoral procedures, to the drawing of electoral boundaries, to the enrolment of voters, to the registration of candidates and political parties, to the coverage provided by the media, to the access to political donations, to the voting process, to the counting of vote, to post-election challenges and protests to the performance and impartiality of electoral authorities. The EMB is argued to be the primary guarantor of the integrity and purity of the electoral process, and EMB members are said to be directly responsible for ensuring this. According to Norris (2014) integrity may be easier to maintain if the EMB has both full independence of action and full control of all essential electoral processes, including full control over budgets and staffing. Scholars argue that where other bodies have electoral functions EMBs need to be

empowered to monitor their activities closely to ensure that they meet the highest integrity standards.

Transparency

Transparency is argued to be operational and financial management lays out for public scrutiny the decisions and reasoning of the EMB. According to Reynolds et al (2005) transparency can help an EMB combat perceptions of and identify actual financial or electoral fraud, or lack of competence and favouritism toward particular political tendencies which can enhance its credibility. Electoral transparency is said that it may be backed by electoral law, for example by a requirement that the EMB inform the public of its activities, as in Indonesia. Or may be required by the EMBs code of conduct for example the frequent media briefings and releases and stakeholder consultations by the Liberian EMB for the 2011 elections. Even without such formal backing, an EMB may adopt a transparency policy. The absence of transparency in electoral processes invariably leads to the suspicion that fraudulent activities are taking place. For example, where observers and the public are unable to access progressive vote count and aggregation data, and where there are significant delays in announcing and validating election results as in Belarus and Ukraine (2004) and Ethiopia in (2005) the credibility of the election suffers.

Efficiency

Governments and public expect that funds for elections will be used wisely and services delivered efficiently. In the face of expanding and ever more expensive technological solutions and demands for increased effort in high-cost areas such as voter education and information. EMBs have to be careful that their programmes sustainably serve electoral efficiency, as well as integrity and modernity Reynold A et al (2005). A successful EMB is said to be the one that has displayed integrity, competence and efficiency. These qualities are said that they help generate public and political party confidence in electoral processes. The legal framework can assist by defining efficient standards for electoral and financial management. However according to some schools of thought sometimes members of an EMB may be unfamiliar with electoral practices and procedures, at other times they may not be used to dealing with contracting for equipment and materials in a cutthroat corporate environment. The

resulting inefficiency in election organization may easily be perceived as corrupt and fraudulent behavior, which may lead to more serious challenges to the EMBs credibility. Where trust is lacking in the political process generally, an EMB is unlikely to be given the benefit of the doubt.

Professionalism

According to Hartlyn et al (2008) professional EMB offer a much greater chance of successful elections. Professionalism in electoral managements is said that it requires accurate, service-oriented implementation of electoral procedures by suitably skilled staff. It is said that EMBs need to ensure that all election officials, whether core staff or temporary workers, are well trained and have the necessary skills to apply high professional standards in their technical work. However schools of thought are of the view that while a continuous training and skill development programme is an essential part of creating and maintaining a professional EMB, professionalism depends just as much on the attitude of every member and secretariat staff person. A personal commitment from each individual in an EMB to equity, accuracy, diligence and service in all they do and to self-improvement, is necessary to maintain professionalism and in electoral management Hartlyn et al (2008). Visible professionalism in an EMB also gives political parties, civil society, voters, donors, the media and other stakeholders the confidence that electoral managers are capable of undertaking their tasks effectively. Scholars argue that a lack of visible professionalism in electoral management, on the other hand, will create public suspicions of inaccurate and perhaps fraudulent activity, and a lack of trust and it will make it easier for complaints from election losers to find public support, whether the complaint is valid or not.

Service mindedness

According to Clark (2014) EMBs not only have a responsibility to provide a service to their stakeholders but developing and publicizing service delivery standards for all their activities provides both internal motivators for EMB members and staff to provide high-quality service, and external yardsticks with which stakeholders can assess the EMB performance. Some basic service standards are said to be often included in the electoral legal framework as in Canada and these include time-based standards such as deadlines for announcing election results.

compiling the electoral registers , distributing voters identification (ID) cards or distributing information on voting location.

2.7 Elections and Democracy

Moreover elections in Zimbabwe are held in every five years and Lindberg (2006) presents a positive analysis of African elections and its prospects of democracy based on empirical analysis of observable election data compiled on the democratic quality of elections and the liberal democratic institution. He examines 16 variables on 232 African elections, to investigate the relationship between elections and democracy and shows elections improve the quality of democracy. Lindberg (2006) states that , elections are neither the end of a transition process towards democracy nor merely formal procedures. According to Lindberg the mere inception of multiparty elections in a country instigates liberalization. Participatory and contested elections are institutionalized attempt to actualize the essence of democracy. Elections are the legitimate procedure for the translation of the rule by the people into workable executive and legislative power (Lindberg 2006).

Lindberg (2006) in his quest to investigate the role of election in democratization in Africa found that it is not how many times elections fail to unseat authoritarian or result in extreme political transformation but that repetition of elections even when flawed builds a democratic culture and its repetition deepens democracy. Most African countries are in their third decade of electoral practice, but their regimes remain the same and freedoms in their societies continue to wane. Lindberg states that electoral create 'incentives' for political actors by fostering the expansion and deepening of democratic qualities in society'. Although this researcher believes this is only relevant for leaders with a will to change. For those without , elections act as a reinforcement mechanism or validation process and only encourage polarization and tension with those who oppose them. This is not to deny that elections have power to transform societies but they are exceptions. Certainly the practice of election processes listed above ensures that citizens keep candidates in check.

Hope lies in the survival of electoral democracy , decades after its establishment in Africa's former colonies , as Lindberg (2006) theorizes complete breakdown of new electoral regimes , when they occur typically happen short after first elections , by the second or third electoral

regimes are highly likely to survive. The fact that authoritarians continue to allow electoral conduct means there is hope for democratization. As more and more civil societies are formed and continuously demand the respect of constitutional guidelines and respect for the will of the people. Lindberg (2006) adds that series of elections not only contributes to increasing the democratic quality of a regime but also broadens and deepens civil liberties in the society so elections are a set of factors with casual effects. The process of holding an uninterrupted series of participatory, competitive and legitimate elections not only enhances the democratic quality of the electoral regime but also has positive effects on the spread and deepening of civil liberties in society.

