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DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS AND PUBLIC MANAGEMENT

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

BSC IN PEACE STUDIES

*AN INDEPTH ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT AND DEMOCRATIC
CONSOLIDATION IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF THE TAJAMUKA FROM 2016-2017*

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ZVISHAVANE, ZIMBABWE

MAY 2018

Declaration

I, Charity Manyika, do hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of my own study and research, except to the extent indicated in the acknowledgement, references and by comments included in the body of the report, and that it has not been submitted in part or in full for any other degree to any other University

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Abstract

The research analysed the purpose of and effects of social movement in Zimbabwe through examining acts of activism by prominent movements such as Tajamuka. This research is important to both the government and citizens as social movements are a gravity which influences the governance of this country hence the phenomenon has to be extensively understood. Government policies disturb every citizen in Zimbabwe and the actions that are taken by people against the government will generally affect everyone indirectly or vice versa. It is the objective of the research to provide an understanding on where acts of activism stand within the legal framework of Zimbabwe. This will give vital information to the people who would wish to be heard but do not get the consequences of being involved in a social movement. Generally, the research provide an in-depth analysis of issues surrounding social movements in the country. The research shall proffer solutions to activists in social movement's arena to achieve democratic consolidation. The government requires ways to engage with people who does not entail use of state security personnel and citizens who wish to be heard and require transformation through a peaceful manner. A quantitative approach was utilized to unearth the various factors surrounding this study. Data collection methods such as interviews, questionnaires and participant observation were used to bring out a balanced and well-articulated thesis. The research focus on various stakeholders in the social movement paradigm such as their leaders, government officials and citizens.

Dedication

The dissertation is dedicated to my parents, Mr and Mrs Manyika who put tremendous effort in my academic endeavours and always pushed and motivated me to keep studying. It also goes to my sister Edith Manyika and my friends with whom I have always found strength and happiness throughout these years of study. Not forgetting my late sister and her baby who passed on without seeing the end of this study. With this dissertation, may their souls rest in internal peace.

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Table of Content

Dedication	1
RELEASE FORM.....	ii
Abstract	iii
Dedication	iv
Acknowledgement	v
Table of Content	vi
Abbreviations	ix
List of Figures	x
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.0 INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY	1
1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM	4
1.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES	4
1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS.....	5
1.4 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY.....	5
1.5 DELIMITATIONS.....	5
1.6 LIMITATIONS	5
1.7 ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY	6
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW	7
2.1 Introduction	7
2.2 Overview of Social Movement	7
2.3 Roles of social movement in democratic consolidation in Zimbabwe.....	8
2.5 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	9
2.5.1 Deprivation Theory	9
2.5.2 Political Process Theory.....	10
2.6 OTHER COUNTRIES EXPERIENCES	11

2.6.1	The rise of the new social movements in South Africa.....	11
2.6.2	Social Movements and Democratic Consolidation in Egypt	12
2.6.3	Social Movements and Democratic Consolidation in Syria.....	14
2.6.4	Social Movements in Libya.....	15
2.7	Chapter Summary.....	16
CHAPTER 3: METODOLOGY		17
	Introduction	17
3.2.1	Qualitative Research	17
3.2.2	Target Population	17
3.2	Sample Selection.....	18
3.3	Purposive sampling	18
3.4	Quota Sampling.....	19
3.5	Advantages of Sampling Technique	19
3.7	DATA COLLECTION.....	20
3.7.1	Questionnaires.....	20
3.7.2	Structured Interviews	20
3.8	Participants Observation	21
3.8	Data Analysis	21
3.10	Ethical Consideration	22
3.10	Conclusion.....	22
CHAPTER 4: PRESANTATION AND ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS.....		23
4.1	Introduction	23
RESEARCH FINDINGS		23
4.3	Social movements and governance in Zimbabwe.....	25
4.5	Social Movements and the Morden Political Context in Zimbabwe	32
	Social Media and Social Movements in Zimbabwe.....	33

4.7 Social Movement and Democratic Consolidation in Zimbabwe	35
Chapter Summary.....	36
CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	38
5.1 Introduction	38
5.2 Summary of findings	38
5.3 Conclusions	39
5.4 Recommendations	41
5.5 Conclusion.....	42
REFERENCE LIST.....	43

Abbreviations

AIPPA-Access to Information and Protection of Public Act

CBO- Community Based Organisations

CIO- Central Intelligence Organization

LOMA- Law and Order Maintenance Act

MDC- Movement for Democratic Change

NCA- National Constitutional Assembly

POSA- Public Order and Security Act

ZANU PF- Zimbabwe African National Patriotic Front

ZAPU- Zimbabwe African People's Union

ZCTU- Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Union

ZEC- Zimbabwe Electoral Commission

List of Figures

Figure 1: Target population of the study.....	21
Figure 2: Overall questionnaire respondents.....	28
Figure 3: Overall interview respondents.....	29

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter shall engage in appreciating the consolidation of democracy in Zimbabwe through social movement of the Tajamuka. It will surely address the origins of all social movements and activism in Zimbabwe and explains how it linked to the movements of today that is the from Smith regime to 2017 were Tajamuka existed. Therefore, the appreciation will be done through the background of the study, identifying the problem statement that is to analyse the effectiveness of movements in terms of democratic consolidation, research objectives which are the main aims to be achieved by the research and questions which should be answered by the end of the research, justifying the study which is the explanation why this research was conducted and stating the limitations and delimitations of the study.

1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Social movement and democratic consolidation have developed through a fluctuating context from the pre-colonial era and over the years since independence in 1980. There are different factors that are associated with the understanding of the origins and consequences that triggered the development of social movement in Zimbabwe which are those related to the pre-colonial period and the post-independence political developments.

In the late nineteenth century, the British colonial policies together with Ian Smith's Unilateral Declaration of Independence in 1965 banned politics in the black community and prevented the native black people from participating in the Rhodesian governance. According to Mvukwe (1989), the black community was frustrated as they were segregated in policy making which affected every life aspect directly as they lacked political activities and forced their affairs behind closed doors. Moyo (1993) states that the blacks identified themselves in ethnic lines than national identity in which they felt segregated and it signalled the birth of social movements in the country. However, this weakened the natives as there was no longer unity amongst the different ethnic groups. This shows that social movements were divided therefore easily trampled upon by the Rhodesian government.

Every civil movement was trampled upon and the whites condemned the blacks into political irrelevance. Phillimon (2000) suggest that social movement had very little influence in the country's governance. Any social dissent was outlawed by the Law and Order Maintenance Act promulgated by the Rhodesian government. Therefore, social movement and democratic consolidation were not consistent which is the reason of why present movements are still struggling to operate in Zimbabwe.

There are also other movements that took place in the Post-independence era. ZANU PF as a ruling party declared itself the sole representative of the people and declare that there was no need for social movements. The government became the blanket organization of all movements in the name of revolution. According to Mudenge (1989), after Zapu was dissolved into the government through unity accord in 1987 the opportunity for social movements arose due to the economic meltdown under the International Monetary Fund structural adjustment programs. The civil society used this opportunity to promote democracy and respect for human rights in the country. This shacked the government and had to respond to the movement but later on introduced the Access to information and Privacy Protection Act to deal with organisations that threatens the popularity of a one party state through democratic sentiments.

Furthermore, the continuity of the failing economy led the general public to show their disgruntlement through nationwide stay always led by the secretary general of the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Union.1996 civil strike which was planned labour resiliency against the government that had failed to deal with poverty amongst the workers was one of the most serious industrial actions in the post-colonial Zimbabwe. Vhini (2004) states that the 1996 strike followed by more nation-wide strikes in 1997 and the period of social disobedience period in the country. This dissent contributed much in the governing of the nation such that a new opposition party was established led by Morgan Tsvangirai which is Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). This new political party led more democratic consolidation through movements such as the closure of the University of Zimbabwe in 2000 and ZCTU supported students to demonstrate. It also influences the food riots in Mabvuku.

On 6 July 2016, according to Madhuku (2016), thousands of Zimbabweans protested government repression, poor public services, high unemployment, widespread corruption and delays in civil servants receiving their salaries. A national strike, named "stay-away day," began

on 6 July and subsequent protests took place across the country and diaspora. The Zimbabwean government blamed Western governments for the protests and has been accused of blocking social media such as WhatsApp from 9am until 11am on 6 July 2016 to prevent people from gathering to protest. Moyo (2016) argue that the economy of Zimbabwe began shrinking significantly around 2000, following a series of events and government decisions such as the fast-track land reform programme and the 1997 War Veterans' Compensation Fund pay-out. This led to hyperinflation, devaluation and eventual collapse of the Zimbabwean dollar, high unemployment and general economic depression over the course of 16 years. The 2009 collapse of the Zimbabwean dollar led to the government's adoption of the US dollar and the informal adoption of other currencies (for example, the South African rand and the Botswana pula). However, due to US dollars becoming scarce in circulation, to address the shortages, the government announced that it would issue its own notes known as "bond notes" that would be equivalent to US dollars. This led to widespread voiced resistance and campaigns by Zimbabweans around the country, fearing the return of the Zimbabwean dollar.

