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DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS AND PUBLIC MANAGEMENT

TOPIC

AN ANALYSIS OF THE ELECTIONS IN ZIMBABWE AND THEIR
IMPLICATIONS TO THE 2018 ELECTIONS. A CASE OF 2008-13 ELECTIONS.

BY

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DEDICATION

To my beloved mom, Naume Gapare.

In memory of Felix Kasolo, my father. Without you, I have managed to find hidden paths of success, you left everything that I may need to follow your footsteps to my success. Your legacy will forever be remembered.

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Finally, it is by the Lord's grace not by mighty nor power. EBENEZER!

ABSTRACT

The determination of this research was to investigate the implications of the Zimbabwe's elections drawing the past experience focusing mainly on the 2008 and 2013 elections. From the case study and the whole research, limited information was gathered, since the implications are still an ongoing thing in the Zimbabwean political environment. It also comes at the heart of this research to scrutinise and to gather as much information that would fill the void by the analysis of a plethora of researches and spell it out clearly. The dawn of a new Zimbabwe under the black majority that saw the emergence of ZANU-PF has noted down a malpractice of democratic norms and values within which elections would play an important role. Democracy dwells much in the rule of the people, citizen participation and equality in the political environment. In as much as democracy is concerned, the research findings tried to explore the shortcomings within which the elections in Zimbabwe has been conducted. Therefore the research managed to stresses out that the main obstacles to the running of free and fair elections were infested by violence, failure to implement the concept of separation of powers, intimidation, vote manipulation or vote rigging and also the economy. The researcher has employed qualitative and quantitative research methods, with various methods of data collection were used. Thus how the research managed to draw some of the sentiments of the same experience that would apply to the 2018 elections. In this case the research managed to draw out the same events which are likely to happen from the continued struggle laid down by the opposition and the civil society organisations that they need a regime change for economic improvement. Various demonstrations took place in 2016, explains a lot to the 2018. The outcome and the conduction of the elections is still a woe which is not yet addressed to its full capacity though some of the electoral reforms has been laid down. On the other hand, the need for electoral reform, separation of powers, and the independence of the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) explains a lot on the recommendations that would explain the conduction of credible elections, hence if it's not scrutinised, they constitute the implications to the 2018 elections.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

GNU	Government of National Unity
GPA	Global Political Agreement
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MDC-M	Movement for Democratic Change - Mutambara
MDC-T	Movement for Democratic Change- Tsvangirai
SADC	Southern African Development Committee
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union- Patriotic Front
ZEC	Zimbabwe Electoral Commission

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CHAPTER 1

1.1 Introduction

Zimbabwe elections were held on 29 March 2008 to elect the President and the parliament. Events leading to the elections of 2008 was the political decision of the general mass behind a calamitous and dilapidating political economy which is traced back from 2002 up to 2007. According to the Electoral Commission, an election is a formal decision making process by which a population chooses an individual to hold public office by voting. The elections running up from 2000, 2002, 2005, and 2008 noticed the dawn of a new culture of political intolerance of a very serious nature which resulted in each election and post-election period being characterised by rampant hate and displacements Hlathwayo *at al.* (2015). This has resulted in a stifling political environment for Zimbabwean citizens from across the country. Mapuva and Muyangwa-Mapuva (2014), noted that political events that prevailed in Zimbabwe since 1980 have presented a new challenge for a democratic country. With this, the history of the electoral system was tartan and it becomes an issue of political debate from the opposition, the civil society and the citizens at large. According to Badza (2009), the harmonised elections were generally accepted as relatively free though not necessarily fair. It also emerged that the election was thinly complied with the SADC principles and guidelines which governs democratic elections. After this, it followed the controversial presidential elections run-off of 27 June 2008 which was unjustifiably flawed.

Therefore in as much as this research is going to embark, the traces of political fraud, violence and traces of political intimidation, electoral body independence and electoral body capacity to produce and guide the elections to free and fair grounds among others compiled to make the implications to which they can also affect the upcoming 2018 elections

1.2 Background of the study

Scholars define elections as a formal decision making process by which a population choses an individual to hold a public office. Elections have been a usual mechanism by which Morden democratic representative democracies has operated since the 17th century. The elections in Zimbabwe well started in 1979 following the attainment of the independence in 1980. ZANU-PF has become the most dominant party in the political arena since the birth of the new Zimbabwe under Robert Mugabe. Other political opposition parties have faced a

challenge to gain political space since 1980. This has brought political connotations within the electorate and the political environment of the political parties in Zimbabwe.

According to Makumbe (1997), he noticed that observers of the Zimbabwe political scene assumed that Zimbabwe was, until the 1990s, a one-party state. This is because for the better part of the 1980s Zimbabwe's political leadership and the ruling party aggressively advocated a one-party system. ZANU managed to incorporate ZAPU-PF behind a motive of quelling a political disorder arising from the only powerful opposition led by Joshua Nqabuko Nkomo of PF-ZAPU. Since then, the main political party in Zimbabwe became ZANU-PF which became dominant in Zimbabwean politics led by Robert Gabriel Mugabe. The rise of another powerful opposition, the MDC-T has become a real threat to the ZANU-PF hence it arouse within the political sphere inter party conflicts. The conflicts were associated with violence, violence over supremacy, and vote rigging. The cry from other political parties, the citizens and the civil society organisations was the electoral reform which will proffer the opposition a guarantee over the independence of the electoral board which is now Zimbabwe electoral Commission. Apart from that the need to re amend the constitution from the civil society became the everyday woe which was being expected by the opposition.

The rise of tension in Zimbabwe 2008 over the need of political space was exacerbated by the prevailing economic and social problems which became too hard to live within for the rest of the citizens in Zimbabwe. According to the International Coalition report for the Responsibility to Project (ICRtoP), Zimbabwe entered a state of violent political crisis during the first round of the election and as well as during the course of the preparation of the second round of the run-off election of June 2008. Mugabe led a campaign of terror against the opposition party (MDC which was then changed to MDC-T) and its supporters in the lead up to the electoral process. State sponsored violence resulted in a massive human rights violation, torture and forced disappearance. The ICRtoP report asserted that despite winning the 2008 elections, Robert Gabriel Mugabe continued to implement brutal attacks to the opposition. In the other hand, in 2016 noticed a rise in political disorder with the Tajamuka/Sesjikile campaigns throughout the country. This has something to do with the upcoming 2018 elections.

1.4 Statement of the problem

Elections have been conducted since the year 1980 and they remain indefinable since there has been little acknowledgement of the trends and implications of Zimbabwe's elections.

Consequently, little has been addressed towards the causes of violence before, during and after elections since the year 1980. The failure to revise the policies implemented by ZEC has aroused several suspicious among individuals, external and internal political parties pertaining the subject on free and fair elections since 2008 and 2013. Therefore, since it is less clear, the findings will be used to introduce comprehensive strategies from the patterns, trends and analysis of Zimbabwe's elections since 2008 and 2013 to see possible recommendations over implications drawn from the election trends since 2008 to the 2018 elections.

1.5 Objectives of the research

1. To identify implications of the elections in Zimbabwe from 2008 and to the 2018 elections.
2. To see if the 2008 elections has reflected implications ahead of 2018 elections.
3. To establish drivers of the implications in relation to previous elections.

1.6 Questions of the research.

1. What are the implications to the 2018 elections drawing the experience from since 2008?
2. In what ways did the election events in the 2008 has implications ahead of 2018 elections?
3. What are the drivers of the elections implications and how they can affect the upcoming elections in 2018?

1.7 Justification of the study.

This study will be conducted to analyse 2008 election and in relation to violence and to preview 2018 elections in order to proffer recommendations to avoid violence from reoccurring in the upcoming 2018 elections. To alert the civil society so that they can have a background of general elections and to understand the election process as a whole. To examine previous strategies used and how best we can upgrade them in order to come up with the best that is reconciliation and healing process of parties. According to Hlathwayo et al. (2009), for a long time the Zimbabwean politics has been characterised by a culture of political intolerance of a very serious nature, resulting in each and every election

characterized by rampant hate speeches, violence and displacements since 2000 up to 2008 and 2013. The need to explore the root causes of such electoral injustices has to be looked on. According to Makumbe in his journal “theft by numbers”, among other reasons, the ineptitude of the electoral board has so much implications to the running of elections since its establishment up to the establishment of ZEC in 2005. Apart from that, he also viewed the 2008 delayed results as a critique of a democratic governance Makumbe (2009), Legislation offers for the announcement of election results by the ZEC as soon as they become available. However, it carefully stage-managed the announcement of parliamentary and senatorial results for the 29 March poll. Both senatorial and parliamentary results were announced in such a way that the MDC and ZANU (PF) were always at par in terms of the seats that each had won. To this day it is not clear why the ZEC engaged in such an unsuccessful exercise of the elections. It may be true that it was an attempt to manage possible outbreaks of violence; or they may simply have wanted keep the nation guessing for as long as possible while they waited for further instructions on how to proceed. It is also possible that the process, prolonged over two days, enabled the ZEC to buy more time to manipulate the electoral results pertaining to those seats where ZANU (PF) had lost to MDC candidates. Perhaps the most glaring example of the ZEC’s incompetence was demonstrated when the commission failed to release the results of the presidential election for five weeks after polling day. The *Zimbabwe Independent* (2008) reported that the results were withheld on the instructions of Mugabe:

“Staring defeat in the face after week-end polls, President Robert Mugabe has gone on the aggressive, directing the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) to delay the result in order to manage a political crisis triggered by his defeat”.

However from this, the researcher will be able to apply the democratic theory to realise the rights of the masses and to realize also the need for the independence of the electoral board to provide for a transparent provision of the results. More so, the research is going to encompass the realist theory to explain the element of struggle for power and the concept of the carrot and stick to link it to the trends of election violence in 2008. According to Matyszak (2008), the first mechanism by which Mugabe extended his term of office was by a protracted delay in announcing the results, and use of violence which then encompass the realists perspective. The research will also seek the previous elections in relation to the need for political space as noticed by the high rise of political activism in Zimbabwe during the Tajamuka/ Sesjikile movements, demonstrations and other campaigns which might cause the havoc come 2018.

1.8 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1.8.1 Introduction

The section reveals the numerous methods which were used in the research. Research design, sample selection, methods of data collection, data analysis and ethical considerations. The study has embarked on qualitative methods and as well as the analysis. As postulated by Lofland and Lofland (1984) qualitative research includes methods of data collection and analysis that are not quantitative. Interviews and questionnaires were also used to collect data from various participants. According to Saunders *et al.* (2009), are of the view that methodology is a theory of how the research should be carried out, including the theoretical and philosophical assumptions upon which the research is based and the implications of the method or methods used. Focus was also on the use of secondary data, hence the methods were used to carry out the study of the analysis of election trends of 2008 and the events which can explain the implications to the 2018 elections.

1.8.2 Research design

According to De Vaus (2001), research design makes reference to the strategy that someone can choose to integrate into their study in a coherent and logical way, thereby ensuring effectiveness in addressing the research problem. As of Brink and Wood (1998), the function of a research design is the provision of a design for answering research questions. The researcher used the qualitative research design to explain the case study of the election trends of Zimbabwe's elections in 2008. According to Weist (2011) postulated that qualitative research design as a useful tool in understanding the nature of the problem. In this case this will help to explore the analysis of the trends of the Zimbabwe elections in 2008 and the implications to the 2018 elections. Furthermore, the research used a case study method, with the particular reference to the 2008 elections. Burns (2000), argued that the case study system is a bounded system within which it is an entity in itself and as it allows the depth examination of the study. Burns (2000) further argues that the researcher can investigate deeply, undertaking intensive analysis of the subject of the case study examining the various phenomena. Study of a particular case might reveal insights, which may relate to the typical class of events from which the case has been drawn. According to Punch (1998), a case study

method allows for a variety of research questions and purposes which allows the researcher to develop as fully an understanding of that case as possible. Isaac and Michael (1995), argue that a case study is exploratory in nature and the outcome of a case study may provide information and “*possible theory*” to guide future research. For there is a provision of a case study, the researcher has therefore managed to bring on table important issues, processes and interactions.

