# MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY



## FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

## DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS AND PUBLIC MANAGEMENT

An analysis of the role played by Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in Zimbabwe's democratization process. A case of Zimbabwe Civic Education Trust (ZIMCET)

## BY

## **CHARITY .J. CHIPUNGA**

Student registration number R135398X

SUPERVISOR: MR W MUDYANADZO

Submitted to Midlands State University in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Bachelor of Science (Honours) Degree in Politics and Public Management

# APPROVAL FORM

TOPIC: An analysis of the role played by Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in Zimbabwe's democratization process. A case of Zimbabwe Civic Education Trust (ZIMCET)

This dissertation is suitable f Management. It has been checked fe		1	
Mr .W. Mudyanadzo (Supervisor)	Date	-	
2. I certify to the best of my knowled preparation criteria has been met for		procedures have been	en followed and the
		-	
Mrs F Mutasa (Chairperson)	Date		

## **DECLARATION**

I, Charity .J. Chipunga (R135398X), do hereby declare that this dissertation is my own work, apart from where indicated in the acknowledgements, comments and references included in the body of the dissertation, and that it has never been submitted in part or in full for any other degree or to any other university.

# **DEDICATION**

This dissertation is dedicated to my mother Mrs S Chipunga and my aunt Mrs C Masoapatali with love and gratitude. I wouldn't have done it without their non-diminishing and treasured support and motivation throughout the research project.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

Behind every major project are the unseen and unsung people who contribute expertise, motivation and advice. I want to take this opportunity to acknowledge the assistance acquired from many people throughout this project. Firstly I want to thank the almighty God for taking me through this journey. I wish to extend my sincere gratitude to my mother and family members for the unwavering support throughout this research project for without them the journey would have been tough.

I am also grateful to my supervisor Mr W Mudyanadzo who invested a lot of time in manuscript suggestions for better ways of presentation. My supervisor provided guidance and assistance from the start of this research right through to the end. His support was reinforced by some respondents whose co-operation deserves great appreciation with a special mention to Mr C Thole from ZIMCET, Mr T Gandanga from SACMA and Mr G Kagodora the coordinator for ISPED.

Finally I also want to thank my friends for standing by me all the way through encouragement and motivation. I am also indebted to the entire Midlands State University community for all the excellent assistance that I got and the impartation of knowledge to this level.

# **Table of contents**

APPROVAL FORM	2
DECLARATION	3
DEDICATION	4
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	5
ABSTRACT	12
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND OF STUDY	13
1.0 introduction	13
1.1 Background of the study	14
1.2 Statement of the problem	16
1.3 Research objectives	17
1.4 Research questions	17
1.5 Justification of the study	17
1.6 Theoretical framework	18
1.7 CASE STUDY: Zimbabwe Civic Education Trust (ZIMCET)	18
1.8 Delimitations	19
1.9 Limitations	19
1.10 Chapter summary	20
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW	21
2.0 introduction	21
2.1 CONCEPTUALISING DEMOCRACY	22
2.1.1 Zimbabwe and its democratization process	23
2.2 GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE OF NGOs	24
2.2.1 History of NGOs in Zimbabwe	25
2.3 THE ROLE OF DIFFERENT STAKEHOLDERS IN ZIMBABWE'S DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS	26
2.3.1 Churches and Faith Based Organizations	
2.3.2 Community Based Organizations (CBOs)	
2.3.3 Civil Society Organizations (CSOs)	
2.3.4 Political parties	28

	2.4 The relationship between NGOs and democracy	29
	2.5 Chapter summary	30
Cl	HAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	31
	3.0 Introduction	31
	3.1 Research design	31
	3.2RESEARCH SUBJECTS	32
	3.2.1 Sample selection	32
	3.2.2 Sample Size	32
	3.2.3 Sampling	33
	3.3 SOURCES OF DATA	33
	3.3.1 Secondary sources	34
	3.3.2 Primary Sources	34
	3.4 RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS	35
	3.4.1 Questionnaire	35
	3.4.2 In-depth interviews	35
	3.4.3 Personal Observations	36
	3.4.4 Focus Group Discussion	36
	3.5Data analysis	37
	3.6Ethical considerations	37
	3.7 Chapter summary	38
Cl	HAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS	39
	4.0 Introduction	39
	4.2 RESPONSE RATE	39
	4.2.1 Questionnaires	39
	4.2.2 Interviews	40
	4.2.3 Data analysis	40
	4.2. 4 Respondents' position on the role of NGOs in Zimbabwe's democratization process	41
	4.3 PEACE BUILDING	42
	4.3.1 Peace committees	44
	4.3.2 Peace concerts	45
	4.3.3 Soccer for peace	45
	4.4 INFORMATION SHARING	45

4.5LOBBYING AND ADVOCACY	46
4.5.1 Policy Dialogues	46
4.5.2 Demonstrations	47
4.6ELECTIONS	48
4.6.1 Pre-electoral period	49
4.6.2 Electoral period	50
4.6.3 Post-electoral period	51
4.7CONFLICT RESOLUTION	51
4.7.1 Focus group discussions	52
4.8 CHALLENGES ENCOUNTERED BY NGOs	52
4.8.1Political interference	52
4.8.2 Lack of funding	52
4.8.3 Harsh Legislation	53
4.8.4 Limited Capacity	54
Chapter Summary	54
CHAPTER FIVE: CONLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	55
5.0 Introduction	55
5.1 Conclusion	55
5.2 RECCOMENDATIONS	56
5.2.1 NGOs	56
5.2.2Government	56
Chapter Summary	57

## **TABLE OF FIGURES**

Figure 1 Questionnaire response rate	39
Figure 2 Interviews response rate.	40
Figure 3 effectiveness of the role played by NGOs in Zimbabwe's democratization process	41
Appendix 1	63
Appendix 2	65

## **ABBREVIATION**

AIPPA Access to Protection of Privacy Act

CCJP Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace

CSOs Civil Society Organizations

CSU Counseling services Unit

ICTs Information and Communication Technologies

HRDs Human Rights Defenders

HZT Heal Zimbabwe Trust

ISPED Initiative for Sustainable Peace and Development

MDC Movement for Democratic Change

NANGO National Association of Non Governmental Organizations

NPRC National Peace and Reconciliation Commission

NCA National Constitutional Assembly

NGOs Non Governmental Organizations

NPRC National Peace and Reconciliation Commission

POSA Public Order and Security Act

SACMA Southern Africa Crises Management Agency

UN United Nations

ZIMCET Zimbabwe Civic Education Trust

ZANU-PF Zimbabwe African National Union- Patriotic Front

ZCTU Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Union

ZESN Zimbabwe Election Support Network

ZEC Zimbabwe Electoral Commission

ZimPAP Zimbabwe Peace Actors Platform

ZHRC Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission

ZLHR Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights

ZPP Zimbabwe Peace Project

ZRP Zimbabwe Republic Police

#### **ABSTRACT**

This thesis makes an assessment of the role played by NGOs in Zimbabwe's democratization process. NGOs around the globe have been perceived as partners for development and key players in the field of democracy. Due to their close link to the grassroots citizens they are considered as strategic partners as they resemble the will of the people from below thus promoting democratic values. However this has not been the case in Zimbabwe, the relationship between the government and the NGOs has been described by many as antagonist and some have argued that this is the reason why Zimbabwe's democratization process has been temporized over the years. Thus the main aim of this research was to understand the work that NGOs have contributed to the advancement of democracy in Zimbabwe and the effectiveness of this work. To ascertain the level of effectives of the work of the NGOs this dissertation provides an intense understanding of the activities, projects and programmes of the NGOs and how they try to compliment the government's efforts. NGOs in Zimbabwe in an effort to encourage active and meaningful citizen participation have been involved in the protection of human rights, monitoring the electoral cycle, peace building and conflict resolution. It also examines how NGOs interact with other stakeholders other than the government in issues concerning democracy. The dissertation also sought for possible avenues of cooperation between the NGO sector and the government. It is through this research that recommendations on how the government and NGOs can work together more effectively and how the NGOS working in the field of democracy can improve their work are proffered. The dissertation makes use of both primary and secondary data however dwelling much on interviews, questionnaires, newspaper articles and personal observations.

## **CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND OF STUDY**

#### 1.0 introduction

Basically, democracy has been regarded as a government that is put in place by the people that they represent. According to Makaye and Dube (2014) democracy is a system of governance whereby the various institutions of the government encourage active participation of citizens in the national processes that affect them and these include public policies and the management of public institutions and ministries. The major tenants of democracy include respect for human rights, free and fair elections, rule of law and separation of powers. There are more than 193 countries in the world that are recognized by the United Nations and more than half of these states are said to be democratic. These states have put in place types of governments that are characterized by the participation of its own citizens, although the form of participation might vary. Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) all over the world continue to work towards the achievement and respect of all the attributes of democracy and thus ultimately fostering a democratic world.

Zimbabwe's independence in 1980 brought with it hope and optimism for the advancement of democracy in Zimbabwe. The newly established country inherited a state that has been termed by many as authoritarian, which was packed with institutions that were not democratic and thus the new government had an immense responsibility of democratizing (Makaye and Dube: 2014). Researchers have however argued that the period between 2000 and 2008 witnessed the escalation of authoritarian tendencies and signalized a political crisis in Zimbabwe. NGOs have however been active in resisting this authoritarianism in all its various forms such as Infringement of civil and political rights, draconian pieces of legislature, impunity, political violence and human rights abuses.

The watchdog role of NGOs in Zimbabwe's struggle for democratization has been significant both in history and contemporary times. NGOs like Zimbabwe Civic Education Trust (ZIMCET), Zimbabwe Peace Project (ZPP), Heal Zimbabwe Trust (HZT), Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP), Counseling Services Unit (CSU), Southern Africa Crises Management Agency (SACMA) and many others continue to make recommendable efforts in the advancement of democracy in Zimbabwe. These efforts include monitoring of elections,

corruption, civic education, peace keeping, conflict resolution and keeping the public opinion on check. The main aim of this research therefore was to explore the role that NGOs have played in the advancement of democracy in Zimbabwe. The study analyzed the relationship between NGOs and the state vis-à-vis the ordinary citizens. It explored the influence that NGOs has made towards Zimbabwe's democratization process and how they have achieved it.

## 1.1 Background of the study

The spread and advancement of democracy at both national and international levels has been a continuing process. Mangongera (2014) argue that more and more countries in the world are switching over to more democratic forms of governments. In Africa, democracy has been shaped by the colonial powers that controlled Africa until the period of decolonization which began in the 1960s. Many schools of thought have argued that after the decolonization, African states have attempted to emulate the European model of democratic governance.

Zimbabwe dislodged the racist settler regime in 1980 after a liberation struggle which was called the 2<sup>nd</sup> Chimurenga. The white settler regime had deprived the black Zimbabwean citizens their basic human and political rights and freedoms. They had been denied of their most basic rights and these include freedom of assembly, expression, education and participation in governance issues. Mbofana (2016) however argues that from the time that Zimbabwe gained its independence from Britain the Zimbabwe African Nation Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) government has tried to portray Zimbabwe as a democratic country, but however a closer consideration can prove that authoritarian tendencies are still rampant.

According to the NCA (2009) in November 1999, a Constitutional Commission led by Justice Godfrey Chidyausiku unveiled a proposed Constitution for Zimbabwe. Various NGOs tried to involve the government in debates concerning policy making decisions although they tried to shun away from politics and spoke through a language that was non-political. The National Constitutional Assembly (NCA), together with the other civil society partners, organized a campaign against the proposal and this led to its defeat in February 2000. According to these civil society organizations, the constitutional commission proposal didn't reflect the will of the grassroots citizens but however served the elite (NCA: 2009). This affirmed the right of NGOs to speak on behalf of the Zimbabwean people vis- à-vis the state and ruling party.