On 19 April 2016, Pastor Evan Mawarire posted an influential Facebook video calling for reform. The video begins with Mawarire stating, "I'm not a politician; I'm not an activist... just a citizen". Togarepi (2009) states that, as emotive music plays, Mawarire wears the Zimbabwe flag and goes through each colour of the flag's stripes: "They tell me that the green is for the vegetation and for the crops. I don't see any crops in my country." He then returns to each colour again, stating how each colour should be an inspiration: the green "is the power of being able to push through soil, push past limitations and flourish and grow." He ends the viral video by promising to stop standing on the side lines and start fighting for his country. From 1 May to 25 May, Mawarire headed an online campaign in a series of videos over social media, urging Zimbabweans around the world to wear the Zimbabwean flag around their necks and speak-up against the government.

Meki (2016), eye-witnessed that on 24 June 2016, a protest was held at the Rainbow Towers Hotel, with protesters demanding that Vice President Phelekezela Mphoko vacate the hotel's presidential suite in which he has been staying with his family since December 2014. This protest was led by the Tajamuka/Sesjikile, National Vendors Union and Restoration of Human Rights groups. Earlier in May 2016, the government had announced that it would impose an

import ban on specified goods. On 1 July 2016, cross-border traders began protesting against this ban on both sides of the Zimbabwe-South Africa Beitbridge border post, calling for the ban's removal. This resulted in the burning of a Zimbabwe Revenue Authority warehouse, temporary closure of the border post and several arrests. Madhuku (2016) also seconds that the national stay-away day came after clashes between taxi drivers and the police two days earlier, with 95 people being arrested and several more beaten with truncheons/baton sticks and harassed.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The uprising of social movements in 2016 has unearthed the real feelings of citizens pertaining the governance of Zimbabwe. According to Bryman (1999) The research seeks to analyse the effectiveness of social movements in terms of sustainability continuity, reliability and democratic consolidation. It seems as if they are just event specific and sporadic. According to Manhanga (20014), social movements do not reform the government but rather seek for quick winning results for example when the Tajamuka activists demonstrated against former vice president Mpoko on his stay in Rainbow Towers. They went quite after they won. Basing on these movements, it has not been clarified whether or not these social movements are within the legal framework of Zimbabwe. Their results and methods are yet to be analysed as the research has done only on specific cases which fits the Zimbabwean contest. It is also important to establish the far reaching effects of these acts of dissents, how and what it benefited the citizens. Bakari at al (2004) This will give informed measures to the phenomenon which is currently taking place in the country, noting that elections have produced mixed feelings. A research on social movement of the Tajamuka may provide a different avenue that can improve the governance of Zimbabwe.

1.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

1. To explore the role of Tajamuka in the democratic consolidation process in Zimbabwe.
2. To evaluate the role of social media as tool used by Tajamuka in promoting democratic consolidation.
3. To analyse challenges faced by Tajamuka in promoting democratic consolidation in Zimbabwe.
4. To proffer recommendations for strengthening democratic consolidation in Zimbabwe.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What are the roles of Tajamuka in democratic consolidation in Zimbabwe?
2. What are the roles of social media as a tool used by Tajamuka in promoting democratic consolidation?
3. What are the challenges faced by Tajamuka in promoting democratic consolidation in Zimbabwe?
4. Proffer recommendations for strengthening democratic consolidation in Zimbabwe.

1.4 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

Social movements of Tajamuka have caused great noise in the country particularly in the previous two years. Authorities in government together with the general public seek an understating of this phenomenon, its effects and influence as such. The study has to be done to explain these courses of actions for the better governance of Zimbabwe.

This gives the need for the study which again gives more light on Tajamuka activism by providing a systematic explore and interpretation of activism beyond the stereotypical perspectives that tend to portray activism as a manifestation of hooliganism and university student masculinity among other explanations.

1.5 DELIMITATIONS

For the purpose of this study, this research is going to focus on the social movements of the Tajamuka in motions within the Zimbabwean boundaries. It shall be concerned also with the economic and political frameworks in the country including the laws that govern political activity. For a balanced analysis of the social movement phenomenon, the study will also encompass the civil society, pressure groups and government arms that are either directly or indirectly responsible for the behaviour of people.

1.6 LIMITATIONS

The research may encompass challenges in acquiring information particularly from the general public as they fear persecution because the subject under study is of a sensitive nature due to political connotations that comes with it. The study requires insight from the prominent

individuals who are driving the social movements in the country and meeting the for interviews shall present a problem .There are much Zimbabwean academic texts that have tackled social movement therefore most observations and analysis are within the parameters of the case study, a scenario that is going to present problems when trying to synthesise local traits and global ones.

1.7 ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY

CHAPTER 1.....INTRODUCTION

Introduces the topic and provides the research background, the problem statement, justifies the study and states the delimitations and limitations of the study.

CHAPTER 2....LITERATURE REVIEW

The chapter analyses the existing texts within the social movement arena. The literature will be reviewed through the conceptual framework and theoretical framework.

CHAPTER 3.....METHODOLOGY

The chapter focuses on the methods of data collection and interpretation. A qualitative research method will be used and techniques such as questionnaires', interviews and participation observation were used to collect data.

CHAPTER 4.....DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

The chapter analyses the research findings of the study and focuses on the objectives laid down in the 1st chapter

CHAPTER 5.....CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMENDATIONS

The chapter concludes the research and offers recommendations to improve and build effective social movements in Zimbabwe.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter consist of the literature review of the dissertation which are the conceptual and theoretical framework. It shall focus on the formulation of the themes and sub-themes from the research objectives. In the theoretical framework theories shall be discussed about what it was all about. This chapter shall also allow experiences of other countries which relate with the study.

2.2 Overview of Social Movement

Social movements can be defined as organizational structures and strategies that empowers oppressed populations to mount effective problems and resist the more powerful and advantaged elites. Halle (2012) states that they are large, sometimes informal, groupings of individuals which focus on specific political, economic and social related issues. Social movements can carry out and resist a social change. They provide a way of social change from the bottom within countries.

Social movement take up a hybrid as with the whole of Africa. Gramisci (2000) states that they blend with their set of interest with the western organisations, activism and funding. As a result their engagement with western countries these movements have endured a torrid time in a country. Curran (2000) also argues that, at affecting regime change all civil organisations such as ZCTU, National Constitution Assembly have all been labelled western mechanisms. These movements kept failing over the past years to gain support from the general public in their enthusiasm to make the government facilitates good governance as the watchdog due to the lack of serious appeal.

Zimbabwe has been experiencing social dissents over a period of time before and after independence up to the time of the study. Over these years, different types of activism that suits the particular circumstances and time. According to Crossley (2007), before colonialism, the black native used to organised themselves through underground meetings to discuss politics and issues affecting them. In the post-independence era people began to demonstrate and protest as a way of social dissent with the fresh air of freedom for example the food riots of 2000. In the present day it now changed to the use of internet to disgruntlement towards the government.

The laws that governs social movement such as Public Order and Security Act (POSA) are not favourable for the movement operations they are so strict and basically suffocate them. Any anti-government protest has been clamped down by those laws. Madhuku (2016) second that with a notable example of the arrest of the shutdown protester Evan Mawarire in July 2016 and trade union leader Stern Zvorwadza after they protested against vice president's stay in Rainbow towers hotel at an expense of money from the tax payers.

However recently, a new avenue has been found by the people to mobilise and express their disagreement against the government through social media. Mupariwa (2016), states that platforms such as Facebook and Whatsapp provides a forum for people to express their views and concern without fear of persecution. Such development have generated a quick and sudden sense of hope for movement revival with ambitious and prominent leaders such as Evan Mawarire and Promise Mkwanzanze who generated a great following on social media forums and the masses noticing their experiences being cited by cyber activists.

Social movements can be conceptualised on distinct perspectives in Zimbabwe that are pre-independence and post-independence governance of the nation, their countries legal system and their relations with social media. The consequences can also be viewed from the familiarisation of opportunities vital to their relevance and challenges they are facing in current eco-socio-political environment.

2.3 Roles of social movement in democratic consolidation in Zimbabwe

Democratic consolidation is the process were by a new democracy matures, in a way that means it is unlikely to revert to any authority without an external shock. Patel (2007) also seconds that the notion is contested because it is not clear that there is anything substantive that happens to new democracies that protects their continuation beyond those factors that simply make it 'more likely' that they continue as democracies.

Basing on human rights, these social movements and lone activists strengthens democracy in Zimbabwe by engaging in broad based education and advocacy campaigns that target rural areas and various government institutions such the police and the army force. Marodza (2016) argues that Zimbabwe Yadzoka is one such social movement in Zimbabwe.