Moreso Lindberg supports constant efforts made by the international community to pressure non-democratic regimes to accept democracy as the only mode of governance claiming the process of democratization is not about how long it takes but how deep it is established and consolidated in a society. Creating incentives and disincentives such as elections fosters democratic behavior that in turn leads to a more democratic culture. This results in better quality democracy and a culture of accountability and participation hence the theoretical argument “repetitive elections even though flawed are one of the casual factors in democratization”. From Lindberg’s findings, democratization validates international community’s focus on elections for democracy enhancement. Elections are an effective mode of affecting democratization or positive changes Lindberg (2006). The benefits are incremental and if continuously implemented will result in political transformation, consequently refuting claims on the inefficiency of democracy promotion institutions for democratization. This study assumes it is for this reason that donors continue to fund democracy even when the progress is unimpressive.

Lindberg therefore concludes “Elections do not signal the completion of the transition to democracy but rather foster liberalization and have a self-reinforcing power that promotes increased democracy in Africa’s political regimes (Lindberg 2006) meaning Zimbabwe will become democratic if it continues to uphold electoral practices. The fact that elections have not resulted in power transfer does not mean democracy promotion has failed.

According to Inhonbere (2003), Africa’s democratic transition cannot be compared because of its unique background and past experiences, its post-colonial account of brutal dictatorship,

predatory regimes ,military juntas and one man misrule have negative consequences coupled with conditions of dependence , foreign domination , structural distortions , underdevelopment , weak state structures and the politicization of the national question does not make governance in post colonial societies easy.(Appiah – Thompson (2015).This is true , but how can the efficient democratization of former Asian countries like India , Japan and Malaysia be explained or African countries like South Africa and Namibia?And how adequate is history in explaining the inability to conduct agreed processes free of fraud.Before investigating democratic quality , the occurrence of free and fair elections in Zimbabwe has been rare.Countries experiencing ethnic or regional tensions , rampant clientelism and limited democratic experience are able to hold successful electoral processes , in a poor and underdeveloped country.Being so , history is not an excuse although theorists like Carothers states that elections are largely insignificant to democratize.

Lindberg (2006) cautions that the role of elections in democratization does not mean elections are the only important factor in expanding civil liberties and democracy however they have so far not received adequate recognition in the literature.Thus his creation of comprehensive empirical data set of all elections in Africa from 1989-2003 , chronicling democratic qualities of the elections and testing generalizations made in earlier studies on the development of African politics.His desegregation of more than 40 African cases and his evaluation of different methodological approaches to the study of elections therefore leads him to challenge existing pessimism on the state of democracy in Africa as he claims scholars of African politics study single cases and make generalizations that democratization has failed but his wholesome study shows renewal and progress.Lindberg argues that existing studies on transitions to democracy and election in Africa has fallacies inherit in their focus in ‘founding election’ and not recent ones and that those cannot adequately explain the current state of democracy.His findings show first elections were not necessarily founding but steps in transitioning towards democracy and these elections indicate their reinforcing and self - improving quality.But , the gap in Lindberg’s findings are If democracy takes root after a sequence of three electoral cycles what about countries like Zimbabwe almost in their tenth election but experiencing deepening authoritarianism.Instead this study finds that repetitive electoral practice can lead to competitive authoritarianism.

2.7.1 Competitive authoritarianism

The repetition of election can have unintended effects where elections enhance authoritarianism as argued by Levitsky and Way (2010) and incumbents “combine electoral competition with new forms of autocratic rule” Developments in Zimbabwe and at least half of Africa contradict the assumption that a country’s movement from strict authoritarian rule means transition towards democracy. As will be explained in the findings this study finds that democracy promotion through its quest for perfection through elections might be facilitating and deepening the problem of competitive authoritarian regimes.

Often a country’s level of democracy is measured by the ability to hold transparent or less contested elections under a conducive environment that enables competitors and voters to express themselves fully. The problem is authoritarians have mastered this as an avenue for accommodation on the global political arena and importantly (in developing countries) as an avenue for aid. In turn the practice dilutes or compromises future democratic standards mentioned earlier e.g competitive authoritarian or pseudo democracies. These terms all limit democracy to elections which is not an adequate representation, but are nonetheless important in understanding the development of democracy in Africa. From the studies carried out in Zimbabwe, Ethiopia and Tanzania, it is evident that most democracy promotion activities in Africa are nurturing such democracies. As donors increase pressure and authoritarian regime to conform to democratic norms by various forms especially ‘conditionality’, more and more competitive regimes and non-democracies will experience prolonged periods of ‘controlled transition’ (Diamond, 2014) as they use elections legitimizing tool and make it difficult for any institution to make them accountable. This idea is investigated based on the works of Zakaria (1997), Levitsky and Lucan Way (2002).

Furthermore according to Lewis (2015), it is controvertible that there has been a degree of institutionalization of some forms of electoral democratization across Africa and attributes these successes to democracy promoters who have been undervalued in democracy literature. Many governments have had multiple electoral cycles diversification of political parties increased in competition.

According to Diamond developing countries in Africa , Asia , and South America experience different levels of democratic decay yet reflect a common problem where power confers virtually unchecked opportunities for personal enrichment hence it is difficult if not impossible to suit in democratic rules of the game. The democratic spirit of elections drowns in vote-buying , rigging , violence , or all three”. These pathologies cannot be simply cured with more mediate (democracy assistance) like corruption which is an endemic problem (deeply embedded) in the norms and expectations of political and social life) “technical fix or political push” will not solve Diamond (2007). He suggests that donors directly aid local civic and political organisations to counter corruption and rule of law for revolutionary change. Diamond warns that this strategy nonetheless can only work where there is political will to govern with a different logic that values the provision of public goods.

Where term limits exist as ascribed by the constitution e.g Equatorial Guinea , Angola , Cameroon , Uganda , Swaziland , Chad , Eritrea and Gambia , these countries are all led by long serving leaders who constantly defy presidential term limits (Gyimah –Broad 1991). President Museveni of Uganda won the highly contested presidential elections and has been in office since 1986 on 5 year term limits after contesting the 7th time on a constitution that clearly stipulate a 2 term maximum. When asked during an interview why he is running yet his time is up responded “there are no term limits in Uganda...this is why people keep voting me”(Museveni , 2016). The issue of presidential terms has caused public protests in Burundi , Democratic Republic of Congo , Libya and Burkina Faso where less than 37% of the voting age population on average are registered to vote. Ironically Zimbabwe , Uganda , Angola , Gabon , Congo , Central African Republic and Mozambique have over 80% voters as percentage of the voting age and yet still hold most of the least accepted elections. Where democratic progress has been made e.g through the encouragement of participation in exercising rights to vote , citizens are robbed of their choices. Ghana the oldest independent African country is still not considered a fully democracy almost six decades now.