1.8.3 Sampling Technique

According to Orodho and Kombo (2002), they specified sampling technique as the procedure in which a researcher can use to gather places, people (population), or items to research on. It is a process of picking a number of people or items from a population or a nominated group which comprises elements that represents the characteristics found in the whole group. The researcher has embarked on stratified random sampling and purposive sampling. Stratified random sampling is the sample that produce research data that can be generalised; to a large population. It is a procedure in which all the people in the defined population have an equal opportunity of being chosen as a member of the sample. The researcher chose to use stratified random sampling in order to acquire the various ideas from the youth. Purposive sampling (also known as subjective, judgmental, or selective sampling,) was used on the selection of the ward councillors and other selected members of opposition parties. Purposive sampling is an example of a non-probability examining technique. In non-probability testing, the researcher uses his judgment to choose respondents, Palys, 2008. The researchers choose whom, where, and how to do his research this sampling design, the researcher noted, it was not time consuming.

1.9 METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

1.9.1 Target Population

According to Burns and Grove (2003), target population gives position to the complete total of participants that meet the chosen criteria. The research focused on the analysis of elections in Zimbabwe and thus how the researcher has targeted a population of eligible voters who participated before and those who participated in the 2008 elections up to date. The respondents who met the criteria of this research began from the age of 18 (eligible voter’s age in Zimbabwe) up to the age of 45 (the maximum age as by political participation in

Zimbabwe). Therefore these age groups provided information on how the elections in Zimbabwe were conducted?, in what circumstances were the elections were held?, and what were the implications before and after the elections in Zimbabwe?. The researcher chose the ages from 18 to 45 years because they are the most people who are most active groups in political setups of different communities.

1.9.2 Interviews

According to the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation (2016), interviewing involves asking questions and getting answers from participants in a study. Interviewing has a variety of forms including: individual, face-to-face interviews and face-to-face group interviewing. The asking and answering of questions can be mediated by the telephone or other electronic devices. Interviews can be structured, semi-structure or unstructured. Interviews are done to collect information on a particular area. The interviews were used on face-face bases with the victims of political violence and policy makers from different political belongings (councillors). The interviews proved to be effective as the researcher managed to get information face to face and interact directly with the people and councillors and other people. Also the researcher used interview because the researcher could get the valuable information through face-to-face communication. According to Edwards and Holland (2013) some of the terms that apply to qualitative interviews include in-depth, informal, non-directed, open-ended, conversational, naturalistic, narrative, and oral. However during conducting research, other respondents were in fear of releasing information to the researcher, rather the researcher managed to interview 5 people whom they hold public offices.

1.9.3 Online / Internet Research

Through online research, the researcher accessed online books, journals, newspaper articles and information which contributed to data collection results, since the research is mainly triangular in nature. Online research has its own merits when carrying out a research. Cude (2004), highlights the following: it reduces the costs of conducting a research, it is faster than most research methods, easy to access articles and databases from multiple libraries as the major advantages of using online or internet research.

This has added value to the research since the researcher downloaded the pictures of previous elections and the accessing of old newspapers which had better information to support the

research. The access of older newspapers has been easy through the internet research. For the people were now in preparation of the elections, it was difficult for the researcher to gather adequate information from various respondents hence the need to venture into technology and access to professional accounts, Facebook, twitter, and LinkedIn hence it offered to the researcher with information.

1.9.4 Document Analysis

A document analysis is a useful method of gathering data about policy and practice where the research is much focused. This method was undertaken in examining the background of the elections in Zimbabwe, the establishment of the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission, policies, operations and legal frameworks that guides the elections operations in Zimbabwe, the region and Africa at large. The purpose of this method was intended ant the identification of the drivers of political fraud, violence, politicization of ZEC, and the implications that have been set in 2008 as another possible run up of the same situation of 2008 to the 2018 elections.

Robson *et al.* (2001), document analysis can provide an objective and historical source of data for a research study. Burns (2000) suggested that documents can be used to verify evidence from other sources and specify events and issues in greater detail than available through other data collection methods. However, Burns (2000) cautioned that documents as sources of evidence may not be accurate and may contain bias and specific points of view which must be questioned. These limitations can be a threat to the researcher, as it would be difficult to generalize the possible implications of the 2008 elections to the 2018 elections.

1.9.5 Questionnaires

According to Foddy (1994), a questionnaire is a research instrument consisting of a series of questions for the purpose of gathering information from respondents. In addition, a questionnaire is simply a tool for collecting and recording information about a particular issue of interest. Questionnaires were used in gathering information from a targeted population selected randomly. The researcher planned and designed both open-ended and close-ended in order to capture all the required information. The researcher managed to circulate 100 questionnaires in which 80 of them managed to gather adequate data. The questionnaires were able to capture the nature of the trends of elections in Zimbabwe and possible shortcomings to the 2018 elections as a result of the political tensions from various groups in the Tajamuka/Sesjikile movements in 2016. As postulated by Popper (1959),

questionnaires allows the researcher to collect a lot of information from a large number of people in a short period of time. Many people are also familiar to the questionnaire in airing their views as compared to an interview. Most common people are not used interviews hence questionnaires can easily be quantified by the researcher. They give room for the researcher to contrast the responses among the participants.

1.9.6 Secondary Data

Secondary data is the information or data which is planned and developed. It is data based on previous researchers or by other scholars. Secondary data consists of previous documents gathered through reviewing published and unpublished articles and journals, pamphlets, and reports. Johnston (2014), noted that most sources used present related and enough data pertaining to the research at hand or available. The researcher has managed to consult local secondary data based on experience, most likely the library offered a variety of secondary data in which the research has been consulting. From personal experience, the researcher also gathered information from yearly publications from the time the researcher was at the ZANU-PF headquarters in Harare 2016.

1.9.7 Data Analysis

The researcher managed to gather information from different groups. The data from different methods of data collection methods was analysed and presented by the researcher in tandem with qualitative and quantitative methods. According to Morgan (1993) denotes that qualitative content analysis of verbal and visual data that is oriented towards summarizing the information contents of data. This research therefore analysed the trends of elections with the provision of violence and election fraud that has implications to the 2018 elections.

1.10 Ethical Considerations

According to Saunders *et al.* (2009) suggested that ethics includes debriefing study participants about what the research is all about, having informed consent from study participants, maintaining the confidentiality of study participants, protection of participants' privacy and protection of participants from harm. As of the University of Minesota (2003), ethics educates and monitors scientists to conduct research to ensure high moral standard. It is possible that interactions with participants may unintentionally hurt them in some unintended way. My study followed the general agreements shared by researchers about what

is proper and improper in the conduct of investigative examination. Subjects were not forced to participate in my research or reveal personal information about themselves. Their voluntary participation in the research project was based on a full understanding of the risks that might be involved. Voluntary participation in a research is considered a much important ethic that legitimizes a research. The researcher was cautious in his research in order to avoid harming the participants psychologically, physically, or in any other way. Anonymity was guaranteed in both in questionnaires and interviews hence the researcher considered a lot of ethics to its success.

1. 11 LITERATURE REVIEW

1.11.1 Introduction

According to the Solidarity Peace Trust (2008), the 2008 Harmonised Election in Zimbabwe was arguably the most historic of the post-independence elections, as for the first time in the last 28 years the ruling party lost its parliamentary majority and the President lost the first round of the Presidential election. This result represented the culmination of a decade of political and civic opposition to a former liberation party whose legitimacy has been greatly eroded by nearly three decades of intolerant rule. At a national level it is a clear message that despite the extremely harsh and repressive political environment in which elections have been conducted in Zimbabwe, the people of the country found the “resources of hope” required to say no to continued authoritarian rule. For the former liberation movements in the region this is also a message of the capacity of once venerated liberation parties to degenerate into unpopular kleptocracy. However it is the violence that has been unleashed by the Mugabe regime on Zimbabwean citizens that has demonstrated the hollowness of Mugabe’s anti-colonial message, with the real targets of his party’s attack being the impoverished and maltreated citizens of the country. The conduct of ZANU PF since the March 29th elections has summarised the decadence of the Mugabe legacy, and the security threat that this regime now poses to Zimbabweans and the region. The report that follows is a narrative of hope, thwarted by a leader and political party who view the source of their legitimacy not as the electoral process, but the combination of a selective imposition of a liberation legacy and the brutal deployment of political compliance.

The election took place within the context of the SADC mediation process led by South African President Thabo Mbeki, which provided limited electoral reforms and engendered a

freer and fair electoral environment. The mediation's intention was to get political parties in Zimbabwe to agree on processes that would lead to a generally acceptable election. However, the mediation ended in early 2008 with key issues, such as a new constitution, undecided and the unilateral decision by President Mugabe to set the date for the election on March 29th 2008. Nevertheless one of the electoral reforms agreed on in the mediation process, namely the requirement to post all election results outside polling stations in the presence of candidates and election agents, was to provide the opposition with a key mechanism to track election results.

Since the dawn of the new Zimbabwe under the black majority led by Robert Mugabe in 1980, the Zimbabwean political economy was infested with the ZANU-PF hegemonic ideology of clinging on power, however this constitutes a lot of aspects of how did Robert Mugabe managed to stay in power up to date. The need to explore the factors which led to his hegemony among other factors cannot be undermined. This chapter seeks to give an insight to the various issues which have implications to the peace and security of Zimbabwe as a result of elections since 2008. The need of a clear democratic sphere become a major threat to the ruling government hence it becomes another political turnout that caused violence in 2008. Apart from that, elections serves as a tool for the provision of democracy within a given state. Makinda (1996) held that, generally, democracy can be seen 'as a way of government firmly rooted in the belief that people in any society should be free to determine their own political, economic, social, and cultural systems. It is only through elections that a state can be described as a democratic state as provided by Makinda (1996), however the issue of violence in elections can tannish the whole idea of elections and democracy and that has already been employed by ZANU-PF as a strategy to win elections hence undermining democracy.

1.11.2 Elections, Peace and Security in Zimbabwe

As for Mapuva and Muyengwa-Mapuva (2014), political events that have prevailed in Zimbabwe since 1980 have presented challenges for democracy, giving birth to a tartan electoral history. Successive electoral contests have produced contested results and this has been attributed to the defective electoral legislation. Successive constitutional amendments and the enactment of the attendant legislation guiding civil society participation in governance processes have also contributed to the inability of the voice of the people from being heard. The inheritance of colonial legislation tended to harden the stance of the

leadership. Despite the fact that the SADC, and the AU, have facilitated the enactment of guidelines to enable free and fair electoral processes, this has not been binding on member states, leaving states to conduct elections under own conditions. In some cases, violence has characterized elections in Zimbabwe. The new Constitution in Zimbabwe has not helped improve the way elections have been held, as well as the authority of the election management body, the ZEC.

This has become the woe to the people of Zimbabwe in early 1999 through the formation of Movement for Democratic Change (MDC which is now the MDC-T). This has become a major threat to ZANU-PF and Robert Gabriel Mugabe regime. The conventional wisdom holds that, despite the political overture of the 1990s, there is no place for democracy in Africa because of one-party dominance, restriction of civil liberties, monopolisation of the means of mass communication, marginalisation of civil society, detrimental economic indicators and disrupting foreign interference Diamond (2008), this therefore has an impact to the opposition parties who felt that their privileges were so much oppressed by the government of Robert Mugabe. The monopolisation of every state entity in Zimbabwe by ZANU-PF. This has been labled by political scientists, who believed in useless conduct of elections in African states as “African elections are, in simple terms, “*window-dressing rituals*” with no real political meaning other than the wadding of the ballot boxes behind closed doors”. Mesfin (2008) quoted Adejumobi (2000:66), that “elections are just administrative formalities which have become standard *signs of good conduct* adopted by African governments to Western states and international institutions on which they are financially and politically dependent”.

According to Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (2008), a major highlight in Zimbabwe was the hold of the 29 March and June 27 2008 harmonized and presidential run-off elections. The human rights violations that occurred pre and post these two elections revealed serious violations on rights to participate in one’s own government, the right to associate, associate, assemble and express freely; freedom from torture, assault and cruel and degrading treatment.

1.11.2 Zimbabwe 2008 elections threat to peace and security

According to Mwonzora (2014), Zimbabwe had experience of politically motivated conflicts since at least 2000, when the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) emerged into the

Zimbabwean polity. The dawn of the opposition political party triggered contestation for power with the revolutionary party- Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF). In light of these developments, Zimbabwe has saw political violence in all its elections which according to many studies, sparked political turmoil, displacements fear and abhorrence across the country during the run up to 2008 disputed elections, Bratton and Masunungure (2008); Kebonang (2012); Dodo, Nyoni and Makwerere (2012). Nhede (2012: 180) rightly argues that Tsvangirai pulled out of the June 2008 elections because of widespread violence, especially in the countryside. This left President Mugabe uncontested in the Presidential election. Given the political turmoil that had characterized Zimbabwe's June 2008 elections South Africa's regional intervention was the best possible option to mitigate the contested elections by bringing political rivals to the negotiating table.