The experiences of Zimbabwean social movements is varied and complex and. Chormps (2013) They have efforts to speak on behalf of the people are hampered by the “elected” authoritarian regime and limited by profound inequalities of resources, social capital and power that affects their structures.

Social movements demands accountability and advocated for regime change. They have the ability to win victories in terms of changing the political culture. Munyoro (2017) states that even where they have suffered immediate defeats on policy issues, they can still obtain public policy gains in the long term.

2.5 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Many theories have been put forward in an attempt to explain the birth, operation and successes of the social movement and democratic consolidation which allowed for this paper to give further research and the discussions under study. McAdam, McCarthy and1 Zald (1988) identified the following theories in the examination of the phenomenon under study: deprivation theory and political process theory. The scholar shall however dwell on the most relevant theories to this particular study which are the deprivation theory, resource mobilisation theory and the political process theory.

2.5.1 Deprivation Theory

It alludes that the social movements are born when certain people feel that they are deprived of a certain services or for instance, employment and the basic economic needs such as the shelter and food. This theory categorise the deprivation into two distinct groups which are absolute deprivation and then relative deprivation.

Absolute deprivation isolates the group’s position in society. Adams (2004), states that, this is taken to encompass the society as a whole grouping being deprived of the services and goods. Relative deprivation disadvantages positions of some other group in a society. Contrary to the absolute deprivation, relative deprivation gives emphasis on a particular group within the society being overlooked in the terms of service.

This theory is the explanation of why and how the social movements are born. Deprivation of certain services and goods such as socio-political rights pushes citizens to resist the authorities in

the Zimbabwe, recent movements are reviving because of the need for reform in the justice, electoral and governance aspects of the nation. Mondiswa (2017), this flag, Tajamuka and other movements are blaming out the failing of the government to provide job, a stable currency and security. They feel it was being deprived off of them which is proved with recent surveys showing that Zimbabwe's unemployment rate is over 80% and people are turning into informal sector to earn and income. Therefore, this theory does justice to address the question of how social movements start and grow.

However, the theory overlooks the cases where social movements fail in some instances. Therefore it gives an idea that the theory have to be combined with other theories to give a broader explanation. This is proved through movements such as the Lovemore Madhuku's National Constitution Assembly which has failed to appeal to the general public and provoke meaningful responses to the authorities. Mkwanzanze (2016) argues that the movement is now a registered political party with candidates in favour of the countries constituencies. This is a development that needs to be explained to establish the factors that give social movements a natural death. It can be argued that the NCA, had political motives from the get go. As it apparently failed to gather relative support from the public, it was left with no option but transforming into a political entity to maintain its importance.

The deprivation theory deals with a very important aspect of social movement, which is how it is born. There are other causes of civil dissents, which will be looked at in the following theories but deprivation at the centre of most of them all.

2.5.2 Political Process Theory

The theory describes social movements as the political motion thus origins of social movements are traced to the availability of the political opportunities. Butcher (2009), equates that social movements in the question to the state that is the relations between the movements and the power of government. The propellers of political theory posit that there are high chances of the social movements failing in the time strongly entrenched and the repressive towards acts of dissent for example, if the government is the allow dissents there will be high chances that a social movement may grow and flourish.

This theory works in Zimbabwe where there are stiff laws that outlaw most actions of dissent such as the Public Order and Security Act (POSA). This Act is used by the government to justify its clampdown on civil disobedience in the country. Moyo (2016), states that during the July 2016 shutdown and demonstrations the government used the brutal force of the police on the public. This led to many injuries and showed the repressive tendency of the ruling government to the civilians. The High Court gave a ruling which allows peaceful demonstrations but the government still shows zero tolerance to such activities which compromise its authority. Kapenzi (2017), overlooks that it is evident that social movements have an important task if they wish to establish themselves and exert influence to the government through dissent.

However, the theory falls to explain social movement. By focusing on political circumstances, it explains cultural factors that might mitigate the effects of the same political opportunities. Damba (2004) states that this can be a factor with much influence in the social movement arena. The ruling government has cultivated a culture of politics of patronage, hero worshiping and patriotism during past few decades. This shows that any act of dissent towards the government is perceived as unpatriotic and supportive of the opposition change agenda fuelled by the west. Tambudzai (2015), argues that it can be difficult for social movement to be successful while faced with government deep rooted culture developed over many years.

2.6 OTHER COUNTRIES EXPERIENCES

2.6.1 The rise of the new social movements in South Africa

A series of social movements arose due to challenge water and electricity cut-offs, lack of land redistribution, housing evictions and forced removals in South Africa's main urban centres and then later in rural societies. Desai (2011) states that the rise of these movements based in particular societies and evincing particular, mostly defensive demands, was not merely a natural effect of poverty or marginality but a direct answer to state policy. The state's inability or unwillingness to provide public services and the guarantor of the conditions of collective consumption has been a spark for a manifestation of community movements and the general idea of the neo-liberal crisis focuses and points these requests towards the state action has been spurred by social on-screen characters generated by the new states of gathering that lie outside of the ambit of the exchange association development and its style of sorting out.

What differentiate these social movements from political parties, pressure groups and NGOs is mass mobilisation as the main source of social sanction. Tellmore (2009) notes that the rapid growth of social movements and their increase in militant opposition to the policies of the ANC-run state from the late 1990s, soon caused a rupture between those movements opposed to the ANC state's political party and economic policies and those that chose continued to be loyalty to the ANC line. McDonald and Smith (2002) as well as Edward Cottle (2003) explained it as the best exemplified in the run-up to, and during, the World Summit on Sustainable 'The Failure of Sanitation and Water Delivery and the Cholera Outbreak', in Development Update. This led to the possession of a selection of a few ANC-Alliance hands until the late 1990s, was penned when Mbeki was ANC Deputy General Secretary and was circulated amongst the Alliance leadership prior to the ANC's 49th National Conference in December 1994. Desai (2002) argues that it saw a decisive split between the two groups, the former gathering Social Movements Indaba (SMI) and the latter collectively grouped under the Civil Society (People's) Forum. This led to the most visible result of the dual Alex-to-Sandton marches on the WSSD, with the solidarity march by the SMI and allied formations such as the Landless People's Movement attracting 25 000 people onto the streets and the ANC-backed Forum march attracting fewer than 5000.17 people.

However, it again stand the 'traditional' progressive forces in South Africa, represented mostly by various leaderships of COSATU, SACP, SANCO and SANGOCO. The immediate response of the ANC party to the activities of the new social movements was to get on a political propaganda campaign that sought to expose these movements and their activists as criminals and anarchists. Perkins (2014) states that when this had little effect on the activities and growth of the social movements, the ANC leaders decided to use the state's repressive equipments to launch a co-ordinated law and order breakdown. This resulted in physical assaults on, and arrests and imprisonment of hundreds of social movement activists and society members across the country before, during and after the WSSD

2.6.2 Social Movements and Democratic Consolidation in Egypt

According to Scholars of Egypt and North Africa such as Amin and Joffe (2012), one way to understand the issue that fueled the social movements in Egypt is to examine the record of neoliberal policies which was adopted by Egyptian leaders since the time of Structural

Adjustment which came in the wake of the debt crisis and the global oil price shock of the 1970s. Hanieh (2011) argued that the neoliberal project took place in Egypt was characterized by Accelerating Structural Economic Reforms (ASER) by international financial institutions was designed to push the programs that were pursued by the Mubarak regime. Bond (2011) and Hanieh (2011) both agree that these economic reforms continue to represent threats to the economies and democratic processes in North Africa.

Neoliberal globalization influence in economic decisions ushered in a poor living condition degrading social conditions, high unemployment rate and increased poverty for citizens. According to 2005 Egyptian statistics, 3.8% were classified as extremely poor, 19.6 % were poor, and 21% were near poor. According to Joffé, the GINI coefficient measured nation's inequality which remained the same at 32 between 1992 and 2006. This made Egypt the 90th most unequal state in the world. Egypt embraced a neoliberal economic policy since the late 1970s which led to the unchanging of outcomes for the masses. These conditions then led in motion a revolt by the people. During the movement period, Amin (2012) notes, 'the most vocal supporters of the 'democratic revolutions' calling the West to their rescue are some of the former leaders who enthusiastically supported the neoliberal alignment.

Furthermore, by the end of the 1970s, an implicit alliance already existed between the military regime and the social movement group called Muslim Brotherhood. This made the latter to reassert itself within Egyptian community although not given legal status, and the growth of a private sector allied to the regime by economic interest. Joffé (2011) argue that the Mubarak regime inherited the state and further engaged in the privatization of the economy till today they left the Egyptian Army and its collaborators in control of the economy.

Egyptians were now pushing for more democracy. Radia and Marquardt (2011) argues that, U.S intervention in the country has sometimes contradicted the demands of the people. Due to its failure of uncritical embrace of the military establishment seen in the allocation of the majority of U.S. foreign assistance to Egypt in favor of Tunisia toward military aid, Obama's administration led to less direct outcomes for the Egyptian people. This resulted in distrust among the Egyptian people and U.S. foreign policy, and its approach to promoting and consolidating democracy.

The lack of transitional support for young people and civil community development in Egypt was a main driver in forms of internal resistance. The Revolution Youth Coalition (RYC) refused to meet with Secretary of State Hillary Clinton in Egypt in 2011. Radia & Marquardt (2011), cited that ‘They openly stated that their rejection derived from her negative position from the beginning of the revolution and the position of the US administration in the Middle East’. In other words, the Youth Coalition noted that “the U.S. administration took Egypt’s revolution lightly and supported the old regime while Egyptian blood was being spilled. .

2.6.3 Social Movements and Democratic Consolidation in Syria

A movement that had originated in Egypt sixteen years earlier During World War II of the Muslim Brotherhood got linked with the House of the Elect which was relocated to Damascus in 1994 rechristened itself the Syrian incarnation, not long after French magnificent experts hauled out of the nation. According to Malark (2015), the Brothers chose unmistakable religious researcher and extremist Mustafa al-Siba'i to be its first General Supervisor of the movements in its initial months, the Muslim Brotherhood approached the National Bloc-drove legislature of recently autonomous Syria to support Islamic ethics and morals, and to abstain from rehearsing political and financial separation as the French had done along religious lines.

The association's initial pronouncements underscored expansive objectives of fighting well known numbness, shamelessness and monetary hardship. The Brothers additionally pushed for the combination of a completely autonomous and independent Syria.

When the government revised the secularist constitution in 1973, the Brothers launched a sequence of mass protests, forcing the government to get back and stipulate that Syria's head of state must be a Muslim. Mohamed (2011)speculates that this time of the Islamist movement's campaign against the Ba'th Party-dominated order is nearly identified with the leadership of 'Adnan Sa'd al-Din, who was once a school teacher who became General Supervisor of the Muslim Brothers in a conflicted election in 1971.

Several factors influenced the turn to armed struggle during Sa'd al-Din's term in office such as the flagrant corruption that accompanied the implementation of the government's economic

liberalization system, Syria's military intervention in the civil war that took place in Lebanon in 1975 and the rising political and economic influence of the 'Alawi minority.

2.6.4 Social Movements in Libya

In Libya, Kaddafi managed to suppress all social movements and trends due to his fully totalitarian rule. Martin (2017) states that Kaddafi set up a one-party system that expressed his own ambition and views by employing all ways and means. This led to the formation of activism and the Libyan youth and intellectuals begged Islamist movements to help fulfilling their aspirations. Libya has been well familiar with political parties since the end of the 19th. Century while the imperial ruling system was tormented by confrontations between the king and the civil society organizations and political organisation. After his power takeover, Kaddafi stifled all attempts for organizing social movements. When the revolution broke out, the MBH group declared an expression of political rather than civil activity.

The Kaddafi-led regime forced numerous youthful party members to escape the country and joining the war under the banner of Islamic Federation. Jephrey (2003) argues that in 1990 the fighters chose to return to Libya and set up the Islamic Combat Group (ICG). That later organised a few upset endeavours to assassinate Kaddafi. Just like other Jihadist groups in Egypt, the Libyan ICG was presented to religious re-orientation sessions under the regime's sponsorship. After they were discharged from detainment, many group members joined social movements by working within relatively democratic consolidation, in compliance with the Sharia law. The group participated in the Libyan revolution by forming an armed brigade that liberated Tripoli due to some of its highly trained fighters. The Libyan Islamic Movement for Change (LIMC) was also organised and participated in the elections via its two parties.

No connection with al-Qaeda or any international organization with the ICG have ever been followed after the revolution, while the group proceeded their activity in parliament and government institutions as a genuine political party. According to Mafis (215), after armed conflict broke out in Libya, Islamic parties joined forces against General Khalifa Haftar and the Karama operation that he influenced on May 16, 2014. The Muslim Brotherhood group split over

the Sukheirat dialogue held on March, 5, 2015 for reaching reconciliation over a Libyan unified ruling specialists.

2.7 Chapter Summary

The chapter analysed academic texts and reports currently on social movements in the country through several concepts which were identified and explain like the use of the social media as a powerful tool to mobilize masses and support, acts of dissent that are associated with the movements and the most important. Also theories were put forward to explain social movement phenomena in the nation such as the deprivation theory and the political process theory. This chapter also reviews what other scholars say in terms of social movements and democratic consolidation in countries like Syria, Libya, Egypt and South Africa.

CHAPTER 3: METODOLOGY

Introduction

The chapter is going to explore and outline the methodology that will be used to conduct and collect data. The researcher shall employ the qualitative research method. Qualitative research is especially effective in obtaining culturally specific information about the values opinion, options, behaviours and social contexts of particular populations. The researcher requires an understanding of why, how and with what results are Zimbabwean citizens resorting to civil disobedience hence the application of the qualitative approach which shall provide a flexible and lively data collection critical to analytical researches.

3.1 Research Design

A research design is the collection of data arranged with the aim of combining relevance and purpose of the study so that the quality of the research can be improved which can only be achieved through better understanding. Orrna and Steven (1995) also define research design as a means of critical investigation in order to discover something specific about a given problem through inquiring, collecting and finding of relevant information to solve the problem.

3.2.1 Qualitative Research

Qualitative research is a logical research that consists of an investigation that seeks answers to a question, systematically uses a predefined set of techniques to answer the question, collects evidence, gathers prove and produces findings that were not determined in advance and produces findings that are appropriate past the prompt limits of the study. This method is important and crucial to use as a research because it seeks to understand civil disobedience and the effect of social movements in the governance of the country from the perspective of the participants. Moreover, the method provides a scientific viewpoint to the research as it provides textual descriptions and identifies variables fundamental in answering and fulfilling the set objectives of this research

3.2.2 Target Population

This research will for the most part centre on different social movement leaders from prominent movements of Tajamuka, people who occupied Africa Unity Square and a few others. It shall

also be focusing on other applicable partners in the social movement fraternity most notably participating citizens in civil dissent activities

Figure 2

Targeted population	Number of expected participants
Tajamuka leaders	5
Government Officials	5
General Civilians	10
Total number of participants	20

Table showing target population

3.2 Sample Selection

Sample selection is an important but sometimes disparaged part of a research study. Sampling theory describes two sampling which are probability and nonprobability. Probability samples contain some type of randomization and consist of simple, stratified, systematic, cluster, and sequential types. Nonprobability samples lack randomization and consist of convenience or accidental, purposive, quota, volunteer, and expert types. . Latham (2007) states the essential distinction between the two domains is that the probability sampling study findings can be generalized to the target population while the nonprobability sampling study findings can only be summed up to the institution where the sample was studied. In conducting sample selection, after confirmation of the qualification criteria, only one out of ten conceivable candidates entered the study. Therefore, clinical trials usually show limitations to generalize the results to the entire population of patients with the disease, yet just to those with comparative attributes to the example incorporated into in the study.

3.3 Purposive sampling

Purposive sampling is the procedure of choosing informants on the basis of their relevance to the theoretical position, research questions and analysis of the research as well as the argument that the researcher is developing. Bereson (2004), it is important to the topic being studied not only

does it single out necessary participants but allows the researcher to save time engaging useful sources instead of approaching respondents randomly. In conducting purposive sampling, participants were chosen according to the needs of the study. Therefore participants who do not meet the profiles of the target population were rejected. In that case, the purposive sampling technique engaged to single out relevant sources pertaining to the study such as, the leaders of Tajamuka movement and their respective deputies and advisors. Also government officials shall be chosen according to their reaction to social movements, most particularly the Zimbabwe Republic Police officials.

3.4 Quota Sampling

Mack et al (2011), quota sampling is deciding while designing the study of how many people with what characteristics to include as participants. The researcher chose this technique as it has relevance in participants who will have knowledge in the topic understudy. The researcher therefore selected participants based on three characteristics which are leaders of Tajamuka, government officials and general participants in movements of Tajamuka and the public as well. As such there will be five Tajamuka leaders, five government officials and ten people from participants in civil disobedience and the general public. This was done to ensure a non- biased research which will produce balanced results so as to carry out accurate analysis. In conducting quota sampling the researcher divided the sample population into subgroups which are mutually exclusive and then selected an appropriate sample size.

3.5 Advantages of Sampling Technique

The research chose to use sampling technique because it enables convenience, collection of intensive and exhaustive, and suitability in limited and secured resources. The advantages of using this technique is the cost is lower because data is collected for a sample of population. Sampling also uses less time also than other technique. Scope of sampling is high therefore this process of sampling makes it possible to arrive at generalizations by concentrating on the variables within a relatively little extent of the populace. It permits a high level of accuracy due to a constrained area of operations. Moreover, careful execution of field work is conceivable and the results of sampling studies turn out to be adequately precise. Study of samples involves less space and equipment. In addition, in sample studies measurements or observations are made of a predetermined number. So, intensive and exhaustive data are gathered. Sampling technique

highly represent all subjects participating. Purposive sampling enables balance of group sizes when multiple groups are to be chosen. Quota sampling also enables selection of adequate numbers of subjects with adequate characteristics

3.7 DATA COLLECTION

3.7.1 Questionnaires

Ohanga (1994) defines questionnaire as a research instrument consisting of a series of questions and other important information for the purpose of gathering information from respondents. Masuku (1999) notes that questionnaires consist of current questions given to respondents so as to give explanation in a field of interest. Harper (2001) argues that a questionnaire is a fundamental tool for recording data beyond the physical reaction of the observer which can either be structured or unstructured in with reason of recording information that is being studied upon. In these cases the questionnaires shall consist of research and supplementary questions that will help to the give understanding of the topic being studied. The questions shall be open ended and will require brief answers for clearer opinions and views from the subject of the study. Therefore, the questions shall be structured systematically in a way that the least sensitive and easy to be answered first with the most sensitive ones at the end. This will make the respondents to feel comfortable and grow into the subject gradually.

3.7.2 Structured Interviews

. Gwimbi (2003) defines structured interview as a methodology that gathers data and involves a standard set of questions where respondents express opinions in their own way and give in depth articulation of these opinions states that interviews are a conversation between the interviewee and the interviewer with a purpose. Interviews are closely related to questionnaires where however interviews are an independent entity. Structured interviews were used by the researcher to acquire and unearth the ideas of the respondent. Structured interviews allows independent views and opinions to make it easier to understand and makes respondents feel comfortable as. When the topic under study is sensitive in nature, structured interviews are important when collecting data from an individual personal experience and perspective. The researcher therefore shall interview key individuals with academic understanding of social movement and democratic

consolidation in Zimbabwe such as Tajamuka activist's leaders, democracy advocates and political leaders.

3.8 Participants Observation

Marshal and Rossman (1989) define observation as 'the sympathetic description of events, behaviours, and artefacts in the social setting chosen for study'. Observation let the researcher to describe current situations using five senses providing a written photograph of the situation under the study.

It is necessary for this research as it allows for collecting data on naturally occurring behaviours in their usual context. Dewalt (2002) believe that 'the goal for design of research using participant observation as a method is to develop a holistic understanding of the phenomena under study that is as objective and accurate as possible given the limitations of the method'. The participant observant observation can be used as an approach to give value to the study as observations might help the researcher to have a better understanding of the context and phenomenon under study. The researcher will be able to understand how the people really feel about the way they are being governed, while they are participating in active social movement protests and demonstrations amongst other activities. In conducting participant observation the researcher ensured the permission of any person to be observed. To have accuracy and value of participant observation the researcher was able to separate what they observed from their feelings. The researcher made two entries in handbook as to observe and keep facts and interpretations separately. The researcher wrote down what they observed in another book and created a second entry to record thoughts, reactions and feelings about the same situation.

3.8 Data Analysis

Data Analysis is the procedure of systematically applying statistical and logical techniques to depict and illustrate, condense and recap, and assess information. According to Shamoo and Resnik (2003) various analytic procedures provide a way of drawing inductive inferences from data and distinguishing the signal from the statistical fluctuations present in the data. After the data has been collected it will be organised and analysed. The researcher will make use of a computer programme known as Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS for analysis of closed-ended questions. Following demographic information and responses to closed questions

the researcher would employ Microsoft Excel, responses that will be gathered from questionnaires would be taken down physically by the researcher into the computer. Data is going to be interpreted with the use of descriptive statistics.

3.10 Ethical Consideration

Ethical consideration is to consider the norms and standards for conduct that recognize between right and wrong. McAdams (2016) also argues that they help to differentiate between acceptable and unacceptable behaviours. Ethical consideration were understood at the beginning of the research and they included several Moral obligations. The respondents were offered anonymity if they wished, permission to conduct interviews on record was properly asked for and the information and data collected from the research was used for academic purposes and to deal with the consequence that prompted this research. Information collected from respondents was mainly used for the sole purpose of making this research a success in addressing the problems at hand. Ethics in research is to promote important moral and social values such as social responsibility, human rights, compliance with the law, and public health and safety. McMillan (2009) argues that ethical lapses in research can significantly harm human and animal subjects, students, and the public therefore ethics must be considered. Identity justifies one's holding over another morally responsible for a past action. Ngwenya (2012) defines identity with the questions, why one is justified in having a special prudential concern for particular future person over all others? Why do many people think maximizing the good within a single life is perfectly acceptable? Where is my origin or where did I came from? For these and other normative questions, answer will have to make essential reference to personal identity.

3.10 Conclusion

The chapter focused on the methods of data collection and interpretation. A qualitative method was used and techniques such as questionnaires, interviews and participation observations were used to collect data. The chapter also considered the ethical conducts during the research. The chapter also focused on how these techniques where conducted by the researcher and how it helped the research throughout as well as the advantages of using the selected sampling technique over other techniques. The chapter also covered the thematic and content analyse and offer definitions of each term.

CHAPTER 4: PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents, interprets and analyses the most important findings of the data gathered during the research. The data to be exhibited was derived from the questions given to the respondents and tables shall be used to translate and present the information acquired. The presentation of data helps the researcher to draw patterns and make assumptions on the research topic. The chapter shall also give broad analysis on certain research findings such as the effects of social movements on the governance of Zimbabwe and democracy, were they fit in within the nation's legitimate context, the difficulties which are faced by these movements will subsequently pave a way for the researcher to make recommendations and suggestions on how to enhance the operations, relevance and the compelling force of social movements and also how to overcome many challenges that they face in the modern era of Zimbabwean governance.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

Out of an estimated 20 participants, 15 people were given questionnaires and out of those 15, at least 13 responded to the questionnaires. Half of the respondents were participating social movement activists and the rest were social movement leaders and pertinent government officials. Few regular people also responded to the questionnaires.

Figure 3 .Overall questionnaire respondents

STRATUM	NO. OF ESTIMATED PARTICIPANTS	NO. OF ACTUAL PARTICIPANTS	NO. OF NON PARTICIPANTS	TOTAL PERCENTAGE OF PARTICIPANTS
Social movement leaders	5	5	0	100%
Government officials	5	3	2	60%
General public participated in the movement	5	3	2	60%
Civilians who did not participate	5	2	3	40%
TOTAL	20	13	7	65%

Source: fieldwork

In the wake of giving out questionnaires to the participants, the response rate was just over 50% as shown by the above table. The questionnaires and interviews were done online via email as the researcher did not have the financial related ability to travel to Harare where every one of the respondents are based. The researcher was supposed to give out 20 questionnaires of different participants but in the end 15 accepted the questionnaires with atleast 13 responding to them. From the presumed 5 social movement leaders and 3 government officials, atleast 3 social movement leaders and 2 government officials responded respectively. Out of the 5 expected

social movement participants, atleast 4 responded and 3 civilians reacted out of the 5 initially presumed.

Figure 3. Overall interviewer’s respondents

STRATUM	TOTAL NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS	NO. OF INTERVIEWS DONE	NO. OF INTERVIEWS NOT DONE	TOTAL PERCENTAGE OF PARTICIPANTS
Social movement leaders	3	3	0	100%
Government officials	2	2	0	100%
General civilians	3	2	1	67%
TOTAL NO. OF PARTICIPANTS	8	7	1	89%

Source: fieldwork

The figure above presents the interviews completed by the researcher and the response rates. Social movements’ leaders, significant government officials and the overall population were met with regards to the impact of social movements in the government of Zimbabwe. From these interviews, different issues were raised and disclosed to address the focal purposes of this study. Overall, 89% of these interviews were effective.

4.3 Social movements and governance in Zimbabwe

60% of civilian respondents on the questionnaires recommended that social movements are the general public pushing their perspectives to be considered concerning the governance of the nation while the other 40% did not give clear definitions but one of them appeared to perceive social movements as below:

Respondent 1:

Social movement is as an informal political entity as he stated that Evans Mawarire is a better candidate to lead the nation compared to the ruling ZANU PF and the opposition MDC parties.

Respondent 2: The Tajamuka movement leader Promise Mkwanzani said:

Social movements in the nation are destined to address issues that are being ignored by the authorities in power such as the unilateral tempering of the constitution as he put it and the declining political situation.

Still on defining social movement, two of the social movement leaders who were interviewed defined social movements as civil organisations that represent the will of the people. They established that:

movement in Zimbabwe are borne from the need to shield the people from the worsening economic crisis in the country resulting political suppression..

About 2 of the civilian respondents clearly pointed out that they are disappointed by institutionalized politics and social institutions, stating that:

Tjamuka movements might hold the key to promoting good governance in the country and disorganized politics whose purpose is to serve individual interests at the expense of the unsuspecting masses

This implies more that 70% of the respondents had a similar view about social movements in the governance of the nation with the remaining 30% percentage of the interviewed respondents casting doubts about the pertinence of the movements in the governance issues. These sentiments shared by the majority of the respondents resonate with what had occurred on the national scale if the mass activism of Tajamuka that rocked 2016 are anything to be analysed. The deprivation theory states that social movements are conceived when the citizens feel that they are being deprived of certain services such as basic economic goods and employment. Linking to what the interviewed civilians stated. They reiterated that they have no confidence in institutionalized

politics anymore meaning they feel deprived of the basic right of representation. This accordingly implies that social movements have taken up that mandate and makes them a powerful force in the governance of the nation as distinguished by the mass activism in the major cities of Zimbabwe particularly in Harare where the council was forced to redress its policy on vendors operating in the central business district. From these events, it can be agreed that social movements influenced policy making mechanisms and democratic scales in the country.

From the responded questionnaires, 9 of the respondents including all the government officials noticed the continuity of influence that social movements had in the country. One of the anonymous civilians confidently wrote that:

Promise Mkwanzanze the leader of Tjamuka movement and Evan Mawarire were ZANU PF agents who were confusing the masses like baba Jukwa a Facebook page that became more popular for exposing ZANU activities in 2013 during the presidential election run-up.

The above quotation means that 80% of the respondents noticed the hidden actions that are being undertaken by the social movements. However, the remaining 20% is evidence that there is still a considerable populace that are not moved by the social movements as witnessed by 2 civilians responded in a wider scale would represent many of the citizens with the same opinion. Therefore this data suggest that the movements became more popular in the country due to their mass mobilisation to a greater extent. Muzondidya (2017) also subscribes to the view that the pursuing of a common political objective and mass-based citizen action for example the July 2016 shutdown Zimbabwe campaign has really shackled the government. Such acts of civil dissents used to meet ridicule by the authorities recently but these mass actions evoked a violent reaction from the government by deploying a police riot to beat up Tajamuka demonstrators in Harare during the 2016 protests really shows that social movements have a powerful impact on the government.

Furthermore, the Vendors Union's protests led by Stem Zvorwadza the Tajamuka activist made the city council of Harare to withdraw its actions to drive out vendors from the central business district. Several articles reports on the protests led by Zvorwadza against the council all expose the support that is being given by the masses, subsequently supporting the influence on

government policy formulations as a collective whole. Tarrow (1992) also seconds this scenario and eludes that ‘contentious politics occurs when ordinary people, often in league with more influential citizens join forces in confrontation with elites, authorities and opponents. When backed by dense social networks and galvanized by culturally resonant, action-oriented symbols, contentious politics leads to sustain interaction with opponents’. From the above sentiments, it can be connected to action taken by Zvorwadza who is an influential union leader and activist mobilizing the ordinary vendors in defying the authorities to voice their disgruntlements under the Tajamuka movement. These events are proving the growing effect that social movements are having on policy making in the country.

Social movements have additionally been instrumental in exposing the state with the entity that is mandated with electoral processes. Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) was turned out to be incapable of fulfilling its duties. Out of the 5 citizens who were interviewed and responded to the questionnaires, only 30% raised efforts being made by social movements in exposing indecency within ZEC. The remaining 70% were however concerned by the fact it should be exposed and steps should be put forward to redress the problems. This is why social movements needed for affirmative action in order to complete their regulatory mandate. Madhuku (2017) states that Tajamuka/Sesijikile campaign called for the immediate disbanding of the entity after clumsy exercise which were carried out at the Machipisa voter registration in October 2016. ZimEye online reported that more than half of the youths were turned away and instructed to visit the ZEC head offices for them to register. 60% of the civilian respondents stated that social movements play the role of ensuring that electoral processes are legit and effective. One of the Tajamuka movement leaders responded saying:

We exposed ZECs offenses and labelled it nonsensical. The uncovering of the incompetency of the electoral commission has brought its capacity to run a credible election process to question.

In that regard, the movements are guiding and improving the core pillars or foundations of democracy in the nation and in the process making the relevant authorities accountable.

Regarding the inclusion of the rural people in social movements, Tajamuka spokesperson Promise Mkwanzani responded that:

The movement has framed an offshoot named Zimbabwe Yadzoka which is drafting procedures to keep penetrating the rural areas through social media and other forms of communication. We will see some action because despite all the perception, WhatsApp is a very strong in the rural areas and they would like to capitalize on that.

From the sentiments above, it can be noted that there is a growing concern on mobilizing the rural population in driving governance issues in the country. Indeed WhatsApp is common in rural areas nowadays and Tajamuka utilized the platform effectively, because the rural population definitely was involved with voicing their views on government policies as the traditional channels usually provide before by electoral process have failed to produce meaningful results. Through the interviews and questionnaires, the researcher noted that social movements have changed public opinion broadly concerning the democratic consolidation in governing of the nation.

65% of the questionnaire respondents said they changed their opinion pertaining the politics and socio-economic issues of the nation. 25% remained neutral and had similar views that they have not yet seen reason to oppose the current state of affairs in the country. The remaining 10% were in between the two extremes, arguing that despite the issues of concerned raised by the social movements there still exist good aspects about the way the nation is being governed and indigenization policy were foreign businesses are mandated to give 51% of their company to the indigenous people.

4.4 Challenges in Social Movements and Governance within the Zimbabwean Context

A fundamental component of the data collected and found were the surfeit challenges being experienced by citizen movements in their endeavour to successful strategy change and ensure good governance in the country. While elaborating on the challenges of being a national activist perceived to be political aligned, one of the Tajamuka movement leaders confessed that:

This has weaken the capacity of the movements to mobilize and organize citizen support as it has polarized the membership of the movements

Therefore all of the Tajamuka movement leaders shared the same view that the main challenge facing the movements is the idea that they are politically related to the opposition parties mainly

the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) led by Morgan Tsvangirai. They stated that most of the leading activists such as Stern Zvorwadza and Promise Mkwanzani are connected to the MDC as both were at some point active members of the opposition party in recent years.

From a close analysis on occasion that occurred in 2016, it is clear that the power of social movements depends in their ability to organise and mobilize the masses, a factor that was seen amid the July 2016 protests and the countrywide shutdown. In these regards, 3 of the citizens who responded to the questionnaires explained that:

They are unengaged with the party politics and exclusively wanted their grievances to be addressed by the government, introducing a danger that if the movements continue to be perceived as politically adjusted to certain parties they will lose their interest to the massive were they have their establishment

However, 2 of the remaining citizens seemed to be accepting the idea that the movement leaders have a better chance of delivering results when they are associated with opposition parties. These are sentiments which have put more challenges in dealing with the major problems facing social movements.

Furthermore, another challenge is that the social movements were mostly active in urban areas which comprises of the minority. According to the World Bank, only 34% of Zimbabwe are urban which means over 65% of the population is rural. This presents a challenge in the sense that most if not all of the Tajamuka protests and activism that happened since 2016 were in major cities and urban areas hence not representing the grievances of the rural population who hold great influence numerically. The movements were mostly online during their manifestations, they failed to reach the rural areas where a sizeable number of people are active online. In responding to interview questions, respondent 3 highlighted that:

Although platforms such as WhatsApp reach further into the remote areas, they do not extensively trust the message that the social movements will be conveying to the experts at a few occurrences the individuals.

This challenge is the most plausible motivation why Tajamuka created an offshoot branch movement named Zimbabwe Yadzoka to engage and connect with the rural youths and the

general populace. Mkwanzani pledged to mobilize the rural populace and stated that the movements will be active in reaching out to the rural population that will be dynamic in the upcoming elections due to their numbers.

From the above challenge also radiates a difficulty that most stakeholders in social movements worried on. An overwhelming 85% of the movement leaders interviewed had comparable suppositions as the researcher conclude that it is proving to be a mammoth errand for the movements to intertwine the grievances of the urban and rural populace into one brought together front. However, while the remaining 15% denied that this was a major challenge and put little emphasis on the issue, with one of the respondents arguing that:

The grievances of the urban and rural populations are all inclusive. Despite the verity that all populations share a distinguishable issues such as unemployment and corruption, there are other one kind battle that are creating a rift between the two and social movements are as yet to find measures for this problem.

Therefore, there is need to create effective ways that allow the movements to give a combined set of grievances to the government that will speak for both urban and rural people otherwise these latter social movements will face the same fate of former civil society movements.