According to Lewis (2015) , it is controvertible that there has been a degree of institutionalization of some forms of electoral democratization across Africa and attributes these success to democracy promoters who have been undervalued in democracy literature. Many governments have had multiple electoral cycles , diversification of political

parties increased in competition. He found that, with this political opening has also come (even in some hybrid regimes and in some regimes which are still regarded as authoritarian) an opening of political space across Africa. Lewis (2015) found that there is more room for civic organisations, political associations, for unguarded speech, social media and independent electoral and print media. Furthermore donors have led the facilitation of a broad opening of political discourse. Africa has a large emerging middle class which is rising to demand a voice and there is stronger civil society than before in most Sub-Saharan Africa. Lewis (2015) identifies positive changes in media coverage led by a social media transformation which gives a certain cover to people and a certain degree of anonymity as well as an expensive growth of telecommunications which has been a vehicle for expansion of discourses.

2.8 Theoretical framework

Rational choice approach to decision making

This theory by Tieg et al. (2006) depicts that choices involves deciding between two or more alternative actions that are associated with beliefs about their outcomes that are associated with a certain value to the decision-maker. It defines to be rational as one selects the alternative course of action which most efficiently reach one's goals that is one selects the action with the greatest expected value. It talks of application to Abstention in Elections. Citizens are said they vote if $PB > C$ where P is probability that a citizen's vote will affect the outcome of the election, B is the extent to which individuals feels that one party will benefit him or her more than the other party and C talks of costs associated with voting. The notion that P is probability that a citizen's vote will affect the outcome of the election is the same belief that exists in Zimbabwe's elections.

A behavioral theory of elections

The rise of behavioral economics has posed new challenges to the premise of rationality. The behavioral theory of elections by Bendor et al. (2007) is provided as based on the notion that all actors that is politicians as well as voters are only boundedly rational. The theory posits learning via trial and error, actions that surpass an actor's aspiration level are more likely to be used in the future while those that fall short are less likely to be tried later. Based on this idea of adaptation there are models for party competition turnout and voters choice for candidates. These models predict substantial turnout levels, voters sorting into parties and winning parties adopting

centrist platforms. In multiparty elections, voters are able to coordinate vote choices on majority referred candidates while all candidates garner significant vote shares. Overall the behavioral theory and its models produce macroimplications consistent with the data on elections and they use plausible microassumptions about the cognitive capacities of politicians and voters.

The theory of electoral systems

The theory of electoral systems according to Quintal (2007) is of the view that electoral law authoritatively prescribes the manner in which the political preferences of a community are to be expressed and ordered. The relative merits of the various systems, plurality, party list, single transferable vote, ballotage are debated. To the extent that this debate concerns stable government versus fair representation it is obvious that there are some value choices to be made and defended. It is plausible that a certain party system tends to produce a certain type of electoral system. After an electoral system redistributes power shares so as to determine who shall occupy the positions of authority. Political elites have a stake in this process and the selection of an electoral law is bound to be deliberative not Delphic.

2.9 Empirical Literature Review

The electoral system in Zambia

The Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) is an independent Electoral Management Body. It is established under Article 229 of the Constitution of Zambia whose main responsibility is to manage elections in Zambia. The Commission consists of a Chairperson and not more than four other members appointed by the President, subject to ratification by the National Assembly, for a term not exceeding seven years. The Chairperson and members of the Commission serve on full time basis. The functions of this electoral body includes conducting elections and referendum, delimiting electoral boundaries, registering voters, settling minor electoral disputes, regulating the conduct of voters and candidates, accrediting observers and election agents, conducting Voter Education and to perform any other statutory function that the National Assembly may call upon it. Zambia have two systems that is the Majoritarian and Simple Majority or First Past the Post. On Majoritarian System the election of the President is conducted directly under a Majoritarian System where the winning candidate must receive more than fifty percent of the valid votes cast. On First Past The Post or Simple Majority System the National Assembly,

Mayoral/Council Chairperson and Councillor elections are conducted under the First Past The Post or Simple Majority System. This is where a candidate who gets the highest number of votes is declared winner regardless of the percentage obtained. Zambia has some similarities with the Zimbabwean way of election management on the appointment of electoral management bodies by the President, the functions that are expected of this electoral management body and also one of the electoral systems they use is the First Past The Post, which is also used in Zimbabwe.

The electoral process in Singapore

After separation from Malaysia and becoming a full sovereign state, Singapore's electoral process has been governed essentially by the Constitution of the Republic of Singapore. The constitution lays out the role of the legislature (the parliament) and defines the qualification and disqualification for membership of parliament, the exercise of legislative power and the overall legislative process. The Parliamentary Elections Act contains provisions for the lead-up to and conduct of elections for members of parliament (MPs). Its main features are the production of the registers of electors and the conduct of elections, which come under the direct responsibility of the Prime Minister's Office and are administered through the Elections Department headed by a civil servant, showing a lack of separation of the executive power from the electoral department. Any Singaporean aged 21 or above, who is on the register of electors, has resided in Singapore for at least ten years and has never been convicted by a court of law and sentenced to imprisonment for a term of not less than one year or a fine of not less than S\$2,000, is eligible to stand for elections. All Singapore citizens, except those serving a sentence of imprisonment, or of unsound mind, or in the foreign armed forces of a foreign country, can vote. Voting in Singapore is compulsory. Anyone who does not vote in an election without a valid reason (e.g. incapacity, being abroad) has his/her name taken off the electoral register, and has to pay a small penalty to have it restored. A voter is registered in the constituency in which he/she officially resides. The register of electors is publicly displayed before elections and any voter who has any objections to being placed in a particular electoral constituency can approach the registration officer to settle the issue and this is similar to what happens in Zimbabwe. Before an election, the prime minister usually appoints an Electoral Boundaries Review Committee, comprising mainly civil servants, to carry out a review of the number and boundaries of electoral constituencies. After its review

the committee submits its report to the cabinet. The report needs only to be accepted by the government and is not submitted to parliament for debate and approval. Once the committee's report is accepted by the government, the number of constituencies and their corresponding boundaries is effected by publication in the Government Gazette. When the prime minister calls for elections, the president issues a Writ of Election. The issue of the executive calling for elections is also noted that it is similar to that of Zimbabwe whereby the president of the day is the one who announces the election date.