According to Eppel and Raftopoulos (2008), peacebuilding and reconciliation processes remain very pertinent in any post conflict situation. As for McCarthy (2011), peacebuilding generally involves a countless of plans that pursues to rebuild the economy, building institutions that identify and respect human rights issues. On the other hand reconciliation merges and strengthens peacebuilding by bringing people with different linguistic, ethnic and political affiliations together. The formation of government of national unity was triggered by the climaxing of social injustices that range from human rights abuses, outbreak of cholera emanating from socio, political and economic meltdown. The first attempts and declaration of the coalition government was to create an authentic unity that would work towards ending political conflicts, reconcile societies and start to curb the widespread socio-economic distress. To break the political impasse and restoration of human rights, the political leaders saw the importance of burying their past and engage in a serious state building process that included constitutional reforms to pave way for a free and fair election.

1.11.3 ZEC and elections in Zimbabwe

1.11.3.1 Failure to prepare election registers

Since its establishment in 2005, the operations of ZEC became in tandem with its predecessor and of the ruling party ZANU PF. This has been a bleeding point of Zimbabwe's political question. In this case, the resources and the ability to proffer free and fair elections also has a pinpoint to the political turmoil in Zimbabwe. As of the mandate of the institution in the constitution, the institution must provide and prepare for voting registers. According to

Makumbe (2009), noted that during the run-up to the 2008 harmonised elections, there were numerous complaints from political parties regarding the accuracy of the registers. As of the case ZEC had admitted that the voters roll prepared for 2008 harmonized elections was in shambles and hence they fail as a responsible institution to gear up for the requirements of the elections. Although the chairman of the ZEC admitted to the deplorable nature of the voters roll, he nonetheless argued that it was still one of the most credible in the world. In fact, the voter register was actually prepared by the Registrar-General purportedly under the supervision of the ZEC. Some opposition political parties claimed to have unearthed around 8,000 ‘ghost voters’ listed on the roll in just one undeveloped stand near Hatcliffe. Indeed, an interesting feature of the register is the claim by the ZEC that 5,934,768 people had registered to vote in the harmonised elections, *The Herald*, 13 March (2008).

Makumbe (2009), went on to say that with an estimated population of 13 million, this would represent 45 percent of the total, approximately 50 per cent of whom would be children or under voting age. This must also be read in the context of the HIV/ AIDS pandemic, and the fact that some three million Zimbabweans are estimated to have left the country in the past ten years. It soon became clear that the ZEC had actively inflated the number of registered voters, particularly in rural areas, the alleged stronghold of ZANU (PF). Indeed, the figures that later obtained at the polls were a far cry from the purported 5, 9 million voters. The ZEC’s own website indicates that a total of 2, 49 million valid votes were cast during the harmonised elections. It is obvious that during the run-up to the polls the ZEC was playing a numbers’ game aimed at ensuring Mugabe’s and ZANU (PF)’s victory. From this trend, in his book *theft by numbers*, it shows the ineptitude of the institution to produce results in the bases of free and fair elections. Therefore the issue of ZEC raised questions on the 2013 elections and the question from the opposition parties and other pressure groups like *tajamuka/sesjikile*, they want the reform to the ZEC operations that will give them boost ahead of the 2018 elections in Zimbabwe.

1.11.5.2 Vote rigging: ZEC

The ZEC has failed for the first time to deliver the victory to ZANU-PF in the 2008 elections up until the run-off. With the support that was behind Morgan Tsvangirai, The ZEC was further accused of failing to ensure that all political parties and registered candidates would be accorded adequate and equitable coverage by the public media, *The Herald*, 4 March

(2008). State-owned and -controlled media are notorious for shunning opposition political parties and their activities, while providing ZANU (PF) with ample coverage during elections, Makumbe (2002). In its self-defence, the ZEC accused political parties of manhandling media personnel when they tried to cover certain rallies. In practice, the ZEC simply does not have the power to enforce its own regulations regarding fair media coverage in an election or referendum, a fact that emphasizes its lack of institutional autonomy. State-owned media houses will always comply with the political preferences of ZANU (PF) rather than with issues of fairness. The ZEC cannot ensure a level playing field; even had they the will to do so, they do not have the capacity. In conclusion, the ZEC was not able to ensure that the harmonised elections were conducted ‘...efficiently, freely, fairly, transparently and in accordance with the law’. With regard to conducting voter education, the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission Act (section 15(1)) empowers the ZEC to license civic organizations wishing to participate in this exercise, *The Chronicle*, 28 February (2008). The ZEC is itself far too small and under-resourced to undertake any meaningful voter education. During the 2008 elections, it placed several advertisements in the media as a way of fulfilling this responsibility; they were seriously limited in terms of their content and outreach, since only a fraction of the population has access to mainstream media facilities. Some advertisements urged people to inspect the voter register but without indicating where this could be done. Others urged people to register to vote, long after the deadline for doing so had passed. Furthermore, some advertisements incorrectly stated what documentation had to be produced before voting. Meantime, the ZEC insisted that any civic groups undertaking voter education without its approval would be deemed to have breached the law. Therefore, this provision of the ZEC Act may actually be unconstitutional since it is not consistent with clause 20 of the Constitution of Zimbabwe, which provides for freedom of expression.

1.11.5.3 Elections versus democracy: Case Zimbabwe

Democracy has been the subject of political debate for over years, other scholars have managed to define democracy linking it to the elections and the participation of the people in constitutional matters. As shall be for the case, the Zimbabwean elections in relation to all African elections have fallen to be portrayed as window dressing rituals as they cannot serve the main purpose of running them in a democratic way as noted by Mesfin (2008). Makinda (1996) is of the view that, generally, democracy can be seen as a way of government firmly

rooted in the belief that people in any society should be free to determine their own political, economic, social, and cultural systems.

Mesfin (2008) went on to say that, the concept of democracy is used to describe a political system designed to widen the participation of ordinary citizens in government the powers of which are clearly defined and limited. As noted in Africa where most states are undeniably plural societies marked by deep cleavages among a diversity of ethnic groups Erdmann & Basedau (2007), elections seem to provide the opportunity to legitimise the political and economic pre-eminence of one group, to reward supporters of that group and compel them to adopt greater political conformity, and to re-impose a firm hand on challenging elements within or outside that group Young (1993). In other words, they seem to merely represent an artificial exercise the results of which are instinctively manipulated by a ruling party in order to prevent opposition political parties winning elections despite the fact that citizens might courageously vote for change as noted by Monga (1997); Bratton and Van de Walle (1997).

The increasing effect of such a misdemeanour will be, unfortunately, political uncertainty and the sharpening of ethnic politics which will, in turn, inspire the widespread disillusionment of Africa's citizens who will be forced to rethink that the solution to prevailing problems cannot be found within the framework of democracy. Apart from Africa as a whole, the same happened in the Zimbabwean context where many problems arising within the political sphere are as a result of ZANU-PF hegemony and its ability to control the institutional capability of the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission.

The need of free and fair elections became the woe for every citizen in Zimbabwe, with the results of the elections kept for many days before their announcement. It is of paramount to discuss about the separation of the institutional capacity from it being politicised, the concept of separation of powers became more significant if one is to analyse the case of Zimbabwe. Pastor (1999) points out that whether 'an election is a source of peaceful change or a cause of serious instability' mainly depends on the character, competence and composition of a number of institutions, in this case we can take into consideration the capacity of the Judiciary and ZEC itself to execute their duties independently. Moreso, and case of 2008 elections is by no doubt a "theft by numbers" as pointed out by Makumbe (2008)

1.12 THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

1.12.1 Realism Theory

“If you only notice human proceedings, you may observe that all who attain great power and riches, make use of either force or fraud; and what they have acquired either by deceit or violence, in order to conceal the disgraceful methods of attainment, they endeavour to sanctify with the false title of honest gains”. (Nicolo Machiavelli.)

Realism is an international relations theory that arose in early modern Europe. Realism is fathered by Nicolo Machiavelli, who is viewed by scholars as the father of realism. The theory arose as a result of formalising the so called “realpolitik” statesmanship of the early modern Europe. Realism as it was propounded, they are of the view that world politics ultimately is always and necessarily a field of conflict among actors, in this case the theory will fit in to the analysis of the implications of the trends of the Zimbabwe’s elections whereby the opposition specifically the MDC-T and ZANU-PF had a long history over the need to overthrow the Mugabe regime by Morgan Tsvangirai of the MDC-T. The nexus between the histories will fall behind the two groups within the concept of realism which are the offensive realism, and the defensive realism. These two come out from a three way realist arguments evolved from over years of political realism. The three perspectives or concepts of political thought in realism are the classical realists (human nature), the neo-realists (who focuses on the structure of the anarchical state), and the neo-classical realists.

The link between this theory and within all perspectives of political views within the theory is seen by the researcher as best fit to explain the power defending which saw ZANU-PF remain in power since 2002 in the dawn of the opposition MDC (MDC-T). More so, the theory will explain the offensive realism as a result of political turmoil in Zimbabwe in 2008 as a result also of ZANU-PF in trying as much to hold on their power by any means necessary which resulted in political violence in Zimbabwe in 2008. Realism will best explain the issue of survival which has become the important aspect in the eyes of ZANU-PF up to date. The concept of the **‘the carrot and stick approach’** will be explained whereby the researcher will be looking deeply into the violence, abductions and other political evils which were noticed during the 2008 elections, the carrot and stick approach is therefore the characteristic of ‘hard power’ in realist perspective.

1.12.2 Democratic Theory

Laurence (2015) asserted that Democratic theory is an established subfield of political theory that is primarily concerned with examining the definition and meaning of the concept of democracy, as well as the moral foundations, obligations, challenges, and overall desirability of democratic governance. In terms of the elections, democracy has been a sounding factor to support the participation of the citizens in political circles. Makinda (1996) postulated that generally, democracy can be seen ‘as a way of government firmly rooted in the belief that people in any society should be free to determine their own political, economic, social, and cultural systems.

This case has Zimbabwe in its palms to explain the need of political participation as a way of implementing democracy. Democratic theories typically operate at multiple levels of orientation. For example, definitions of democracy as well as normative arguments about when and why democracy is morally desirable are often rooted in empirical observations concerning the ways in which democracies have actually been known to function. In addition to a basic commitment to democracy as an object of study, most theorists agree that the concept *democracy* denotes some form or process of collective self-rule. The etymology of the word traces back to the Greek terms *demos* (the people, the many) and *kratos* (to rule), (www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo).

In relation to this theory, it raises many questions within which they operate and try to explore the main functions within the democratic governance. Questions like

1. Who constitutes the people and what obligations do individuals have in a democracy?
2. What values are most important for a democracy and which ones make it desirable or undesirable as a form of government?
3. How is democratic rule to be organized and exercised? What institutions should be used and how?
4. Once instituted, does democracy require precise social, economic, or cultural conditions to survive in the long term?
5. And why is it that democratic government is better to, say, aristocracy or oligarchy?

These questions are not new, in fact, democratic theory traces its origins back to ancient Greece and the rise of the first democratic governments in Western antiquity. Therefore the

theory is best at explaining the need of good political governance in relation to respect of human rights, citizen participation and how the key state institutions can be independent based on the questions raised within the theory on the conduct of democracy.

1.13 Limitations

- Some people might not release information due to fear
- Difficulties in accessing information since we are heading towards the 2018 election and it may raise suspicions and questions to the interviews
- Interviews fall under qualitative research methods, hence some information can be biased
- The student do not have the logistics of reaching a certain number of people due to financial constraints and certain circumstances
- Some ways of getting information requires participatory observations which might be very risky to the researcher since it requires the researcher's participation.

1.14 Delimitations

The study will be under the Zimbabwe geography which will need information from the ten (10) provinces from the information of the previous elections.

1.15 Conclusion

The conduct of elections has its shortcomings in Zimbabwe, with the rise of controversial elections results and political violence which have left open for political debate. The continued hegemony of ZANU-PF, failure of the electoral commission to produce free and fair elections has been a subject to debate to the civil society and the masses. The continued struggle have been noticed during the 2016 era with the rise of different powerful civil society groups and other pressure groups like the Tajamuka/ Sesjikile campaign, #thisFlag Movement which excercabated the need for political change and political space in Zimbabwe.