Another challenge is that 2017 social movements back roped their vigorous protests in the previous year. All the 8 civilians who responded to the questionnaires and interviewed argued that the Tajamuka movements have not been able to maintain the momentum they had the previous year and their existence is now being questioned by the masses as the research established. 70 % of the respondents were generally concerned with the self-exile taken by ThiwFlag activist Evans Mawarire who was once associated with theTajamuka campaign to the United States of America. Although it is reasonable that the pastor feared for his safety after arrests and threats from the ruling party leaders, the respondents felt that Mawarire has betrayed the civilians who were behind him and people expected him to be on the forefront of the movement and his self-exile rendered the social movements invalid. Of particular interests is the respondent who identified himself as Mashanda stated that:

Activists like Mawarire killed what Tajamuka had planted because he was a fraudster for misleading the people.

These exclamations demonstrated that these leaders should maintain their initial enthusiasm and courses of game-plan. Concerning his exile, a fewer percentage of the respondents, 30% argued that there was nothing amiss with Mawarire's outcast because he was presently a focused on man by the popular 'C10' state security agents as said by the respondents. The researcher also finds this exile an understandable move following the history of abductions of Itai Dzamara who is yet to be found for over 2 years now. However, Mawarire defended himself after his return in early 2017 by saying, "That it is a people's movement led by the people and not an individual". He added on saying that even in his absence the movement should proceed to make the government reform. A number of social movement activists expressed that they fear the movements might be driven for personal gains by their founders. This is a serious challenge that needs to be addressed if the movements are to succeed.

4.5 Social Movements and the Modern Political Context in Zimbabwe

Social movements in the country have throughout the years been losing their significance since independence. However the pattern has been changing looking at the years 2013 onwards. As disappointment have been amongst the citizens over the failing economy and fraudulent political framework, space has been created in which social movements have managed to exploit although not as persuading as the citizens would want them to be.

Social movement leaders who were interviewed have blended conclusions on the importance of their motions within Zimbabwe's political arena. Above 52% of all interviewed people and those who responded to the questionnaires kept up that social movements are now a vital segment in the modern political arena in the country. Responding to an interview question, Promise Mkwanzani argued that:

Due to the ever conflicted election and political processes, social movements present an alternative form of making sure that the will of the people is implemented.

He unmistakably had a substantial point which resonate with the civilian respondents amongst the 52% who also assumed that the circumstances were ready for the social movements to gain the support of the masses. Greenstein (2003) contended social movements are to evaluate for the authority practices of decision of ruling entities that have historically tended to reproduce subordination and discursive confiscations of the will of the people. In that case, were generally

laid channels of policy change are not functional these movements present an alternative practical. However, 48% of the respondents expressed that these movements are to set up establishment and that reduces their credibility in effecting policy changes. Judging from the responses on the questionnaires and participant observations, the people have lost their trust in structured and organised politics and their hopes are being put on social movements .However, without established organs on the ground these movements might not to bring out visible change as highlighted by the respondent Makomborero Haruzivishe to the question that asked about the importance of social movements in the modern politics of the country. He argued that:

The leaders in the movements to engage other established civil society organizations such as trade unions who can provide the channel required for complete reforms on government policies.

Therefore it is an identifiable challenge that is being faced by movements in the nation which needs sanctions if the movements are to become effective civil force influencing the governance of Zimbabwe.

Social Media and Social Movements in Zimbabwe

Generally 85% of the respondents who answered the questionnaires had the same views on acknowledging the important role of social media in regarding activism in Zimbabwe. 10% were grateful that social media played a role in the social movements although very limited while the remaining 5% were surely that social media had nothing to do with the successes of the movements. This clearly shows that social media has played a crucial role to a greater extent. The resource mobilization theory put more emphasis on the importance of the available resources social movement activities and the social media can be taken as an empirical example that substantiates the theory. The movements were able to mobilise the masses and communicated information more easily and more quickly through social media platforms. All the Tajamuka activist leaders, Evan Mawarire, Promise Mkwanzanze and Stern Zvorwadza manipulated all social media sites appealing to the public and also showed their disappointment with the government over high unemployment rate, corruption, failed industries and poverty. Jordan and Taylor (2004) views several logistics for the use of social media by the activists such

as mobilizing, disseminating movement information and coordinating direct action and attacking enemies.

One may second the accession above by the truth in the circulating Facebook video posted by Mawarire stating the disgruntlement with the state of things in the country on economic issues and corruption. The video even became popular on Youtube after it reached over 2 million views in a small space of hours, starting online movements that later spilled to a motion on the floor and shook the government. Therefore this shows that social media played a crucial role within the social movement arena through its capacity to disseminate information quickly with minimum resources.

In addition, social media platform promotes an avenue for non-violent demonstrations that allows participants to take part in activism that protects them from being persecuted by the state securities. 4 of the general civilians interviewed stated that:

We could not engage in social movement's demonstrations as we feared prosecution from the government as it used to happen in the previous years.

It can be analysed that over the previous years, demonstrations were met with violent clamp downs by the state security organs and the police. This instilled fear amongst citizens and made them to avoid voicing their concerns in public. The abduction of Itai Dzamara the journalist activists who staged a demonstration against the former president Robert Mugabe in 2015 shows that neither any act of protests nor peaceful acts is not allowed. The fear associated with this threat was passed by social media. Therefore, civilians views quite justifiable as social media platforms such as Whatsapp have end to end encryptions that means the users are secured from hacking and other spying threat hence expression of civilians is guaranteed. The overwhelming online support that gained Tajamuka activists showed that people were disappointed with the governance of the country but were afraid to stand up as they was going to lead to their arrest. One of the interviewed citizens highlighted the fact that:

The government tried to threaten social media by the interference o POTRAZ which at some points threatens internet users of circulating messages that promote civil dissents as they put it.

This shows that social movement leaders could easily mobilize and coordinate actions through social media platforms at a very little cost without the government sabotage. Again the July 2016 shutdown Zimbabwe campaign initiated by the Tajamuka proved that social media played an important role in social movement as it brought business to halt in major cities. The shutdown was conducted online and messages were circulating via Facebook and Whatsapp and responses were overwhelming as almost all business were shut down and everyone stayed at home.

However, the research found that in spite of all the excitement that social media has come in the issues of activism, the number of people that as connected to the internet in Zimbabwe was not convincing. According to Quartz Africa (2016), Facebook reports that there were 260 000 everyday users out of the usual 890 000. This shows that only 3% of the Zimbabwean population participated online with 34% accounted for Whatsapp mobile data in Zimbabwe. Internet World Statistics in 2016 reported that the users of internet were only 6 759 032 which represents 41% of the total population. Therefore, these statistics prove that the population that was reached by the social media was small and it had to be complimented with other strategies on the floor that could reach a wider population like the rural folks that are yet to thoroughly utilize the internet.

4.7 Social Movement and Democratic Consolidation in Zimbabwe

Democracy is another important issue that was highlighted during the research. 70% of the interviewed social movement leaders and government officials stated that the movements had a positive impact on democracy levels in the country. 15% suggested that social movements require established institutions to encourage democracy meaningfully while the other 15% were contrary with all the others arguing that social movement activities are indeed a threat to democracy. Madhuku (2016) is of the view that the accession that movements are consolidating democracy can be viewed in the rationale that most strength of democracy are actively being advocated for by social movements. Citizen participation in issues that concern the means that their cahiers are reaching the intended authorities thus establishing the element of representation. One of the interviewed respondents gave an example of the efforts which were put by Tajamuka in advocating for electoral reforms. Therefore, it is important to argue that social movements are in connection with democracy since free and fair elections are one of the pillars of democracy.

In a different view, one of the respondents suggested that:

Social movements have to forge relations with grounded civil society organizations on the ground if they are to operate in correspondence with democracy.

It can be noted in the context that most of the social movements in Zimbabwe has no establishments recognized by the law in order to make reasonable pressure on the authorities. Social movements have to engage other organizations such as the Catholic Commission for Peace and Justice (CCPJ) and Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights (ZLHR) so that formal steps can be put forward to ensure that the movements correspond and promote democracy within the legal parameters of the country.

Contrary to the majority of the interviewed respondents, two civilians shared an opinion that social movements are in fact threatening democracy in the country. One went on arguing that:

Acts of civil dissent and social movements promotes disrespect of the law.

The research therefore identified examples where participants in the movements were evident. During the nationwide shutdown on the 6th of July, the local media reported incidents of vandalism and looting in some parts of Harare, it can be argued to some extent that if the participants breaks the law then they are automatically undermining democracy which specify partly that citizens should uphold the law. Hence a negative picture on social movements thus the respondents argued along this view. Be that as it may, social movements can be a threat to democracy in the country.

Chapter Summary

This chapter was dealing with the presentation of data through tables and charts but mainly qualitative data was used and interpreted to explain the issues that were raised in this research .Through the interviews , questionnaires ,participant observation and critical content analysis the research laid out an understanding on the issues surrounding the social movement phenomenon .These include the effects that the protests and activism had on policies such as the operation of vendors in central business districts and how the authorities reacted to acts of demonstration through the use of minimal force which led to several arrests, abductions and casualties of the citizens. Also the research managed to identify the challenges facing the movements which include political alignments and issues of legitimacy and also show the

importance of social media which helped the masses to mobilize and voice their disgruntlements to the government. Last but not least the chapter explained the law that governs social movements and highlighted the feelings of movement leaders on the law is being manipulated to serve party agendas.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

The chapter summarises the previous chapters and will also come up with conclusions from the data that was collected during this research. It will also proffer recommendations to social movement leaders and participants on tackling the different challenges that have been highlighted by the research. That is additionally not overlooking the improvements and changes that can be done by government authorities to better the channels of communication with citizens when customary avenues fail. Lastly, the chapter will conclude the overall findings of this research.

5.2 Summary of findings

The research analysed the degree to which social movements influenced the governance of Zimbabwe. With critical examinations on the exercises and motions of these movements, the research managed to reveal underlying issues in the social movement worldview within the socio-economic and political frameworks .A plenty of issues such as the challenges being faced by social movements, their legality and effects on democracy were addressed by the research.

Research presented the topical issue that prompted this study which is the resurgence of social movements in Zimbabwean governance issues. It set out the objectives of the study, gave an overview or background of the study giving an understanding of the topic, justified the reason for research and identified the limitations and delimitations experienced doing this research. Essentially, the chapter identifies the problem that needed to be addressed, thus establishing the importance of these movements within the socio-political context of the nation and the stakeholders to be alert that these movements present a platform for government and citizen interaction that has been declining with the institutional structures laid down before to consolidate democracy

It Inspected existing literature on the subject and acclimated the research with prominent schools of thought within the study of social movements. Several concepts and theories were analysed and they helped shape coordinate the research whilst also identifying loopholes in the study that needed further research. The views of the scholars regarding the phenomenon were not generally

in resonance with each other but the majority agreed that social movements are an important component of any democratic nation.

It also centred on the research methodologies that were adopted in carrying out the research. The researcher utilise a qualitative research method to extensively execute the analytical requirements of the social movement study. Analysis was done on primary and secondary sources to exhaust all useful data that brought about elevated comprehension of the influence of social movements to democratic consolidation. Questionnaires, interviews and participant observations are data collection techniques that were utilised to collect information from respondents that ranged from prominent activists to the general public. This was difficult accomplishment however as respondents were either too busy to be interviewed or disinterested due to the sensitive nature of the topic. Nevertheless, the researcher managed to use the data that was available.

The research introduced, analysed and interpreted the data that was gathered from the field and secondary sources. Various critical issues were raised and explained in the chapter. Amongst them was the effects of social movements on ensuring democratic consolidation which has been noted but still has a long way until registers long lasting achievements. Also highlighted was the influence of social media on the growth of movements online which sparked the waves of protests that subsequently revived democratic consolidation in the country. Chapter also examined the challenges that are being faced by political parties and established civil society organizations, the lack of profitable collaboration between the movements and financial difficulties.

5.3 Conclusions

The research was able to debunk the underlying issues surrounding social movements and democratic consolidation in Zimbabwe. Since independence the social movements transformed and grew recently, the research gave an understanding on how far these movements have come which provided a foundation for further study. Through an analysis of the years after independence it was noted that the government developed a means to which it can alienate social movements .this was achieved through legislation such as POSA and putting civil societies under the umbrella of ruling ZANU PF.

Field research practiced regarding the subject showed that social movements have had effects on governance of the nation. The demonstrations and strikes that evoked a reaction from the government had considerable impacts on the policies implemented by the government. Although the activism by these movements alarmed the government, their influence on critical governance issues is still slackened. Unless these movements convince the government to reform and reflect the will of the masses. Most of the respondents were not happy with the state of the economy, corruption and high unemployment rates. The grievances of these pressing issues should be the benchmark for social movements but there is yet to be evidenced achievements that can be taken from social movement operations in the country.

Furthermore, social movements in Zimbabwe are facing a number of challenges that are identified in this research. Basing from the interpretation and analysis done, the challenges are disturbing progress within the social movement unity. The challenges include issues of legitimacy as people are losing faith and questioning the credibility of the demonstrations due to factors such as the self-exile taken by Evans Mawarire towards the end of 2016. Other issues such as isolation of the rural population have been noticed as a stumbling block in the full mobilization of the masses to promote the civilian voice. These are therefore issues that need to be addressed if the movements are to remain important and influential in making sure that the will of the people is represented in the politics and governance of this country as the research announced that political parties and institutionalized civil society organizations are failing to fulfil this mandate,

Social media is playing an important role in social movements and it is evidenced that it provides a platform for citizens to make their voices heard were in previous situations they could not voice their concerns. Activists hinted that social media has made mobilizing masses easier and it is a best platform for coordinating mass actions without the harassment of state security such as soldiers and police. It is better however to take cognisance of the fact that actions on social media alone will not bring about the desired revolution and thus there is need for other strategic plans that will complement the use of social media in activism. For example, it was a great move made by ThisFlag and Tajamuka in protesting and mobilizing the masses online to strike against the government but after those demonstrations there is need for ways to create such events in a manner that brings about the expected reforms.

5.4 Recommendations

If social movements are to have great influence in the governance of Zimbabwe that brings democratic consolidation and reform, the research has made recommendations that they can adopt. The research suggests that social movements have to take advantage of the momentum that was built in 2016 and the worsening economic situation that is disappointing the majority of the citizens to form organised movements. If the movements are disorganised it could have been seen by the popular protests that happened in 2016 there will be less and suppressed progress going forward. The movements should organize into entities that will bring about the democratic change that is needed in the country.

More so, social movements should have created connections with institutionalized civil society groups that are already establishments on the ground. This will allow for visible actions and channels in which to challenge and proffer reforms in ways that are provided by the law of the country. Without these connection the movements might not be able to grow and push forward the agenda of the peoples. Organisations such as the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU), Zimbabwe Federation of Trade Unions (ZFTU), Mavambo Trust and others of the sort can be engaged. Again community based organisations can be progressive allies for social movements as they have experienced members on the ground to have first-hand experience of the struggles of the people and they can appeal to them in different ways that cannot be achieved by social movements means.

Furthermore, social movements should offer a strong leadership that the people can trust and rely upon. The burning issues such as the economic crisis and unemployment should be identified and introduced to the people in a manner that reignites the citizens' interest in the politics and governance of the country thus increasing public participation in policy making processes. The people have lost interest in the government, political parties and the electoral system thus social movements should once again should get to the public and invoke its interests. This is critical for mobilization purpose which is a critical component of social movements that can help bring about democratic change that the people require. By doing so, people oriented development can be fostered through citizen participation in the governance of the nation.

Also, it can be recommended the social movement activists should use nonviolent demonstrations so that their actions will be justified by the government. Nonviolent activism usually accompanied by the interfering of the government by offering the demonstrations security from the Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA) to maintain peace as witnessed in Nov 2017 during the solidarity march. This will lead to democratic consolidation.

5.5 Conclusion

The chapter is an overview of the whole study and it is focused on giving a summary of all chapters. Conclusions of the findings of the study were also highlighted such as the extent to which social movements are impacting the governance of Zimbabwe. Last but not least, the chapter proffered recommendations to the social media fraternity and also to researchers studying the topic that prompted this research.

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Our Hands, Our Minds, Our Destiny

APPENDIX A: QUESTIONNAIRES FOR SOCIAL MOVEMENT PARTICIPANTS AND GENERAL CITIZENS

I am Charity Manyika, a 24 year old student of Peace Studies at Midlands State University. As a fourth year student I am required to carry out research for my dissertation topic which is concerned with social movement and democratic consolidation in the case of Tajamuka activists between 2016 to 2017.

I kindly ask for your assistance with information regarding my topic by completing the questions to follow. This information shall be used for academic purposes only. Your participation is greatly appreciated.

Section A: Personal Information

1. Gender

Male Female

2. Age

18-25 26-35 36-50 50plus

3. Educational level

Illiterate Primary Secondary Diploma/Degree

Section B: Questions

4. In your opinion are social movements relevant in Zimbabwe and do they serve any purpose?

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5. What drives you to partake in the demonstrations and what did you wish to achieve?

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6. From your experience, do you think the government of Zimbabwe could be impacted by social movement to promote democratic consolidation?

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7. In your opinion is there anything that can be done to promote good interactions between the government and social movements?

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8. Judging from your observations, are there notable successes from Tajamuka movements?

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9. To what extent can social media be credited of being a tool of social movement to evoke meaningful responses from the government?

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Our Hands, Our Minds, Our Destiny

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEWS FOR SOCIAL MOVEMENT LEADERS AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

1. How do you define social movements and what purpose do they serve in Zimbabwe?
2. In your opinion, to what extent has social movements aided with democratic consolidation in the nation?
3. To what extent are social movements relevant in Zimbabwe's modern politics context?
4. In your experience, how influential was the social media as tool within the social movement discourse?
5. In your opinion are social movements acting within the country's legal perimeters