2.10 Summary

Literature review was fully introduced by the researcher so that anyone who reads the research can fully comprehend other literature on the study being undertaken and realize where there are gaps that need to be covered. The case studies were used and illustrated by the chapter is how electoral system (structure, process, legislature) influences democracy. The research objectives also waylaid a platform for the researcher to come up with themes and subthemes for the study. However of note is that for the research to be authentic and of great use in literature review in the near future there is need for data collection. This in particular will allow one to see the practicality of the theories put forward by a variety of schools of thoughts on electoral system and democracy. Therefore the next chapter will present data that the researcher will collect from the field.

CHAPTER IIV

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter outlines the methodology of the study. It explains the research techniques and methods that has been used to conduct the research. Therefore the research model it further explains (looks) on the research design and the methods of collecting data which were applied in this study. Research methodology can be said to be a way of solving the research problem. This chapter also shows instruments that one used to collect data , the population target as well as the sampling procedures used to select the sample of the key stakeholders (informants) especially to rightfully identify institutions who make the electoral process move within the scope of democracy. There are various inductors that made the study more accurate.

3.1 Research Methodology

In this research mixed research methods were used to collect data that is the qualitative and quantitative. Kruger et al (2005) points out the difference between two methods . is that qualitative research evaluates objective data which consists of numbers and on the other hand quantitative research is subjective data that has been produced using the minds of respondents for example , the number of people who believe electoral voting under strict observation helps acquire democracy of a state. Therefore the study made use of both research methods as they contributed evenly in coming up with sound data. Using the qualitative paradigm since there was

need to scrutinize the link between elections and democracy, more so closely examining the electoral process and whether it contributes in achieving democracy/democratic elections. Thus Fox et al (2007) argued that elections and democracy are referred to as politically and socially constructed worlds (institutions) as these can only be expressed in words to better come up with data. Qualitative approach has to do with the assessment of opinions and also behavior.

Qualitative research was used also as a process of analysis that is based on complex structured methods to confirm or disprove a hypothesis since it is as a result of numbers. Results in this research were shown in graphs and tables and the qualitative exploration was worried with estimation of wonder as far as sum and numbers. Quantitative exploration made it less demanding for the perception of factual information by people with diverse proficient levels as numbers for previous national elections have been recorded the world over.

3.2 Research Design

A variety of schools of thoughts have regarded a research design as a structure with a plan within which the research will be carried out. Dawson (2002) pointed out that a research design functions in setting parameters for data collection with minimum outflow of effort, time and money. This scholar further says that it is anchored on how the research is set out, what happens to the participants and the type of tools used for data collection. In this study the researcher attempted to discover the point of elections as a mechanism to ensure democracy using various countries. The researcher utilized qualitative investigation on the research design. The design incorporated sample size, population study and the instruments like interviews, focus group discussion and questionnaires to help complement case studies and check if the reality stated by Carter (2004) of case situations that may help in research since they are normally richer in context and have experimental designs but the need to be complemented by non-scientific measurements and reality.

3.3 Study Population

Babie (2001) referred to study population as a package of all subjects that you need to concentrate on. In this research the target population were ordinary (citizens) including electoral officers, voters, government officials and academic personnels within the geographical

location. In particular two representatives from ZEC. The researcher managed to distribute 80 questionnaires to citizens in Waterfalls, Norton, Budiro and Chitungwiza and managed to do focus group discussions with members of different political parties. Ordinary citizens, electoral administration, academic personnel were important to the study because they gave different opinions of conduct of the election management with depth and synthesis of knowledge.

3.4 Sampling

Cooper (2004) avers that sampling is a research technique whereby the researcher selects a few elements within a sampling frame or population which reflects the characteristics of the entire population for study so as to draw conclusions about the entire population. According to this school of thought, the importance of sampling is anchored on limiting expenses involved in studying the whole population, enhancing the authenticity and in increasing the speed of data collection among other reasons. The study had a large population to consider collecting data from all the stakeholders however the researcher elected a sample of individuals hoping that the sample is representative sampling and is concerned with selecting a subset of individuals from the entire populace with the expectation of concluding the normal for the entire populace unit.

3.5 Sample Size

A sample size is the actual number of elements that would be selected from a target population to provide data for the research (Shapiro, 2013). The sample size ought to be sufficiently adequate to have a delegate normally for the entire populace unit. The total target population for the research was Zimbabwe. However the sample size of the study were, 2 ZEC representatives, 80 citizens and academic personnel.

3.6 Sampling techniques

In this study, purposive sampling and simple random techniques were used. Purposive sampling is also known as judgemental, selective or subjective and is a type of non-probability sampling technique. In this study the researcher used both probability and non-probability methods. Both these sampling techniques use non-random system of choosing the respondents and every element did have a chance to be chosen. All probability sampling techniques which use the random system of selecting increases chances of any member of the study population to

participate in a study. Non-probability sampling has techniques which uses non-random sampling to choose the respondents. Simple random sampling and purposive sampling were used also in order to have a sample of the study. Purposive sampling was used to select informants for the interviews. Simple random sampling was also used to select participants for the focus group discussions. Therefore the random selection presented every respondent chance to be selected and this reduced getting bias information.

3.6.1 Purposive Sampling

Purposive sampling also be called judgemental sampling Latham (2007) alluded to the fact that purposive sampling is selecting a sample on the premise of your own insight into the populace, its components and the way of your examination. Purposive sampling is helpful if a researcher needs to think about a little subset of a bigger populace in which numerous individuals from the subset are effortlessly recognized. This sampling technique unequivocally rejects undesired components of the populace that may prompt the twisting and deception of information. This kind of sampling allows the researcher to utilize his/her own judgement to choose components of the populace who are imminent suppliers of exact information. The researcher will use purposive sampling to collect information from the residents.

Justification for purposive sampling

- Data collection could be very informative.
- It enables the researcher to choose subjects that are knowledgeable about the research.
- It is economical and convenient.
- No time wasted since unsuitable candidates will be eliminated

3.7 Data Collection Methods

The process of collecting information is anchored on primary and secondary sources. The researcher in carrying out this research employed the two as they complement each other. One source's weakness is another's strength. Hence, this cements and heightens the authenticity of the data collected adding relevance to the study as a whole.

3.7.1 Secondary Data

According to Saunders (2009) , secondary sources are data that have been collected for some purposes. The documentary research that has been mentioned earlier on is a form of secondary data. Essential to secondary data is to acknowledge other peoples work to avoid plagiarism which is an academic offense. The researcher therefore , reviewed some thesis on the electoral system and democracy and other works by a variety of schools of thoughts.

Justification of secondary data

- The use of secondary data is not expensive as information is readily available.
- The use of secondary data is not time consuming.
- Use of secondary data gives room for the researcher to compare data , hence , comprehend fully the facts of the study.