CHAPTER 2

2.0 IMPLICATIONS OF THE 2008 ELECTIONS IN ZIMBABWE

2.1 Introduction

This section is a clear-cut overview of the implications drawn from the trends of the 2008 elections. The clear-cut will then give an insight overview of the upcoming 2018 elections in relation to the political turmoil arousing in Zimbabwe since 2008 up to date. The section will also encompass the literature from other scholars who have successfully researched about the Zimbabwe elections in relation to the political implications which will be discussed also as a matter of 2018 elections. The high rise of opposition strength, demonstrations and opposition mobilisation over the new voting system in relation with the ZEC and the civil societies will be discussed in this section. The section will also look on the implications like political violence, vote buying or vote rigging, incompetency of the Electoral Board (ZEC), abductions and intimidations, and political killings which took place in the previous elections by ZANU-PF. The chapter will also give a comparative analysis of the same scenario of the elections in Kenya in 2007, which has also marked a political question over human rights violations and the events which led to the negotiations of Global Political Agreement in Kenya.

2.2 Zimbabwe elections versus Kenya elections: Comparative Election Analysis.

Zimbabwe political environment was tense following the 2008 elections which ended up in a serious human rights violation, and manipulation of elections results in 2008. The study will also thrust the implications of the Zimbabwe elections to the 2018 elections drawing the experience from the similarly election operation from Kenya in the 2007 elections. In Zimbabwe, since 2000 to 2005 the repressive legislative measures held the parliamentary and presidential elections. The conduction of the elections was infested with high violence, intimidation and dispersion, and vote manipulation. As a matter of fact, the woe of free and fair elections in Zimbabwe has been left as a subject of political debate, with the civil society demanding for the independence of the ZEC, the amendment of the constitution which will enhance separation of powers. Therefore this has been a political woe since the dawn of a new Zimbabwe under ZANU-PF hegemony. Various amendments of the constitutions were

amended in favour of the ZANU-PF, and giving a repressive effect to the opposition and to the exercise of democratic norms in Zimbabwe.

According to the OHCHR Report (2011), the disastrous elections of 2008 in Zimbabwe has posed a human rights threat and also security threats, the dispersion of people as a result of the state sponsored violence escalated following the first round of the March elections in Zimbabwe. The elections runoff in Zimbabwe has posed a serious violence trends.

The political atmosphere in Zimbabwe has marked a high presentation of human rights and democracy. For democracy is another aspect of elections as noted by Mesfin (2008), the need to exercise democratic tanets in Zimbabwe has been a major obstacle within which they were not practised despite elections being held. Recorded are political violence, intimidation, vote rigging, and vote buying. These events were excercabated by the economic dilapidation in 2008 and the events raised a political turmoil within the events have led to the Government of National Unity under which the former president of South Africa Thabo Mbeki was the mediator. The same political terrain happened in Kenya also with the events of political turmoil have led to a Government of National Unity.

According to Tumbare (2014), noted that reconciliation after disputed elections in Zimbabwe and Kenya was a rationale for a GNU. With the rise of ethnic violence in Kenya which claimed former President of Kenya Raila Odinga who had won the election at the expense of President Mwai Kibaki in 2007. The events were followed by a peace making effort which were spearheaded by the former UN Secretary General Koffi Annan. The similar effort was done in Zimbabwe under the efforts which were made in respect of the SADC under Thabo Mbeki. Thus the comparative analysis of Zimbabwe and Kenya provides similar provisions of the GNU. The GNU was as a result of disputed election results and massacres with both participants in the GNU both in Zimbabwe and Kenya wanted absolute power, Awittery (2009). The two countries characterised with mistrust and allegations of rampant corruption, Odinga and Kibaki did the same as Mugabe and Tsvangirai. Therefore with this in the Zimbabwean context, the issue of political violence has become part and parcel of ZANU-PF in winning elections hence it provided the same sentiments of election violence as of Kenya elections in 2007.

2.3 The nature of elections in Zimbabwe (2008)

According to Kuhne (2010), elections in emerging democracies and post-conflict societies have a great potential to plunge a country back into violent conflict, to undermine processes of stabilisation and to discredit democratisation. Thus elections are viewed by many scholars as a pre-requisite of democracy not in Africa only, but in the world as a whole. Makinda (1996), denotes that democracy can be seen as a way of government firmly rooted in the belief that people in any society should be permitted to determine their own political, economic, social and cultural systems. In other words elections in a democratic state stand as a tool designated to extend the participation of citizens of citizen. In Zimbabwe, the elections were held in several times which then became more of a democracy. However it becomes a turning point since the rise of the opposition political party in 1999, the MDC (MDC-T), and this view has leaved a political space for political debate that there is no democracy in Zimbabwe. The question will be why there is no democracy in Zimbabwe in the presence of elections and other indicators of democracy. Mesfin (2008) noted in Diamond (2008), is of the view that despite the political overture of the 1990's, there is no place for democracy in Africa because of one party dominance, restriction of civil liberties, marginalisation of the civil society, damaging economic indicators and foreign intervention. The elections in Zimbabwe since they are dominated by one party, the calculated consequences of violence and intimidation has become part and parcel of the Zimbabwean elections. Apart from that the elections which are infested in one party system will result in dictatorship sentiments, violence, vote buying or vote rigging, and failed separation of powers, intimidations and genocides. These characteristics of being undemocratic have a space within which they played within the Zimbabwean elections since 2008.

2.4 Political violence

Atuobi (2009), defined election violence as a political violence aimed at the electoral process and it is geared towards winning political competition of power through violence. According to Atuobi (2009), the elections in most African countries are characterised by uncertainties, due to the possibility of election related violence. He went on to argue that election violence can take place at different stages of the electoral process i.e. before, during or after. In Zimbabwe, the 2008 elections were infested by high rise of political violence in the region. The political violence marks the historic of the post-independence elections. It became more historic in the sense that since the 28 years of the majority rule, it marked for the first time for

ZANU-PF to have lost the parliamentary majority and the President having lost the elections in the first round. Solidarity Peace Trust (2008), noted that the lost the results of the first round of the elections represented a culmination of a decade of political and civic opposition to a former liberation party whose legitimacy has been greatly eroded. According to the Solidarity Peace Trust (2008), the violence was perpetrated by the police, Central Intelligence Organisation, the army, and the Zimbabwe National Youth Service who then formed the Elections Joint Operation Command. According to the source, the JOC, has reportedly sums up its percentage of political violence 56% from the first election up to the second run-off elections on 27 June 2008.

Traces of shootings and injuries were recorded as a result of the JOC, directed to the opposition parties particularly the MDC-T which has posed a possible threat to ZANU-PF in the first round of the elections in March. According to the Zimbabwe Peace Project (2008), noted that there was post-election violence after March 29 harmonised elections. This was to restore order in the peoples ahead of the June run-off elections. The project noted down that the post-election era witnessed frightening increases in politically motivated violence with about 4359 cases having been recorded in April 2008 by Zimbabwe Peace project. This included a 470% increase in monthly recordings from pre-election levels of 795. The project went on to say that the nature of violence has shifted from incidental election violations to systematic and organised forms characterised by increases in malicious damage to property, torture, abductions, rape, displacements. However the manifestations in these new forms is the need to inflict permanent harm on the victim. These phenomena, if not urgently curbed, are set to disenfranchise a very significant percentage of the voter population in Zimbabwe, hence it has an effect to the 2018 elections since Zimbabwean voter is at high risk of being short changed.

2.4.1 Nature of Violence

Makumbe (2009) quoted the Human Rights Forum that the violence has been disproportionately one sided and against the MDC (MDC-T) and other groups not supporting ZANU-PF. The violence which was attributed to ZANU-PF is different from the violence attributed to other groups. The findings were of the view that the violence attributed to ZANU-PF showed evidence of systematic torture, abductions, executions and extra-judicial killings. The systematic torture shows a strong association with officials of the state,

members of parliament, the CIO, and other officials who formed the Joint Operation Command (JOC).

2.4.2 Causes of Violence

The political violence has been escalating from 2002 with the emergence of MDC (MDC-T), the escalation of violence on political grounds. The Zimbabwe Peace Project identifies the possible causes which are the major escalators of violence from the past elections:

1. The emergence of the MDC (MDC-T) and its visible inroads into areas with the strongholds of ZANU-PF. The need to grow its political space into the rural areas has become the major point which have caused violence because most of the people in the rural areas were the beneficiaries of the ZANU-PF Land Reform. However this has turned out to be the cause of violence in 2008 elections;
2. The resort to liberation war campaign strategies characterized by the setting up of the liberation-war style bases. Since the country has established itself in terms of the Liberation struggle, the doctrine was still being spread in many parts of Zimbabwe which has come to be the cause of violence. The members of ZANU-PF allegedly spread the gossip of another Liberation Struggle misguiding people in some parts of Zimbabwe.
3. The resuscitation of the youth militia training program and the subsequent absorption of militia graduates as part of the election campaign. The use of the Joint Operation Command has perpetrated the violence in the 2008 elections. The Zimbabwe National Youth has been a sounding group in violence working hand in hand with the police, army and the CIO.

2.5 Intimidation

The 2008 elections were associated with wide range of intimidation which spilled in many parts of the country. According to Associated Press (2008), roaming bands of government supporters heckled, harassed or threatened into voting in a run-off election in which President Mugabe was the only candidate, ensuring he will remain in power despite international condemnation of the balloting as a bogus. The research finds out that residents said they were forced to vote by threats of violence or arson from Mugabe supports, who searched for anyone without an ink-stained finger which was the called “Operation chigunwe chitsvuku”, the tell-tale sign that they casted a ballot. According to the source, the opposition leader

Morgan Tsvangirai, who withdrew from the run-off after an onslaught of the state sponsored against MDC-T, said the results would “reflect only the fear of the people”.

Furthermore, according to The Human Rights Watch (2009), the intimidations were perpetrated by the security sector of Zimbabwe which comprises of the Zimbabwe Defence Forces, The Central Intelligence Organization and other ZANU-PF militias. The constitution of Zimbabwe n, the forces in Zimbabwe are obliged to be apolitical. ZANU-PF deployed these forces which then formed the Joint Operation Command to intimidate the opposition supports and other critics of ZANU-PF. More so, according to Amnesty International, there has been also a clampdown on civil society with arrests and police raids of organisations including the ZimRights and the Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN). However this has become a pinpoint in the eyes of the civil society and the opposition that, the members who operated in intimidating the masses ahead of the run-off are not yet prosecuted up to date. There is no any effort appears to have been made to reform the security sector in order to meet these requirements of the opposition and the civil society on justice bases. It also remains the issue of power politics since these forces they are under ministerial guidance of some ZANU-PF members.

2.6 Ineptitude of the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission

The Zimbabwe Electoral Board (ZEC), has been operating since its predecessor in 2005. Its ability in handling free and fair elections has been a question of the opposition, civil society and the masses in Zimbabwe. According to Makumbe (2009), noted that failure of ZEC to condemn violence constitutes a serious duty which instead of condemning violence as not conducive to free and fair elections, it was followed by the commission rejecting Morgan Tsvangirai withdrawal from June run-off elections. This has marked the failure of the electoral board in preparing a conducive political environment by it being independent rather than being politicized.

2.7 Delayed Results

According to Makumbe (2009), legislation provides for the release of election results by the ZEC officials as soon as they become available, therefore the announcement of the senatorial and parliamentary results were announced in terms of the two parties being at par on the seats (MDC-T and ZANU-PF). The handling of democratic elections requires that certain minimum standards be met if the elections are to be judged free and fair. Transparency in the

procedures followed in handling all aspects of the electoral process is a key requirement. According to Makumbe and Campagnon (2000). Transparency necessarily means that the various rules, regulations and procedures are adhered to throughout the exercise of elections. In other words, they are not changed willy-nilly or at the behest of some officials or some of the contestants. The election results were delayed to be published within the expected days, the issue have raised political havoc in Zimbabwe in 2008 election. For the legislation provides the release of elections results, ZEC carefully stage-managed the announcement of parliamentary and senatorial results on 29 March poll. This has resulted in ZEC having manipulated the results and numbers of the elections, with the reason behind the delaying of the announcement of the elections is still unknown up to date. According to Makumbe (2009), the most glaring example of the ineptitude of ZEC was when it failed to commission the results for five weeks after the polling day. According to the Zimbabwe Independent (2008), the results were withheld on the instruction of President Robert Mugabe, within which he directed the ZEC to delay the result in order to manage a political crisis triggered by his defeat.

2.8 Vote Manipulation

Since 2008 elections, the traces of election fraud has been traced by various scholars and individuals. It followed the 2013 elections also which were allegedly showcased the interference of the Nikuv Group and the Israeli intelligence. As of 2008 elections, the delayed results which was then followed by the presidential run-off in June. The election was associated with measures which were clearly condemned by the international community.