Research that has been done around this issue has indicated that it is this failure that led the ruling party to make use of state machinery to threaten and coerce all those who could ally themselves with the emerging opposition. Some have argued that the ruling party feared that this failure would transform itself into a political defeat in the imminent June election. A wave of political violence and intimidation as tools for mobilization was launched by the ruling party in the campaign of the 2000 parliamentary election and the 2002 presidential elections. War veterans were allegedly used to deploy these tools against opposition members and activists. According to ZESN (2002) these elections were rigged by the authorities in favor of the current the ruling party ZANU-PF.

These authoritarian tendencies were buttressed through a series of harsh legislation. The Public Order and Security Act (POSA) is one of the legislation which was passed that time and it infringed the freedom of the citizens of assembly and association. The AIPPA was allegedly targeted on the independent media, to suppress opposition views and campaigns. Other repressive legislation included the Broadcasting Services Act (BSA) and various electoral laws that restricted the observation and monitoring of elections. It was reported that these laws were used to enforce closure of independent newspapers and during this time independent media faced various forms of intimidation which ranged from arbitrary arrests and even attacks on their offices. The period saw the closure of many independent newspapers (Daily News) and radio stations (Voice of the people) and this contributed to a frigid environment of repression particularly as perpetrators remained at large.

Human rights activist has argued that violence in Zimbabwe has remained the major obstacle to the full realization of democracy and the means by which the current government is holding unto power. Although violence has characterized most political events in Zimbabwe, the 2008 presidential run-off election violence has been labeled by most researchers as the worst ever. According to Solidarity Peace Trust (2008) the results were announced after a month worth of delay by ZEC. The combined MDC won 109 seats in the parliament compared to the ruling party ZANU-PF's 97 seats. However the presidential result was the most controversial one as it gave Morgan Tsvangirai 47,9%, Robert Mugabe 43,2%, Simba Makoni 8,3% and Langton Towungana 0.6%. Instead of conceding defeat the ruling party unleashed a wave of political violence to serve as both a warning and punishment to the people for voting the opposition.

In the field of democracy, NGOs in Zimbabwe promote the development of democratic values through various activities and projects aimed at protecting human rights, encourage citizen participation, promoting peace influence policy formulation and providing safety nets for citizens. These activities include training workshops, demonstrations, lobbying, all stakeholders meeting to mention just a few. The role played by NGOs in the development of democracy in Zimbabwe can be traced back to the war of independence. Many NGOs including the CCJP raised their voices against the violations of human rights that were being perpetrated by the colonial regime against the black majority. These NGOs called for the respect of the basic human rights and the emancipation of democracy.

## 1.2 Statement of the problem

In Zimbabwe the rapport between NGOs and the state has been described by many as that of 'the hunter and the hunted'. Since the formation of the MDC from Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU), NGOs have been treated with suspicion and perceived as agents of the regime change agenda. This has remained a major setback as it has hindered the development of the democratization process in Zimbabwe. This gave birth to the debate on whether the government should led development initiatives or should it embrace other players in the pursuit of democratic emancipation and improving people's lives. Worldwide, NGOs are regarded as key players in the democratization process as they resemble the will of grassroots citizens and hence regarded as a foundation of legitimization of political power.

It is not only the state institutions that can guarantee democratic governance that is of high standard but cooperation between the government and NGOs can impact positively on the advancement of democracy in Zimbabwe. This research investigated and evaluated the work that the NGOs have contributed towards the development of democracy in Zimbabwe so far. The research also analyzed the relationship between the NGOs and grassroots citizens and the possible ways of cooperation between the government and the NGOs. It also explored the relationship between NGOs and the state vis-à-vis citizens in issues concerning democracy.

## 1.3 Research objectives

- Assess the effectiveness of the NGOs' contribution towards the advancement of democracy in Zimbabwe.
- Explore how NGOs' work compliments government's efforts in Zimbabwe's democratization process.
- To come up with recommendations for NGOs and the government to enhance their partnership in democratizing the country.

## 1.4 Research questions

- How effective is the role played by NGOs in Zimbabwe's democratization process?
- What has the NGOs' done so far to compliment the government's work in the democratization process?
- How can the NGOs and the government work together in partnership towards democratic emancipation in Zimbabwe?

## 1.5 Justification of the study

Around the world, NGOs have been regarded as one of the major drivers for the development of democracy. Limited research has however been done on the role that NGOs play in the advancement of democracy in Zimbabwe. This study unraveled the contributions by NGOs in Zimbabwe's democratization process. It seeks to demonstrate that although Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) have been frequently criticized, they have more often played a facilitating role as catalysts and vehicles of the advancement of democracy in Zimbabwe.

Most NGOs are connected to the grassroots citizens and they represent their members and thus through cooperation with the government they can positively impact the democratization process. In Zimbabwe however there has been little cooperation between the government and NGOs in relation to democracy. The research draws its motivation from this gap that exists between the government and the NGO sector. It sought to uncover the contributions that the NGOs has made so far in the democratization process and to investigate the possible avenues for democratic emancipation in Zimbabwe if there is a cooperative relationship between the state sector and the NGOs sector.

## 1.6 Theoretical framework

The NGO field has attracted various theoretical interests. This research was informed by the social origin theory which Salamon and Antheier propounded. One of the most prominent features of the social origin theory is its emphasis on the ties of NGOs to the grassroots society and the government structures. NGOs are perceived as a significant structure in the social system and their role in governance issues is as a result of its ties with the grassroots citizens. According to this theory, NGOs that are donor funded does not have considerable role to play in the development process as they have the influence of outside forces rather than influence by local citizens (Edwards and Hulme 1992). This has been the notion in most developing countries where grassroots groups are excluded in governance processes while the privileged NGOs created by donors are involved.

The social origin theory explains the development patterns of NGOs in developed and developing states on the basis of the variety theoretical assumptions that relate to the development of the grassroots societies. According to the social origin theory, NGOs do not only aid in the provision of welfare services and goods but they also a critical factor of social and political coordination. The profounder of this theory argue that grass-root NGOs have closer links with the government institutions and they are more strategic in carrying out tasks that encourage development in all the spheres of the citizens' lives.

#### 1.7 CASE STUDY: Zimbabwe Civic Education Trust (ZIMCET)

ZIMCET is a trust organization with the mandate to create an empowered, peaceful Zimbabwean society in which citizens are aware of their rights and obligations. It was founded in the year 2000 in response to the violent land invasions that swept across the country which was followed by a violent election. ZIMCET wanted to address this violence by training peace monitors in the various districts of the country. The subsequent report of that exercise led to the registration of the trust in 2001. Today ZIMCET's main thrust is to encourage citizens. Since its formation, culture has been at the centre of all its programs and projects. As a grassroots oriented organization, ZIMCET respect the culture of the specific communities that it works in. ZIMCET relies on 'convenience cadres' and 'animators', these are individuals residing in the respective communities who are aware of the values and the culture of the given communities and who have a deeper understanding of issues. This is with the understanding that in order for interventions to be effective there should be people oriented. As a trust, ZIMCET works through

identified volunteers/facilitators who are ambassadors for peace at local level. They operate at constituency level and their main task is to organize and hold public meetings with communities where the later discuss their security and other issues that affect them.

#### 1.8 Delimitations

The research focused on the period between 2000- 2016 mainly because ZIMCET was formed in 2000 and that is also the period when the tension between the government and NGOs raised with the formation of Zimbabwe's main opposition party, MDC. Before then, the relationship between the government and NGOs was at least cooperative in nature. ZIMCET is a NGO was founded by a group of activists in response to the violence that had erupted in the 2000 parliamentary elections. The grassroots based organization is mainly involved in the civic and human rights education in all the ten provinces of Zimbabwe. The main thrust of ZIMCET is to build an empowered and peaceful society through varies projects and activities so as to involve itself in the people's lives to relate to their issues. ZIMCET thrives to promote a democratic and peaceful society where the government is responsible for the people that they serve.

#### 1.9 Limitations

The major respondents of this research project were the government officials and personnel from various NGOs mainly from ZIMCET and the relationship between these two sectors is antagonist in nature. It was therefore difficult to obtain objective perspectives on ZIMCET and the work it has carried out so far in Zimbabwe's democratization process from the government and the other way round. Interviewing the busy personnel from both ZIMCET and the government was problematic due to the fact that these officials were not always available for interviews. The researcher however managed to overcome this constrain with the use of e-mail interviews and also utilizing the weekends. The research was also mainly focused on one NGO due to the time frame and financial constrains. Data collected may not always be a reflection of other organizations throughout the country. The financial resources and timeframe for carrying out this investigation was limited and thus this might result in the alienation of some variables. Resistance from some of the participants especially the ordinary citizens was encountered. People feared to talk about politically related issues in Zimbabwe especially in the rural areas. Furthermore, the research instruments like questionnaires, and interviews might have been

subjective and may have lead to biased responses. Some of the respondents lacked knowledge on the subject matter and hence this was a constraint to the research.

## 1.10 Chapter summary

The chapter is the first chapter of this dissertation and it entails the background of the study clearly articulates the outlining factors that guided the research and the motivation behind the research. The limitations and delimitations of the study are also highlighted. It is through this chapter that the research question and objectives are revealed.

## **CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW**

## 2.0 introduction

There are various views on the subject of democracy and NGOs in literature, thus this study benefited immensely from work done by other scholars. The rise of NGOs in development administration became more pronounced in the 1980s. Today all around the world NGOs remain crucial in the campaign for the advancement of democracy. Srinivas (1996) defines the term as an association formed after the coming together of people and institutions in the region of a definite issue, topic, profession or belief. NGOs are basically viewed as an alliance that is legally recognized and that has a financial stand on its own which is independent from the government and is involved actively in political, social and economic issues in a society. Researchers have indicated that due to the fact that NGOs represent the society that they make means that their development initiatives are people driven and oriented.

According to Zivetz (1991) NGOs around the world are often viewed as associations that are dedicated to doing good work regardless of profit and politics. Various schools of thought dwell much on the role of NGOs in humanitarian issues. Badu and Parker (1994) focused on the role of NGOs in rural development. They note that both local and international NGOs serve a pivotal role in rural development as a supplement and compliment to the efforts of the government. This is also supported by (Helliker, 2008:), he purports that NGOs in the contemporary world are involved in community development projects that are concerned with education, health and economic empowerment. Most governments in Africa especially, are unable to provide the most basic services to their citizens and hence they are awarded funding by both local and international NGOs to deliver these social services. Researchers have indicated that NGOs and FBOs are in the front position in ensuring the provision social welfare services like education and health care in rural areas. These organizations have been said to be more concerned in a complex incorporation of development work and provision of goods and services that the government cannot provide.

Dorman (2001) argued that in Zimbabwe NGOs shunned away from politics and preferred to maintain adversarial relations with the state. However the dynamics between NGOs and the state in Zimbabwe has changed over the last decade and it is this gap that this study sought to address.

NGOs have played a major role in Zimbabwe's democratic process and hence this study seeks to explore how the works of NGOs have complimented the efforts of the government in this transition. The study sought to reveal the avenues for a cooperative relationship between the state sector and NGOs in Zimbabwe's democratization process.