3.7.2 Primary data

According to Currie (2005) , primary data is data that was previously unknown and which have been obtained directly by the researcher for a particular project. Degu and Yigzaw (2006) further supports the above assumption by noting that primary sources is the type of data being collected for the first time as first-hand information. Bryman and Bell (2003) point out that primary data refers to the original data which is free from any adjustments by human beings and the data has not been published though it exists. Therefore , its effectiveness is sound than that of secondary data.

Justification for primary data

- Primary data is complementary to secondary data.
- It gives room for the researcher to fully comprehend the reality of the case under study.
- It widens the scope of the already existing literature as new information will be obtained.

3.8 Data collection tools

In this study focus groups discussions and interviews were used. Personal interviews regarded as face to face interpersonal situations in which interviewer asks respondents questions designed to obtain information pertinent to the research topic.

3.8.1 Interviews

According to Schindler (2007) an interview is a verbal report of the subject about experiences that one is exposed to. Therefore an interview in other words is a verbal communication between the researcher and the respondent whereby the researcher obtains information from the respondent. The purpose of conducting an interview in this study was to collect information from individuals persons through a systematic and structured formal way. Wit Kim et al (2008). Some of its advantages include observation of non-verbal behaviours of an interviewee, individuals offering information that cannot acquired in a group e.g academic personnels.

Justification for carrying out interviews

- Interviews facilitates an in-depth probe on questions of special interest hence obtaining detailed information.
- Interviews will cater mostly for directors with busy schedules. The directors would then be interviewed at their convenient time.
- Participants will be given the opportunity to ask for clarification on questions they will not understand.
- Interviews will add a human dimension to impersonal data to be gathered through questionnaire.

3.8.2 Questionnaires

Cohen (2000) states that questionnaires are generally utilized and valuable instrument for gathering study data, giving structure regularly numerical information, having the capacity to be directed without the vicinity of the researcher and frequently being relatively straight forward to analyse. Therefore the researcher will give questionnaires to the citizens of Zimbabwe picking randomly the places to give the questionnaires.

Advantages

-The technique is adaptable as in the researcher can rebuild the inquiry where the respondent discover troubles in the inquiry.

-They are less complex and less expensive.

-Large amount of information can be collected.

-Easy to analyse than other forms of research.

-The results of the questionnaires can usually be quickly and easily quantified by the researcher.

Disadvantages

-There may be biases when restructuring questions and interpreting responses or choosing the right words to summarize respondents opinions.

-Lacks validity.

-The respondent may be forgetful or not thinking within the full context of the situation.

-It is difficult to find if the respondent is telling the truth or not.

3.8.3 Focus group discussions

It is a qualitative research technique of collecting data. A facilitator guides the group and is also responsible for creating a conducive environment. Focus group discussions have both merits and demerits, some of the merits involves acquiring indepth information, quick and easy to conduct and moreover time and cost effective. However focus groups discussions have their negative sides since they are prone to facilitator bias, few individuals can dominate. In this research study focus group discussions were conducted and this was due to a time factor that participants had other commitments and financial constraints. The study was conducted by the researcher.

Justification for carrying out focus group discussions

In carrying focus one is able to have a broader range of information , they offer opportunity to seek clarification and they can save time and money compared to individual interviews.They also suggest potential solutions to problems identified.

3.9 Ethical Considerations Of The Study

Essential in collecting data is a good relationship between the researcher and the respondent thus the researcher has to ensure that the respondents are not exploited in any way and this enhances trust from the respondents to the researcher at the same time chances of authentic information. Confidentiality should be taken into consideration to all information discussed or observed from the study. This is to ensure the safety of all respondents that they may not be harmed by contributing and taking part in the study. Thus keeping the confidentiality of the respondents allowed them to openly discuss and responded to questions asked without compromise. Moreso the researcher ensured that objectivity and honesty during data collection and presentation and did not drive responses given her to suit her perception about the topic under study.

3.10 Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to highlight the research methodology which the researcher used .These includes the methods used in collecting data such as focus group discussions and interviews. The study targeted a designed population to systematically collect data without bias. The study also chose the simple random sampling and purposive sampling techniques in selecting the sampling size of the study. The next chapter looks at data presentation , analysis and discussion of results.

CHAPTER IV

DATA PRESENTATION , ANALYSIS PROCEDURES AND INTERPRETATION

4.0 Introduction

The issue of election management , the electoral system and democracy in Zimbabwe is a complex subject that requires in depth and physical analysis inorder to be fully comprehended and to determine a panacea.This chapter inhabits largely on the major discoveries that have been unearthed from the research.As highlighted in chapter 1 , these research findings greatly co-relates to the research objectives.Essential to note is that , in making these findings , the researcher mostly employed research tools of personal observation , interviews , questionnaires , documentary research among others.This chapter seeks to elaborate what was attained by the researcher during the data collection period and its relevance to the study as a whole.

4.1 Overall response rate analysis (Data Analysis)

Mouton (1996) points out that data analysis often involves two key steps , namely (a) reducing the collected data to manageable proportions and (b) identifying patterns and themes in the data.Babooa (2008) further points out that the first step in the analysis of data is a critical examination of the collected data.Response rate is basically the proportion of respondents amongst the whole collected.At ZEC the officials were co-operating and responding to the questions ofnote also is that the research instruments employed by the researcher have a great

bearing in the response rate. For instance questionnaires require a lot of trailing just to make sure the respondents fully comprehend the questions they are being asked. Interviews also require good public relations and they are supposed to be straight to the point just as to show the respondents how much you appreciate their time. Focus groups also require discipline and respect for people's views. To attain more information on the subject the researcher further clarified verbally to the respondents how the questions were basically for academic purpose only. For questionnaires the response rate was 61.2%.

4.1.1 Questionnaires response rate

The response rate for questionnaires was 61.2% and this is so because some questionnaires were not returned and some citizens did not complete the questionnaires. It is noted that the number of citizens who did not respond to questionnaires was 38.8%. This is because some residents were not understanding the questions and questionnaires do not give room for clarification hence they failed to give responses. In Norton it is noted that 20% was the percentage of the people who responded to questionnaires. This makes Norton have the lowest number of people who responded to questionnaires and this is so because human beings are complex and the researcher cannot be able to predict whether the person is willing to fill in the questionnaire. It is also noted that some might have failed to understand the questions and not everyone is able to read and write hence affecting the percentage of the respondents. However in Chitungwiza the response rate was 100% and this might be because questionnaires have little involvement during the collection of data hence providing greater anonymity giving more confidence in the respondents.