According to Diamond Intelligence (ISRAEL), has managed to use several methods to fix the elections in favour of ZANU-PF in 2013. The Israeli company is said to have conducted its election duties in various offices, the office of Registrar General Tobaiwa Mudede and he seated in the JOC which is a combination of the army, police and intelligence chiefs. Therefore this implies that the manipulation of the 2013 has some sentiments of unfair elections though they were regarded as peaceful.

2.9 Unequal Playing Ground for the Media

The elections are supposed to give all parties equal coverage of the media. Thus promoting evenness and interface to the coverage of the parties to the population. In Zimbabwe it has been a bleeding point in 2008 elections, with the operation of the repressive laws that

restricted the playgrounds to the media for opposition. According to Solidarity Peace Trust (2008), the government has been angered about the information on the violence that gets out into the public domain. Therefore this has led to the redeeming of the repressive laws to the media, AIPPA and POSA. The proceedings of the unevenness of the media playground has saw the opposition not been given access to advertise on the National Television, hence it has been an obstacle to the way forward to the opposition and the civil society to operate. The Solidarity Peace Trust (2008), has noted down some cases in which raids to foreign journalists of the AFP, Reuters and AP. Therefore the arrest of journalists and some members of foreign press did not look that these were accredited news agencies in Zimbabwe, hence it has been ZANU-PF operating from every angle undermining the opposition.

More so, the creation of promulgated numerous pieces of legislation that on the other hand challenged democratic norms and values of freedom of expression, movement, and assembly. Thus Makumbe (2010) argued that most of the legislative provisions have noble intentions, but it is their manipulation by the establishment which results in the disablement of both opposition political parties and restriction of citizen participation in governance processes. This followed the crooked nature of public media and selective application of laws has become a stumbling block for the civil society participation hence according to Raftopoulos et al (2000) noted that the enactment of the legislative measures comes as a way of government monopoly over communication as barrier to democratic norms which then the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy (AIPPA) of 2002 which have been used to prosecute journalists. Therefore it comes from this that the media play ground was not even but lays in the favour of the ZANU-PF.

Apart from that, the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission ZEC a mandate to oversee and ensure that all political parties and registered would be given adequate and equitable coverage by the public media, *The Herald*, (4 March 2008). The shunning of political parties by the electoral board to media coverage, followed by the state media institutions which were providing ZANU-PF an ample coverage during the elections. In exercise the ZEC has no any mandate to enforce its own regulations regarding fair media coverage Makumbe (2009), hence it has been analysed that the institution lacked institutional autonomy and that has become a problem to the running a free and fair elections.

2.10 Restriction and Marginalisation of the Civil Society

The civil society has been a sounding group in equipping the citizens with the knowledge they need to know ahead of elections in 2008. The Zimbabwe Electoral Commission has the power to license the civic organisations to participate in the voter education, *The Chronicle*, (28, February 2008). As of the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission Act section 15(1) empowers the ZEC to license civic organisations. For ZEC had little resources to undertake voter registration throughout Zimbabwe hence there was a need for the institution to license as many a civic organisations that will engage voter education. For example the Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN) was barred from conducting voter education by the ZEC. Therefore it comes at this point that the masses were not aware of conduction of fair elections without the use of violence. The perpetration of violence and intimidation has been through lack of voter education though the violence was initiated by the JOC on the other hand. In addition, the media coverage was not fair to the civil society operations because of the enactments of various acts that will monitor the operations to the favour of ZANU-PF, Mapuva and Mapuva-Muyengwa (2010).

The enactment of various acts which were there to restrict opposition freedom in particular and civil society in general which saw the superseding of the Welfare Organisations Act (1967) with the Private Voluntary Act (1996) it was there to monitor the registration, deregistering civic organisations as noted by Raftopoulos (2000), continued to have impact to the 2008 elections up to the 2013 elections. This has saw the barred operation of the ZESN. Therefore it is of concern to the 2018 elections, with the rise of the number of civic groups in contestation of ZANU-PF hegemony.

2.11 Political Party Dominance (ZANU-PF)

According to Makumbe (2003), asserts that the attainment of political independence in 1980, ZANU-PF engaged into a “commandist and regimentalist” character rather than democratic character in the operational ability of both elections and politics. Now it emerged from the history of African political parties who are in power that they emerged as nationalist’s movements some of them managed to gain independence. The core value of them became of acquiring political, economic and military domination of colonialism as pointed out by Hodgkin (1961). ZANU-PF in this case has viewed its history to match the liberation struggle to win the country from the white colonialism, hence the hegemony of ZANU-PF and Robert

Mugabe has been a major obstacle to a new Zimbabwe under the opposition. The hegemony of ZANU-PF has managed to influence key state institutions including the ZEC itself. The delayed results and the election run-off were clearly a ZANU-PF dictate. Sachikonye (2001), revealed main problematic elements facing the adoption of a democratic dispensation of ZANU-PF since it failed to transform the liberation struggle concept into a political party, hence the political party became the dictate of the government. The party also influenced the elections and vowed to win elections in militarised actions, Masunungure (2009).

Perpetration of violence and intimidation was a ZANU-PF winning strategy which then affected various outcomes of the elections in Zimbabwe. Violence, intimidation, vote buying or vote manipulation and abductions are other traces of unfairness which was caused by ZANU-PF's hegemony, thus according to Masunungure (2009), that these moves have helped tilting of the political landscape in its favour.

The incorporation of the PF-ZAPU in ZANU, has marked the birth of ZANU-PF. With the continued struggle from the opposition, the party could by any means necessary to stay in power. The 2008 elections noted down some serious implications of democratic decay. ZANU-PF finally ended in another similar to the unity accord, the Global Political Agreement that would guarantee the power sharing within the ZANU-PF circuit. Therefore it is from the above findings that the dominance of one party in Zimbabwe, has laid down some implications to the nature of elections in Zimbabwe. Now with the need of political space and a change of political regime, the events which are following the trends and patterns of elections from 2008 has some connotations to look on the 2018, Raftopoulos (2016).

ZANU-PF crooked the electoral playing field to ensure its return to power, regardless of the strength of opposition challenge. Besides the previous incorporation of the ZAPU in the 80's, the party managed to show up its ability to survive the electoral challenge by dominating the country electoral institutes, Southall (2015). The experience a setback by MDC (MDC-T), in the 2000 referendum has been backed up with ZANU-PF ruthlessness in countering the opposition. This has marked another manipulation of the elections through which the announcement of the Presidential elections in 2008 were delayed to be announced. The event also was followed up by the presidential run-off of June 2008, which all in all have caused a series implications which then included violation of human rights, violence, intimidation, abductions and other political delinquencies.

2.12 The Global Political Agreement (GPA) and the Government of National Unity (GNU).

After an unsteady electoral results of the 2008 election, ZANU-PF ventured into another similarly to the Unity Accord, following the intervention of the regional bloc, the Southern African Development Committee, SADC. According to Southall (2015), alluded that the GPA was brokered by SADC was as a result of the 2008 election stalemate. The results of the 2008 election noticed the win of the majority by the MDC (MDC-T and MDC-M), in the legislature, but it becomes a major setback to ZANU-PF since the need to control the executive powers was still in the ideology of ZANU-PF hence it managed to cling to its control of the executive by virtue of retaining the President, Robert Mugabe on power. The GPA resulted in the coalition government which later becomes a Government of National Unity (GNU), with Tsvangirai being given important posts allocated to MDC. However the ZANU-PF party also managed to retain the power dynamics through which they acquired defence, peace, and security and the country electoral institutions.

The formation of the GNU, was buoyed by the military's diversion of resources from the newly discovered diamond mines in Chiadzwa. This has become another weakness in which the Global Political Agreement has never shared the national resources adequately, hence ZANU-PF has managed to flout GPA conditions and bounce the MDC into an early election on 31 July 2013, Southall (2015). This though it was to counter a previously political chaos in Zimbabwe, the rule of ZANU-PF become more dominant despite the fact that it has presided over successive legislative and presidential elections for over a long period of time.

A Government of National Unity, is a system where two political parties come to a consensus to bury the hatchet and work together, Mapuva (2010), this has been a successful political consensus which came to work in countries polarised by political friction. In other words, Matyaszak, (2010), is of the view that GNU is a political tool that could be employed to get rid of hostilities in times of disagreements. As for Chigora and Guzura (2011), are of the view that GNU is a coalition government, designed specifically to accommodate all participating political players in government structures. In this case, participants were the Morgan Tsvangirai faction and the Mutambara factions from the MDC which formed the MDC-T and MDC-M respectively, and ZANU-PF.

The Zimbabwean GPA was similar to the one which was conducted in Kenya following the Presidential elections in 2007, other scholars would argue that the political turmoil of

Zimbabwe and Kenya possesses the same political sentiments. It is because during the Kenyan presidential elections, 1220 people, 3600 injuries and displacement of about 30000 people were recorded, OHCHR Report (2008), the negotiations were mediated by the former UN secretary general Kofi Anan. This saw the Zimbabwe mediation initiated by the former president of South Africa Thabo Mbeki which then resulted in the Global Political Agreement of 15 September 2008 and which has led to the Government of National Unity, Maina (2011)

The Government of National Unity faced challenges in which they led to its demise. The political atmosphere in Zimbabwe was gravely polarised with manifestations of violence, arrests, intimidation and hate speech continued. IBAHRI Report (2011), noted that the formation of an inclusive government did not make “hardline” elements within factors which led ZANU-PF into a power sharing agreement with political opponents, hence the continued usurpation of power, continued control of state apparatuses in a blatantly partisan way. Therefore the events from the GNU, has led to the persisting political intolerance, free and fair elections which became indefinable to any democratic norm. Among other challenges, are unilateral executive appointments, the indigenisation bill, and persistent human rights violation by ZANU-PF’s militia (Mutisi, 2011:4), security sector reform, and the economy?

2.13 Conclusion

The Zimbabwe political environment has been a subject to political debate, with a numerous manifestations of political violence and unfair electoral decisions among all within the domination of ZANU-PF. The party has managed to survive in power for over two decades, with the need of political space being the need of opposition political parties and the civic organisations. This has mounted pressure of the ruling party ahead of the 2018 harmonised elections. Various demonstrations, political alliances which started to immerge earlier in 2016 are of an enormous impact as the research is going to look on the political, economic, and social implications to the 2018 elections in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

3.0 Implications Of The Elections In Zimbabwe to 2018 Elections: Case Of 2008 Elections

3.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to examine the implications of elections from 2008 elections as an obstacle to the 2018 elections in Zimbabwe. The previous chapters offered an overview of the bases in which the elections in Zimbabwe were held, covering most important aspects of the elections. The Zimbabwean political landscape has shown the high tension coming from political parties rallying behind ZANU-PF, civic organizations, pressure groups, and other parties leading the revolution against the ruling party ZANU-PF. Apart from this fact, the section is also going to address the implications within social, economic and political environment on how the political landscape has implications to the upcoming harmonized elections. The study will also seek to address the possible implications in relation to the 2008 elections ahead of 2018 elections as we stand in 2017.

3.2 The state economy since 2008

Prior the dollarization era in Zimbabwe, the country has never had its own currency which has become a major pinning point to the country's economic base. From the conduction of the GNU, which then formed an inclusive government. The new economic era was discovered, with the economic power points were allocated to the MDC. This has saw Tendai Biti be the Minister of Finance. It is from by the end of 2014 that the Zimbabwean economy was in a deep trouble. The inclusive government has managed to recover the economy partially. According to Hartwell (2013), the economy has stabilised partly as a result of dollarization, but also because of the formation of the GNU. It signalled to businesses and investors that there is the potential for a more stable economic environment. After years of economic stagnation, the Zimbabwean economy grew by more than 9% per year in 2010 to 2011 before it slowed down to 5% in 2012. This however has showed the glimpse of hope in Zimbabwe for the first time in the Zimbabwean economy under the Inclusive Government.

According to Raftopoulos (2017), the solution was evident to virtually all except ZANU-PF, from the time of the SAPES in 2014. This has saw the call which has been for five policy interventions which included the development of a clear policy consistency, make clear

commitment to defend property rights, develop a coherent policy on indigenisation, to undertake a land audit in order to develop an agricultural policy, and lastly to fix the parastatals with urgency. According to Research Advocacy Unit (2017), noted that despite of the claims about the LIMA Agreement, the worsening state of economy on the everyday bases.