A great debate exists on the concept of democracy in history. Different definitions and theoretical frameworks have been attached to it. Bratton and Van de Walle (1997) defines it as a combination of different governmental institutions and values that ensures a decision making process that is collective and which achieves the collective desired outcomes. Throughout the history of the world, democracy has been an evolution. Ancient Anthens in history is best remembered for giving birth to the first democracy. Cleisthenes is one of the prominent figures of that time and is today regarded as 'the father of Athenian democracy' by many scholars. There are many great philosophers who came after Cleisthenes who also supported democracy and these include Aristotle, John Locke, William Penn, John Stuwart Mill, Thomas Jefferson and Jean Jacques Rousseau. To Aristotle the most important benefit of democracy is that the citizens are able to participate in the national processes that affect their everyday lives. John Locke is also one of the major philosophers who made critical contributions to the concept of democracy. According to Locke in his book 'the two treaties of the government' the source of the government's legitimacy should be based on the consent of the people being governed.

#### 2.1 CONCEPTUALISING DEMOCRACY

Contrary to other concepts and theories such as socialism and communism, democracy does not have a founding father. However politicians and researchers across the world agree that democracy is an ancient phenomenon that can be traced back to ancient Greece. Although democracy is an ancient concept it is still a recent phenomenon in international law. It was only after the cold war that international law attempted to address the issue of democracy which previously was labeled to be a 'domestic' issue and therefore was not open to international scrutiny. In a democracy, it is the people that has more power over the representatives that they represent. However there are various forms of democracy around the world, specific values and practices differentiate these types of democracy. In a representative democratic state free and fair election should be done regularly and should be open to everyone who meets the specific requirements in the constitution. This is due to the fact that citizens have a right in choosing the

people that they want to represent them who can be accountable to them. People also have a responsibility to choose a political system that will be able to protect their freedoms and basic human rights.

## 2.1.1 Zimbabwe and its democratization process

Democratization refers to the evolution towards a more democratic political regime and system of government. According to Wikipedia (2015) this can be a transition from a system of government that is authoritarian to one that is characterized by citizen participation. Democratization process refers to the expansion of democracy. The United Nations (1996) argues that this process results into a political system that is more participatory and open in nature. Different players play pivotal roles in the transition and these players include the government, civil society, citizens and the international community.

Colonial rule in Zimbabwe began in 1890 with the introduction of BSAC led by Cecil John Rhodes. The liberation movement in Zimbabwe was one that hoped to ultimately attain freedom from colonial repression and the UDI government once and for all. With the numerous sanctions leveled by the then ruling white government preventing them from making their living conditions better and be successful, blacks began to gather in nationalist groups with the aim of gaining their freedom. With the attainment of independence in 1980 Zimbabwe also saw itself with this responsibility to democratize the newly attained nation. The southern African country became the beacon of hope for all of Africa when it came to building a democratic nation. As one of the last African countries to attain independence the expectation was that it could learn from the mistakes of the African countries that came before. Many schools of thought no matter how much they might disagree seems to agree that within the first few years of independence Zimbabwe was well on its way to prosperity both politically, socially and economically. However with the increasing and ever tightening political grasp of Mugabe and his party the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANUPF) ruined the hope that the people and the international community anticipated. MDC's entry in the political arena in the year 2000 led to ZANU PF's loss of popularity and support in most urban areas where the MDC had gained ground. Leaders of the opposition political parties have argued that ZANU-PF feels a sense of entitlement to run the country due to their contribution towards the liberation of Zimbabwe. As a result of this entitlement ZANU-PF has become more of a self serving group not one which

protects the citizens and the national interests. In an effort to regain lost ground from the lost 2000 referendum, ZANU-PF embarked on a violent and ruthless path which has left thousands of Zimbabweans dead, maimed and brutalized. ZANU-PF detractors argue that the ruling party has made use of whatever necessary means available to maintain its firm grip of power. This has led to the escalation of violence in Zimbabwe and ultimately the abuse of human rights. Zimbabwe to date continue to experience various forms of violence ranging from physical assaults, arson attacks, displacements, denial of political rights and curtailment of freedoms. This violence has created a climate of fear across Zimbabwe and ZANU-PF continue to ride on violence and fear as a tool for manipulating national processes.

The turning point to Zimbabwe's democratization process was in 2008 when the opposition MDC emerged the majority vote in parliament after winning the harmonized parliamentary and local government elections. ZANU-PF won the senatorial election. It was the presidential poll which was disputed after MDC's Morgan Tsvangirai beat Mugabe to the poll but couldn't acquire enough votes to form a government. This resulted in violence which left hundreds of Zimbabweans dead, many others injured and some displaced as the allegedly the army, police and militias went on a retributive campaign to weed out those who had voted for MDC in the harmonized elections. Due to the escalating violence Tsvangirai withdrew from the election and this lead to ZANU-PF and the two MDC formations to form an inclusive government which is known today as the Government of National Unity with the mediation of the SADC through South Africa's former president Thabo Mbeki.

Scholars like Lee (2011) have argued that in history, Zimbabwe has had more authoritarian tendencies as compared to democratic ones. He further argues that after independence, instead of over hauling the structural inheritance of colonialism in a democratic direction, ZANU-PF regime systematically maintained and reinforced the autocratic pillars of the state. Civil society organizations in Zimbabwe continue to make recommendable efforts in ensuring that there is democratic emancipation in Zimbabwe and this research aimed at revealing these efforts.

#### 2.2 GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE OF NGOs

Donor organizations across the globe have argued that NGOs are essential tools that can contribute to the democratization process in developing countries especially in Africa leading them to be more democratic, accountable and transparent. Many scholars who have contributed

to the democracy discourse argue that NGOs play a critical role that either in confronting authoritarian governments or supporting newly democratic nations. The concept of NGOs dates back to the ancient time where the ideas of democracy originated. Ever since then, it has been associated with the politics of democratization (Ncube: 2010). NGOs have today acquired their prominence as one of the major actors in the international politics. Due to the fact that NGOs have a direct connection to citizens and also their increasing global nature of their networks, NGOs today have a voice in the international system. This unique position awards the NGOs a privilege in multilateral initiatives and they are able to contribute to the issues of global governance although it is to a limited extent. NGOs continue to make meaningful and vital contributions in global dialogue on key issues like democracy, human rights, poverty and the environment.

## 2.2.1 History of NGOs in Zimbabwe

Mavhinga (2014) purports that NGOs in Zimbabwe did not emerge within the last two decades to push for a regime- change agenda as many would think. NGOs have been in existence since the days of the liberation struggle when church led NGOs like the Catholic Commission for Peace and Justice and Peace (CCJP) challenged the human rights record of the white settler regimeregime. To Coltart (1991) the only credible human rights group prior to independence in 1980 was the CCJP which was set up in 1972. Various NGOs played different and critical roles during the liberation struggle mainly through the provision of safety nets and standing up for the rights of the black majority. After Zimbabwe gained its independence, it was in political transition and NGOs had to influence the change and ensure that the outcome was democratic.

According to Lee (2011) even to this day the central challenge for NGOs is to monitor the democratization process and keep the government in check to safeguard against the return of authoritarian tendencies. Mbanje and Mahuku (2013) argue that today Zimbabwe has got more than 2000 NGOs who continue to fight for the opening of the democratic space in Zimbabwe through engaging various stakeholders and complimenting the efforts of the government. In the last two decades however the relationship between the state and NGOs has been hostile especially following the rise of the now major opposition political party, MDC, from ZCTU, a labor union. NGOs that operate in the field of democracy and human rights especially are always

treated with suspicion as they are perceived as puppets of the west pushing for a regime change agenda.

Today, NGOs in Zimbabwe remain an essential asset of the democratic society. Various NGOs in the contemporary Zimbabwe enhances and encourages improved citizen participation through their projects and activities that enables the ordinary citizens to have a say and participate in the national decision making processes. They help citizens to acquire the necessary information that equip them to carry out their duties and roles as citizens. NGOs like the ZIMCET provide all citizens with an opportunity to interact democratically by sharing experiences and exchanging perspectives regarding the development choices that are available to them.

Swanepoel and De Beer (2000) noted distinct manners that NGOs are likely to relate to the government

- *Complementing the state;* This is when the NGOs provide the goods and services that the government is failing to provide especially due to financial incapacity. NGOs then become a mechanism for the implementation of government policies.
- ii) Opposing the State; this is when NGOs undertake their watchdog role and contest government policies or decisions directly through various pressure groups in an effort to influence these as they might be affecting negatively on the liven of citizens on the grassroots.
- *Reforming the state;* NGOs can represent the people from below and negotiate with the government to improve its policies.

# 2.3 THE ROLE OF DIFFERENT STAKEHOLDERS IN ZIMBABWE'S DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS

## 2.3.1 Churches and Faith Based Organizations

The Encyclopedia of public health (2002) defines FBOs as an association of people united on the basis of common religious beliefs and backgrounds. These are set with the specific mandate of making sure the spiritual, cultural and social needs of their members are fulfilled. According to Lee (2011) there are various religions in Zimbabwe and these include Islam, Moslem and Christianity. Among all the religions found in Zimbabwe majority of the people are followers of

the Christianity religion. Mikako (2008) argue that FBOs contribute to the advancement of democracy through the provision of education and representing the rights of their members. Education plays a vital role in supporting people's democratic movements through the acquisition of knowledge, spiritual enlightment and empowerment. In Zimbabwe the church played a critical role in the fight against colonial rule where church led organizations like the CCJP strongly spoke against issues of injustice that were being perpetrated by the white regime. Churches in Zimbabwe have always played a critical role in the socio-economic and political issues in Zimbabwe even way before independence. In Zimbabwe the church led development initiatives are pursued through different affiliations and these include the EFZ, ZCC and the ZCBC. The historical background between the church and the government has given the church a unique strategic position on national interest issues. According to Gono (2016) the role of the church in Zimbabwe has been speaking against injustice, peace building, promoting the interest of humanity, and holding political leaders accountable although this is not usually done in a confrontational manner.

## 2.3.2 Community Based Organizations (CBOs)

According to the US department of transportation (2016) CBOs refers to the unity of individuals organized by their common interests, issues and attributes. CBOs can be seen as nonprofit groups that work at the grassroots level with the aim of making the lives of the residents better. CBOs tend to be grassroots in nature and what units them are the common and particular purpose or cause. They are in a better position to represent the grassroots citizens as they are aware of their most basic needs, interests and concerns.

#### 2.3.3 Civil Society Organizations (CSOs)

Civil society today is generally perceived as a concept that emerged in the international arena and has been a significant part of international and local politics ever since then. Increasingly too, in recent years CSOs have become an essential part in policy debates and issues to do with national processes. Various meanings have been attached by different scholars to the term civil society. Makumbe (1998) notes that various meaning have been attached to the concept of civil society by the many scholars who have researched on the subject. He further defines it as a combination of associations that is made up of members that are involved in activities and projects that are non-state. These activities include social welfare, economic empowerment and the exercise of political rights. Civil society basically is the combination of institutions and

NGOs that are dedicating to representing the interests of grass-root citizens. Social institutions like family and the private sphere also form a part of the civil society apart from business and the state. International donors agree that CSOs are a critical player that can help developing countries especially in Africa to be more democratic, transparent and accountable. Civil Society Organizations promotes political participation of the ordinary citizens in any given state. This is done through educating the citizenry about their responsibilities and rights and encouraging them to participate in national processes that affect their everyday life.