Table below illustrates and summarises the rate of response on the questionnaire handed to different places and citizens

Table 1 The response rate in the form of percentages

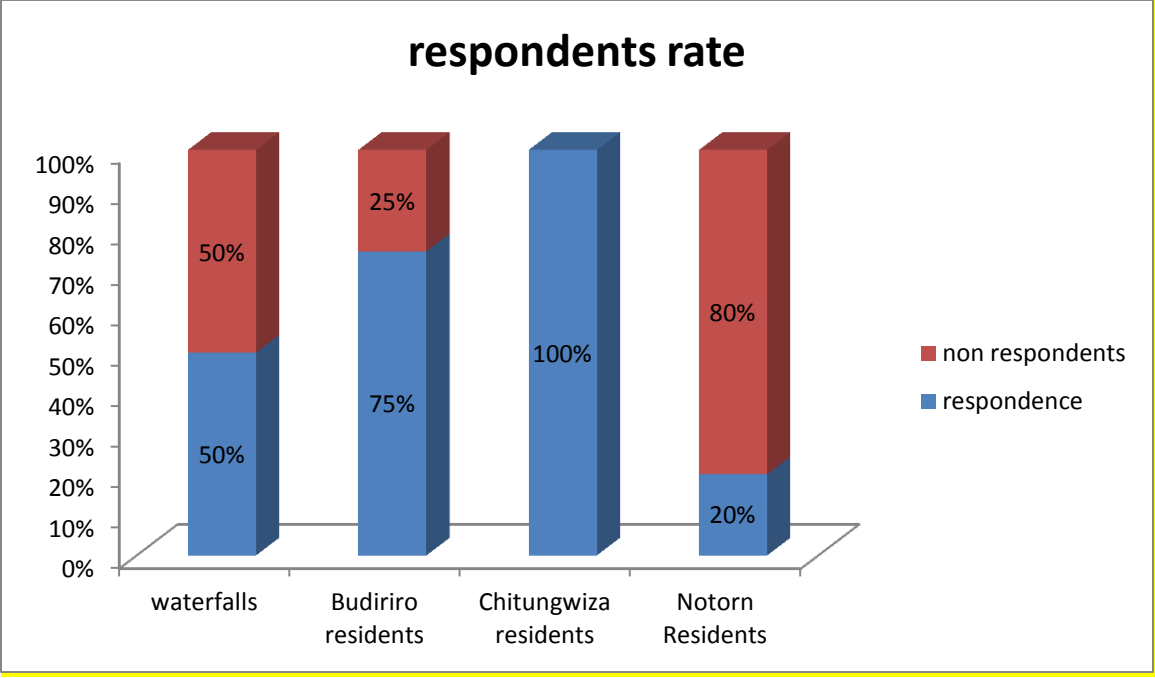
Category	Sample	Respondents	Percentages of respondents	Non respondents	Percentage of non-respondents
Waterfalls (residents)	10	5	50%	5	50%
Budiriro (residents)	15	10	75%	5	25%
Chitungwiza (residents)	30	30	100%	0	0
Norton (residents)	25	5	20%	20	80%
Total	80	50	61.2%	30	38.8%

Source research data (2018)

Views of the respondents

It is noted that the residents appreciated the new method of registering to vote which is the Biometric Voters Registration. They argued that it ensures transparency, effectiveness, accuracy and efficiency of a voting process because there will be no multiple voting and it prevents the existence of invalid names on voters roll. They also think that the decision made by Zimbabwe Electoral Commission of inviting commonwealth countries to observe will help in achieving transparent, free and fair election results.

Fig 1. illustrates questionnaire respondents rate



4.1.2 Response rate from Interviews

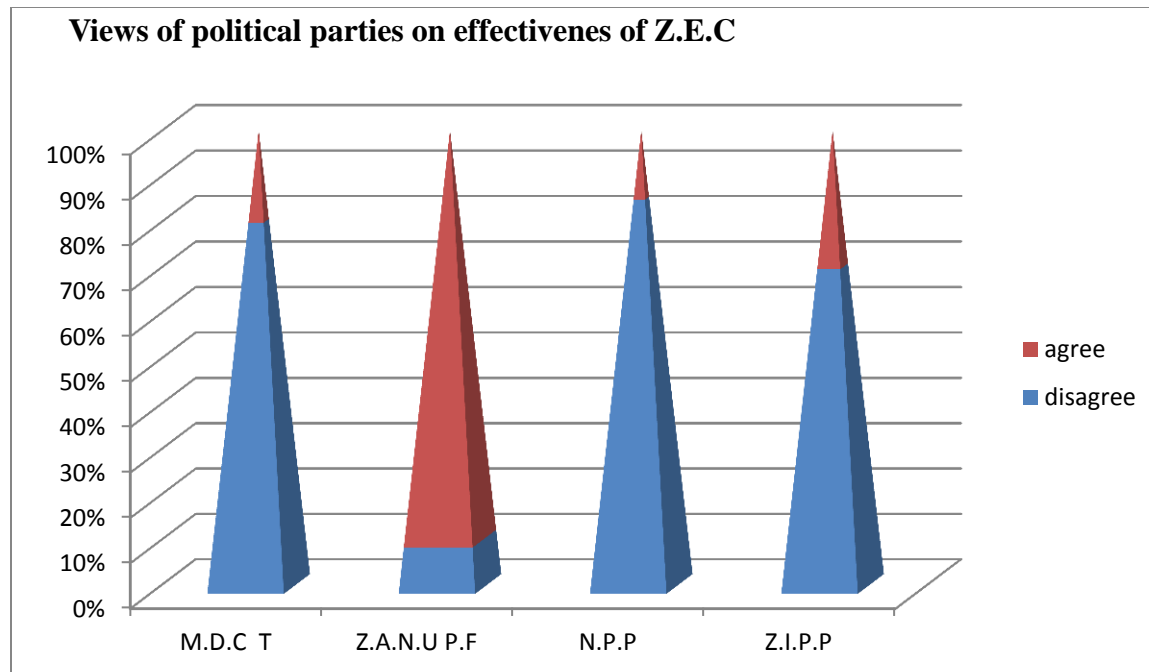
The researcher carried out interviews with 2 ZEC officials pertaining to the roles played by ZEC in ensuring democracy is promoted, their relationship with other stakeholders to mention but a few. The researcher made use of telephone interviews in interviewing ZEC officials because of their busy schedules. Essential to note is that all the responses were ideal to the researcher as new information to cover literature gap was being obtained. The interview with ZEC officials was 100% successful as they were co-operating and enlightening the researcher of the areas where she was not sure of. One of their arguments in relation to Zimbabwe Electoral Commission failing to distinguish between voter education, voter information and civic education is due to financial and time limitation.

4.1.3 Focus Group Discussions

The researcher also conducted focus groups with various political members and the discussion was fruitful as individuals were bringing up their views on the lack of objectivity of ZEC to

promote democracy through their management of elections. Also to note was the electoral system which was being criticized. The researcher conducted focus group discussion with members of different political parties and different age groups. This clearly explains the difference in opinions and perceptions of the respondents to the topic under scrutiny. Different age groups also expressed their thinking towards the topic and this helped the researcher to come up with good data analysis. The members of MDCT 75% were against the view that ZEC is effective in promoting free, fair and transparent elections in Zimbabwe and 25% agreed alluding their views to ZEC inviting commonwealth countries to observe the 2018 elections. 95% of the members of ZANU-PF agreed to the notion of ZEC being effective in promoting credible, free, fair and transparent election but 5% was against the view. 80% of the members of NPP did not agree on the effectiveness of ZEC in promoting credible, free, fair and transparent elections and 20% agreed basing their argument on the introduction of biometric voters registration. ZIPP had 85% of those who oppose the view of ZEC effectiveness in promoting credible, free, fair and transparent elections and 35% were agreeing that ZEC is eligible.

Fig 2 Shows the views of members from different political parties conducted through focus group discussion on the notion that Z.E.C is effective in promoting credible, free, fair and transparent elections in Zimbabwe. It shows those who agree with the notion and those who disagreed.



Views of different political parties

As shown in the graph above it is noted that the majority of the people from opposition political parties were against the view that ZEC is effective in promoting credible, free, fair and transparent elections. Different political parties based their argument on the view that ZEC is not being allowed by the government of the day to be an independent body as prescribed by the constitution. They were questioning the credibility of the electoral process as ZEC officials are appointed by the president of the government of the day and also the Electoral Act which is said that it guides ZEC do not hold democratic principles. The members of different political parties argued that ZEC must have full autonomy for its operations and they also argued the need of the electoral laws to be reformed for example the electoral law must clearly invest ZEC with sole responsibility and function for accrediting election observers. They also criticised the Electoral Act on giving the Minister of justice the power to promulgate regulations made by ZEC.

4.2 Benefits of the Biometric Voters Registration

- Ensure transparency
- There will be no multiple voting
- Prevent the existence of invalid names on voters roll
- Enhance the effectiveness , accuracy and efficiency of a voting process

4.3 Findings

-The electoral agency has an open-door scrutiny of the current political party which is in control of the government therefore creating unending disputes within the political entities.

-Section 239 of constitution sets out some key functions of ZEC:to register voters , to compile the voters rolls and registers.Electoral law lags behind in providing for above functions as it conflates some of these functions with the office of the Registrar-General of Voters and his officials (e.g Section 18).The shared responsibility where the Registrar-General of Voters in the electoral law may create problems interms of accountability and independence of the commission.

Section 239 of the constitution provides for ZEC to conduct and supervise voter education.Electoral law provides that voter education should be adequate , accurate and unbiased however there is no clarity on distinction between voter education , voter information and civic education.ZEC has not been able to fulfill this mandate due to financial and time limitation.

-Section 67(1) of constitution provides that all citizens are entitled to political rights including the right to vote in free , fair and regular elections.This does not discriminate between citizens in or outside the country.Section 1 (1) of the fourth Schedule to the constitution places two qualifications to the right to vote a)Above 18 b) Zimbabwean citizen.Electoral Act does not provide for mechanisms for non-resident Diaspora citizens to register to vote and to cast ballots.

Influence made by external electoral bodies

The tripling of budgets by major donors like DFID, USAID and the European Union according to interview responses has facilitated the increase in the number of NGOs according to one respondent. Realising Zimbabwe required targeted US support. USAID introduced a series of strategic interventions focusing mostly on aiding civil society. Zimbabwean CSOs are better skilled and adept to participate in political decision making. Donors said despite challenges with election credibility in Zimbabwe they had succeeded in assisting CSOs in almost all aspects in the electoral cycle with one donor saying “Zimbabwe had never included opposition parties and CSOs in its constitutional making process. We helped them develop advocacy tools for negotiation and shared our expertise on inclusive electoral legislation terms” Other CSOs said they had received assistance recruiting, training and deploying election observers. Civil society support had been successful as CSOs are able to amplify citizen concerns to government. However in Zimbabwe executive control limited the involvement of external observers in the past elections. It is also noted that CSOs representatives pointed to a number of challenges with donor aid which this study summarises here. CSOs observed that some donors want to promote causes that protect their interests mentioning a problem of ‘systematic dependency’ where because election monitoring can be technical, some donors do not want to train locals to be independent but want to remain experts probably want money and expat benefits. It is also noted that corruption is rife among donors resident in Zimbabwe and their local employees, evidenced by the corrupt allocation of funds to CSO allies for their own benefit. One respondent talked of a CSO that was organizing a voter campaign program and needed to print more than 100 000 t-shirts and a deal was struck to give the donor a dollar for each t-shirt when the funds were allocated.

4.4 Recommendations

Through documentary research, interviews, focus groups and questionnaires the researcher got recommendations from the respondents and came up with her own recommendations to ensure the electoral system promote democracy.

The table below highlights the recommendation and the percentage of respondents who agreed with it.

Table 2

Recommendations	%
ZEC must have full autonomy for its operations	100%
Clarity on Diaspora vote	90%
Electoral law must have clarity on provisions setting out measures to ensure access to voters information	60%
Electoral law must clearly invest ZEC with sole responsibility and function for accrediting election observers	90%

4.5 Summary

This chapter was anchored on presenting the research findings for the research questions outlined in Chapter 1. Data was presented in forms of tables and textual form (paragraphs and sentences). The findings discussed were in line with the literature review. The following chapter concludes the research as a whole and presents the researcher's findings and recommendations basing on his findings.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY , CONCLUSIONS , AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter gives a combined summary of all findings. Some conclusions are going to be presented amidst some recommendations or proposed solutions which might alleviate some of the challenges of how the electoral system limit democracy in Zimbabwe. Essential to note is that all conclusions and recommendation are related to the research findings illustrated in chapter 4 attained through research methodologies highlighted in chapter 3.

5.1 Summary

The project as a whole is made up of five chapters. The first chapter of the research is basically a reflection of the research proposal. It was anchored on illustrating factors that prompted the researcher to research on the electoral system and democracy in Zimbabwe. Worth noting is that chapter one also consists of the research objectives and the research questions. The objectives and the research questions must be related to each other. The research is justified in chapter one and its limitations are vehemently illustrated amidst critically highlighting what might come up as delimitations to the research.

Chronologically moving on to Chapter 2 , literature review is presented. Chapter 2 basically propounds what other school of thoughts said pertaining to the question under study. Gaps and weaknesses in already published work pertaining to the electoral system and democracy are therefore availed. Literature review pointed out how democracy can be achieved through elections , where the electoral system has loopholes that limit democracy. Empirical literature review was also highlighted. This is basically looking at a variety of case studies thus looking at how the electoral system of other countries have been effective in promoting democracy. Chapter 2 in essence makes the research to be easily and fully comprehended through ushering scholarly views , perception and practical examples.

The position of chapter 3 was to deliver research methods and techniques employed by the researcher in attaining data from the respondents. Both qualitative and quantitative methods for

authenticities sake were employed by the researcher. The study population is also illustrated in this chapter. Essential to note is that the population included 2 ZEC representatives, 80 citizens and academic personnels.

Chapter 4 analyses and discusses the research findings through data collection. Information is presented through tables and textual (paragraphs and sentences). Of note is that the research findings were related to the research objectives and the research questions. Through them, the researcher was able to come up with recommendations and conclusions as the purpose of this chapter. Essential to note is that chapter 4 presented the factors that impede democracy being achieved with the electoral system in Zimbabwe in a bid to cover the literature gap and adding information to the literature pool.

5.2 Conclusions

The findings as illustrated in the previous chapter of presenting data, data analysis and interpretation availed the following:

-Section 239 of constitution sets out some key functions of ZEC: to register voters, to compile the voters rolls and registers. Electoral law lags behind in providing for above functions as it conflates some of these functions with the office of the Registrar-General of Voters and his officials (e.g Section 18). The shared responsibility where the Registrar-General of Voters in the electoral law may create problems in terms of accountability and independence of the commission.

-Section 239 of the constitution provides for ZEC to conduct and supervise voter education. Electoral Law provides that voter education should be adequate, accurate and unbiased however there is no clarity on distinction between voter education, voter information and civic education. ZEC has not been able to fulfill this mandate due to financial and time limitation.

-Section 67(1) of constitution provides that all citizens are entitled to political rights including the right to vote in free, fair and regular elections. This does not discriminate between citizens in or outside the country. Section 1 (1) of the fourth Schedule to the constitution places two

qualifications to the right to vote a)Above 18 b) Zimbabwean citizen.Electoral Act does not provide for mechanisms for non-resident Diaspora citizens to register to vote and to cast ballots.

5.3 Recommendations

Empirical evidence illustrated in Chapter 2 highlights that if the electoral system is revised democracy can be achieved through holding elections in Zimbabwe.The following are recommendations

-Electoral Law must provide for full autonomy of ZEC.

-Electoral law must make voter education a shared function by providing for more players and stakeholders in a timely manner and should clarify definition of voter education in relation to voter information and civic education.

-Clarity on Diaspora vote.

-Electoral law must clearly invest ZEC with sole responsibility and function for accrediting election observers.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1



MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY

QUESTIONNAIRE GUIDE FOR CITIZEN’S PARTICIPATION.

I am Wersley Kapomba , a female student in here final(fourth) year at Midlands State University.I am studying BSc Local Governance Studies Degree.In partial fulfillment of my degree programme , I am undertaking a study tittled Election management in Zimbabwe .An analysis of the electoral system and democracy.Essential to this research are your honest views to the research questions that will make this study and itsobjectives achievable and a success.The request to the respondents is therefore , to kindly fill in the questionnaire and answer the questionnaire as truthful as possible.

-For questions you cannot fully comprehend , feel free to ask the researchee fore further clarification.

-The questionnaire is to be completed individually.

Questionnaire

1. How long have you been voting in Zimbabwean Elections?

5-10years 11-20 years..... 21 years and above.....

2. Describe the role of ZEC in fulfilling its mandate of election management.

.....
.....

3. In your observation,do you feel that ZEC sees the value of citizen's participation?

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

4. Is the voting process transparent enough to help democracy uproot?

.....
.....

5. Are there ZEC personnel who lost skill to help free and fair elections(for example do they often advice to help assist in the ballot)?

.....
.....

6. Does the system of ballot voting create loop-holes to help biased or poor election results?

.....
.....

7. Does the new mechanisms such as BVR , help achieve free ,fair open elecnyions?

.....
.....

8.Is ZEC coordinating with other independent/external observers when conducting the process of election.How far are they involved?

.....
.....

APPENDIX 11



MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY

Interview guide for ZEC representative/officials

I am Wersley Kapomba , a female student in here final(fourth) year at Midlands State University.I am studying BSc Local Governance Studies Degree.In partial fulfillment of my degree programme , I am undertaking a study titled Election management in Zimbabwe .An analysis of the electoral system and democracy.Essential to this research are your honest views to the research questions that will make this study and its objectives achievable and a success.

NB:Remember information required is just for academic purposes hence , names of the respondents remain private and confidential and where there is need for clarification, do not hesitate to ask.

1. Can u give me much detail in the roles of ZEC in conducting an election , the process?
2. How are the officials appointed/elected.
3. How is your relationship with external electoral bodies in helping to engage into “free and fair elections”?
4. How legislation that govern the operations of ZEC have been effective in bringing “free and fair elections and results?
5. How can you respond to the notion of electoral reforms to better accommodate more transparency and democracy within the election arena?
6. Any security measures that are in place to avoid bias of results?

APPENDIX 11V



MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY

Focus Group Discussions for various political party members , business people and a few community members

I am Wersley Kapomba , a female student in here final(fourth) year at Midlands State University.I am studying BSc Local Governance Studies Degree.In partial fulfillment of my degree programme , I am undertaking a study titled Election management in Zimbabwe .An analysis of the electoral system and democracy.Essential to this research are your honest views to the research questions that will make this study and its objectives achievable and a success.

NB:Remember information required is just for academic purposes hence , names of the respondents remain private and confidential and where there is need for clarification, do not hesitate to ask.

1. With consideration to the elections coming up this time , would you tell me the structure of the ZEC and how it affects the elections?

.....
.....

2. In the previous elections how did ZEC conduct its operations , especially coordinating with other external observers such as UN/SADC?

.....
.....

3. How secure are the ballots and how effective is the new BVR voting system in achieving open elections and rightful results?

.....
.....

4. Does the appointment of top ZEC officials by the President affect the openness of election process within the political spheres? Explain how.

.....
.....