In 2016 the government has suffered an economic blow which have been associated with the disappearance of the US Dollar in the local market. The government has managed to react though the introduction of bond notes. Therefore the work of bond notes in local market worked shortly after its condemnation by the local users. The use of bond notes have worsened the economic situation through which the US dollar become the trading source of the black market. According to Raftopoulos (2017), the situation goes on to portray the imbalance of trade which saw the Zimbabwe buys more than it sells, with the increase of borrowing, spends most of the fiscus on recurrent expenditure hence it ended up increasing debt in an alarming rate. The table below shows the state of affairs within which Zimbabwe operated over year 2012 up to 2017 in relation to exports and import balances.

Balance of Trade (us\$ billions)

CATEGORIES	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	Q1/16	Q1/ 17
Imports	7.46	7.70	6.38	6.00	5.21	1.300	1.340
Exports	3.88	3.50	3.06	2.70	2.84	0.625	0.724
Balance	-3.58	-4.2	-3.32	-3.3	-2.37	-0.675	-0.616

SOURCE: RAU (2017) Zimbabwe in Transition.

This has led the government also to venture into the Statutory Instrument number 64 of 2016 which then have more implications to the population which relied upon border crossing. The informalisation rate has grown. According to Raftopoulos (2017), noted that Zimbabwe has serious but underlying all the problems is an even more serious political crisis. However the prevailing situation in the Zimbabwean economy has continued to worsen through which the continued extinction of forex is at stake.

The growing economic dilapidation of economy in Zimbabwe after the introduction of bond notes has led to various demonstration in 2016. With the youths constituting the larger

number of eligible voting group. The unemployment rate has heated out to the most graduates who are now in the informal sector. According to Raftopoulos (2017), noted that youths and women are a group that is extremely important, but often their views and concerns about governance are largely ignored. As for Census (2012), the youths under the age of 35 constitutes about 41 % of eligible voters. Therefore with the rate of unemployment in Zimbabwe from 2013, many graduates are still unemployed, hence the state of economy has a turning point to the coming elections in 2018. According to RAU (2017), Zimbabweans are faced with high unemployment and underemployment within which the youths in particular are suffering which is causing them to venture into informal sector with various illegal activities. This has led to less participation through which there is political violence and hence the youths are actively avoiding the participation to safeguard their informal enterprises, Osteroom et al. (2016).

An issue of great importance on the retaliation of the economic dilapidation in Zimbabwe has been noticed by the rise of the social movements in 2016, among them are the #Tajamuka/ Sesjikile campaigns, #ThisFlag movement, and the vendors association which was led by Stan Zvorwadza. According to Raftopoulos (2017), alluded that the social movements have gave many people including the youths their voice hence it led into young people expressing their displeasure openly. However the movements according to Raftopoulos the youths have been realized as a turning point to the coming elections in the fact that they constitute the number of unemployed graduates mostly in the informal sector, hence the need to utilize their numbers and influence the governance process. In this whole explanation, the economic dilapidation in Zimbabwe is another key implication to the 2018 elections, because it's in everyone's mind that the situation could bring everyone to the 2008 situation whereby there was cash crisis up until the inclusive government.

3.3 Main political parties overview

3.3.1 ZANU-PF

ZANU PF's political dominance has been noticed since the dawn of independence in Zimbabwe in 1980. The growing situation of economic dilapidation under the regime has been the subject to political debate. ZANU-PF has managed to win elections since 2002 with the emergence of an opposition party of Morgan Tsvangirai. This has laid down some effect to the running of elections in Zimbabwe. The need for free and fair elections became an

unfinished business in Zimbabwe, with traces of violence, intimidation, ZANU-PF dominance to influence key state institutions, and allegations of vote buying became more clearer in the running of Zimbabwe political affairs.

Apart from ZANU-PF having won the 2008 and 2013 elections respectively, the party has faced many challenges. The issue of factionalism in the party has caused havoc which led some senior party cadres like Joice Mujuru, and suspected cabal followers being expelled from the party in 2015. According to Raftopoulos (2017), noted that the secessionist crisis, factional fighting, slits and adjunct organizations such as the war veterans, and the status of the president are all notorious. This implies that the growing resentment of factionalism in the party has tarnished its image which has left many of its supporters in a quagmire of confusion. More so the formation of political parties from the people who were expelled from the party in 2015 and 2016 has laid a ground for a bigger political opposition in the Zimbabwean political environment. The formation of the Zimbabwe Peoples First (ZimPF), the formation of the National People's Party (NPP), and the formation of Viva Zimbabwe (VZ) by Acie Lumumba, these parties have been laying down an expository ground for opposition politics. Therefore this state of political parties rallying behind ZANU-PF has been exacerbated by the formation of other political parties in Zimbabwe which left the political arena difficult for each and every party.

On the other hand ZANU-PF youth league has managed to gather the numbers of the eligible voters through the Presidential Interface Rallies. This depicted a retaliation of the mass demonstrations which took place country wide in 2016 by the vendors association led by Stan Zvorwadza, #Tajamuka/ Sesjikile campaign and the #ThisFlag movement led by even Mawarire starting with the 1 million man March in 2016 May

3.3.2 Grand coalition

Since 2016, the efforts by the opposition to plan to ouster ZANU-PF regime. According to Raftopoulos (2017), the 18 months of 2016 to 2017, has been a major time for the opposition to develop a coalition capable of challenging ZANU-PF. Therefore the state of political parties in Zimbabwe has an encouraging signs ahead of 2016, but the different opinions have laid down that as many problems within the political discourse. According to Afrobarometer Survey 7 in February in 2017, the whole idea of the grand coalition. The grand coalition is formed from twelve (12) political parties which gang up to put pressure on ZANU-PF.

According to Ncube (2016), the grand coalition was a joint mass protest to demand the the immediate implementation of electoral reforms ahead of the 2018 elections.

The grand coalition then formed the National Electoral Reform Agenda which resolved on a meeting held in Harare in 2016 with a mission to take Mugabe head-on in a protest march involving more than 200 000 opposition supporters. The power point of the NERA and which is formed from the grand coalition, saw the former Presidential Affairs minister Dydmus Mutasa being the Chairperson. Ncube (2016), went on to say that the demonstration was aimed at giving a force the ZEC to create a good political atmosphere that will disengage the police and the army from being partisan and aligning to ZANU-PF. Therefore at this point, one can analyse that the growing resentment between the opposition and the state institutions and ZANU-PF itself is another force that is leading to the growth of the political opposition to ZANU-PF ahead of 2018 harmonized elections.

“We don’t want to see the army, police and the intelligence being involved in party politics. We don’t want to see soldiers campaigning for ZANU- PF or any other party. They must stay in the barracks, not in rural areas intimidating our villagers,

We are demanding that the State media be professional in the coverage of all political parties and that no State resources are abused by the ruling party or any party. I am saying this with hindsight and experience. I know what used to happen, so we are saying that must stop,

The ex-ZANU-PF stalwart, a co-founder of Zim PF, warned the police from attempting to stop their demonstration, saying they would use the law to exercise their democratic right. “We will cross the bridge when we get to the river. What is critical is that we are going to demonstrate and we shall do so in accordance with the country’s laws. Police should uphold the law and respect our rights. I know they will do so,” Dydmus Mutasa (2016).

Drawing a thought from the above assertion by the NERA chairperson, it is crystal clear that the opposition is hinged on the need of a clear and defined political space which provides for free and fair participation in the coming elections and hence it will reduce violence and intimidation. Though the formation of the coalition has its own reminiscences, it managed to gather up the eyebrows of the masses hence it is from this notion that people of Zimbabwe are enlightened to the electoral process.

3.3.3 MDC-Alliance

The MDC-Alliance was formed as an initiative which will get rid of the electoral abuses. The gathering of the seven (7) political parties saw the parties having agreed to be under one campaigning tool which is the MDC-Alliance. The alliance according to VOA (2016), believed that the political background of Zimbabwe has been infested by a failed leadership that has abandoned people hence a political mixture which formed the MDC-Alliance is a tool that can give hope and confidence to a despondent nation.

According to Dube (2016) in the VOA (voice of America), noted that the formation of the MDC-Alliance was as per people's demands for all opposition parties to unite before the general elections. In the words of the MDC-Alliance President, he is of the view that the diversity of the political parties stand as a testament to the encouraging fact that Zimbabweans are converging on the one important idea of putting the people's collective interests at the fulcrum of their national politics, this is to imply that the failed leadership of ZANU-PF needs to be monitored. Therefore, having noticed this ahead of 2018 elections it is different from the 2008 and 2013 elections where the electorate was followed with violence, intimidation and vote manipulation, the need of political space is tense with several political parties in Zimbabwe still trying to gather from the electoral board guarantee of provisions of free and fair elections. In fact the political parties are vying up for elections which are not infested with violence and intimidation.

3.3.4 The State of Organized Civic Groups

The trends of civil society participation from 2008 was experiencing a falling trend up until the announcement of the 2013 elections, Raftopoulos (2017). The fact behind the downward trending was in terms of their funding and legitimacy. The confidence in the opposition has saw many civil society groups investing in opposition parties to ouster ZANU-PF, therefore it becomes a difficulty when the opposition lost the 2013 election which led to a domino effect as civil society had to accept the defeat. With the move by the ruling party having undemocratic manners, the donors who have supported the civic groups were caught in this, hence ZANU-PF viewed the civic groups as being sponsored by the west who in their opinion are vying for regime change in Zimbabwe.

According to Raftopoulos (2017), there was competing international interests and the situation in Zimbabwe which wasn't seen as need of much attention from the international corners, this started the struggle for the survival of the civil society which were exacerbated in 2016 as the realization that there won't be much funds channeled to this election as previous years. Therefore this has become a major pinpoint for the civic groups which are aligning with the opposition parties to engage the societies to teach and enlighten people about elections in 2018. The continued resentment is a clear indication for the need of electoral reforms ahead of the 2018 elections. Apart from that, the research has find out that the civil society is in the election mode despite the fact that any moves for electoral reforms have been ignored hence the possibility of elections similar to that of 2008 and 2013 respectively are imminent.

Raftopoulos (2017), is of the view that political participation has been an issue of political debate following decades of human rights abuses and impunity. Over the years, particularly 2008 elections fear was planted into the people, with violence and intimidation characterized the conduct of elections in Zimbabwe. Therefore it is from this view that people in Zimbabwe are still in the circles of fear and that fact makes it extremely difficult for the civil society to encourage and enlighten people to participate. This however led to the invention of social media movements for example the #This Flag movement which was perpetrated by Evan Mawarire in 2016. The social movements flourished in Zimbabwe hence they portrayed the importance of determining the need for political space ahead of the 2018 elections.

3.4 Conclusion

The political atmosphere of Zimbabwe is having fears of elections in 2018. With the opposition has to open for themselves a clear political space that will provide for them a room for free and fair elections. The preparedness of the civic groups and political parties, and other pressure groups who are in need of the political space ahead of 2018 harmonized elections can hardly mean another political atmosphere in 2018 similar to that of 2008 and 2013. Therefore if the ZEC has not put forward the opposition and civic groups woes, it will lead to the events in which the 2008 elections were held.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.0 Implications Ahead of The 2018 Elections

4.1 Introduction

From the past elections in Zimbabwe from 2002, elections were so much infested with political violence within which in some cases, recorded are political violence targeted on the opposition. The fight for the human rights by the opposition and the civic groups has led to a political chaos in Zimbabwe over the past two decades. This was exacerbated by the growing economic dilapidation which saw the hyperinflation which prevailed in Zimbabwe from 2002 and up to the dollarization era, with the proceedings of the government of national unity took charge of the changing economy which ran up to 2013. The economic woes continued from the GNU, which saw the disappearance of the US Dollar in the start of 2016, which saw the introduction of the bond notes issued by the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe (RBZ) in 2016. Therefore it can be seen in this section that how the situation have aroused in the citizens the panic that they may end up back in the 2008 situation of cash crisis. Apart from that, the continuation of violence in the elections has left the citizens without confidence in the electorate, hence the participation was questionable due to the emergence of violence and intimidation as of the case of 2008 and 2013 respectively. This section will explore the relationship between the current situations compared to that of 2008 to proffer solutions in the next chapter.

4.2 The electoral playing arena

According to Raftopoulos (2017), noted that elections in Zimbabwe often create more problems than they solve. This is to explore the need of elections in any given democratic situation. For elections are crucial in a democratic state, they serve a crucial citizen participation. According to the Hilla University (2004), defined democracy as a political system for choosing and replacing the government through free and fair elections. It is from this verdict that some other scholars may come to differ, with the political representation in Africa is another story. The free and fair elections are determined by the dominance of the revolutionary parties in Africa. Thus some schools of thought argued that democracy in

Africa is a window dressing ritual without a proper representation of the norms of democracy and so as elections. As shall be for the Zimbabwean case, the past elections of 2008 and 2013 respectively have issues which emerged out of them, Chitsike and Reeler (2014), and Chitsike and Reeler (2014). Ahead of the 2018 elections some of the problems identified are of a great importance, with the rise of pressure groups retaliation from the police, and on the other hand pressure which is being mounted from the opposition side all can cause the same situation as of 2008 and 2013 elections.