NGOs can also form a part of CSOs and can help the grassroots citizens to develop their capabilities in coming up with solutions to common problems and to debate issues of concern thereby expressing their opinions. CSOs can help citizen to nurture their other aspects of democratic life and these include tolerating divergent political perspectives and respecting opinions that can differ and being able to tolerate them and compromise in order to preserve peace. The vulnerable and the poor can also be empowered by having their demands and interests represented. Many schools of thought have argued that without these deeper cultures of accommodation, democracy cannot be stable. Ncube (2010) purport that in the post-modern era CSOs are associated with the politics of democratization.

#### 2.3.4 Political parties

According to National Institute of democracy, political parties are essential institutions of democracy. Goel (2015) asserts that basically political party is an institution which is made up of people who have the same opinions and perspectives regarding politics. These people work in association in order to influence public opinion and participate in elections in order to win political power. Parties through competing in elections offer citizens a choice in governance. When the ordinary citizens join political parties, dedicate their time and resources and vote for a leader of their choice they are exercising their basic democratic rights. In any system of government, political parties educate, organize and shape public opinion. Scholars like Stokes (1999) argue that political parties are an indicator of responsive democracy in today's modern democracy. Political parties are indispensible for the full realization of democracy. In Zimbabwe they are more than 50 political parties. However the major political parties are MDC and ZANU-PF given their sheer size of their massive grassroots support base. It is generally believed that

some of the political parties in Zimbabwe especially the major opposition political party, the MDC gets aid from NGOs.

## 2.4 The relationship between NGOs and democracy

According to Gudynas (1997) it is a common place to state that NGOs play an important role in the advancement of democracy. Many NGOs have maintained programs to tackle challenges associated with democracy and others have been vehicles of civic movements fighting for the opening up of the democratic space. Although the concept of NGOs is diffuse and multifaceted there exist a bond between them and democracy. Most of the NGOs' membership is made up of the ordinary citizens and thus they have the view and interest of the grassroots people as their mandate. NGOs represent the will of the ordinary citizens without partisan perspectives and hence they help in encouraging active citizen participation in national processes. This ultimately leads to democratic emancipation due to the fact that citizens are able to participate in processes that affect their life.

Some people do not participate in democratic processes mainly due to the lack information. Some NGOs in Zimbabwe and world over has assumed the responsibility to educate civilians in issues that affect them and these include elections and the implementation of different policies. NGOs' most central role according to many scholars is to be the watchdog of the government. Through this function NGOs brings the government to account to the people that elected them and this promotes transparency and accountability which is one of the major tenants of democracy. As the protectors of the interests of the ordinary citizens NGOs should raise public concern about any abuse of power. They also lobby for access to information laws, rules and institutions to control corruption.

Critics argue that one dimension of the current governance crisis in Zimbabwe is the failure to organize and make constructive use of the relationship that NGOs have with the grassroots citizens. In instances where NGOs have tried to contribute independently to the national processes the political elite have reacted with resistance. Across the globe, governments have recognized that representative democracy through parliament and political parties is strengthened when citizens also express their opinions to governance through the different organs of civil society.

## 2.5 Chapter summary

This chapter explored the various view points and opinions postulated by other researchers on democracy and NGOs and their relationship. Many scholars noted the role that NGOs have played in the social development in Zimbabwe and argue that most NGOs shun away from politics to avoid hostility from the government. This however does not explain the activities and projects that NGOs carry out in an effort to contribute in the democratization process in Zimbabwe. This research therefore will explore the role that NGOs have played in the advancement of democracy in Zimbabwe.

## CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

#### 3.0 Introduction

This chapter mainly describes the techniques that were employed by the researcher in collecting data which was intended for this study. It is in this chapter that the researcher will elaborate on how the research was carried out. This chapter will also describe and explain the sampling procedure, research method, sources of data, research design and the means which were used to collect data. Moreover, the chapter also discusses the research instruments and their consistency and dependability. The concerned ethical considerations are also elaborated in detail.

#### 3.1 Research design

This study combined a number of research methods. In its most general form, a research design is the fundamental strategy that the investigator chooses to employ to ensure that the research question is effectively addressed in a coherent and logical manner. Denzin and Lincoln (2011) argue that a research design is basically an outline of procedures that the researcher utilizes to gather, scrutinize, construe and present data. Research design is of paramount importance as it allows a logical flow of the different facets of the study operations thus making research efficient in achieving the information needed with minimal financial and non-financial resources. In conducting this study due to the sensitivity of the issues of democracy in Zimbabwe the researcher made use of questionnaires and extortion from the interviews by the main respondents. The researcher also relied on secondary sources of data and these included text books that were found in libraries. Data was also obtained from the analysis of documents and other primary sources like articles in the newspaper and internet websites. The researcher managed to conduct a few interviews with executives from different NGOs and these include ZIMCET, SACMA, government ministries and the Initiative for ISPED. Leaders of the opposition political party the MDC were also interviewed.

In this study, the design was more qualitative to due to the nature of the research. The research included the study of human behavior, decisions and the social world that they inhibit and hence it is difficult to explicate human behavior in quantifiable and measurable terms. According to Patton and Cochran (2002) qualitative research is all about understanding social life and the meaning that people append to their everyday life and produce words and not numbers for the

analysis of data. Examples include description of situations, events, decisions, people and observed behaviors. Hancock, Ockleford and Windridge (2009) purport that qualitative research attempts to intensify the perspective of the status quo in the social world. The research is primarily exploratory in nature as the researcher tried to gain an understanding of the underlying reasons, opinions and concerns behind the decisions made by the government, NGOs and the grassroots ordinary citizens.

#### 3.2RESEARCH SUBJECTS

#### 3.2.1 Sample selection

In general, a sample is a representative of a population selected to participate in a study. Pilot and Hungler (1999) argue that a sample is a selected portion of the entire population that is chosen to take part in the research. A sample enables the researcher to get results rapidly and precisely as compared to the participation of the entire population (Borrington and Stimpson: 2008). The population identified to be of interest in a specific research is referred to as the target population. In this study, the target population included NGOs personnel (directors, project managers etc.), government officials and the citizens who have benefited from the work and activities of both the government and the NGOs. The target respondents provided the researcher with the needed information quickly as examining the whole population could waste resources chief among them being time and financial.

#### 3.2.2 Sample Size

The total number of respondents that are chosen to take part in the research is referred to as the sample size (Walt: 1996). Stanton et al (1997) argue that there exists a great debate on how big the sample should be, researchers agree that the sample size should be reflective of the entire population. In carrying out this study, a total of 40 people were selected to represent the total population.

## 3.2.3 Sampling

In carrying out this research, purposive sampling was utilized due to the fact that the researcher targeted the respondents who had knowledge concerning the topic under discussion. Purposive sample falls into the non probability sampling category and it is premised on selecting participants based on the investigator's verdict about the ones that are critical and reflective of the whole population. Using purposive sampling, the researcher managed to reach the targeted population quickly as it enabled her to choose respondents that fulfilled the purpose of this study. The researcher selected the personnel from ZIMCET including the regional managers and the field officers. Officials from the government were also selected. This enabled the researcher to concentrate on specific people who were in a better position to assist with the research since they are knowledgeable in terms of issues to do with democracy. Through the use of purposive sampling the researcher incurred less costs and it also proved to be time effective. Some scholars have argued that purposive sampling is less reliable and is more vulnerable to bias and there is no way of measuring if a person's knowledge is better that the others'. To safe guard against these weaknesses the researcher utilized other sources of data and these include internet articles, textbooks, journals and organizational reports.

Snow ball sampling was also employed by the researcher to obtain the information concerning this research. Since the researcher did her work related learning at an NGO and managed to network with some of the high ranking officials from ZIMCET and other players in the NGO sector choosing the 1<sup>st</sup> participants was relatively easy. The researcher first interviewed the programme officer for ZIMCET who then lead her to the other participants who possibly had something to contribute towards the research.

#### 3.3 SOURCES OF DATA

To ensure a successful and objective research outcome was achieved, various sources of data were employed. For the benefit of this research, both primary and secondary sources of data were made use of to collect data on the role of NGOS in Zimbabwe's democratization process.

#### 3.3.1 Secondary sources

According to Shao (1999), secondary source refers to data that has already been composed by other people for purposes similar to this specific research. This is data that has already been compiled by other people and can be collected directly either from unpublished or published sources. Patton (2002) argues that secondary sources are critical in qualitative research as they are cheaper and faster to access and convenience is also enjoyed when using secondary sources. Cohen et al (2007) postulates that these sources of information interpret and extract conclusions on the basis of research that has been done previously by others. Secondary sources involve the description of events that one did not witness but based on the information obtained from another source. During the investigation, the researcher used various sources of data and these include reports, books, journal and newspapers to collect data on the role of NGOs in Zimbabwe's democratization process.

This research carried a desktop survey of both the old and recent publications on NGOs and democracy. The researcher also consulted government policies that affect NGOs and their work, these include the AIPPA, POSA and. Reports from the ZIMCET and other civic organizations like the Human Rights Forum on the Zimbabwean situation since 2000 were also made use of. To understand the historical context of democracy in Zimbabwe various documents and books were made use of. Using search engines, precise information was obtained from various internet articles and online news. This saved the researcher both financial and non financial resources. Through the secondary sources the researcher was able to access best scholars from all over the world.

#### 3.3.2 Primary Sources

A primary source entails the utilization of direct and firsthand information or evidence regarding an event, person, object or subject. It involves the first hand collection of data by the researcher for the gain of the specific research project at hand (Shao: 1999). In conducting this research, in order to have influence over the accuracy and significance of data towards the problem statement, the researcher employed primary data. One of the most vibrant advantages of primary data is that it is natural and immediately relevant to the topic under study since it can be collected by the researcher herself. In conducting this research, various instruments were used to collect primary data and these include questionnaires, surveys, focus group discussions and interviews.

#### 3.4 RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

To collect data from the respondents, the researcher makes use of the research tools. In carrying out this study the researcher used questionnaires, in-depth interviews and secondary sources which included organizational reports, journals, online news and articles, YouTube Clips and text books to gather data on the role being taken by NGOs in the development of democracy in Zimbabwe.

## 3.4.1 Questionnaire

A questionnaire according to Bird (2009) is an inquiry which is made up of systematically complied questions that are organized and then administered with the sample population. He further explain that a questionnaire is a sound structured tool in research which is made use of in order to obtain information on the social characteristics, behavior, attitudes and beliefs of a participant with respect t the to the topic under investigation. A questionnaire enables the researcher to collect and record information about the issue that is under study. In conducting this study, a questionnaire was used to collect data on the role played by NGOs in promoting democracy in Zimbabwe. To allow for free mind and different opinions regarding the subject matter, the questionnaires were made up of open-ended questions. Questions were delivered using various means which include physically and through the use of emails to the various respondents. The questionnaires were distributed to various NGOs and government branches which include the police and the ZHRC.

The use of a questionnaire enabled the researcher to collect large amounts of information from the respondents in a limited time and with the use of fewer resources. The use of questionnaires proved to be cost effective as some of the questionnaires were sent and responded to via mail.

## 3.4.2 In-depth interviews

In-depth tools are another method of data collection that is flexible and it enables the use of various channels and these include both verbal and non verbal. Interviews enables the researcher to gather different types of personal narratives and histories which are useful in addressing the research questions. Interviews enable the researcher to have an insight on the participant's perspectives and it allows the researcher to determine what the respondents know about the topic under discussion and also to establish their likes and dislikes Cohen and Manion (1981). Interviews allows the researcher to have a deeper understanding of all factors behind the

participants' answers, feelings, beliefs and opinions (Legard et al : 2003). Although in-depth interviews may be glamorous, they have their own demerits as well. Many scholars argue that interviews are labor intensive, however interviews is one of the best ways to collect information especially when the topic in concern is sensitive. An interview allows the researcher to capture the respondents' perspective in their own words and this is one of the most crucial strategies in qualitative data collection. The researcher managed to interview high ranking officials from ZIMCET, SACMA, ISPED and opposition political party MDC-T.

#### **3.4.3 Personal Observations**

Observation refers to the noting and tracing proceedings, behaviors and trends in a way that is systematic for the particular research. In qualitative research, observation is an essential tool that can be used to determine various interactions in the social world. This is a technique that allows the researcher to obtain data through direct contact with one person or with a group. The researcher benefited immensely from being in the field while carrying out the study. Through interacting and socializing with the participants, the researcher managed to create close relations with the participants and other respondents who were not initially involved in the sample and this proved to be very useful to the research. The researcher managed to subsist in the world concerned with democracy so as to understand the subject matter as much as possible and this helped her to develop a fuller and deeper understanding of it. This reduced distortion between the observer the subject matter that is under investigation.

#### 3.4.4 Focus Group Discussion

Focus group discussion is a form of qualitative which ODI (2009) defines as an excellent way of bringing people of the same backgrounds and understanding together to debate on a subject matter which is of interest. These enable the researcher to gain an insight and deeper perspective of the theme that is under investigation. In conducting this research focus group discussions were made use of. The groups were made up ZIMCET's field officers and point persons from different provinces of the country. The other groups comprised of the grassroots citizens from Chitungwiza who have benefited and played a part in the implementation of ZIMCET's projects. This enabled the researcher to establish and understand the position of the grassroots people in as far as issues of democracy are concerned. These enabled the researcher to extract information that was essential to this study through the careful observations during these discussions. Focus group discussions also proved to be effective in terms of saving resources like time and money.

The use of FGDs enabled the researcher to capture the views of many informants using one platform.

## 3.5Data analysis

This refers to the procedure of putting different techniques together systematically in order to explain and elaborate, examine and evaluate data (Shamoo and Resnik). To analyze the data found under this research the researcher utilized the textual analysis and content analysis. The analysis of data was premised on the grounded theory where the imminent responsibility of the researcher was to understand the events in Zimbabwe's democratization process and how various players managed their roles in the advancement of democracy in Zimbabwe. This was accomplished through scrutiny, interviews and discussions.

#### 3.6Ethical considerations

According to the Center for Innovation in Research and Technology (2016) ethics refers to principles for conduct that determines what is right from that which is considered wrong. Babbie and Mouton (2001) postulates that these arise from people's relations with each other and the environment that they are in particularly in cases where there possibly will be clash of interests. The researcher's most critical responsibility and obligation should be to respect the rights, needs, values and desires of the participants. CIRT (2016) argue that ethical standards prevent against the fabrication or falsifying of data and therefore promote the pursuit of knowledge and truth which is the primary purpose of the research.

The research involves human subjects and thus the research considered ethics on privacy, anonymity, honesty, confidentiality, objectivity and informed consent. The investigator also granted the correspondents the right to participate voluntarily which entails that people should not be pressurize into participating in the research. All the participants who took part in the research participated of their own free will and were fully informed about the procedures of the research and the risks associated with it. The issue of politics and democracy is highly sensitive in Zimbabwe and hence the researcher ensured that whatever information that was received from the participants was not shared with people who have nothing to do with the research. During interviews, in her introductions the researcher emphasized the point that information obtained would be used only for the purposes concerned with academics. The researcher had also obtained

a letter of introduction from the department of Politics and Public Management of MSU to confirm her status as a student.

During data collection the researcher explained to all participants the nature and purpose of this study, the consequences, merits and reserved the extended opportunity to ask questions concerning the research. The researcher also maintained the highest level of objectivity in discussions and analysis throughout the research.

## **3.7** Chapter summary

This Chapter explained how the research was done and the where the data was obtained. It explained the procedures that were followed in carrying out this research. The chapter described the research design that the researcher chose, sampling techniques, target population, instruments for data collection and the ethical considerations. The next chapter will express the findings of this research.

## CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

#### 4.0 Introduction

Due to the sensitivity of the topic under study, the researcher relied heavily on secondary data although primary data was also utilized. The data presented was collected from various sources namely textbooks, internet sources, journals, reports and interviews. It is in this chapter that the researcher will present the key findings of the research and analyze the data. This chapter discusses the extent to which the NGOs initiatives towards the democratization process have been successful in encouraging active citizen participation and the rule by the majority. It also highlights how the NGOs have managed to influence the government and the grassroots citizens of Zimbabwe in the democratization process in the period between 2000 to date.

## **4.2 RESPONSE RATE**

## 4.2.1 Questionnaires

Data was collected from various institutions specifically ZIMCET, SACMA, ISPED, Government ministries, political parties and the civil society as whole. A total of 40 questionnaires were distributed by the researcher and some were sent via emails.

Fig 1-Questionnaire response rate

Questionnaires	Questionnaires	<b>Response Rate</b>			
Administered	Returned	(%)			
20	18	90			
10	8	80			
5	4	90			
5	5	100			
40	35	87.5			
	Administered  20  10  5  5	Administered         Returned           20         18           10         8           5         4           5         5			

Questionnaires were made up of both open and ended question. Out of a total of 40 questionnaires distributed, 35 were answered and returned.

### **4.2.2 Interviews**

The researcher also conducted interviews with the response rate illustrated below;

Fig 2-Interviews response rate

Target population	Targeted Interviews	Conducted Interviews	Response Rate (%)
NGOs	5	4	80
Government ministries	5	3	60
Political Parties	3	2	67
TOTAL	13	9	70

Source: primary data

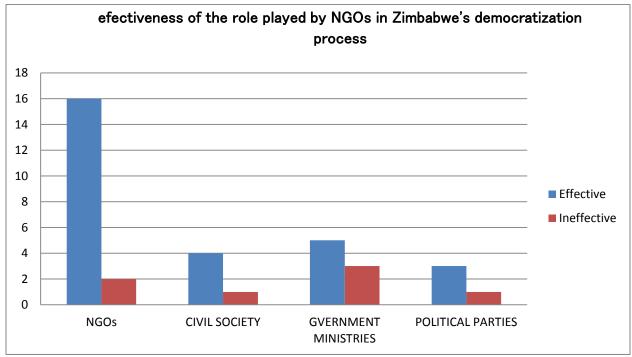
The researcher had a target of 13 interviews in carrying out the study but however due to some constraints and the tight schedules of the targeted participants, the researcher managed to carry out 9 interviews. This has a response percentage of 70 and this is a considerable and reasonable percentage of the data collected for the purpose of this study.

## 4.2.3 Data analysis

Through the use of questionnaires, interviews and secondary data the research brought to light the fact that the role played by NGOs in Zimbabwe's democratic process is of paramount importance. To accolade the secondary data already in existence the researcher made use of questionnaires which revealed that the NGOs are doing more work than the government in the democratization process. The research revealed that due to the hostile relations that exist between the government and the NGOs their work is not complimented by the government and hence fails to be as effective as they anticipate as the government fail to comply. The research also revealed that shortage of resources and the legislature in Zimbabwe which many respondents termed as harsh sometimes limits the parameters of their work

The data presented by the graph below is based on the total number of questionnaires that the researcher administered and managed to get back. 16 out of 18 respondents from the NGO sector (ZIMCET, SACMA, and ISPED) urged that the role that NGOs play in the advancement of democracy in Zimbabwe is of critical importance and could have more impact if it is complimented by the government. 3 out of 4 respondents from political parties noted that NGOs has put more effort in the democratization process in Zimbabwe but however some of these NGOs are not transparent and as a result embezzle funds from the donors and are more concerned with politics more that the welfare of the grassroots citizens that they should serve. 5 out of 8 respondents from the government ministries also seemed to agree with the general responses from the political parties, they argued that NGOs are making recommendable efforts towards the democratic process in Zimbabwe but however some of the NGOs are interfering into politics as they are pushing the regime change agenda as instructed by their donor organizations.

Fig 3



# **4.2. 4 Respondents' position on the role of NGOs in Zimbabwe's democratization process** Respondents had divergent views on Zimbabwe's democratization process but however there seem to agree that coordination between the NGO sector and the government sector is of urgent

need and paramount importance. During interviews some respondents argued that the

government can capitalize on the NGOs close link to the grassroots communities to further the nation's democratic advancement. Respondents from the political parties and other NGOs agreed that the role that the NGOs are playing in the democratization process of Zimbabwe is critical and if complimented by the government it can go a long way. The activities that the NGOs carry out that articulate their role in the democratization process include peace building initiatives, lobbying and advocacy, monitoring the electoral cycle, information sharing and conflict resolution. Respondents from the government ministries even though there were reluctant to eulogize the role that the NGOs have played they acknowledged the efforts of the NGOs and the possible areas for coordination and cooperation.

## **4.3 PEACE BUILDING**

According to Rummel (2010) peace is a state of law or civil government, a state of justice or goodness or a balance or equilibrium of powers. Peace to Barson (2010) is not just the non existence of violence but it is the presence of justice. The Peace Revolution (2010) agrees with this notion and further argues that peace is the capability to constructively administer conflicts. Peace is definitely an essential commodity in human life and it goes far beyond the mere absence of conflict. According to the Alliance for peace building (2013) peace building is a process that enables the accomplishment of peace that is durable as it addresses the root origins and effects of the conflict. Zimbabwe's history of electoral violence since independence makes peace building a necessity.

During the research, respondents noted that despite the government's effort through its institutions like ZRP and the recently launched commissions (NPRC and ZHRC), the government cannot do peace building effectively when it does it single handedly. The government is in some cases financially strained and hence fails to carry out its intended interventions efficiently, this is witnessed by the delay in the operation of the NPRC which was provisioned by the Zimbabwe 2013 constitution. NGOs in Zimbabwe continue to make recommendable efforts towards peace building through strategic projects and activities. ZIMCET has managed to maintain a long-term presence in the grassroots communities through the involvement of the community in the peace building initiatives. Most of these initiatives try to foster reconciliation, forgiveness and tolerance among the people of Zimbabwe.

Since 2014 in an effort to promote peace, ZIMCET together with a partner organization named Heal Zimbabwe Trust (HZT) has embarked on training workshops mostly in the rural areas of Zimbabwe. The main targets for these workshops were the traditional leaders this was mainly due to the fact that traditional authority is influential in the rural areas of Zimbabwe. This was with the thinking that traditional leaders play a pivotal role in defining the way of life in the rural areas.

Zimbabwe's 2013 constitution came with a lot of opportunities for the promotion of peace in Zimbabwe; sadly the traditional leaders together with a large population of Zimbabweans are still not aware of the profound opportunities. To address this irregularity, ZIMCET and HZT have trained traditional leaders to increase their awareness of the National Peace and Reconciliation Commission (NPRC) and the Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission (ZHRC) so that they can make use of the commissions for the purpose of peace building in the societies. This year ZIMCET and HZT have conducted training among 26 village heads in Hurungwe, in north central Zimbabwe. According to the ToTs, majority of the participants noted that it was their first time to hear about the two commissions. Informing traditional leaders about the NPRC and ZHRC will enable them to play an effective role in the protection, promotion and respect for human rights and peace.

The NGOs who work in the field of peace in Zimbabwe continue to coordinate in order to ensure a peaceful society with the respect of human rights and ultimately fostering a democratic Zimbabwe. ZIMCET is part of the Zimbabwe Peace Actors Platform (ZimPAP) which is a network of more than 15 NGOs dealing with the issues of peace in Zimbabwe. The researcher through ZIMCET was able to attend one of ZimPAP's workshops which was termed *indaba*. The partners discussed how they can ensure peace in Zimbabwe especially now ahead of the 2018 elections. These NGOs were of the view that the only way for the full realization of democracy in Zimbabwe in the upcoming election was to ensure that people deter from violence and ultimately there is peace. ZIMCET and the other peace actors agreed on the deployment of a Civilian Peace Keeping Taskforce. These would be visible peace keepers who will be on the ground to stop violence through intervening and acting as buffers between conflicting parties. This would stop violence and ensure peace through encouraging more people to voice out their views in the political arena. The strategy is to use the influential people in communities and

those people that are known for orchestrating violence. This is with the thinking that the mere presence of the taskforce would make perpetrators to deter from violence for the fear of accountability for their actions. This protects the citizens and compliments the work of the ZRP to some extent. During elections the political pressure deepens and the agencies responsible for the protection of the civilians for example the ZRP tend to be partisan and hence fail to protect the citizens. This promotes impunity and the escalation of violence and thus destroying the most critical and fundamental aspects of democracy. This is what ZIMCET has been fighting against since its formation through its various projects and activities.

#### **4.3.1 Peace committees**

To stop violence in communities, ZIMCET makes use of the peace committees. The peace committees are present and visible in the grassroots communities. These peace committees are made up of people from various political backgrounds. Since the main position parties that are in Zimbabwe are MDC and ZANU-PF the peace committee includes representatives from both the political parties. This is to promote tolerance since the individuals from different political parties will have to interact and liaise on issues affecting them on a day to day basis. The most critical responsibility of these committees is to monitor violence within their responsible areas and should ensure that peace prevails. ZIMCET officers are also part of the peace committees to provide guidance and avoid conflicts within the committees. To ensure the effectiveness of these peace committees the most influential people in the community are also included in the committee and these include religious people, the elite, and business people and in some instance the traditional leaders. The main focus of the peace committees is to report cases of violence in their respective communities. According to the respondents the physical presence of these peace committees within societies has managed to effectively make people deter from violence with the fear of repercussions. If there is need ZIMCET takes up the issues with the responsible authorities which in most instances are the ZRP and this has successfully managed to deal with issues of impunity especially in the rural areas.

#### 4.3.2 Peace concerts

In an effort to try and maintain peace through education ZIMCET organize live music performances which they term 'peace concerts'. These are concerts where ZIMCET would invite the most popular musicians who can pull the crowd for example Leonard Zhakata, Jah Praiser and Alick Macheso to the grassroots communities where they rarely do their music shows. This is a strategy to garner as much people as possible to pass the message of peace especially in preparation of elections. When people meet at these relaxed environments they are able to accommodate each other despite this is based on the 'kudzidza hakupere concept' which urges people to practice tolerance since an individual cannot know everything. Political tolerance will give the citizens the willingness to extend basic and civil liberties to persons and groups whose views points differ from their own and this will promote sustainable peace within the committees.

## 4.3.3 Soccer for peace

To promote tolerance and a spirit of togetherness within communities that are made of people with different political views ZIMCET makes use of the 'soccer for peace' matches. During these 'soccer for peace' matches people gather around for the love of soccer despite their divergent political views. Since soccer is a social activity where people enjoy and get to relax, people from different political parties are invited for these matches. This for example can be a match between the ZANU-PF and MDC teams that the community people could have selected. According to the respondents from ZIMCET these matches has proved to be effective especially in the rural Zimbabwe.

#### 4.4 INFORMATION SHARING

From its inception in 2000, one of ZIMCET's major priorities has been information sharing with its stakeholders. This information sharing involves around the ability by NGOs to generate and share information that can be used where it is mostly needed and effective action can be taken. ZIMCET gather information on its respective areas of expertise and share it with transitional groups. This involves collecting information about impunity, human rights abuses and curtailment of freedoms and sharing it with other NGOs who might be expects in the field of concern, the authorities to raise alarm or the ordinary citizens. Many respondents during the research indicated that this is one of the major strengths of NGOs both in Zimbabwe and the rest of the world. NGOs are able to pass information where it is needed and it can be acted upon.

This has resulted in the creation of affiliations by these individual NGOs where they are able to cooperate and pass information amongst each other and the rest of the world. These affiliations include the Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition, ZESNand NANGO in which ZIMCET is a member of.

To ensure near-real time information sharing, ZIMCET has made use of the Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) in its operations. In order to make its information sharing more effective, ZIMCET has utilized these ICTs for internal systems communication, strengthening and the involvement of external stakeholders. This has enabled them to spread their messages more effectively through a wider range of platforms and information sharing. The organization tries by all means to utilize ICTs in an effort to encourage citizen participation. Due to fear of political repercussions citizens in Zimbabwe have decided to shun away from the political arena, they cannot speak out or voice out their concerns however through the use of social media platforms like Twitter, Facebook, blogs and website most respondents indicated that people feel secure and are able to speak out their minds. In an interview with SACMA's director Mr Gandanga he indicated that ICTs provides the grassroots citizens with an interactive platform for accessing information, monitoring, reporting, commenting and giving suggestions on keysocio-economic, human rights and governance issues. This awards the citizens an opportunity to take part in the issues that affect them in their everyday life. Issues raised by citizens on ZIMCET's platform are taken up with the responsible and strategic institutions like the police and city council.

## 4.5LOBBYING AND ADVOCACY

According to NGO pulse (2009) lobbying whereby individuals or groups that are likeminded come together in an organized effort to peacefully influence or change government policies.

## **4.5.1 Policy Dialogues**

On the 24<sup>th</sup> of June 2016 ZIMCET together with a sister organization HZT hosted a policy dialogue and documentary screening seminar on transitional justice process in Zimbabwe. The seminar was attended by more than 50 delegates including members from the government agencies namely the parliamentary Committee on Human Rights, ministries and the Human Rights Commission (ZHRC) and other CSOs. The main objectives of this seminar were to facilitate a policy dialogue on two papers produced by ZIMCET and HZT on the national healing in Zimbabwe and to share the results from the grassroots societies that the two organizations had

collected on NPRC process. The activities that were carried out by ZIMCET and HZT were chronicled in a document which was presented on the seminar which was entitled *Zimbabwe National Healing: Voices from below*. The views of the people from Zaka, Hurungwe, Buhera, Murehwa, Gokwe and Bikita were presented and discussed with the government officials who were present at the seminar. After taking the views of the grassroots citizens at the end of the seminar, the delegates present at the seminar agreed that the NPRC must be independent in the discharge of its duties and that there is need for coordination among NGOs as well as between them and government agencies so that they share information and enhance the national healing process in Zimbabwe.

## 4.5.2 Demonstrations

In its simplest terms a demonstration is the rising of a group of people or organizations against a cause which is political in many instances. According to Kaseke (2016) the right to protest is granted in the constitution and it displays the power f the citizenry in a sphere that they are not included. Government officials make decisions on behalf of the electorate who voted them into office but these decisions in some instances maybe disapproved by the electorate and this attracts contempt which is expressed through demonstrations. These are meant to put pressure on the government to change plan, policies or rethink their decisions.

Zimbabwe in the last decade has been characterized by a number of political demonstrations led by the civil society with NGOs that work in the democracy and governance field in the lead. These demonstrations mainly were to push for the opening up of the democratic space. They have taken to the streets to demonstrate against corruption, misuse of funds, lack of government accountability, the introduction of bond notes and the high unemployment rate among other issues. Below are some of the demonstrations that NGOs have staged

## 4.5.2.1Campaign against police brutality

ZIMCET in 2003 demonstrated against the continued 'legalised violence' by the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) in an effort to protect the ordinary citizens. This was with the view that police brutality should not be justified no matter what the motivation is and the authority defending it. As a peace-building organization, ZIMCET called on policy makers and the Zimbabwean citizens to challenge violence in all its various forms.

## 4.5.2.2I love you Zimbabwe

ZIMCET members joined other NGOs namely ROHR and YARD on the 14<sup>th</sup> of February 2016 in a demonstration which was termed 'I love you Zimbabwe'. As it was valentines' day the demonstrators took to the road flowers and placards to show their patriotic love for Zimbabwe. According to the Zimbabwean (2016) the march was organized to demand love for the citizens by the government in the spirit of Valentines' Day. However the demonstration was broke violently by the riot police.

## 4.5.2.3NPRC operation

ZIMCET demonstrated against the late implementation of the NPRC as they argued that the delay in the operationalization of the commission serves to further cement impunity and compromise peace in Zimbabwe. Speaking to ZIMCET's field officers, they argued that the operationalization of the NPRC will go a long way in building sustainable peace especially ahead of the 2018 elections.

## **4.6ELECTIONS**

In the early 1990s there arouse a wave of protests in Africa and many argue that this reflected the global zeal for democratic, accountable leadership and representative political systems. This resulted in the wide spread electoral reforms. According to Wikipedia, elections refer to the procedure by which the citizens take part in selecting an individual to represent them in government and hold public office. Elections are a critical component of representative democracy since the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Anglin (1998) held that elections are the most significant and visible method by which citizens choose their leaders in a peaceful manner.

According to Mesfin (2008) elections is one of the founding pillars of any democratic political system. According to Sithole and Makumbe (1997) Elections have been part of the Zimbabwean political system since independence. The electoral system in Zimbabwe has faced various constraints which have impacted negatively on political democracy. Commissioners to the key strategic offices in Zimbabwe like ZEC are appointed by the president and this compromises their independence and in extension democratic emancipation is negatively affected.

According to Tsvangirai (2010) elections in Zimbabwe since the year 2000 have been 'confused' fights. However according to Zinyama (2012) violence has marred all elections held since 2000 with the emergence of the MDC and ever since then and NGOs have made continuous

efforts in trying to monitor the electoral cycle and protect the grassroots citizens during the time of elections. According to Chan (2005) the MDC leader has always indicated the need for electoral reforms in Zimbabwe in order to avoid acrimonious, bloody and violent elections. He further argues that there is need to fight for an electoral framework which the people of Zimbabwe can have confidence in due to their experience of brute force, terror, violence at every turn of elections. This is an agenda that an umbrella organization for NGOs nameed ZESN has been trying to serve since its formation. Zimbabwe has been holding harmonized elections since the year 2008. Harmonized elections are where elections are held at the same time for representatives of local authorities, parliament, provincial councils and the presidency. ZIMCET together with other NGOs have made efforts to push for electoral reforms. According to the ZIMCET programs officer Charles Thole, ZIMCET has been monitoring the electoral cycle since 2000.

ZIMCET is part of the Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN), a network that play a central role in promoting democratic processes particularly free and fair elections in Zimbabwe. ZESN is an association of 30 independent NGOs that have been observing all aspects of the electoral process in Zimbabwe since 2000. The network works towards the realization of a Zimbabwe where the democratic environment and processes are held. Over the years, ZESN's role in observation of electoral processes has contributed immensely towards instilling confidence, deterring electoral fraud and providing independent findings to various stakeholders.

## 4.6.1 Pre-electoral period

The pre electoral period is the period before elections and this is usually the preparatory phase for elections. It is in this phase that voter registration and education is carried out in order to ensure that people come out in their numbers on the polling day. Civic education refers to the education of citizens on how they can effectively participate in national processes. This is a critical component of a citizen's life as it cultivates the skills to participate in democratic processes and be able to exercise their rights and dispense their responsibilities with the needed knowledge and skills. In democratic nations, voting is the critical act of citizen participation. Elections are a critical component of the development of democracy in Zimbabwe as they represent a vital means of increasing citizen participation.

It is the primary duty of ZEC to provide voter education but it should not be the baby of Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) alone. One of the respondents indicated that ZEC lacks the effective capacity to carry out civic education single handedly and hence it requires support from other players like the Civic Society Organizations. ZEC regularizes other organizations to assist in voter education. According to the electoral Act ZEC may authorize any other person or organization to conduct voter education on its behalf. ZIMCET has been one of the organizations that ZEC has authorized to carry out voter education on its behalf. Even though Civic education can be done at any stage in the electoral cycle it heightens during the period of mobile voter registration process. During the civic education trainings and seminars NGOs use this opportunity citizens are urged to deter from the use of violence and practice tolerance and be open to different and various political views. ZIMCET and its partners under the umbrella name, ZESN, continue to conduct civic education to enhance awareness on electoral rights thereby facilitating meaningful participation in the electoral processes. Some respondents indicated that voter apathy is mainly caused by the citizens' fear for victimization.

ZIMCET in preparation of elections also do zero tolerance to violence campaigns to uphold peace in preparation and during elections. If violence prevails it discourages citizens to participate in the election due to peace. Through the use of different materials like t-shirts, newspaper articles and billboards a message to uphold peace is spread across the countries.

## 4.6.2 Electoral period

NGOs play a critical role during elections in Zimbabwe and any other country around the globe. One of the major roles played by NGOs in Zimbabwe if permitted is election monitoring. This is monitoring whether the proceedings of the elections are going in accordance with relating legislature. ZIMCET during elections also offer safety nets for the citizens in cases of violence. One of the respondents from Mutoko centre argued that during elections the government hospitals refuse medical treatment to patients injured from political violence and hence NGOs are their only way of survival and protection. According to Wikipedia, election monitoring is the process by which independent observers keep an eye on the election process on the basis of the state and international law standards of election. These observers may come from foreign countries or from local and international NGOs. Zimbabwean during the colonial era fought hard

for their right to vote which they attained on independence. However over the years this has never been the case. Instead of elections to be a period where the society celebrates and exercises that right to the full, they have become a period of fear of retaliation and violence against both the candidates and voters. This undermines the very heart of democracy as the means by which people can ensure accountability of their leaders and government. It is in this phase as well that votes are counted and announced in accordance with the standards stipulated by the authorities. Matyszak (2010) explains that the procedure for vote counting and the results announcements is stipulated by ZEC. The institution is also responsible for stipulating the timeframe for the electoral process, and this is laid out in the Electoral Act section 61-67and 112.

## 4.6.3 Post-electoral period

The post electoral period is the period after the polling day and the announcement of the outcomes of the elections. This is an intense phase as it is meet by many with different reactions. If not safe guarded this phase might lead to a break out of violence by those who do not want to concede defeat. Respondents argued that this is mainly because the losing part feels the need to punish those who would have voted against them. Emotions will be high as well during this period and hence if tolerance is not practiced and advocated for violence easily breaks out. In this phase the government is usually occupied with the administrative concerns and hence this becomes the responsibility of the NGOs to ensure that violence is monitored in the communities. The government usually fails to protect citizens and hence the locally based NGOs have to step and try to protect the civilians. ZIMCET field officers indicated that this is the phase that could rise conflicts in communities and hence the need for more awareness campaigns.

## 4.7CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Political conflicts are the most rampant type of conflicts in the Zimbabwean society. According to the Heidelberg conflict model, a political conflict is a positional difference concerning values relevant to a society. Conflicts in Zimbabwe today remains rooted in disputes over the consolidation of power and pre-colonial disputed which were not resolved. With the existence of an opposition political party like MDC, the political landscape continues to be characterized by mistrust and attempts to eliminate challenges to power. Due to the existence of the disputes that were not addressed conflicts remains one of the major features of the Zimbabwean communities. Respondents argued that even though the government made efforts to address these issues through the establishment of the ZHRC and NPRC they have failed to resolve conflicts

effectively across the country. The ZHRC is the one already function but however its mandate is limited, they cannot deal with disputes arising from before its establishment. The NPRC is not yet fully functional and hence the government needs assistance in terms of conflict resolution within communities. Conflict resolution refers to the process of finding a solution that is peaceful to the disagreement already in existence. NGOs in effort to enable conflict resolutions in communities carry out projects, activities and programme to ensure an environment that is conducive for conflict resolution.

## 4.7.1 Focus group discussions

In conflict prone areas of Zimbabwe like Mutoko, ZIMCET is involved in conflict resolution. To resolve existing conflicts, various ways are employed and these include focus group discussion. A focus group discussion refers to a small-group discussion guided by a trained leader. It is used to learn about opinions on a specific topic, and to guide future action

#### 4.8 CHALLENGES ENCOUNTERED BY NGOS

#### 4.8.1Political interference

The hostile relationship between the government and NGOs has been the major challenge for their operations and projects. NGOs get their funding from donor governments who either fund them directly or through organizations. Therefore the NGOs in Zimbabwe are closely linked to organizations like the USAID, NORAD, DFID or the various arms of the government. This has resulted in a scenario where they are treated by the Zimbabwean government treats them with suspicion as they are seen as part their donors' political strategies. This alone makes it difficult for the operations of NGOs especially in the rural areas. Where NGOs are involved in sensitive issues like land disputes and democracy, local leadership threaten them with deregistration.

Mavhinga (2014) articulated that the ZRP has been one of the leading institutions in the harassment of activist. The frustration of NGOs according to the Amnesty international is not just the laws and suspicion but political violence has become a major challenge to NGOs in Zimbabwe today.

## 4.8.2 Lack of funding

Most of the NGOs finances are donor funded and many critics have argued that this has compromised the NGOs' mandate to be independent in order to effectively protect and serve the

best interest of Zimbabweans in as far as democracy is concerned. Some of the respondents during the interviews indicated that the donor community has used NGOs in Zimbabwe for a variety of purposes all of which at times are divorced from the interests of Zimbabweans. Lack of financial resources has remained one of the NGOs' major constrains in carrying out their activities and projects. According to the Global Policy Forum (2012) NGOs rely heavily on money from a variety of sources and these include individual donors, foundations, corporations and governments. Often what an NGO can and cannot do is tied to where the money comes from, dramatically affecting the effectiveness and neutrality of NGOs.

Funding sources for NGOs include grants, donations and membership dues. Quite a vital fraction of the funding for NGOs come from private donors individually and some of these donations emanate from individuals who are wealthy, an illustration is that of Ted Turner who gave the UN a donation of \$1 billion. NGOs are supposed to be independent but however some of them heavily rely on funding from the government in order to carry out their projects. According to almost 50% of the respondents, this compromises the independence of NGOs. Some activists have argued that this government funding is controversial taking into consideration the fact that this funding can be abused. It can support certain political agendas of the ruling party rather than a nation's development goals.

## 4.8.3 Harsh Legislation

Respondents indicated that over the years the government has implemented a barrage of laws that have impacted negatively on the NGOs work. These laws include the Public Order and Security Act (POSA), Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA) and the Criminal Law Codification Act, to mention just a few. These has in many cases stand as a stumbling block to the work of the NGOs as they cannot carry out their work with flexibility as they have to inform the police of their every move especially in the case of POSA and AIPPA. In some instances their gatherings are blocked by the police and termed as anti-government gatherings.

The Non- Governmental Organizational Bill, gazetted in August 2004, is also a piece of legislation that according to Kujinga (2004) is not delicate with its intentions. According to the NGO Bill, all NGOs must be registered with the NGO council which is subjugated by appointees from the government. This council has the powers to deregister NGOs that do not observe this

legislation and they can even arrest the board members and the executive employees. This has compromised the independence of some NGOs in their operations for the fear of the repercussion propounded by the NGO bill.

## 4.8.4 Limited Capacity

NGOs in Zimbabwe also have limited technical and organizational capacity even though they might be strongly connected to the communities. According to the respondents, NGOs especially those that are small has problems even with getting simple staff like internet and worse still skilled personnel. This has also led to mismanagement of financial resources in some cases as the personnel lack the proper financial management skills. Unfortunately there very few donors are willing to fund for the capacity building of these small NGOs. Due to the weak capacity it is also difficult to get funding from donors even though in some instances they might have robust concept notes and their ideas can positively impact the communities. The speed in technology changes also undermines the capacity of NGOs operating in Zimbabwe as more resources are required in order to cope with the technological advancements.

## **Chapter Summary**

This chapter presented the data collected from the various respondents who participated in this research. The various roles that the NGOs are doing in an effort to develop democracy in Zimbabwe were examined. Through these various activities and projects the voice of ordinary citizens is heard and thus ultimately encouraging active and meaningful participation in the national processes like elections and policy making. NGOs are more devoted to the welfare of the general populace however some of their activities are not endorsed and/or complimented by the government and hence the impact is compromised.

## CHAPTER FIVE: CONLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

## 5.0 Introduction

This chapter will mainly focus on summarizing the entire research and the methods that were employed to conduct the study. It will conclude the dissertation with an overall analysis of the trends of democracy and NGOs globally, regionally and internationally. It will also present the conclusion and recommendations which arose from the key research findings. The recommendations offered will also indicate possible solutions to some of the constraints that NGOs in Zimbabwe are facing today. Recommendations are also addressed to the government of Zimbabwe on how they can harness their relationship with the NGOs in order to effectively contribute to the development of democracy in Zimbabwe.

## 5.1 Conclusion

NGOs at global level are considered to be partners of development and governments continue to forge strategic relations with them as they have closer ties with the grassroots citizens. Various NGOs in Zimbabwe continue to make recommendable efforts towards the democratization process in the country. However some of the NGOs' initiatives cease to be a success due to the lack of cooperation with the government. NGOs have managed encourage active and meaningful citizen participation through lobbying and advocacy, monitoring the electoral cycle, peace building, conflict resolution and information sharing. Government agencies agree that some of the NGOs' initiatives have been effective but however some of the NGOs have been interfering in politics lately as they are pushing their donor organization's regime change agenda. This has been the major reason for the hostile relations that exist between the NGO sector and the government.

### **5.2 RECCOMENDATIONS**

#### 5.2.1 NGOs

- i. In the light of the above conclusionsNGOs need to be more transparent in their operations so as to create trust between them and the government and cultivate a good relationship with the government that can have a greater impact on democratic governance in a broader sense. NGOs should not be political players as this compromises their impartiality.
- ii. NGOs should be transparent and accountable especially in terms of their financial management as this safeguard against the abuse of funds that was indicated by the respondents during the research.

#### 5.2.2Government

- The government is also argued to secure funds for NGOs. This will not only go a long
  way in ensuring the effectiveness of their work but also ensuring that NGOs does not
  have foreign agendas to push.
- ii. The governments in Africa (including Zimbabwe) should view NGOs as their partners in development and not label them as western puppets due to the fact that they basically receive foreign funding especially from the west. As evidenced by the research, NGOs in Zimbabwe are working towards the development of democracy in Zimbabwe and the well being of the grassroots and these are also priorities for the government. ZIMCET resists external influence from donors and firmly stand for the principles and beliefs of their own.
- iii. The government should be inclusive whenever possible especially in issues concerning democracy and development, it should be able to liaise with the grassroots citizens and should be value their opinions.

## **Chapter Summary**

The main scope of this dissertation was to assess the role that NGOs in Zimbabwe has played in Zimbabwe's democratization process using ZIMCET as a case study. This brought to light the fact that NGOs in Zimbabwe and around the world are the government's partners for development and not enemies. This dissertation explored the activities and projects that have been carried out by ZIMCET in an effort to develop democracy in Zimbabwe. The dissertation also paved way for the deeper understanding of the relationship between the government sector and the NGOs. Through the research it was learnt that NGOs have been playing critical roles in the advancement of democracy and these include peace building, conflict resolution, electoral cycle and information sharing. The recommendations will go a long way in ensuring that there is a cooperative relationship between the government and the NGOs. This will ensure that the work of the governments and NGOs will complement each other and hence will go a long way in the advancement of democracy in Zimbabwe. This will also ensure that the government's development projects are people oriented.

## REFERENCE LIST

Alliance for peace building (2013) 's selected definations of peacebuilding available at <a href="https://www.allianceforpeacebuilding.org/2013/08/selected-definations-of-peacebuilding/">www.allianceforpeacebuilding.org/2013/08/selected-definations-of-peacebuilding/</a>

Bratton M, Van de Walle N ((1997) <u>Democratic Experiments in Africa: Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective</u>, Cambridge:Cambridge University Press.

Badu, Y.A. and Parker, A. (1994) 'The Role of Non-governmental Organisations in Rural Development: The Case of the Voluntary Workcamps Association of Ghana, 'Journal of Social Development in Africa, Vol. 9.1. pp. 27-39.

Borrington, F and Stimpson, R (2008) management of business, new delhi: Sage Publishers.

Barson, S available at <a href="www.ccsf.org.zw/areas-of-work/capacity-biding/articles/peace-building-zimbabwe-views">www.ccsf.org.zw/areas-of-work/capacity-biding/articles/peace-building-zimbabwe-views</a> accesed at

Bird, D.K (2009) 'The use of questionnaires for acquiring information on public perception of natural hazards and risk mitigation-a-review of current knowledge and practice', <u>natural Hazards</u> and <u>Earth System Sciences</u>, Vol 9(4)

Coltart, D (1991) 'building NGO's in Zimbabwe' available at www.davidcoltart.com/1991/08/building-ngos-in-zimbabwe/ accessed on 30/01/17

Cohen, L., Manion, L and Morrison, K (2007) research Methods in Education, 6<sup>th</sup> edition, London and Newyork: Routledge.

Chan, S (2005) Citizen Of Africa: Conversations with Morgan Tsvangirai, Capetown: Fingerprint

Dube and Makaye (2014) 'Zimbabwe: the challenge of Democracy from below, 1980 to 2013'academic research journalsa, Vol. 2(10).

Dorman, S. R, 'Inclusion and Exclusion: NGOs and Politics in Zimbabwe, department of politics and International relations, University of Oxford, 2001.

Edwards, M and Hulme, D (1992) <u>making a difference: NGOs and development in a changing</u> world development, London: Earthscan.

Encyclopedia of public health (2002) faith based organizations, available at <a href="https://www.encyclopedia.com/education/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/faith-based-organizations">www.encyclopedia.com/education/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/faith-based-organizations</a> accessed on 05/04/17.

Ghiorgis, G. A (2012) 'principles of democracy' available at http://asmarino.com/articles/1442-principles—of-democracy accessed on 1/02/17.

Gono, V (2016) 'the church and politics of protests' the Sunday news, 18 sept.

Goel, A 'POLITICAL PARTIES: 5 major functions of political parties in democracy' available at www.importantindia.com/16621/functions-of-political-parties-in-democracy/

Helliker, K. D. (2008), "Dancing on the Same Spot: NGOs", in Moyo, S., Helliker, K. D and Murisa, T. (eds.), <u>Contested Terrain: Land Reform and Civil Society in Contemporary Zimbabwe</u>, Pietermaritzburg: S&S Publishers.

Hancock. B, Ockleford. E and Windridge, K (2009) 'an introduction to qualitative research' available at <a href="https://www.rds-yh.nihr.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/5">https://www.rds-yh.nihr.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/5</a> introduction-to-qualitative-research-2009.pdf accessed on 02/04/17.

Jeater, D (2011) 'Zimbabwe: international NGOs and aid agencies-Parastes and poor? Available at http://africanarguments.org/2011/08/08/parasites-of-the-poor-international-ngos-and-aid-agencies-in-zimbabwe-by-diana-jeater/ accesed at 07/04/17.

Kujinga, T (2004) 'Challenges facing civil society in Zimbabwe' available at <u>archive.kubatana.net/html/archive/cact/041231tk.asp?sector=ADV&year=2004&range\_start=1</u> accessed at 02/04/17.

Lee, R (2011) 'civil society's present and future role in Zimbabwe' available at <a href="https://www.osisa.org/openspace/zimbabwe/civil-societys-present-future-role-zimbabwe">www.osisa.org/openspace/zimbabwe/civil-societys-present-future-role-zimbabwe</a> accessed on 04/04/17.

Legard, R., Keegan, J. and Ward, K (2003) Qualitative Research A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers, SAGE.

Makaye, P and Dube, B (2014) 'Zimbabwe: the challenges of democracy from below, 1980 to 2013', International Journal for minority and Group rights, Vol 21 (4).

Mavhinga, D (2014) 'Zim Civil Society misunderstood' Zimbabwe Independent,23 May.

Mesfin. B (2008) 'Democracy, elections and political parties' available at https://www.wisc.edu/.../

Mtisi, S (2001) Business research:methods for management programmes, Bulawayo: NUST.

Mangongera (2014) 'A New Twilight in Zimbabwe?' journal of democracy, Volume 25(2).

Mason, J(2002) qualitative researching, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, London, Sage.

Mbofana, T. R (2016) 'Rhodesia was more democratic than an independent Zimbabwe', <u>The Zimbabean</u>, 20 August.

Matyszak, D (2010) Law, <u>Politics and Zimbabwe's 'Unity' Government</u>, Harare: The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS).

Mbanje and Mahuku (2013)'NGOs willing tools of subversion', The Herald, 16 August.

Mudzingwa, D (2014) 'rights in transition' available at <a href="https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2016/country-chapters/zimbabwe accessed on 06/02/17">https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2016/country-chapters/zimbabwe accessed on 06/02/17</a>.

Makumbe Mw, J (1998) Is there a Civil Society in Africa? International Affairs, Vol 74 (2).

Mikako, N (2008) The role of faith based organizations in building democratic process: achieving universal primary education in Sierra Leone, international journal of social sciences, vol 3 (3).

Ncube, C (2010) contesting hegemony: civil society and the struggle for social change in Zimbabwe, 2000-2008.D Phil Thesis International Development Department. Birmingham: University of Birmingham.

National Democratic Institute available at <a href="https://www.ndi.org/what-we-do/political-parties">https://www.ndi.org/what-we-do/political-parties</a> accessed on 03/02/17.

National Constitutional Assembly (2009) shortcomings of the Kariba draft constitution.

Ncube, C (2010) contesting hegemony: civil society and the struggle for change in Zimbabwe, 2000-2008, PhD International Development department, university of Birmingham.

NGO pulse (2009)'lobbying and advocacy' available at www.ngopulse.org/lobbying-and-advocy accessed on 3/2/17.

Oliver, P (2004) writing your thesis, UK: Sage.

Peace revolution (2010)what is peace, available at <a href="https://peacerevolution.net/wall/topic-380/what-is-peace">https://peacerevolution.net/wall/topic-380/what-is-peace</a> accessed on 05/04/17.

Patton, M. Q and Cochran, M (2000) 'A guide to using qualitative Research methodology' available at https://d1pbog36rugm0t.cloudfront.net/media/science/research-and-teaching/teaching/qualitative-research-methodology.pdf accessed at 08/03/17.

Ruhanya (2012) 'NGOs crucial to Zim democracy' Zimbabwe Independent, 8March.

Rummel, R.J (2010)UNDERSTANDING CONFLICT AND WAR, Available at <a href="https://www.hawaii.edu/powerkills/TJP.CHAP2.HTM">https://www.hawaii.edu/powerkills/TJP.CHAP2.HTM</a> accessed on 23/3/17.

Solidarity Peace Trust (2008) Punishing Dissent, Silencing Citizens: The Zimbabwe Elections 2008 available at <a href="https://www.solidaritypeacetrust.org">www.solidaritypeacetrust.org</a> assessed at 01/10/16.

Shamoo, A.E., and Resnick, B.R (2003) <u>responsible conduct of research</u>, Oxford: oxford university press.

Salamon, L. M and Anheier, H. K(1998) 'Social origins of civil society: explaining the non profit sector cross-Nationally', International journal of voluntary and Non profit Organizations, Vol 9 (3).

Stokes,S. C (1999) 'POLITICAL PARTIES AND democracy', annual review of political science,vol 2 (1).

Srinivas, H (1996) 'New roles for professional NGOs' available at <a href="www.gdrc.org/ngo/prof-ngo.html">www.gdrc.org/ngo/prof-ngo.html</a> accessed on 16/01/17.

Tsvangirai, M (2011) At the deep End, Johannesburg: Penguin books.

The famous peple(2010) available at <a href="www.thefamouspeople.com/human-rights-activist.php">www.thefamouspeople.com/human-rights-activist.php</a> accessed on 05/04/17.

United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Court available at www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/SRHRDefenders/Pages/Defender.aspx accessed 09/04/17.

US Department of transportation (2016) informing people through outreach and organization available at https://www.planning.dot.gov/publicinvolvement\_documents/1b-a.asp accessed on 02/04/17.

Zivetz, L (1991) Doing Good: The Australian NGO community, Sydeney: Allen&Unwin.

# Appendix 1

# QUESTIONAIRE GUIDE

My Name is Charity Chipunga. I am a student at Midlands State University (MSU) studying for an honors degree in Politics and Public Management. I am carrying out a research on **the role played by Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in Zimbabwe's democratization process**. The data collected during this research shall be used only for the purpose of the research. To ensure data privacy, integrity and confidentiality, there are no names that will be used.

	1.	How do you define democracy?
•••		What factors have influenced the democratization process in Zimbabwe?
	3.	What role has the NGOs played in Zimbabwe's democratization process?

	How has your organization contributed to the advancement of democracy in Zimbabwe?
	How can you describe the relationship between NGOs and the government of Zimbabwe?
	Do you consider the NGOs efforts towards the advancement of democracy in Zimbabwe
Please	as effective?  Tick Yes No
7.	What are some of the major successes recorded by NGOs towards the advancement of democracy in Zimbabwe?
••••	
8.	What do you think can be done to ensure a cooperative relationship between the government and NGOs?
9.	What are the main challenges that have been faced by NGOs working in the field of democracy in Zimbabwe?

10.	What	t can	be d	one t	O OV	ercor	ne th	e cha	ılleng	ges in	idicat	ed or	ı que	stior	1 8		

# Appendix 2

## **INTERVIEW GUIDE**

- 1. How has NGOs contributed to the democratization process in Zimbabwe and how effective has these contributions been?
- 2. How do you describe the relationship between the state sector and the NGOs and explain why you describe the relationship that way?
- 3. What has the government done towards the advancement of democracy in the last decade?
- 4. What has been the challenges faced by NGOs and how can they be averted?
- 5. How can the government and the NGOs work together for the advancement of democracy in Zimbabwe