From 2008, the opposition and the civil society were pressurising on the electoral reform and that has been a woe from the past years experiencing the elections in Zimbabwe. The independence of the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission was at the heart of the opposition hat would provide for free and fair elections, the problem of voters rolls as noted by Makumbe (2008), and reforms to the key state institutions for instance the security sector. This is to provide the need to conduct free and fair elections in Zimbabwe. The operation of the security sector in 2008 and the 2013 elections which formed the Joint Operation Command (JOC) which was condemned of its violence and intimation is another key issue in which the opposition and the civil society groups are trying to address before the conduction of the 2018 elections.

4.3 The rise of protest movements: Tension from the pressure groups

The research found out that after the 2008 elections, the speculations of vote rigging and human rights abuse which saw the violation of human rights through violence and intimidation in the elections, has been a subject of political debate. The situation which aroused the masses attention over certain reforms within the government circles and their playing field in political participation as citizens. The rumbling economic dilapidation has triggered an unprecedented build-up of mass protest against the government and ZANU-PF at large. By June 2016, the momentum of the mass demonstrations, which non- political actors became the drivers of the tensions driven to the government and individuals in the government who were pointed on cases of corruption and failure to uphold the economic crisis in Zimbabwe in June 2016 began. The protest noticed according to the Zimbabwe Peace Project (2016), were the occupation of Africa Unity Square in which a group of citizen activists claimed the whereabouts of another human rights activist, Itai Dzamara.

4.3.1 #This Flag Movement

The #This Flag led by Pastor Evan Mawarire which began on the 6th of July 2016 with thousands of Zimbabwean citizens protested over government abuses on the repression, poor services, high unemployment, widespread corruption and delays in civil servants, New Zimbabwe (2016). This has followed the attempts by the government's effort to block the social media such as WhatsApp on 6 July 2016, Techno Mag (July 2016). This has worsened the situation since it finally draws the citizens in Zimbabwe over the elections of 2016 as a method to block mass protests around the country.



Source: Wikipedia. South Africa #this-flag demonstration mobilisation.

The movement of the #This Flag movement has reach out the international community in countries like South Africa, Australia, United States of America, Canada, and England. Therefore the force gathered momentum ahead of 2018 elections, hence the formation of political party like Transform Zimbabwe took advantage to mobilise diasporas to vote in the coming elections.

4.3.2 National Association of Vendors Union of Zimbabwe. (NAVUZ)

The movement spearheaded by Stan Zvorwadza has excercabated the situation being faced by the masses in Zimbabwe. The growing situation of economic dilapidation and abuse of vendors started the revolution. According to Zimbabwe Peace Project (2016), the demonstrations started as frustration across the broad spectrum of citizens. The growing concern over informal business in Zimbabwe is said to be the government failed economic

initiatives. This has saw the occupation of the 1st Street in Harare in 2016, and the occupation of the Africa Unit Square. Therefore the constitution of Zimbabwe provides the human rights over demonstration peacefully, however the attempt was hijacked with the police who were acting partisan. As of the case of analysis, the ongoing situation of the vice-president stay in the Rainbow. According to the *Newsday* (2016), reported that Vice President Mphoko had refused to move into a multimillion dollar government mansion on which it is said that the government has put effort to meet the VP' expectations, then it comes from the demonstration occurred at the Rainbow Towers. With the growing economic situation that has been crippling over and over up until the introduction of bond notes, can have a big impact to the 2018 elections since the masses are in the light of funds by the state. It is of importance to look at the implications to the 2018 elections to an uncertain electoral playing ground. The picture below shows the capture of Stan Zvorwadza at the Rainbow Towers in Harare 2016.



Source: Newsday June 2016. Rainbow Towers Demo-over VP Mphoko.

4.4 Assessment of the mass protest in Zimbabwe 2016

The researcher found out that the growing resentment between the citizens over economic decline has aroused many tensions which then resulted in promises of violence in the coming

2018 elections. According to the ZPP (2016), political intolerance has worsened the situation ahead of the 2018 elections, with the police having joined the struggle for the citizens by brutal attacks on the masses. Something in which the opposition is fighting and the civil society as well. The police intervention therefore must provide a peaceful operation fairly not partisan. Therefore the tension ahead of 2018 elections is still growing with a series of events still going on which can worsen the election outcome over the issues of violence and intimidation and political intolerance at large. The perpetrators:

1. Tajamuka/ Sesjikile movement
2. #This Flag Movement
3. National Vendors Union Association of Zimbabwe
4. ZANU-PF
5. The Grand Coalition
6. MDC-T

4.5 Fears of political violence ahead of 2018

As noted by Chitsike and Reeler (2015), elections in Zimbabwe often create more problems than they can solve. The growing tension from the opposition, civil society and the pressure groups to ZANU-PF has showed a growing support from the masses over regime change. Noticed from the issues arousing over economic dilapidation has been a matter of concern. With electoral reforms woes coming from the opposition unsolved ahead of the elections, Zimbabwe has been registering violence in elections which saw the various parties claiming for free and fair elections over the years. According to RAU (2017), noted that Zimbabwe is the most violent of the countries governed by the former liberation movements particularly in respect of elections. With traces of violence over the elections held from 2002, 2005, and 2008, according to Mugwadi of the Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission (ZHRC) claiming that the organisation could demand suspension of elections, if it occurs that elections in 2018 are conducted in violence. Therefore the decision of the commission to use its power to suspend the coming elections on the bases of human rights violations matched to that of previous elections from 2000, the final power lies within the hands of the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission hence the need to separate ZEC from being partisan and become an independent board that will provide for free and fair elections.

The recorded violence statistics from June 2016 has been showing a promising future violence ahead of 2018 elections which can cripple the outcome of the elections ahead of 2018.

Month	MDC-T	ZANU-PF	MDC-N	ZIM- PF	PDP	NPP
January	1	1	0	0	0	0
February	0	1	0	0	0	0
March	0	0	0	0	0	1
April	0	1	0	0	0	0
May	0	0	0	0	0	0
June	0	0	0	0	0	0
July		0	0	0	0	0
Total	3	20	0	0	0	1

SOURCE: Raftopoulos (2017), cited ZPP (2017) reports.

The evidence above shows the growing violence as by any party. With ZANU-PF already has increased its violence over 2016. The violence trend is still persisting ahead of 2018, with other threats which are an ongoing process up to date can easily portray that the elections in 2018 can be violence and intimidation infested. According to Raftopoulos (2017), noted that where political violence is reaching a higher level, the violence noticed from 2002, 2005, and 2008 was significantly uni-directional in which it was ZANU-PF supporters against that of the MDC-T in most cases.

4.6 The Independence of ZEC versus the opposition ahead of 2018

Since its establishment, the cry from the civil society and the opposition was of electoral reforms. Though it managed to establish some of the reforms, the question still lies on its independence which will provide for the case of free and fair elections in 2018. As of the ZEC appointments, they are reliant on the last decision of the president. Therefore this will not provide the fairground of the conduction of the elections.

According to Raftopoulos (2017), the sustained pressure by both opposition political parties through the Zimbabwe National Electoral Reform Agenda (ZINERA), and a civil society

coalition which formed the Electoral Reforms Working Group (ERWG). The pressure directed to the electoral board is an aid of the 2013 constitution, and other reforms which are being needed for by the civil society and the opposition to proffer for a valid election. According to RAU (2016), the evidence from the government is cherry picking which laws brought into conformity with the constitution arguing that the harmonisation of the legislature will take time, but it becomes the most obvious implication behind the promulgation of the amended constitution hence the application of constitutionalism cannot be applied. Therefore a strong representation and civil society about the range of reforms needed for a genuinely democratic election can result for a continued struggle over free and fair elections hence violence is imminent.

Apart from that, the electoral board though it has managed to bring in the new system of compilation of voters roll, the ZEC and the government has not laid down a constitutional bound that will provide for the securitization of political parties which has become a major problem during the conduction of the elections. The security sector ended up being partisan during the 2008 elections which formed the Joint Operation Command, with the CIO, the ZNA and the ZRP formed an operation command to support the ZANU-PF regime. Therefore checks and balances over the security sector reforms forms a big base of opposition woes. This has continued over the year 2016, with violence between the police and the citizens became rife.

4.7 The Economy

After the end of the inclusive government, following the 2013 elections, Zimbabwe noticed a deteriorating economy in which citizens have managed to demonstrate over the issue over and over again. The dilapidation of the economy resulted into the dissatisfaction by the citizens, *The Independence* (July 7, 2017). The cases of unemployment and the economic crises remain a major concern by the citizens across the whole country, *Afrobarometer* (2017). The demonstrations by pressure groups and jointly with the opposition parties has saw the denial of the issuance of the bond notes. The *Tajamuka/ Sesjikile*, *Navus*, and the *#This Flag* campaign were as a result of the economic meltdown in the country in the start of 2016.

The prevalence of poverty in the country which strikes mainly the able groups which consists of the women and the youths becomes the key factor for the citizens for the government to stabilise the economy. The attempt to stand up for the down trend in the economy, with the

unlikelihood of increasing Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). It decelerated the impact of the import substitution policy under the Statutory Instrument 64, and limited the value addition on minerals and agricultural commodities hence the gambles of steadying the currency remains vague. This has precipitated mass demonstrations across the country over the decline of the economy, Raftopoulos (2016) and Raftopoulos (2017).

However, cognisance must be taken of possibilities of food security gained in the 2016/17 farming season and its potential to reduce the levels of dissatisfaction. Food securitization will have the effect of minimizing the demand for foreign currency and as such may help alleviate the currency. If this was to trigger production in the industry, this may begin to reverse de-industrialization; however, this looks most unlikely as most products are exported in raw form due to the nature of the economy. In the non-appearance of essential changes in industrial production, little must be estimated to revamp the economy. Ahead of 2018, Menocal (2015), and Khan (2010) are of the view that elections are an indirect way of solving a national crisis and it has been suggested that an alternative is to seek a national political settlement and this implies that political settlements are an effective method of solving a national crisis.

It is of great importance to note that the ever worsening economy can be the driver of the disruptive elections ahead of 2018. The traces of violence and political disorder in 2016 showed a result that was based on the economic turnaround which may be another case of 2008. Therefore the upcoming elections in 2018 may be affected by the economical background which may proffer to it different electoral outcome.

4.8 Factionalism in both parties: A moment of disunity ahead of 2018

Factionalism has become a major effect ahead of elections as it left many citizens without political confidence. As of the case of ZANU-PF and MDC-T, the issue of succession and disrespect of constitutional obligations in MDC-T has become a major pinpoint ahead of 2018 elections. According to Raftopoulos (2017), noted that the succession crisis generates the heat in the eyes of the media. For media has become the most powerful tool in mobilising for citizens in Zimbabwe, this draws in the case of what happens when the President dies, become too infirm to govern, or even decides to retire. This issue has been in ZANU-PF before the 2013 elections with the faction which forms the Mujuru cabal became vibrant in a mission to topple the president. Matyszak (2012) noted that the eventualities of factionalism

have been covered in detail before the 2013 elections following the ZANU-PF victory. The succession issue in the party of ZANU-PF is increasingly complex which saw the purge of Joice Mujuru and eight (8) cabinet ministers in 2014.

For there is a continued efforts to the succession struggle, the bitter struggle between the newly formed factions after Mujuru cabal, the Lacoste and the G40 has led to the interminable discussion. This is evidenced by Minister Jonathan Moyo who addressed the SAPES meeting that there is a huge bitterness between the factions over the succession of President Robert Mugabe. However as an effect to the 2018 elections, it came by from the time of Joice Mujuru that she was booted out after the elections. The continued preaching of unity has been a vision of President Robert Mugabe, hence the continued succession catapult by the Lacoste and G40 will face the same fate if the story would continue. This possibly may have a splitting effect which may de-campaign the party ahead of the 2018 elections. For example, the war vets factions under Victor Matemadanda and Cristopher Mutsvangwa, they are de-campaigning the party through which they are alleged to be anti G40. Though it is difficult to verify the political ongoing of the events, and the rationale rather than the blunt expulsion that was the mode for removing Mujuru and associates, this has been a sustained attempt at weakening the Mnangagwa faction prior to a planned resolution of the succession problem. Since the replacement of the president lies within the party and not the parliament, those that control the party will control the succession. This might be termed the “uncontrolled” succession, and is fraught with danger and a high probability of political violence, albeit intra-party violence. However, there must be concerns here about the possibility for violence and disturbances escalating as suggested by Goldstone et al. (2010), hence it has an implication to the elections on 2018 for it created a lot of confusion among the citizens as noted by the Fragile States Index (2017), that when local and national leaders engage in a deadlock and brinkmanship for political gain it undermines the social contract.

Apart from ZANU-PF intra party wars, MDC-T has saw the dawn of intra party recrimination over MDC-T performance during the 2103 elections which divided the party which is the largest opposition political party in Zimbabwe, Congressional Research Service (2016). The continuation of factional disorder in the MDC-T has saw the expulsion of 21 members of parliament belonging to MDC-T by Morgan Tsvangirai. The effect of this come when 2015 National Assembly by-elections for 16 seats in which most of them were vacated by the MDC-T and ZANU-PF won all of them after MDC faction boycotted the vote over claims of

a flawed election process. However the research find out that the future influence of MDC-T and of other opposition parties may depend on their success in 2018 in which the success is within the success of the coalition mobilisation since prospects of opposition victory are mixed, for example the formation of the MDC Alliance. Therefore the party splits can have a dimensional outcome ahead of elections in 2018.

4.9 Chapter Conclusion

The chapter outlines possible implications to the elections in 2018, drawing examples from the previous elections in 2008 and 2013 experiences. Therefore the next chapter is a clear-cut solution offering chapter to which these implications can be addressed in a manner to provide for free and fair elections ahead of 2018.

CHAPTER 5

5.0 Recommendations and Conclusions

5.1 Introduction.

This chapter is a presentation of recommendations and conclusions derived from the research findings in Chapter 4 on the implications of the elections in 2018. The elections in Zimbabwe had a myriad of undesirable consequences in Zimbabwe. The elections in every country are meant to uphold a democratic obligation which will utilize on economic, social and political outputs. Unlike in Zimbabwe, the issue of elections become a hard jigsaw pattern failed to uphold the matters concerning democratic conduction of elections with a plethora of implications drawn out of the elections in every year that they are held. Traces of bloodshed, violence, intimidation, partisan of keys state institutions, security sector being partisan, a failed system of government among and vote rigging among other factors formed a big problem in Zimbabwe which saw various pressure groups defying the ZANU-PF regime over its injustices and abuses of power.

5.2 Conclusions

In a bid to tie up the loose ends, the elections in Zimbabwe had caused negative effects and consequences in the country and in the SADC region at large. The previously expected behaviours under the dawn of a new democratic Zimbabwe were abandoned over the issue of power dynamism. The ZANU-PF hegemony has costed the economy, the violence in the elections, intimidation, vote rigging, manipulation of the boundaries and partisan politics which incorporated the key state institutions and the electoral commission on its own has become a major point in which it becomes a major war on the opposition groups and the ruling party ZANU-PF. Violence has become a major tool for ZANU-PF to stay in power as noticed by the 2008 elections which saw a great impact over human rights abuse. Civic groups have been advocating for electoral reform agendas, the formation of various pressure groups which are meant to dismantle ZANU-PF from power have seen the need of the regime change behind the motive of economic dilapidation, cash shortages and promising inflation growing up in Zimbabwe. ZANU-PF has been criticized for its acts of aggression on the elections. The 2008 election run-off recorded the highest trend of election theft by ZANU-PF which saw the president of an outstanding opposition party MDC-T withdrawing from the

electorate due to continued threats and violence imposed on the opposition by the Joint Operation Command which was formed by the military forces of Zimbabwe, the CIO and ZANU-PF's militia. Therefore it is of paramount in this study to proffer the recommendations on the bases of true democracy within a state to the emergence of free and fair elections ahead of 2018 elections.

5.3 Recommendations

5.3.1 Checks and balances to violence emergence

In an attempt to address the problem of elections violence and intimidation, the regional blocs must maintain the need to address the weakness in election management by building the capacity of election management bodies to deliver on their constitutional mandate. A few has been done in Zimbabwe, with the electoral commission is still tied to identity politics infested with partisan politics. Therefore the bases of free and fair elections has been a subject of political debate over its independence. More so, the problem of gaps in election observation and reporting can also be addressed by regional bodies, through the establishment of common standards for election observation. This will help to reduce the tensions created by conflicting reports from different observer groups. In most cases, elections declared as free and fair by some observer groups are called a sham by other observer groups. The development of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) *Handbook on Election Observation* is a step in the right direction, and the idea should be explored by other regional organisations. The creation of common standards for election observation at the regional level

should eventually lead to the creation of common election observation standards for the continent, under the leadership of the AU.

5.3.2 Effective Electoral System

An effective electoral system should comprise effectual mechanisms to settle electoral quarrels. In most cases, traditional courts have been slow in dealing with electoral cases, mostly because they can be influenced by the ruling party if the conclusion of the court's decision will not be in the party's favour. Putting in independent electoral courts can help to reduce conflict resulting from disputes over election results in Zimbabwe. The AU and SADC must address how it can be involved in resolving election disputes in member

countries. The attempt by the AU to resolve the Kenya post-election violence points to weaknesses in conflict resolution mechanisms in Africa. Intervention by the AU could have curbed the destruction that followed the announcement of the election results. This will ensure the effective electoral system in Zimbabwe, hence the need this will also need the separation of powers and independence of the electoral commission.

5.3.3 The security sector

The security sector has been blamed for it being partisan. The 2008 elections faced a high violence rate perpetrated by the jointly and combined efforts from the army, police and the CIO. Apart from it being state sponsored, the ZANU-PF militia also helped to equip the violence in the rural and urban areas which devastated the election outcome at the expense of the opposition. The combined effort was formed under the Joint Operation Command (JOC) which was viewed as the state sponsored violence. Therefore the responsible institutions must draft a violence prohibiting instruments that will protect everyone's interest in the political field. Apart from that, the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission must provide for the checks and balances for the provision of equal participation of each and every party to cater for free and fair elections ahead of 2018 elections.

5.3.4 Electoral reforms

The key features emerged in 2013 required important reforms ahead of the new electoral stance ahead of 2018. The first was the independence if the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission which has been a major problem arousing from the opposition side. The voters roll too, and reforms to key state institutions. Though the ZEC has managed to acquire a new voter's roll compilation process under the newly introduced Biometric Voters Registration (BVR) method, other problems goes unsolved. There has been a strong and sustained pressure from the opposition and the civil society through various groups for example the Zimbabwe National Electoral Reform Agenda (ZINERA) and the National Election Reform Agenda (NERA), the provisions of the 2013 emended constitution does not provide for the best practice of constitutional matters ahead of elections and the war between the civil society, opposition and ZANU-PF is a continued force that can cause violence ahead of the elections in 2018. However the ZEC must draft a provision non other that it being partisan for the produce of free and fair elections to all parties.

5.3.5 Separation of powers and the independence of ZEC

There must be a separation of powers which can bring on the table practical justices to the elections playing field. The appointment of the Electoral Board must be a consultative based on the equal representation of the parliament. The appointment of the board must be the subject of the judiciary which is to be a separated board from the presidential bounds. However the formation of the Judiciary must form on the bases of its establishment that will produce a fair base for the electorate and the opposition at large. The appointments of the late Godfree Chidyausiku following the appointment of Justice Rita Makarawu raised the eyebrows of every opposition entity over the issue of partisan politics based on patronage and corruption. Therefore the separation of the executive powers from the judiciary will form the strong base of the conduct of elections in Zimbabwe.

5.3.5 Provision of equal playing ground to all political parties

Equality in the political playing ground has been infested by injustices. With many key state institutions having been captured by ZANU-PF. For example the playing ground in the media was only open to ZANU-PF campaigns. Therefore the coverage of media access must be granted to every political party for its proper execution of its mass gatherings and political campaigns. Therefore the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission must monitor the media coverage to all opposition political parties which can therefore provide for the bases of free and fair elections in Zimbabwe. The clear example is the rallies of the presidential youth interface rallies which were being held in every province in Zimbabwe, had full coverage on the media at the same time no any other efforts were made to broadcast the opposition on the media. It is however the duty of the electoral commission to provide for the equal playing ground for every political party in Zimbabwe as shall be for the case of free and fair elections.

5.3.6 Both Parties must get rid of factions in the parties

It is said that when national leaders engage in deadlock and brinkmanship for political gain, it undermines the social contract and the confidence of people ahead of the elections. Recorded by the Research Advocacy Unit in 2017 are the trends that shows unaffiliated numbers of the population and as of the case, it has been as a result of ignorance and the political violence experienced over the years especially from 2008 elections. Drawing this, this saw the mass demonstration of people in 2016 some of them claimed that they are not politically affiliated

and rather they are demonstrating for the need of a regime change. Therefore, the election numbers can be affected as a result of this something which need to be addressed ahead of the 2018 elections.

5.3.6 Demographic pressures

For there are pressures on the population such as natural disasters and economic decline, the political parties must instil in the people glimpses of hope ahead of the 2018 elections. The economic growth under ZANU-PF regime is still questionable. The cash shortages and inadequate availability of basic requirements by a large population in Zimbabwe has become a big issue. Therefore I recommend that opposition parties must utilizes the demographic pressures ahead of the election in 2018.

5.3.8 International Intervention

The continued human rights violation in the 2008 elections has followed an international follow up of the elections in Zimbabwe. The SADC efforts to provide for the democratic intervention to setup the Global Political Agreement with the political parties in Zimbabwe in 2009, is a good example of intervention. Therefore the parties have once experienced the international intervention, hence the ZEC must provide the base in which the elections can be observed by the regional and international blocs as shall be for the case of the provision of free and fair elections.

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Appendix 1 Questionnaire

My name is Clair Kasolo (R143340N, an undergraduate student of the Midlands State University (MSU) doing a Bachelor of Science in Politics and Public Management Honours Degree. I am undertaking a research titled: An analysis of Zimbabwe’s elections and their implications to the 2018 elections. A case of 2008 and 2013 elections. This research is done in partial fulfilment of the above mentioned programme. I am kindly requesting your assistance by answering the following questions.

The information you provide shall be kept confidential. The information will be used for academic endeavors only.

- Please respond to the following questions as fully as you can. (Tick where applicable)

1. Sex FemaleMale.....

2. Are you a registered voter? YES..... NO.....

3. Organisation/Party Name.....(NOT COMPULSORY)

4. Age Below 25 years [] 26-40years [] 41+ years []

5. How long ha? [] [] [] []

6. 1-10years 11-20yeras 21-30years 31+years

you’re your own view what has been a major obstacle to the conduct of elections in Zimbabwe.....

7. What implications did the elections in Zimbabwe caused over the years?

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8. Did the elections serve their own duty given their mandate to promote democracy?

YES..... NO.....

9. If YES/ NO, please clarify the answer shortly.

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10. What measures which were taken to curb violence in the conduct of the elections by institutions responsible for the betterment of the elections?.....

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11. How did the implications of the elections posed to the livelihoods in Zimbabwe?.....

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12. Would something happened in 2008 and 2008 bound to happen on the elections to come in 2018?

YES NO

13. If Yes/ NO explain your view briefly.

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14. In your own view, what are the drivers of electoral fraud and violence that are bound to happen in 2018?

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15. Looking at the political parties and civil society, what is their relationship at stance?

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16. Does the relationship between political parties and the civil society another driver for violence in 2018?.....

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THANK YOU .

Appendix 2: Interview Guide

I am an undergraduate student of the **Midlands State University (MSU)** doing a Bachelor of Science in Politics and Public Management Honours Degree. I am undertaking a research entitled: *An analysis of Zimbabwe's elections and their implications to the 2018 elections. A case of 2008 and 2013 elections.* This research is done in partial fulfilled of the above mentioned program. I am kindly requesting your assistance by answering the following questions.

The information you provide shall be kept confidential. The information will not be used for any other purposes other than that of academic actions.

1. What have been characterizing the elections in Zimbabwe from the past experience?
2. What implications did the past elections have to the Zimbabwean social, economic and political environment?
3. Does the elections in Zimbabwe serve democratic norms and values?
4. What can be done to provide for credible elections in Zimbabwe?
5. Is there any possibility that the coming elections can encounter violence given that in 2016 there was a high rise of political disorder formed against ZANU-PF, what's your take?
6. What implications can possibly encountered ahead of 2018 elections?

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME.