

# CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

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## **1.1 INTRODUCTION**

The adoption of a multiparty system can be viewed as a strategy that can be used to inject democracy to the “third world” countries. Powell (2000) regards a multiparty system as a system in which multiple political parties may share power through a decided consensus which can come through voting. Fomunyoh (2012) comments that credible elections strengthen political parties and encourage citizen’s participation. Fomunyoh further describes political parties as distinctive forms of organizations designed to acquire and exercise political powers to articulate and aggregate different views of interest; they also operate as a system for selecting cabinet members and for organizing individuals in relation to policy making. Since the early 1980s Zimbabwe has in cooperated the multiparty system which can be seen through the emergence of such parties as Zimbabwe Unity Movement (ZUM, 1989), Zimbabwe United People s Organization (ZUPO 1976), Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU 1963), Movement for Democratic Change (MDC, 1999), Zimbabwe African People Union (ZAPU, 1961) to mention a few. All these parties aimed to acquire and exercise power within the domains of Zimbabwe but it should be noted that amongst them all the ZANU-PF managed to secure power and has been in power since 1980-2016. The research aimed to analyze in detail the strategies employed by the opposition political party particularly MDC in its Endeavour to consolidate power in Zimbabwe.

## **1.2 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY**

ZANU-PFs attempt at the one party state system in Zimbabwe in 19 failed and only led to the emergence of multiple political parties that seemed to oppose the direction in which ZANU –PF had aimed to drive Zimbabwe, Galbraith (1983) speculates that, where there is one dominant party in a state opposition political parties are inevitably bound to emerge because power creates its own resistance. What has remained at the epicenter of the research is the reason why these political parties have continuously failed to get a hold of power. Chigora, Mutumburanzou and Guzura (2011) note ,although Zimbabwe has seen a lot of opposition political parties emerge on its political horizons in the years preceding 1990, not even one of them has succeeded beyond winning a sizable number of seats which made them eligible to take over power from the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union –Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF)party.

This alone is testimony enough that the history of opposition political parties has been fraught with a lot of challenges .The failure of these political parties in securing power in Zimbabwe has become a subject of debate both internally and externally. Soon after the ZANU –PF had won the elections in 1980 it preceded to eliminate the newly arrival opposition party which was in the form of PF –ZAPU. Following the 1985 elections where by PF- ZAPU was only allocated a total of 15 cabinet seats to the 64 that were occupied by the ZANU-PF. This situation left the party with little options but to join the ZANU-PF party and abandon its trenches. On December 22 in 1987 PF -ZAPU signed a unity accord that eliminated it as an opposition party to ZANU-PF.

No credible opposition party remained after ZANU-PF had managed to thwart the existence of PF- ZAPU; however opposition was yet again felt in 1989 after the dismissal of Tekere from the ZANU-PF party in October 1988. Tekere formed the ZUM party, despite Mugabe dismissing it as a joke of the year and that it would soon turn into doom. The party became popular and turned out to be a threat that had to be dealt with. Despite Tekere being a credible challenge to Mugabe and the one party state the party however mysteriously disintegrated and like smoke it left no traces that could be followed in the future. The demise of ZUM did not deter the emergence of other political parties like the Forum Party of Zimbabwe (FPZ) and The Democratic Party (DP) which only seemed to tickle the party's fancy as they were easy to eliminate.

Muzorewa's attempt to bring all opposition political parties under one roof was yet again another fail under the United Parties (UP) as they lacked foresight and were marred with chaos. Harold (2004) comments that in many respects opposition parties dug their own graves and they were deep dishonorable ones. Under the leadership of Margaret Dongo arose yet another opposition party the Zimbabwe Union of Democrats (ZUD) and the Transparency Front (TP) being led by Kempton Makamure all who were independent candidates who opposed the ZANU-PF but to no avail as they only seemed to represent lost sheep worse than the party that was in power.

However it was not long before a formidable party arose through the form of the MDC party. The movement for democratic change (MDC) was formed September 11 1999 under the leadership of Morgan Tsvangirai. It was formed as an opposition political party to President Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Union –Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF). Its first appearance was as a trade union representing the workers who seemed to would have been undermined by the existence of the war vets after attaining freedom in Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe was experiencing considerable political and economic upheaval in 1999 and the human rights conditions were not conducive. MDC's first opportunity rose in February 2000 when a referendum was held on a draft constitution proposed by the government.

Among its elements, the new constitution would have permitted the president Robert Mugabe to seek two additional terms in office, granted government officials immunity from prosecution and authorized government seizure of white owned land, Mulenga (2001) propounds "a constitution is not simply just a paper but it is a set of laws and principles which direct how an organization or country is governed" ZANU –PF would have had power that would enable it to stay put on the power stool leaving little space for any opposition party. Pal (1996, 6) propounds 'beyond official or explicitly stated goals are the unstated or hidden ones ...' ZANU –PF had hidden agendas pertaining their sudden changes of the constitution.

The MDC intervened and defeated ZANU –PF's attempt to manipulate the constitution. It should be noted that the formation of the MDC is not only attributed through the trade union but rather were also influenced by their dislike of how the current regime was supposedly destroying the country. Raftopoulos (2009) is of the view that "from the early 1990s Zimbabwe entered a period that has come to be generally known as the crisis of Zimbabwe" MDC emerged when Zimbabwe needed an opposition party, a party that was to change the course of Zimbabwe, it came with promises of greener pastures, a new Zimbabwe, a constitution by the people for the people, a respect for human rights and the so called democracy, with these MDC had gained supporters not only of the civil servants but of individuals who wanted better modified freedom without limitations.

MDC from birth was never recognized by ZANU-PF as a threat to its power stool especially during its early stages in 2000, According to Mazango (2005), MDC was formed a few months after the Daily news had started publishing, for ZANU-PF the coincidence was a hard pill to swallow, considering that the daily paper had substantial British shareholding support as such MDC was easily linked to western support. This fact could have easily deterred the now independent citizens of Zimbabwe from joining arms with MDC, but at the beginning Zimbabweans were hopeful that independence would come with all the freedoms that they had been deprived of by the Ian Smith regime, but all that was not to be as the current government only turned out to be more ferocious than the previous one and all the positive national re building and reconciliation was flushed away.

Raftopoulos and Savage (2000) note that, 'Zimbabwe was a beacon of hope at the time of independence in 1980. It promised a move beyond the kind of coercive rule entrenched by colonialism and Ian Smith s minority regime, however those hopes and aspirations of the 1980s were betrayed as the government became more and more autocratic'' There was a need for yet again a new regime to take over from the one that was current then as such the MDC came into play. Zimbabwe s newly found hope was and is yet to attain power since its formation. It has applied and attempted various strategies to consolidate power but to no avail. In June 2003 it is claimed that Morgan Tsvangirai was arrested on grounds of treason although these charges were later dismissed in 2004.

In 2007 before the elections he was yet again arrested and it was claimed that he was also tortured by the police while he was in custody, these conditions gave the MDC party little time to prepare for elections against the then political party, this can be labeled as one of the problems that caused the party to fail to attain power during the period 2000 to 2008. Other attributes that led to MDC failure to attain power could be its lack of military support, media coverage e.g. 2007- 2008 when it could be noticed that during the campaign period the ZBC seemed to be only covering ZANU-PF campaigns thus stemmed MDCs problems leading to its continuous failure to secure permanent power in Zimbabwe.

Despite the various attempts to get a grip on power in Zimbabwe The MDC has continuously faced problems both externally and internally ,The MDC experienced factionalism within its party and thus the split up and the emergence of the Movement for Democratic Change – Tsvangirai (MDC-T) led by Morgan Tsvangirai and the Mutambara led MDC party. All though the pleas to unite the pro –democracy factions against ZANU-PF are in progress infighting has remained an ulcer to MDC. In February 2009 power came with new evolved problems when the MDC and ZANU-PF attempted to get together through the government of national unity(GNU).the existence of the GNU brought no revolution for the party nor Zimbabwe , Morgan Tsvangirai of the MDC party seemed to be legging limp to limp behind the ZANU-PF leader who still reigned dominance. Chigora and Guzura (2011) state that, "power in Zimbabwe lies with those that control the state apparatus and government" despite the formation of the GNU the hopes of power falling in the opposition party has remained impossible.

### **1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

The research analyzed the strategies that were being implemented by the opposition political party the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) in trying to consolidate power in Zimbabwe. Chigora, Mutumburanzou and Guzura (2011) note that, the post 1990 opposition movement drew its ideological strength from an emphasis on political, civic and human rights, pointing to the democratic deficit of the incumbent ruling party and building on the cumulative popular frustration with ZANU-PF after nearly two decades of one party dominance .The appearance of the opposition party had brought about a ray of new hope for the step down of the now frustrating dominant party yet little change was being experienced .

The ruling party ZANU-PF has taken advantage of the failures of the MDC in consolidating power in the rural areas where the majority of the citizens of Zimbabwe reside. This was yet another challenge for the party, its countering strategies contributed less to its advantages as the ZANU –PF continued to manipulate the constitution and instigate violence to deter any possible MDC supporters. Its strategy to attach itself to democratic issues has further threatened its hold on power as the ruling party has separated itself from any westernized ideas thus contributing to the party s problems. Furthermore MDC has a limited support base which it strongly needs to expand in order to gain power in Zimbabwe.

#### **1.4 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES**

##### **THE STUDY SEEKS TO:**

1. Analyze the factors that led to the emergence of MDC in Zimbabwe.
2. Examine the role played by MDC in trying to promote democratic governance in Zimbabwe.
3. Analyze the strategies used by MDC in trying to consolidate power in Zimbabwe.
4. Assess the challenges faced by MDC in trying to consolidate power in Zimbabwe.
5. Proffer recommendations on strengthening opposition political party's strategies to achieve electoral power.

#### **1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

1. What factors led to the emergence of the MDC party in Zimbabwe
2. What role has the MDC party played in trying to promote democratic governance in Zimbabwe
3. What are the strategies being used by MDC in trying to consolidate power in Zimbabwe
4. What are the challenges being faced by MDC in their endeavor to consolidate power.
5. What strategies can be implemented by political parties in order to achieve electoral power in Zimbabwe?

#### **1.6 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY**

The researcher explored the strategies that were being implemented by the movement for democratic change (MDC) to try and secure power for themselves, and why those strategies were failing. The MDC failed dismally when it implemented the Government for National Unity (GNU) which only gained it unpopularity, while it has continuously tried to paint a non violent and non conflict type of party its counterparts has continued to violently usher civilians to its side (ZANU-PF). The voting demography has continued to change and MDC has stuck to its principals which further worsened the distance to their gaining power in Zimbabwe. The research showcased to other academics the influence that the ZANU-PF has over the MDC and how it has continuously showcased for the past 17 years that no opposition political party can gain power unless they wanted to get their hands dirty, it can be noted that  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the 270 seats in National Assembly and of the 80 seats in the house of senate and the positions of the presiding officers belong to ZANU-PF.

The policies that have been implemented have strengthened the presidential democracy in Zimbabwe thereby making it nearly impossible to infiltrate the political arena .the researcher seeked to add to the existing knowledge and probably come up with a possible solution as to how the opposition political parties in Zimbabwe can try to gain power and to also shade more light on the mistakes that they have repeated throughout the years by these opposition political parties .The study seeked to help policy

makers to separate themselves from party politics and probably make independent decisions that do not resolute any party s influence looking at the Draconian pieces of legislature such as the AIPPA and POSA which threaten the interest of the people and that of opposition political parties . The study also seeked to help the Government to identify itself as an independent body free of political influence as the government is supposed to be by the people and for the people.

### ***1.7 DELIMITATIONS***

The research focused on the Movement for Democratic Change since its formation in 1999 and the obstacles it has encountered in its endeavor to securing power in Zimbabwe until 2016. The researcher looked at the strategies that were employed by the MDC throughout the stated time frame of 2000-2016. The strategies were divided into two, which were the strategies that gave them partial power and the strategies that failed dismally. The research singled out probable mistakes that were notable in the strategies that were implemented by the MDC and came up with possible suggestions that could have helped MDC to access power throughout the mentioned time frame. The researcher also looked at the strategies that were implemented by the MDC in trying to consolidate power in Zimbabwe taking a closer look at the GNU period and how power managed to slip through their fingers once again.

### ***1.8 LIMITATIONS***

The researcher encountered problems while obtaining data, the problems that the researcher incurred included, lack of willing participants to comment on political issues especially those that concerned the opposition political party MDC or just political issues in general , setting appointments also seemed to present challenges to the researcher due to the fact that some of the persons of interest were ministers, important government officials and international officials who are busy man and women. As such conducting interviews with these distinguished individuals presented a few challenges in that they were not available. The researcher also encountered situations whereby the appointments were sometimes not kept as such had to keep on postponing and wait for open slots in order to talk to the important delegates.

### ***1.9 STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY***

#### ***1.9.1 CHAPTER 1***

Chapter 1 introduces the study being undertaken by the researcher which concentrated on the challenges that were being faced by the opposition political parties in Zimbabwe in trying to gain power with a closer look at the Movement For Democratic Change (MDC ).It also looked at the background of the study concentrated on the MDC and how it came to power and other opposition political parties that came to play in the political arena and the challenges that they faced in trying to consolidate power. The chapter also looked at the statement of the problem, in that the researcher analyzed the strategies that were being implemented by the opposition political party MDC in its bid to acquire power in Zimbabwe. It also looked at the objectives of the study and the questions that were to be addressed by the study which helped to the researcher to gain insight on the problems. The chapter also looked at why it is of importance to undertake the study and the benefits of the research. The chapter also addressed the possible obstacles that were likely to be incurred throughout the study and the questions that were going to be addressed.

### **1.9.2 CHAPTER 2**

Chapter 2 focused on the theoretical framework of the study looking at the theory that was to be employed to further explain the predicament of the opposition political party MDC in their bid to acquire power in Zimbabwe. The conspiracy theory helped to explain why the MDC was facing challenges in trying to consolidate power in the political arena. The Chapter also looked at literature by other scholars and the researcher also tried to add information where there were significant literature gaps which would be used as future reference. The Chapter also looked at country experiences which included countries like Botswana, Uganda and India who have opposition political parties that are also facing challenges in their bid to acquire power in their countries which is similar to the MDC party of Zimbabwe.

### **1.9.3 CHAPTER 3**

The chapter looked at how the researcher was going to acquire information that would help in the research through methodology. The researcher delved into the research design that was used by the researcher in which there was the use of the mixed method sampling which made use of both the qualitative and quantitative research method. It also looked at the sampling techniques that were used by the researcher and the methods that were used in acquiring the data. The chapter also looked at how the data obtained was going to be analyzed through the use of the thematic analysis and content analysis. It also looked at how the researcher was going to keep confidential information from prying eyes or information that was likely to cause harm to the informant all was included under the ethical considerations in chapter three

### **1.9.4 CHAPTER 4**

Chapter 4 will look at the presentation of the data that was obtained from the informants. The chapter will analyze in detail the causes and the challenges being faced by opposition political parties in Zimbabwe with a particular reference to the Movement for Democratic Change.

### **1.9.5 CHAPTER 5**

Chapter 5 will proffer recommendations and it will present the summary of the research it will also present the conclusion of the research.

## CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

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### **2.1 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter focused on the theoretical framework in relation to the research that is looking at the conspiracy theory in detail and the scholar who propounded it and linking it to the research. This chapter also reviewed and gathered information from different scholars concerning the issue of opposition political parties in Zimbabwe. Nardquist (2010:2) comments that literature review is a process concerned with reading, analyzing, evaluating and also summarizing the scholarly material about a particular topic. The chapter also looked at opposition political parties similar situations in other countries around the globe like that of Uganda ,Botswana and India , in comparison to the Zimbabwean situation to see if the challenges and tensions are similar and to see the extents to which democracy is practiced in relation to party politics.

### **2.2 THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK**

The researcher will be using the conspiracy theory in describing the situation that is being experienced by the opposition political party MDC in trying to gain power in Zimbabwe. MDC has failed to gain power for the past 17 years and different theories have been prescribed to these failures ,one of these theories is the Mugabe retention chaos theory ,the continuous chaos that has been caused by the power party ZANU-PF has been deemed as a force beyond the MDC s control thereby causing its continuous failures to get a hold on power .However the conspiracy theory seems to give an umbrella reason as to why MDC has continued to plot and plan how to gain power but to no avail. According to the Oxford English Dictionary conspiracy is a secret plan by a particular group to do something harmful or illegal it further defines that a conspiracy theory is the theory that ,an even or phenomenon occurs as a result of a conspiracy between interested parties.

Historian Gordon Wood is of the view that since the enlightenment of the 18<sup>th</sup> century conspiracy theorists have always assumed that major evil events have been orchestrated and planned ,and could not have happened accidentally or coincidentally or as an unintended consequence of an innocent plan. The ZANU-PF has continued to take measures to ensure that Zimbabwe is a de facto one – party state despite its failures in the 1980s. According to a report by the Zimbabwe human rights NGO forum 2001 noted that the police force is highly partisan and offers little to none protection to the opposition parties members ,it is also claimed that the press has been highly influenced by the ZANU –PF making it difficult for the MDC to campaign during campaigning periods. These actions can be deemed to be a conspiracy strategically placed to keep MDC from gaining even an ounce of power.

Young (2010) writes that every real conspiracy has had at least four characteristic features: groups not isolated individuals, illegal or sinister aims, not ones that would benefit the society as whole, orchestrated acts, secret planning and not of public discussion. To add on the orchestrated acts by the sinister individuals are sometimes executed within the barriers the governmental walls thereby making it difficult for those who witness such acts to report the cases as they may stand to lose their lives thereby turning them into criminal conspiracies. George (2010) comments that conspiracies prosecuted within the criminal justice system require a high standard of evidence ...it therefore becomes difficult to trace the actions of the ruling party when they have power even over governmental institution.

The MDC has continued to gain its influence through what they view as the none violent way of trying to acquire power while its contender ZANU –PF has taken advantage of these actions by ensuring that the

MDC has no power hold .The GNU left the MDC holding on to positions that meant nothing, one can term this as a conspiracy, MDC had positions such as the Minister of tertiary education, while the ZANU-PF continued to have power over the army itself. One may raise the question how? This can be termed as a conspiracy. Taking a microscopic look at where power lies in Zimbabwe, looking at media, the legal justice system and the army. All three powers were vested in the ZANU-PF and not once throughout the course of time has power been transported to any opposition political party.ZANU-PF possess the instruments that has continued to bring the MDC to its knees through various conspired means, looking at the 2007-2008 campaign period when the MDC seemed to be lacking media coverage, the ZBC seemed to only be covering for ZANU-PF contenders.

In 2007 before the elections the MDC leader Morgan Tsvangirai was arrested on grounds of treason, it was claimed that he was tortured while in police custody. These conditions gave the ZANU-PF ample time to put their plan in place whilst the MDC s campaign had taken a different turn to protesting for the release of their leader .it can be that the ZANU-PF conspired with the police to draw away the MDC s attention from what would have been their win situation. Walker (2013) has broken conspiracy into five stages :the enemy outside is based on devilish figures mobilizing outside the community scheming against it, the enemy within finds the conspirators lurking inside the nation, indistinguishable from ordinary citizens, the enemy above involves powerful people manipulating the system for their own gain, the enemy below features the lower classes ready to break through their constraints and overturn the social order and the benevolent conspiracies are forces working behind scenes.

All these are typical experiences being felt by the MDC, whereby there are forces mobilized against it which are beyond the party s control for example, the influence that ZANU –PF has over the war vets. The war vets experienced the evils that were brought about by the war through the first and second chimurenga and have a sense of belonging in ZANU-PF unlike with MDC. To add insult to injury there are enemies within that cause the disintegration of the opposition party, the system has been marred with ZANU-PF supporters making it difficult for MDC to penetrate the system therefore loosing little grip of future endeavors of gaining power. The unfolding drama further worsens when the opposition political parties lose focus on what matters which is the citizens of Zimbabwe, instead concentrate more on gaining power through discrediting the power party which has no impact to change.

## **2.3 LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.3.1 CHALLENGES BEING FACED BY POLITICAL PARTIES IN ZIMBABWE**

The support base of the opposition political parties in Zimbabwe has not been reaching out to the rural populations, which has taken a drastic toll on their political victories. The rural populations have either been uninformed or misinformed on issues concerning the political situation and developments in the country and the power party has taken full advantage of that situation. It should be noted that, rural areas have up to 70% of our population, and in these areas there is rampant electoral fraud, violence and intimidations exercised by the ruling party which has presented a challenge for opposition political parties. According to a report by solidarity peace trust (2008) indicates that ZANU-PF has a majority support in the important rural constituencies of Mashonaland West, Mashonaland East, Mashonaland Central, Masvingo and Midlands which gives it a head start on the voting role. According to Chigora (2011) et al comment that, there is dire need for the opposition political parties to identify with an ideology that links them with the rural electorate where the majority of the people reside.

The opposition political parties in Zimbabwe need to reach out to remote areas where ZANU PF seems to exert their influence, the opposition political parties have used a limited media base looking at the



use of posters and the use of radios as their campaign basis, the 2013 poster campaign by the MDC where it was claimed that they wanted to plaster the country with posters showing Zimbabweans that there had been fraudulent activities during the campaign. For those who reside in the rural areas the majority of them who are in the voting loop are not as literate and posters may not be the best campaign strategy being used by the opposition political parties. However ZANU-PF has taken their campaigns to the rural areas in person whether it is through instilling fear in the rural people they seem to have more access to the rural population than the opposition political parties which has presented a challenge for them.

Factionalism has remained yet another challenge for opposition political parties Zimbabwe, it should be noted that in order for upcoming political parties to succeed in getting power in Zimbabwe there is a need for them to remain integrated. there is power in numbers and standing as one, but for the opposition political parties have always experienced infighting where there are different political ideas that emanate from within the parties in the end they go their different ways looking at the case of the Zimbabwe Union of Democrats (ZUD) under the leader Margaret Dongo the party later on split after some differences with Kempton Makamure who then formed the transparency front (TF). the split did little to help strengthen the party which later on faded, to follow is the MDC party which later on split in 2005, the main faction being headed by Morgan Tsvangirai and the other faction being led by Arthur Mutambara.

### **2.3.2 DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE**

Democracy according to Zimmermann (2012) the term means rule by the people as derived from the Greek language. Democracy has been a difficult concept to consolidate throughout Africa itself, it has been dressed in different attires to suit each country. Makaye and Dube (2014) define democracy as a system of governance whereby the state and government institutions allow for direct participation of citizens in the shaping and implementation of public policies, management and administration. It should be noted that democracy has been abused since its entrance on the African political arena; it has either been misused or wrongly interpreted. According to Lotshwao (2011) comments that, as with democracy itself consolidating it is a highly contested concept. In view of politics in Zimbabwe democracy has been mostly preached by opposition political parties whereby they are willing to offer citizens a government that is chosen by the people yet the footstool to address such issues is yet to be awarded to them. The power party (ZANU-PF) has managed to come up with a home brewed democracy which seems mostly focused on keeping them in power while making the citizens fearful of their own government. Democratic governance in Zimbabwe has been unreachable to Zimbabwe's network and to some it does not exist at all.

Democracy from implementation has internal actors such as political parties who act as intermediates between citizens and what they want which would be reality vs. fantasy. Better educational facilities, better roads, even free and fare elections are within the grasp of politicians today and citizens can demand it as a democratic right. The power party ushered in Parliamentary democracy which acts as a legislative arm that that contributes to the making of law and addressing the interest of the nation. It should be noted that this parliamentary democracy is responsible for coming up with policies that are repressive pieces of legislature looking at the AIPPA and POSA. The AIPPA and the POSA play a role in undermining the democratic rights of the citizens thereby crippling the practice of democracy. Mbofana (2016) asserts that ever since Zimbabwe gained its independence from Britain, the ZANU PF government

has sought to portray the new dispensation as more democratic than the colonial Rhodesia era but a closer look at the two political systems tells a very different story.

### **2.3.3 MEDIA AND POLITICAL PARTIES**

Media can be a mediator or interpreter or even a facilitator of conflict. The media has been used as a source of campaigning during elections; it can also be interpreted as a way of showing that elections were free and fair as long as there is equal platform for the participating parties in showcasing their campaign material. However it is not necessarily the way that media has been portrayed in Zimbabwe, to most citizens in Zimbabwe they claim that the media is biased and seems to only be there for one party ZANU-PF especially looking at the television coverage during elections. The adage of the ZBH “when it happens we will be there” only applies when the opposition political parties are being portrayed to be propelling western driven acts.

Lynch (2012) notes, the aim of a free press are to continually scrutinize the government and provide people with accurate and impartial information so that they can act on it accordingly. In Zimbabwe the press has limited freedom to fully express themselves when it comes to issues concerning politics. News papers like the Daily News have been claimed to expose any faults in any political issues and give out an accurate expose on issues especially concerning the ZANU-PF while the herald saves face for the ZANU-PF and does little in favor of opposition political parties. Notemba Tjipuja told journalist at a press conference that, two daily newspapers, the Herald and Daily News stand out with taking political sides. The Herald is a ZANU -PF mouthpiece, while the Daily News sings MDC-T leader Morgan Tsvangirai s praises .this only stands to showcase that with the press taking sides it is sometimes impossible to get accurate information that can be termed as reliable to the citizens of Zimbabwe.

*One of the objectives of a newspaper is to understand the popular feeling and give expression to it; another is to arouse among the people certain desirable sentiments; the third is fearlessly to expose popular defects. (Mahatma Gandhi)*

However other forms of media like that of whatsapp seem to have a more open platform to comment on issues pertaining politics without fear of being exposed. Whatsapp has less censored information which has allowed information to be used, abused and dispersed in correctly at times. One looks at the campaign system that has also given power to ZANU PF over any upcoming opposition .The political party People First being led by the former Vice President Joyce Mujuru was being portrayed as a worthless upcoming party which was showcased by the various images that were being circulated through whatsapp .The images discredited the existence of the People First party looking at the placement of the names on the women attires where the Pf leader s name is on the lower parts of the attire and the ZANU PF leader s name is placed on the upper part of the attire. In that regard media has also presented a challenge to the consolidation of power by the opposition political parties.

### **2.3.4 POLITICAL VIOLENCE**

Wolf (1969) defines violence as the illegitimate and unauthorized use of force to effect decisions against the will or desires of others. Violence as a means to an end has always been a tool used within the

political arena to blanket influence over the masses, as propounded by the philosopher Lenin who also believed that for legitimate authority to rein violence was a necessary evil he employed violence as both instruments of choice and substitute for legitimate authority. To ZANU PF violence could be best termed as a necessary evil ,March 29<sup>th</sup> of 2008 citizens of Zimbabwe went to the polls with the hope of finding a way through the deepening political and economic crisis that had marred the country since 2000.

According to the Solidarity Peace Trust (2008) the results of the so called harmonized elections for the presidential, parliamentary, senatorial and local council seats, announced only a month after waiting shocked the ruling party (ZANU PF) into yet another violent response to the electorate. It has been claimed that the ZANU PF during the 2008 elections marred the country with violent elections. In the rural areas people were being forced to attend rallies while those who failed or refused to attend the rallies were beaten to a pulp state. Those who were in support of any opposition party had their houses burnt down as they watched and images of the acts were being distributed throughout the country. The bone of contention for the ZANU PF party was that, the combined MDC had won 109 seats while the ZANU PF party had 97 seats and the Independent had 1. These results did not seat well with the power party as such they did everything they could to find an antidote to the problem.

### **2.3.5 POLITICAL REPRESENTATION**

Political representation refers to how citizens are represented in all political aspects be it the electoral system, judiciary, the executive, legislature or any other governmental aspect. Kartik, Van Weelden and Wolton (2016) have a theory on political representation which consists of a mixture of voters who would like politicians to have some discretion to adapt policies to changing circumstances. Voters place their faith in politicians when they vote for them to be able to draft policies that also in cooperate their views and to also take note of changing circumstances. The libertarian belief is that, we are all the same and thus one person may easily stand in for another. However on that note, looking at the politician today the aspect of representation is completely abandoned as it can be noted that these representatives are self interest driven and have little regard to changing circumstances after they have been voted into power.

Chikerema (2013) comments that, the individual citizen in the Zimbabwean local government system has numerous ways to influence policies and practices and are given space to have a say in institutional issues. But when one examines the aspect of citizen participation little can be commented on their input being acknowledged by their representatives. Kiondo (2001) then notes that for political parties to contribute to the process of democratic governance, political parties must function along three main areas: set a vision for leadership and governance of the country; act as bridges and links between people and government and act as schools for politics and leadership. In order for these political parties to be able to function along with the above areas there is a need for them to act differently from the power parties through acknowledging and respecting the position of the citizens' participation and fully represent the nation s interest thereby gaining their confidence and vote.

## **2.4 COUNTRY EXPERIENCES**

### **2.4.1 INTRODUCTION**

In Africa most countries like Zambia, Tanzania and Malawi attempted to remain as one party states after they had attained their freedom. This was a system that had been labeled as crucial and critical to enable the development of African states as suggested by Kwame Nkrumah, in a speech he noted that 'a one-party system of government is an effective and safe instrument...'Which ruled out a multi party system which would create possible competition by opposing the existing power party. Gumede (2016) comments that, most African countries since independence from colonialism have been governed by dominant one party regimes. Many of these governance were independence or liberation movements who led the fight against colonialism and thereafter inherited the mantle of liberators and by virtue of this came to dominate post colonial governments.

However democracy brought with it a multiparty system that allowed the formation of other political parties that would by nature challenge the existing power parties .it can be noted that most of the African states have accepted the existence of these opposition political parties but at the same time ensuring that by all means the opposition political parties will not get a hold of power. Looking at Zimbabwe where ZANU PF has remained dominantly in power since 1980. There are other countries where opposition political parties have faced the same challenges where by consolidating power was only but a farfetched dream looking at Botswana, India and Uganda. The opposition political parties in these countries have dominant political parties that have continued to rule with an iron fist leaving little to none space for opposition to step in.

### **2.4.2 BOTSWANA**

Botswana like Zimbabwe had once attempted to remain a one party dominated state after attaining their freedom in 1966 under the leadership of Seretse Khama, but later on chose to retain a multiparty democratic state even when other African states had adamantly tried to stick to the one party state system. However the opposition parties have continued to come across various obstacles that have prevented them from consolidating power .Motswaledi (2014) notes, opposition political parties in Botswana is often poorly organized due to limited resources; on the contrary the ruling party BDP enjoys unparalleled support from the private sector. In Botswana most private sector companies survive through government business and they wouldn't want to risk biting the hand that feeds them.

Power parties continue to have more influence over both private and public owned properties through either threatening to withdraw certain benefits or simply shutting them if they refused to cooperate. For the opposition political parties they have little to offer as most of them also lack military support that can help ensure that their will is done. Mtimkulu in his journal, the key to one party dominance views that, during election campaigns the BDP party is able to reach voters in remote areas while its opposition seems to lag behind. He further notes that a large proportion of the BDP voters during its past five election winnings have come from the rural voters. It should be noted that during the Independence of Botswana nearly 90% of its population resided in the rural areas.

In Zimbabwe a larger population resides in the remote areas and like BDP, ZANU PF also gains a majority of its votes from the rural parts. The rural areas were dominated by traditional leaders who were under the strong influence of the BDP. Bearing the above in mind all these circumstances ensure that the opposition political parties in these countries have a hard time attempting to gain power. Opposition political parties are repeated offenders of failing to accommodate the needs of the population that resides in the rural areas. Lotshwao(2011) has speculated on the opposition political party BNF, he comments that over the years poor leadership in the BNF has manifested itself in the form of leadership failure, destructive factionalism ,recurring splits and lack of strategy. The Botswana National Front (BNF) is one of the opposition political parties in Botswana that has existed for a length of time but has failed to secure power in Botswana. One Botswana citizen comments in an interview, that Botswana opposition parties are too weak to unseat the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) because they lack foresight.

One of the reasons that has also failed the BNF is the continued splits that have marred the opposition political party. In 1989 the split created the Botswana freedom party (BFP), Then came the Botswana workers front (BWF) in 1993 and the United Socialist Party (USP) in 1994. This seems to be the same challenge that Zimbabwean opposition political parties are experiencing, they seem to lack grassroots support whereby the party's leaders eventually face opposition within. This has continued to affect their power play in the political arena since there is a need for them to remain intact.

### **2.4.3 INDIA**

India is one of the countries that also practice the multi party system but like in Zimbabwe these *other* political parties besides the power party have plenty of weaknesses that prevent them from being able to consolidate power in their country. At present there are many political parties in India looking at the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), Congress (I), The Janata Party (Socialist) and the Communist party. All these parties are in a bid to secure at list more than 10% of the seats in the Lok Sabha. India has a multiparty system of governance in which the party with the highest votes obtained through elections is entitled to form a government and its leader is appointed as the Prime Minister of the country. However the very purpose of these opposition political parties in India seem to lose their way from birth , in as much as they try to cooperate amongst themselves over particular issues they seem to end up in arguments that lead to them having to go their separate ways.

Seam (2013) is of the view that, in India there are many parties and the sad truth is that nearly every one of these parties is built not around ideology but around the personality of a single leader or family dynasty which harbors their ability to grow and gain power in some aspects. Opposition political parties seem to possess the same characteristics throughout the world that prohibit them from keeping and gaining power. The power parties in different countries seem to have the control over the resources and therefore govern how those resources will be used and in most cases it is always to their advantage. Like Zimbabwean opposition political parties, India s opposition political parties also have issues with infighting, quarrelling amongst themselves as a result in India there lacks a strong, healthy and united opposition.

Seam (2013) comments that the opposition political parties in India's hostility to their existing government overshadows their strategy to acquire power looking at the Junta Party which was short lived because it was a coalition of a crowd of political parties. When one speculates in comparison with the opposition political parties in Zimbabwe one may recognize a similar scenario of the combination of the MDC and the People First parties, will this coalition be a success or like the Indian Junta will it also be dissolved? Seam (2013) further comments that the oppositions lack clear policies and programmes that can help them stay in form, the frequent splits cause the people to lose faith in these opposition political parties. The MDC in Zimbabwe has also faced similar obstacles which in some instances have led to the party's support thinning out as the people lose faith with the opposition party.

It should be noted that these opposition political parties are labeled as the watchdogs of the system they are to have access to information that they share with the citizens of the country they expose any corruption that there may be in the country. Opposition political parties are the part that is confident and not afraid to expose the truth about the miss use of government instruments like the army, or the altering of the constitution to suit the power parties. The unfolding drama comes to play when these opposition political parties have lost their focus on what matters which are the people of any particular country. In India they base their roots on personalities and not any particular ideology which can hurt the citizens of India. The Lok Sabha had no recognized leader of opposition until 1969; the post was also vacant between 1980 and 1989 which in any case the country was claimed to would have progressed.

#### **2.4.4 UGANDA**

The ruling party of Uganda the (NRM) is identified interchangeably with its government bureaucracy, the legislative, the judiciary, the army which is typical like that of the ZANU-PF in Zimbabwe. Ruling parties use the country resources to stifle opposition political parties and therefore perpetuate themselves in power. Opposition political parties lack control over the above instruments of power in turn the candle of hoping that they will attain power is snuffed out. Kiiza (2005) comments that when Africans assumed the reins of power in the 1960s and beyond, the structures of colonial despotism remained intact. Many post colonial regimes became one party states e.g. Tanzania, Malawi, Zambia several reasons were given for these actions one of them being Africa was "One People, One country; One country, One party" Segments of this solution have remained in play for most countries like Uganda and Zimbabwe who despite painting the picture of democracy led leaders behind the rose colored glasses are leaders who want the one party idea.

The Political Parties and Organizations Act 2005 of Uganda defines a political party as "a political organization the objects of which include the influencing of the political process or sponsoring a political agenda, whether or not it also seeks to sponsor or offer a platform to a candidate for election to a political office or to participate in the governance of Uganda at any level". Makara (2015 ) comments that on attaining independence most of the ruling parties of the day either outlawed opposition parties , criminalized their activities or their contribution to the national debate or policy making ,this is typical of the MDC party's leader Morgan Tsvangirai Who is somehow belittled and disparaged .Idi Amin's nine year rule left a scare on Uganda but of important recognition is the fact that opposition was a complete NO NO situation as this would result in abductions, murders and dismemberment of bodies . This shows

that if it is not implied in constitutions that the opposition political parties have no power the ones in power can render the opposition political parties powerless.

Makara (2015) further postulates that Ugandan Leaders pursue zero sum politics. the country suffered the intolerance of one partyism in the 1960s, the notorious and murderous military regime of Idi Amin in the 1970s as well as the unstable and strife ridden government of the second Obote government in the 1980s .However the NRM since 1984 has built what could resemble a democratic rule yet still opposition political parties are rendered powerless. Obote refused to acknowledge the existence of opposition political parties he further commented that one party states do not prevent expression of individual opinion and constructive criticism. Power parties will always come up with excuse, opinions and strategies that will keep them in power, even if it means applying violence it will be done. Opposition political parties will always be viewed as a threat to the parties in power

The NRM under the movement system was used to enjoying all the political space alone the introduction of multipartyism was somehow perceived as an obstruction of the abundant political space. As a result most actions that were brought about by the Opposition Democratic Party (DP), Entebbe Municipal Council and the Kampala city council which are some of the opposition political parties in Uganda were only considered as an obstruction and obstructions can be avoided by various means. Policies are put in place to limit the movement and power that can be exercised opposition political parties in Uganda. In 2007 at Mpigi Uganda the Democratic Party rally was dispersed by the Ugandan police through the use of tear gas, water cannons yet the NRM gatherings are never interrupted. These are some of the strategies that are applied by the power parties in order to deter opposition political parties thereby making it difficult for opposition political parties to obtain power in these countries .The Opposition political parties in Uganda have to come together in agreement in order to bring down a despotic government that's is existing in Uganda and should put a stop to infighting if they are ever to consolidate power in their country.

## **2.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY**

Chapter 2 highlighted on the conspiracy theory, the theory helped the researcher to explain the possible reasons why the opposition political party MDC was failing to consolidate power since 2000-2016. The conspiracy theory was used since it was best applicable to the research and it could be related to the above mentioned problem. The chapter also looked at different literature from different cited scholars which was obtained through newspapers, reports, research papers, etc the researcher also tried to add to the information where gaps were identified. Under literature review the chapter delved on democratic governance in Zimbabwe, media and political parties, political violence and the challenges faced by the political parties in Zimbabwe. The chapter also looked at other country experiences in relation to the research, looking at Uganda, Botswana and India that were mentioned in the chapter. In these countries they also have opposition political parties that are facing challenges in their endeavor to securing power in their respective countries political arenas.

## CHAPTER THREE METHODOLOGY

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### **3.1 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter will focus on the method that was used by the researcher in obtaining information relating to the opposition political parties, strategies and challenges that they encounter in a verge to secure power in Zimbabwe, with a specific focus on MDC. The researcher made use of the Qualitative method of sampling; the method relies on precedent literature for theoretical constructs through the use of interviews, questionnaires and focus groups. This chapter will also describe the research techniques that were used in obtaining the data from specific target groups through the use of questionnaires and interviews. The chapter will also show the ethics that will be upheld to protect the respondents during the research.

### **3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN**

According to Berg (2004) research design refers to the structure of an inquiry: it is a logical matter rather than a logistical one, it has been argued that the central role of research design is to minimize the chances of drawing incorrect casual inferences from data. Research design enables one to avoid drawing out incorrect conclusions on a topic, as such the information is gathered from various respondents to come with accurate information .Berg (2004) further notes that, research design is a logical task undertaken to ensure that the evidence collected enables us to answer questions or to test theories as unambiguously as possible. Politics is a very controversial subject in Zimbabwe and information can easily be distorted, exaggerated or misinterpreted in that view it is important to have the obtained information to be carefully interpreted and the theories given to be carefully tested and analyzed.

Jones 1993 notes that research design refers to only the methodology of the study for example data collection and analysis, the researcher in cooperated the qualitative method of sampling .Qualitative research method makes use of the unstructured techniques through the use of interviews, focus groups, participant observations, an analysis of documents and journals. Using the qualitative technique was beneficial in that, it identified aspects of phenomenon more accurately since the research was approached at different angles. It enabled the researcher to sieve through unnecessary information by looking at the relevant information, the in accurate information and biased information ,making use of the Qualitative method of sampling left the researcher with valid and reliable information in that through the use of Interviews the researcher was able to draw results from gestures and expressions that were drawn from the participants; there were questionnaires that were distributed which increased the efficiency of obtaining data.

### **3.3 SAMPLE SELECTION**

According to the English oxford dictionary sampling is a representation of an entire population obtained through the collection of data. The researcher used stratified sampling, purposive sampling and voluntary sampling techniques in the research.



### **3.3.1 STRATIFIED SAMPLING**

Stratified sampling refers to the partitioning of a targeted population into subsets which are referred to as strata; the information drawn from the independent groups is then used in conducting the research. According to Maxwell (1997) stratified sampling occurs when the researcher divides the targeted population into subgroups or strata such that each unit belongs to a single stratum and then selects units from those strata. The researcher divide the respondents into two , those who were well versed in the political arena that is ministers , political groups (Tajamuka), respondents from Harvest house (MDC headquarters) and respondents from the ZANU PF headquarters .The second group consisted of civilians with opinions concerning politics who were vendors, nurses, teachers and university students .Stratified sampling enabled the researcher to obtain information from two groups with different views concerning the topic of politics as a whole by distributing questionnaires and conducting interviews with the two separate groups. This helped the researcher to obtain data that varied which allowed for the selection of relevant usable data.

### **3.3.2 PURPOSIVE SAMPLING**

Purposive sampling is when the researcher selects individuals or groups of individuals or institutions specifically for the research being undertaken. Maxwell (1997) defines purposive sampling as a type of sampling in which particular settings, persons or events are deliberately selected for the important information they can provide concerning a particular research. The information obtained from the targeted groups usually cannot be obtained accurately from a wide spectrum of unselected groups. Politics requires such a sampling technique considering that some individuals prefer to distance themselves from issues concerning information politics, which then makes difficult to withdraw resourceful information from them. Using targeted groups or informants is easier and a lot more reliable because the researcher can target questions that can quickly provide relevant information. For example during elections in 2008 obtaining information concerning opposition political parties was difficult as the majority of the citizens feared for their lives ,however it was easier to get a better and clear opinion from certain individuals who had a better connection and protection from the parties in question. In the research the informants who were targeted to disclose information concerning the strategies and failures of the opposition political parties in Zimbabwe in securing power was mostly obtained from the MDC headquarters and ZANU PF headquarters. Questionnaires were distributed to the targeted institutions that had inside sources which they reviewed concerning the reasons behind the failures of opposition political parties in the political arena .the information obtained was much more reliable since the informants were considered to be inside sources .

### **3.3.3 VOLUNTARY SAMPLING**

A voluntary sample is made up of people who self select into the survey often these informants have a strong interest in the main topic of the survey Gallardo (2004) notes that a volunteer sample consists of people who are willing to volunteer for the benefit of the study . The researcher had to strategically use this sampling technique as it sometimes brings out one sided results since the sampling technique will be on a voluntary basis. The researcher picked volunteers from different angles that are MDC supporters

and ZANU PF supporters who had a strong opinion on the topic in question. This strategy ensured that the information would be at equals and not end up having a one sided research that addressed opinions of one party. The researcher conducted interviews with those who volunteered to comment on the research. Some of the informants were passersby who would have over head on the topic while the researcher was in a focus group and thus would voice out their opinions and join the group discussion. The advantages of the voluntary sampling technique are that the respondents are easily available and are not afraid to voice out their opinions especially concerning the topic of opposition politics which is controversial. The researcher obtained honest opinions that were blunt and to the point since the respondents were not hesitant.

### **3.4 METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION**

#### **3.4.1 QUESTIONNAIRES AND SURVEYS**

Questionnaires and surveys are a conducive technique of obtaining data from informants in a conflicted environment like that which concerns opposition political parties. The researcher targeted political party leaders, civil societies and non governmental organizations at both local and national level. On an international basis the researcher got some information from which was sourced from embassies and probable representatives of international organizations that were available in the country. Questionnaires are easy to distribute especially to those who are not easily available for face to face interviews due to their busy schedules. Questionnaires can be a source of security for those who prefer confidentiality since the researcher made sure that the questionnaires specified that their names would not be disclosed as a result the informants would give out their honest opinions pertaining the research. Questionnaires and surveys disclose information that the population cannot talk about in the company of others. This source of data collection offers privacy to the participants which benefit the research to a larger extent.

#### **3.4.2 FOCUS GROUPS**

A focus group is a form of qualitative research in which a group of people are asked about their perceptions, opinions, beliefs and attitudes. Focus groups are organized research instruments to obtain information on a particular topic and the researcher conducted two focus groups for one hour each. According to Nagle and Williams (2000) note that, focus groups provide insights into how people think and provide a deeper understanding of the phenomena being studied, they give the researcher the ability to capture deeper information more economically than individual interviews. The researcher conducted focus groups discussions on the topic concerning opposition political parties and the challenges they were incurring in their verge to securing power in Zimbabwe. The participants were of different political angles which enabled the researcher to obtain information that was not one sided. The focus groups also attracted other voluntary participants who provided strong opinioned points on the research. The researcher also targeted conflict zones like Mufakosi, Chitungwiza and the Avenues to gather information. This enabled the researcher to gather information that was less biased and one sided.

### **3.4.3 INTERVIEWS**

Interviews are a more accurate form of communication when one wants to get information faster and with honesty since it is conducted face to face. The researcher conducted six interviews, some of them were randomly selected interviews conducted on the street looking at vendors, passersby who would be interested to comment on the research while other interviews required the researcher to set up appointments. McNamara (1999) is of the view that, interviews are particularly useful for getting the story behind participant's experiences. The interviewer can pursue in depth information around the topic, interviews may be useful as follow-up to certain respondents to questionnaires for example when one wants to further investigate their responses. The researcher managed to get information from the participants that helped further the research. Interviews helped the researcher since there was more personal contact with the interviewed unlike when conducting a focus group.

### **3.4.4 DOCUMENTS ANALYSIS**

The researcher also relied on information obtained from records and documents on the subject of opposition politics in Zimbabwe. These included speeches, newspapers, reports, elections monitors and observer's reports during elections and any other campaigning material. These materials helped to shade light on information that the researcher would have obtained from informants the documents would often verify if the information is true or false based on the source. The advantages of using documents and records were that the information is readily available either online or can be purchased at a very affordable price. It also gives space to independent thinking and an in-depth survey of the information to verify if it is of a reliable source or if it's a potential bias.

### **3.5 DATA ANALYSIS**

Braun and Clark (2006) note that, data analysis involves identifying and reporting patterns or themes within data. Content analysis and thematic analysis were used to analyze the data; the data was obtained through interviews, focus groups, documents and surveys. The data obtained by the researcher was presented in the form of visual aids (images) and graphs after which the researcher had selected the information that was relevant and useful. According to Shamoo and Resnik (2003) data analysis is the process of systematically applying statistical and/or logical techniques to describe , illustrate, condense, recap and evaluate data.the researcher was looking at causes and challenges being faced by the MDC in trying to secure power in Zimbabwe.

#### **3.5.1 THEMATIC ANALYSIS**

Braun and Clarke (2006) comment that thematic analysis is a method for identifying , analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It is a qualitative analytic method used to sift through obtained data in a research. After the researcher had collected data through Questionnaires that were distributed to various informants in different relevant organisations . the data was then separated into 3 categories ranging from the information that came from reliable sources, information derived from informants who

had a broader opinion on the reasons behind opposition politics and information that was given by the general public looking at vendors, guards , accountants basically these informants were categorised to be less involved in politics.

### **3.5.2 CONTENT ANALYSIS**

Mayring (2000) is of the view that content analysis takes on the shape of recorded communication which can be derived from interviews and or focus groups, content analysis analyses not only the manifest content of the material which then defines the aim of the analysis. This form of analysis involves comparing information obtained from different informants noticing coding that may be the same or different, hence making it easy for the researcher to dissect relevant information to information that has similarities and information that may be overaly exaggerated. Kondracki and Wellman (2002) comments that content analysis goes beyond merely counting words to examining language intensely for the purpose of classifying large amounts of text into an efficient number of categories that represent similar meanings. Weber (1990) further notes that the goal of content analysis is to provide knowledge and understanding for the phenomenon under study.

Content analysis helped the researcher to be able to match up information that had been derived from different informants looking at either ZANU PF or MDC informants. The researcher was able to compare and contrast the information that had been received to see if there was information that was tallying .This was only possible if the data analyzed was coming from different informants meaning ZANU PF or any other opposition political party informant. The researcher was able to derive information that could have been true by looking at the tallying information, as well by noticing information that could have possibly been exaggerated thereby making the information obtained less reliable. The information was obtained through

### **3.6 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS**

Valdivieso (2014) comments that ,ethics take play when are some topics on which actors disagree or the principles of the actors are coherent only to certain extent and eminently clash at some point, for example freedom of expression is preached in some states but it as limits as how far one can exercise the freedom. In any case politics is a very controversial issue where it concerns opposition political parties in any country. It is the responsibility of the researcher to protect the informants who do not wish to have their identities disclosed with regard to ethical considerations. The researcher upheld the following ethics.

#### **3.6.1. ANONYMITY AND CONFIDENTIALITY**

Crow and Wiles (2002) are of the view that anonymity and confidentiality is when the researcher s aim to assure participants that every effort will be made to ensure that the data they provide cannot be traced back to them in reports, presentations and other forms of dissemination. There were the use pseudonyms or citations such as anonymous, concerned citizen to secure the trust from the informants or changing the gender of the informants was in cooperated by the researcher all in a vange of protecting and concealing information that may harm the informant. Anonymity was also secured by not

providing visual information pertaining the informants, in some aspects if visuals are a necessity the informants facials are blurred out of recognition. By in cooperating these ethics the researcher was to obtain data that was well detailed as the informants were not fearful of disclosure which greatly benefited the research. Confidentiality forms were also handed out to the participants who were mostly concerned about their participation in the research.

### **3.6.2 DEBRIEFING**

DR SHARPE (2008) comments that debriefing, is a corollary respect for free and informed consent. The general force for this principle is that individuals should be in position to make a genuinely free and informed choice as to whether or not to participate in a research study and this can only be done by first informing the participants about what they are getting involved in. the researcher had to undergo debriefing before conducting the interviews and focus groups , the researcher verbally informed the participants of the purpose of the research and why their participation was going to be very helpful to the study. This created a conducive environment for the interviewed subjects which enabled them to review as much information as they comfortably could. The debriefing also helped to shade any self doubt and fears that the informants could have possibly heard before the interview started since politics in Zimbabwe is a topic that calls for utmost confidence.

### **3.6.3 VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION**

Opposition politics is a topic of concern for those within and outside the business which makes it a sensitive topic as such getting participants that volunteered was important for the research and it also did not draw unnecessary attention to the researcher. Informants who took part in the research were not under forceful grounds as the researcher did not want to risk getting information that was biased .Spiker (2007) commented that the central argument for obtaining consent from participants is that research is liable to be intrusive, and intrusion is only legitimate if consent is obtained. The principle is set to enable the volunteer to disclose information that they deem to be relevant to the study and it also determines how much they are willing to reveal concerning the research. Voluntary participation also enabled the researcher to gather vast information from the participants since they were willing participants. The information that was divulged was obtained from mostly interviews and questionnaires since these were the means of data collection that seemed to would have been mostly accepted by the volunteers.

### **3.6.4 CHAPTER SUMMARY**

The Chapter explained the methods that were used in obtaining and gathering information. The mixed research method was employed which makes use of the qualitative and the quantitative method of collecting data that was relating to the challenges and the causes of the failures of opposition political parties to consolidate power in Zimbabwe. Questionnaires, interviews and focus groups were employed as research instruments to obtain data from the informants. The data was obtained from specific target groups purposively and through a stratified manner .After the researcher had gathered all the necessary information required the data had to be analyzed to ensure that the information that was going to be

used would not be biased or overally exaggerated. The chapter also showed how the informants were going to be protected and how their information would be used only for academic purposes.

## CHAPTER 4 PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

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### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter entails of the research findings collected during the research, the data that was obtained will be analyzed and presented in this chapter. The presentation of the data will be will be made clear through the use of graphs and tables where necessary. The research was carried out in Harare where the political parties s main headquarters are situated, that is the ZANU- PF headquarters and the Harvest house for the MDC-T party and other political parties headquarters that have recently emerged like that of the people first. The research also looked at the contributing factors to the long stay of the power party ZANU-PF and the strategies it has used to do so. These research findings are the views of randomly selected citizens, NGO s representatives, Focus groups and important delegates of parliament that were willing to sacrifice their time to enable the research to be conducted. The information that was obtained was in relation to the causes and challenges faced by opposition political parties in trying to consolidate power in Zimbabwe, with a microscopic look at the MDC party led by Morgan Tsvangirai. Due to the sensitivity of the study, the researcher had to rely on respondents that were willing to contribute to the study.

### 4.2 RESEARCH FINDINGS

20 research questionnaires were drafted out and distributed to various respondents to collect data .80%of the questionnaires that had been distributed were responded to. From the data that was gathered during the research shows that participants preferred Questionnaires as a preferred form of data collection.

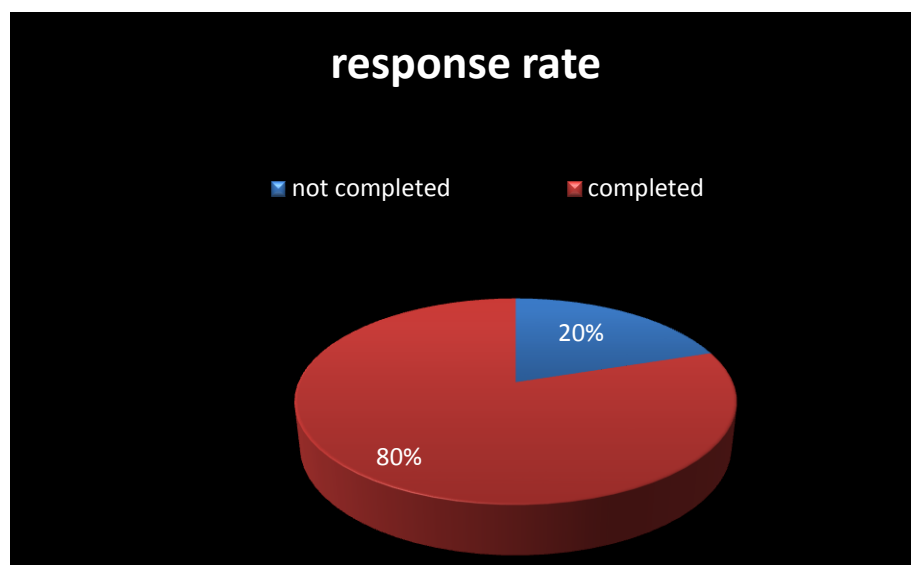
**Table 1. Responses to Questionnaires**

DEPARTMENT	QUSTIONNAIRES ADMINISTERED	QUESTIONNAIRES RETURNED	RESPONSE RATE
Parirenyatwa Groups of Hospitals	5	5	100%
Harvest House	2	1	50%
ZANU-PF headquarters	2	2	100%
Saltrama Plastics Company	2	2	100%
British Embassy	2	0	0%
Randomly selected Individuals (vendors etc)	3	3	100%
Samanachi International (NGO)	1	1	100%

<b>Total</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>80%</b>
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This helped the researcher to obtain a clear view of the issues surrounding the research that was conducted. The response rate was a reflection of the views of the majority which is also illustrated using the pie chart below.

**Fig 1: Questionnaire Response Rate**



**Table 2: Responses to Interviews**

TARGET GROUP	INTERVIEW TARGET	INITIAL INTERVIEWED	RESPONSE PERCENTAGE
ZANU-PF representatives	4	2	50%
MDC representatives	4	3	82%
NGOs representatives	4	1	20%

**Source: primary data**

From the table above it indicates that of the 4 ZANU-PF representatives who were supposed to be interviewed only 2 were available and of the 4 MDC representatives who were supposed to be interviewed only 3 were available while the other was not available to comment on political issues and of the 4 NGO representatives who were supposed to be interviewed only one was available to contribute to the research. The rest who were not available were attending to other important business.



**Table 3: Responses from Focus groups**

TARGET GROUP	NUMBER OF FOCUS GROUPS CONDUCTED	RESPONSE PERCENTAGE
CIVILIANS	1	100%
U.Z – POLITICAL SCIENCE STUDENTS (LEVEL 4.1)	1	100%

Source: primary data

The table above shows that the researcher managed to hold focus groups with UZ political science students and randomly selected individuals who were civilians and were willing to spare their time to gather and discuss on the subject. The research being on a sensitive issue it was difficult to secure focus groups considering that the POSA and AIPPA act does not permit such gatherings without applying first.

#### **4.2.1 ZANU-PF vs. Opposition political parties in Zimbabwe (MDC)**

Out of the 80% of data that was collected during the research 62.3% of the respondents noted that the dominant party Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) has an astounding grip on power and has been since the 1980s. Government policies that are in place have not done much to improve the status quo of opposition political parties looking at the presence of election bodies like that of the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC), most respondents commented that the ZEC must have a hand in the electoral frauds that are committed by ZANU-PF considering that little action is done whenever these concerns are raised either by opposition political parties or citizens. Polgreen and Lydia (2013) note that electoral malpractices and vote rigging are factors that lead to political dominance looking at ZANU-PF.

Respondent Y who was in favor of ZANU-PF commented that , “these opposition political parties need an election strategy **NOT** a strategy to remove ZANU-PF ,note that ZANU-PF is an institution that has dated back to the 60s that has grown along the way giving birth to micro institutions with one goal , to serve and defend the next comrade by all means possible” Opposition political parties like the MDC, and People First have continued to fight the wrong war .This is a strategy that has been successfully implemented by the ZANU-PF drawing the attention of these opposition political parties to fight the wrong war which is winning an election with a strategy against the ZANU PF instead employing strategies that fights a war for them . MDC is one of the parties that have remained outside the political arena showing its face whenever the occasion is deemed right.

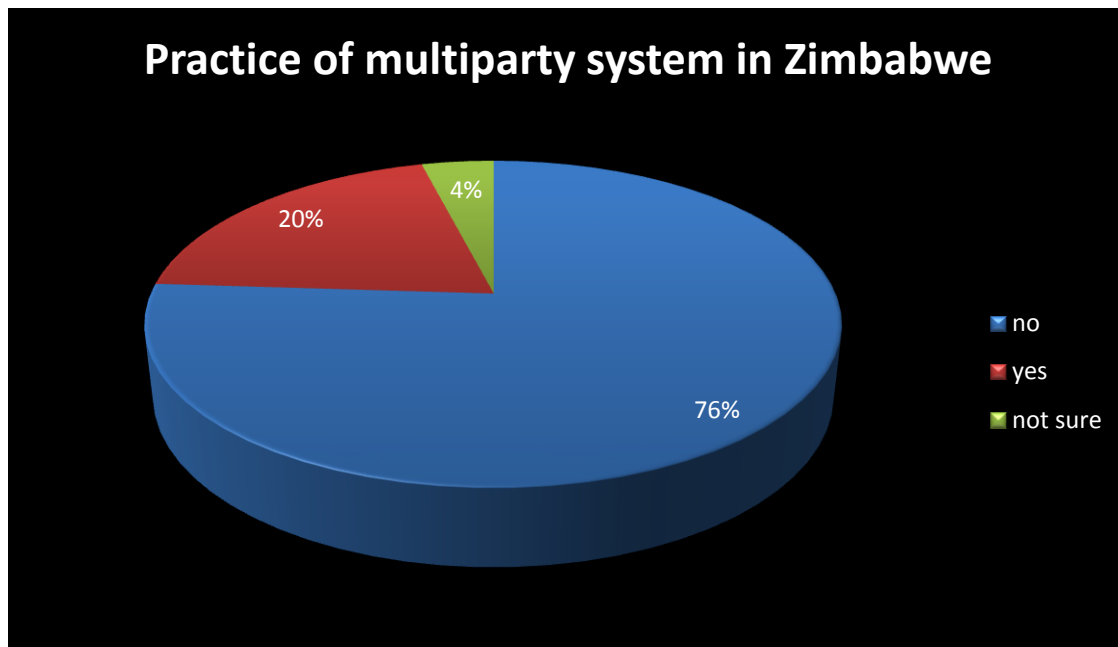
The shadow minister of MDC Mr. Hlatshwayo commented that in order for the MDC –T party to win the upcoming election there is a need for the plans to would have been long implemented, what injures is implementing when the election presents itself it is a known fact that the ZANU-PF makes use of illegal instruments to ensure that no opposition political power ever gains power in Zimbabwe. In another questionnaire respondent X commented that Zimbabwean Opposition political parties lack strategic intelligence, they rely much on information that is not authentic which ends up affecting their campaign. The ZANU-PF has managed to craft a repressive legislation that cripples opposition politics in Zimbabwe

65% of the respondents pointed out that the Zimbabwean constitution and the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) have a key hand in the participation of the asserted political dominance by ZANU-PF. These legal institutions have tied up and bundled the power of opposition political powers with their written limitations. For example looking at the constitution that has given the President unlimited power, and the POSA act another instrument that seems to be focused on delaying opposition action, the POSA act states that when a public demonstration is to take place seven days before the act the action should be applied for. It is not surprising to notice that ZANU-PF does not necessarily go through these procedures yet an attempt to skip this POSA declaration has proved fatal even for the war vets and the opposition political powers like MDC have also witnessed the fatal hand of going against this act.

#### 4.2.2 ZIMBABWE A MULTIPARTY STATE (YES OR NO)

Data was gathered on the issue pertaining the existence of a multiparty system in Zimbabwe and 76% of the respondents did not agree with Zimbabwe being a multiparty state, while the remaining 24% was divided between respondents who had no idea what a multiparty state is and while others acknowledged the existence of a multiparty state. From the 76% of the respondents who did not believe in the existence of a multiparty state is Mr. Chinamasa's son who commented that *Zimbabwe is not a multiparty state because all these parties were banned out of ZANU-PF, all the opposition leaders were at one point key members of ZANU-PF.* Respondent A noted that, *in Zimbabwe there is no such thing as a multiparty party system because for the past 36 years ZANU-PF has REFUSED to surrender later lone share power with any other political power the 2009 attempt at the GNU was a significant fail.*

**Fig 2: shows the statistical data of the existence of a multiparty system in Zimbabwe**



The 20% of the those who believed in the existence of a multiparty system in Zimbabwe based it on the mere existence of the parties that have emerged since the early 80s looking at ZAPU, ZUM and MDC significant parties that almost made a historical break through only to later on be thwarted by the power party ZANU-PF. Respondent B noted that *there is a multiparty system the only problem is that there is little that can be done by the emerging political parties that will help them attain power since the power party has long established its place in the political system. It has become nearly impossible to remove ZANU-PF he further commented that, "vaya vachatobviswa naiye musiki" (only God can remove them from power)*. The remaining 4% of the respondents were not sure what a multiparty is and even after the researcher had it to them the respondents were further confused considering that ZANU-PF has been in power for a long period of time which can cause one to label Zimbabwe a one party state, while the existence of the opposition political parties may however place Zimbabwe in a multiparty system of governance as a result the respondents were not sure.

#### **4.2.3 MDC PARTICIPATION IN THE POLITICAL ARENA**

MDC has been on the political scene for the longest time unlike other opposition political parties in Zimbabwe .In an interview respondent C commented that, *MDC is a strong opposition party that only lacks the proper direction in which to drive, its driving force is not entirely incorrect but they need to plan 5 years prior election dates, instead of planning how to win they should be winning along the way. In as much as we might label the ZANU-PF to be taking the most uncouth ways of winning the election it's only fair that the MDC does the same , this is not the time to be legal, politics is a dirty game and it should be played as such*. The research s driving force is to analyze the reasons why opposition political parties have been failing to consolidate power in Zimbabwe with a close analysis of MDC. It has been clear from the obtained data that the MDC has been playing it safe; always playing the victim looking at the 2007 incident when Morgan Tsvangirai was claimed to would have been abducted from his home and was beaten and tortured by the CIO, while the MDC was nursing its leader s wounds ZANU-PF was taking over the election and winning hearts and whatever they could not win they were beating their way through.

Their need to play the victim in the political arena has wounded their abilities to move forward which can be seen by the fact that power has refused to lend in their hands. Laswell (1936) notes that politics is "who gets what when and how" this is a simple interpretation of what politics ought to be. The part of how suggests various ways which are limitless, in various parts of the world politicians have been labeled to be ruthless and calculative especially during campaigns. In an interview subject X commented *that MDC participation has been hindered by its lack of strategy we cannot move forward if we continue this charade of being the good innkeeper we need to be equally ruthless in our strategies kwete kufira mukati sekachehe kari kumusana*.ZANU-PF has already discovered this strategy and seems to be playing the MDC against its own strategy. In some ways one can easily identify the scenarios when ZANU-PF has taken advantage of the MDC s predicament to push ahead their own agendas. The data showed that the MDC has been playing it safe for too long and needs to start playing games with the rules that have been set by the power party in order to strengthen their participation.

#### **4.2.4 ZIMBABWE AND DEMOCRACY**

Democracy has been interpreted by various scholars and different definitions have been given, but to most of the participants in the research described democracy as a creature that can be molded to suit each and every country. According to participant X *democracy is defined by what an individual or institution values and believes in*. The question that struck a chord to most of the participants during a focus group session was whether or not Zimbabwe was a democratic country. Three quarters of the participants felt that the definition of democracy brings about a westernized idea therefore since it is western crafted it becomes difficult to adopt. Respondent B commented that, *there are efforts that can be seen being exerted by the NGOs in the adoption of this thing called democracy but little effort can really be seen coming from our government*. Another respondent then said that *democracy is me practicing what I deem is right everything by the people for the people, I'm an educated and well recognized person and I practice democracy in my own way by implementing what I want how I want it in my own institution and I think that is what our government is doing . They are doing what they want how they want it and then labeling it democracy*.

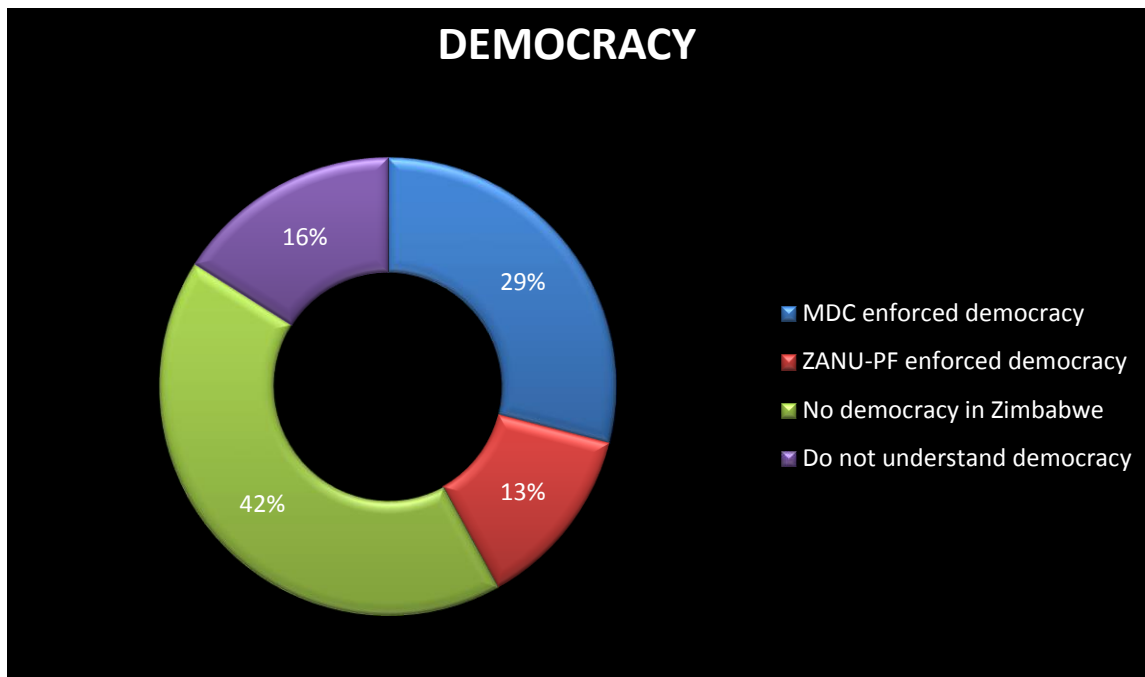
Democracy has always been labeled a westernized idea brought about to confuse and create havoc in Africa .It is argued that it is difficult to adopt democracy in Africa because the countries within it are still developing. It can be seen that in some developed countries like that of China are finding it a little challenging to cooperate with democracy since China does not encourage the emergence of opposition political parties thereby overruling the multiparty system of governance. In Zimbabwe the constitution puts emphasis on the existence of Human rights under the umbrella of democracy, yet there are limitations to these human rights looking at the lesbian and gays rights which are not deemed to be part of these human rights. The existence of democracy in Zimbabwe has remained a challenge and questionable on whether or not it is practical .Democracy puts an emphasis on power being dwelled in the hands of the people in that particular country “rule by the majority”. However power in Zimbabwe is seated in the hands of ZANU-PF the power party, it is neither in the hands of the government itself later on to talk of the people.

#### **4.2.5 OPPOSITION POLITICAL PARTIES (MDC) AND DEMOCRACY**

Based on the research that was conducted Zimbabwe fell under the term of being a dominant party System in which ZANU-PF has enjoyed a prolonged period of power. The ZANU-PF has dominated the legislature and monopolized the law making process twisting it to suit and serve their term. The Question that caused a stir during discussions was on whether or not the existence of opposition political parties in Zimbabwe brought about democracy, what has the MDC done to promote democracy. According to respondent X, *democracy brings about the freedom to form a political party or to join one, it brings about the right to be voted for into power, the right to free and fair elections and to note the recent addition which was the right to good governance*. From the response that was given the researcher scrutinized it so as to see if all the above was brought about by the existence of opposition powers. A heated argument arose on the mere existence of the creature called democracy or if it was simply building castles in the air.

Respondent Y an advocate of the MDC commented that, in a political system opposition political parties are the pillars that bring about a multiparty democracy, but however having a multiparty democracy does little to secure power for the party, the dirty work has to be done by the enforcers of the system. By virtue of definition democracy is rule of the people, by the people, for the people, yet in the 19<sup>th</sup> century females and children was not classified as being capable to have power, to rule or to participate in issues that concerned the state. With that in mind individuals, parties, government, countries started to come up with home brewed definitions of what democracy might be. The MDC has to some extent brought about democracy into the country considering the fact that its mere existence is an instrument or rather proof on the existence of democracy Zimbabwe and the fact that there are over 34 political parties. However respondent Z an advocate of ZANU-PF commented that, democracy *has always existed in the country, people vote, and have free and fare elections and people experienced democracy in 1980 when they voted the president Robert Mugabe into power that was an instrument of democracy.*

**Fig3: shows the statistical data on the parties that enforce democracy in Zimbabwe.**



For those who had no understanding of what democracy might mean may be adding to the fact that it is a creature that does not exist. In as much as the opposition political powers try to enforce democracy it is evident that it is a practice that might be far from being fully implemented. However MDC has a different take pertaining their stand on their participation in ushering in of democracy in the country. Zimbabwe has struggled to extricate itself from 30 years of ZANU-PF influence and MDC has offered wings to do so, but the question that stands is if the wings that have been provide by the MDC are strong enough to sore the skies to safety. The policy on “National Healing Is imperative” brought on by the MDC is a move towards ensuring that democracy is fostered in Zimbabwe. The research showed that the core business of the policy is to rehabilitate the nation and to advocate for lasting peace by eliminating violence. The MDC commented that it recognized the importance on peace and sustainable

development of the country and they have also committed to trying to sustain democracy in Zimbabwe. It should be noted that what can be sustained is something that was already in existence which can point out to the fact that opposition political parties like that of the MDC have contributed to ushering in democracy into the county, however it is still partially felt.

#### **4.2.6 THE GNU AND WHAT IT DID FOR THE MDC PARTY**

During the research respondents commented on the existence of the government for national unity and looked at what it contributed during the 2008-09 crisis. During this time the MDC had gained a few seats in Parliament that allowed them to exert certain influence over some decisions that concerned Zimbabwe. The inclusive government was created to tackle the challenges and threats that were being faced by Zimbabwe. To some extent the time during the power sharing could be viewed as effective considering that it offered the checks and balances weighed against the abuse of power by the political party ZANU-PF. However the period 2008-2009 was dubbed as a lost decade by Sachikonye (2009) while Bratton and Masunungure (2011) called it a crisis decade, but the research wanted to point out on the parts that proved to would have been of significance to MDC as a party.

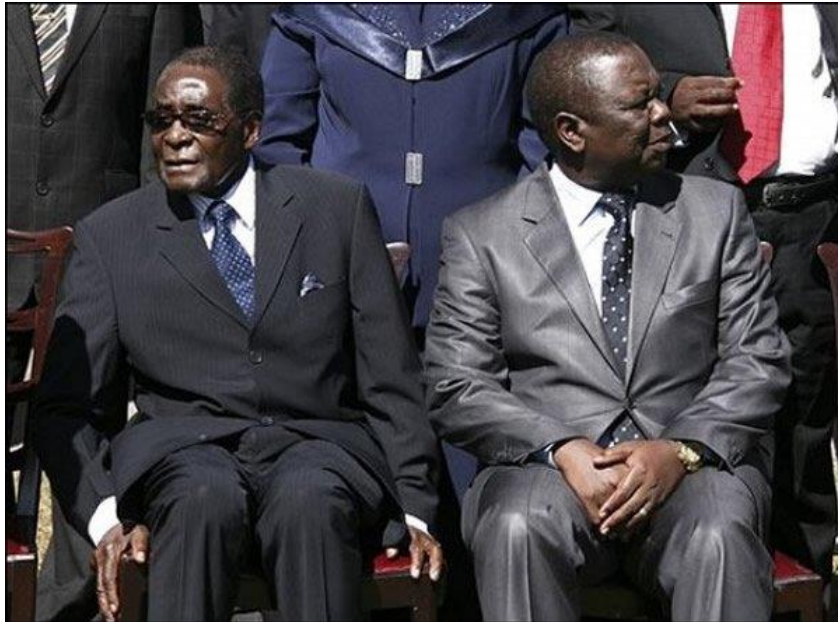


Image source @[www.pindula.com](http://www.pindula.com)

Some of the respondents were of the view that ,MDC was supposed to showcase its brilliance in full force making it nearly impossible to disintegrate the inclusive government especially when one weighed the pros and cons of the parties remaining in coalition. MDC s entrance brought about aid from European countries looking at the fact that the government negotiated to get help from the United Nations Children Education Fund (UNICEF) which redeemed the textbooks problem in schools. Cash flow had become limited and banks were not providing cash for civil servants but the GNU brought about the use of different currencies to note was the US dollar and civil servants salaries were once again accessible. The ZIMASSET was a product of the GNU which if well analyzed seemed to offer more promises and fewer changes.

The research looked at what could have possibly gone wrong that caused the MDC to fail to consolidate power during the GNU. The research indicated that the ZANU-PF never stopped planning it did not rest just because it seemed like the enemies had made amends. The Power party continued plotting to remove the MDC-T and MDC-M from power and thus the scandals began. It was reported that the army had refused to salute the MDC-T leader Morgan Tsvangirai on the basis that it was an undeserving gesture. Scandals continued to follow the MDC leader further painting him an unsuitable candidate for both his current position and the presidential position that he had been pursuing. Some of the respondents commented that the MDC should have planned for the coming of the GNU, but from the looks of things the party was not expecting the GNU to be a success. MDC relaxed and started enjoying the benefits of fragile power forgetting to strategies considering they had infiltrated the domains of the power party. Respondent S commented that , power had not just fell into the hands of MDC ,what MDC had was a mirage of power ,it thought that they had power but what ZANU-PF had done was to create rose colored glasses to make the reflection look good. The competition relaxed and thus the Power party moved in for the kill and thus the government disintegrated.

#### **4.2.7 THE AIPPA AND POSA ACTS**

The respondents were of the view that the AIPPA and the POSA acts should be abolished since they do not save all the parties that exist in the country. The twin statutes seem to be saving the power party ZANU-PF to remain in power by ensuring that any form of challenge by the opposition is supposedly legally thwarted. Respondent B commented that, *the two policies that were made effective by the so called government under the ZANU-PF had no place in democracy as they seem to subsequently undermine what democracy stands for.* The legislation POSA that was ushered in 2002 gives un questionable powers to the police who seem to take power for granted by exercising their hands even on innocent civilians. To make matters worse it is these same polices that are used to do the power party s bidding and to stifle the liberties of not only the innocent civilians but the opposition political parties of Zimbabwe are also on the receiving end of these atrocities.

Under the POSA act public demonstrations are not allowed unless otherwise on consent and protests are decisively illegal. This act makes it hard for the elected representatives especially of opposition political parties to conduct their meetings without it ending up in rowdy act. *It is difficult for Zimbabweans to embrace the AIPPA and POSA as this is a imposition against the norm that classifies Zimbabwe as a constitutional democratic country as cited by re1spondent B.* Opposition political parties seem to be the main targets of the draconian pieces of legislature . Respondent X commented *that, it very much baffling as to why these repulsive pieces of legislature were not revoked during the GNU era.* However in as much as these legislatures are against gatherings it has been noted that no ZANU-PF gatherings were ever recorded to would have been interrupted. The ZANU-PF has the power to gather its people wily nilly without fear of being bombarded by water cannons and tear gas. This strikes as one

of the reasons that are making it impossible for opposition political powers to pursue their interests.



*Image accessed from whatsapp on 21 December 2016*

The image above shows a rally held by the ZANU-PF.

The bill of rights cannot be undermined yet the POSA seems to undermine it by opposing the right to demonstrations. Demonstrations are the most common ways used by opposition political parties to grab the attention of all fellow Zimbabweans who are willing to take charge and have a change of power.<sup>18</sup> opposition political parties gathered with the banner of National Electoral Reform Agenda with an aim to repeal repressive laws in Zimbabwe. The former vice president Joyce Mujuru the leader of the opposition political party the People First movement elaborated in one of her speeches that she wanted to revoke the two legislations as they undermine the freedom of Zimbabweans. These actions show the relationship between the two policies and the opposition political parties which is very tense. Given a chance the political parties would do away with the legislations as they seem to be saving the interest of one party.

#### **4.2.8 THE SOCIAL MEDIA AND OPPOSITION POLITICAL PARTIES IN ZIMBABWE**

In Zimbabwe the traditional platform of media used to be through the print, television and radio but with the ushering in of technology a lot has evolved. There is the existence of whatsapp, twitter, instagram and facebook. The media has been used as a platform to discredit the way the political parties leaders conduct themselves. Whatsapp has been vastly used to spread and pass images of these political party leaders in compromising positions. The media can hurt these political party candidates stand in the political arena. In 2013 pictures of Morgan Tsvangirai of the opposition political party MDC flooded the whatsapp which were of the leader seating in what was thought to be a bench in a park surrounded by women who were considered to would have been in appropriately dressed. This posed the question on whether Zimbabweans wanted such a person as the leader of their country. The interaction with the



social media is uncensored and unstructured in an informal way. Respondent Y was of the view that, *there is a need for politicians to play catch up in the social media arena and to stop showcasing themselves in compromising positions.* The image below showcases the images of the former prime minister surrounded by women.



Image source @ [www.pindula.com](http://www.pindula.com)

Social media can be used to pass hidden messages through images by politicians or protesters. Protesters make use of posting comments, tweets, instagram pictures and whatsapp pictures so as to degrade the integrity of opponents. Decampaigning material was passed through whatsapp showcasing contesting members of opposition parties Joyce Mujuru and Didymus Mutasa, the names of the contestants were written on the lower buttock region of the regalia that was being worn by the women in the images below. The African culture portrays the lower buttock region as a representative of waste material. Under practical terms one can clearly dissect the fact that the two contestants were being depicted or likened to waste material that should be disposed of. Mean while the other woman s upper back has the inscription “Welcome Gushungo” thereby showing her support and respect for the leader of the ZANU-PF party Robert Mugabe. The image also shows the woman s readiness and willingness to seat upon opposition as signified by the placement of the names of the opposition political party’s leaders.



*Image source from whatsapp*

Respondent X was of the view that, *the social media has become a platform to spread and conduct political campaigns. Material is spread almost on daily basis either cartooning the leaders or worse.* It is difficult to try and control the turn out of the material as some the material can be very demeaning. It is possible however to control the way people view your stand in the political arena. There is need for all political parties to get more involved with their voters through these social media platforms. The research showed that fewer politicians are interested in using this platform as such they are sometimes not aware of what might be happening on the ground. For opposition political party's leaders like MDC there is a stronger need for them to get more involved with the people through these means so as to reach as many a audience as possible as it might help in their bid for power in Zimbabwe.

#### **4.2.9 POLITICAL PARTIES AND VIOLENCE**

Violence has been the most used tool of intimidation by political parties especially the ZANU-PF party. It was once recorded that the ZANU-PF leader admitted to having a degree in violence, Respondent Y who claimed to would have been on the receiving end of the predicament commented that, *in as much as you may want to deny the existence of these violent actions that are enforced by political powers but they do exist,* he further noted that he was forced to repeat the slogan of the ZANU-PF and failing to say out the slogan he was made to touch his toes and was beaten by those he recognized to be ZANU-PF supporters. However 2008 was characterized by a series of organized violence especially in the rural areas where intimidation was rampant and at large. The situation was further worsened when it was claimed that the MDC leader Morgan Tsvangirai had won the election. It was clear that these results did not seat well with the power party leader as such there was more violent intimidation. In the House of Assembly the MDC also seemed to thriving at a competitive rate which also did not seem to seat well with the power party.

**Table 4: House of Assembly**

ZANU PF	MDC Tsvangirai	MDC Mutambara	Independent	Total
1,112,773	1,038,510	203146	68449	2,422,878
45.9%	42.86%	8.3%	2.83%	

Source: Zanj Financial Network 2008

**Table 5: Presidential results**

Morgan Tsvangirai	Robert Mugabe	Simba Makoni	Langton Towungana
1,195,562	1,079,730	20,7470	14,503
47.9%	43.2%	8.3%	0.6%

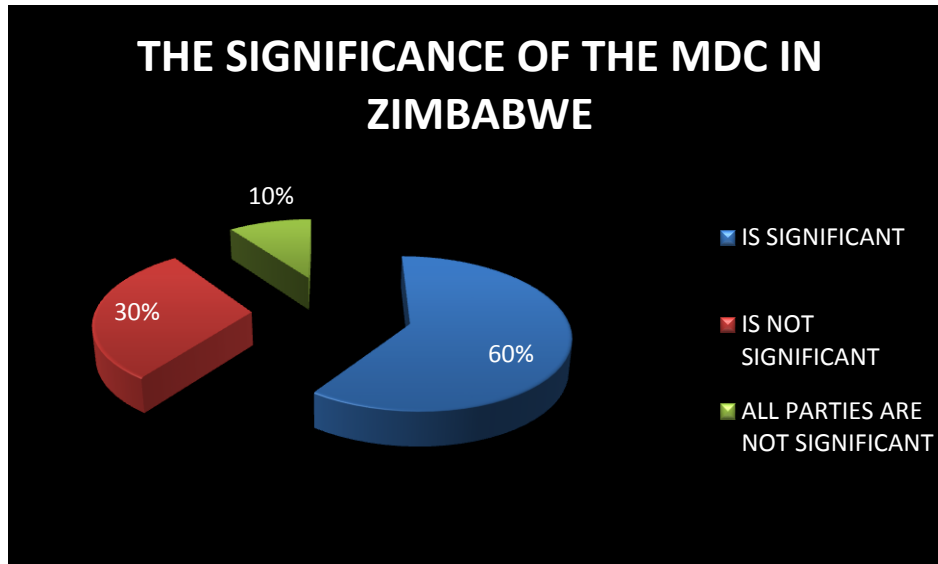
Source: Veritas 2008

The tables above show the results that were obtained from the 2008 elections in Zimbabwe which caused a violent turbulence. It was claimed that the power party was not pleased by the results and therefore retaliated by mass violent acts. Moyo (2013) comments that, the formation of the MDC in September 1999 ushered in a formidable challenge to the previous unchallenged ZANU PF political dominance. This created a sense of panic within the ruling party ZANU PF which resulted in ruthless efforts and strategies to destroy the opposition such strategies included widespread use of violence in a bid to survive as a regime. Political parties are supposed to be an example of good governance, rule of law and should acknowledge the existence of Human rights but as Zimbabweans continue to vote there is less and less regard for the existence of Human rights.

#### **4.2.10 MDC PARTICIPATION IN THE POLITICAL ARENA**

The question that struck most of the participants was pertaining how vibrant the MDC party is in the political arena and whether if they are leaving a valuable mark in Zimbabwe. Most participants were of the view that the MDC has managed to be viewed a vibrant participant on the political arena not just by their actions, but also by being one of the parties that are standing up for the Zimbabweans and trying to redeem the country from the dead pool that it was plunged in by the existing power party. However it seems to have difficulty with removing the power party from power. The MDC has come up with various policies that they have hoped would be able to help them with their endeavors to secure power looking at the National Electoral Reform Agenda which also aims to get rid of repressive laws that undermine democracy in Zimbabwe. The GNU was another significant point in the party's existence in that they managed to help usher in the multi currency system that helped alleviate the inflation that had struck Zimbabwe. Respondent B commented that, *the fact that Zimbabwe even came out of the 2008 situation should be awarded to the MDC party because we all know that, the MDC has the support of the west, who knows what could have happened to Zimbabwe if it was not for the GNU.* The participation of the MDC should be pointed out as being of significant importance to the redemption of Zimbabwe as shown by the results that were obtained during the research.

**Fig 4: shows the statistical data on the significance of the MDC party in Zimbabwe.**



60% of the participants who were from different political parties were of the view that the MDC has indeed a significance in the country looking at what they represent as party without having to look at what they are perceived to would be linked with the west. Some of the participants felt that the significant part that's been ushered in by the MDC is presenting competition for the power party. Respondent X was of the view that, *competition is healthy; it makes you stronger and more adamant to keep what is yours by making sure that you win all the time*. 30% of the participants were of the view that the existence of MDC has not changed a single part of the Zimbabwean system. Its existence was said to would have brought further suffering for people and causing more confusion than there already was in the country. 10% of the participants were of the view that they could do without opposition political parties at all as they only cause confusion in the country and the world. As Hobbes would have it he believed in an absolute leader through the Leviathan, a leader who would lead and rule over all people.

### **4.3 CHAPTER SUMMARY**

The chapter presented data that was collected from various respondents who were willing participants during the research. The challenges that were faced by opposition political parties particularly MDC were examined and the strategies that they implement were also scrutinized as a way of trying to dissect the reasons why these opposition political parties, are failing to consolidate power in Zimbabwe. Various citizens from different political parties voiced their opinions on the matter and tried to come up with various suggestions that could help these opposition political parties to gain power in Zimbabwe. The chapter zoomed in on all the possible factors that could be contributing to the failures of opposition political parties to consummate their position in the political arena in Zimbabwe from the data that was provided by the participants who helped throughout the research.

## CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

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### **5.1 INTRODUCTION**

The chapter will be focused on summarizing the research and the methods that were employed during the research. It will conclude the dissertation looking at the overall analysis of the strategies employed by the opposition political parties in Zimbabwe and the strategies they have attempted to employ in a bid to consolidate power with a closer look at the case of MDC. It will look at what MDC has done so far and the precedent challenges ahead and how it can possibly overcome them by the recommendations that will be highlighted. The chapter will also dissect the reasons why the MDC has possibly failed so far based on the information obtained throughout the study and possibly give out pointers on how to turn their losses into wins.

### **5.2 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS**

The research looked at the strategies employed by the opposition political party in their bid to try and consolidate power in Zimbabwe, with a closer look at MDC since 2000-2016. The issue of consolidation of power has always been at the heart of Zimbabwe since the 1980s when Zimbabwe attained its freedom. Citizens of Zimbabwe doubted on whether if their choice of ZANU-PF as a power party had been the right move since the party seemed to be moving further and further from what they had fought for in the first place. The emergence of opposition was accepted as another way out of the infringement that was being exerted on the normal Zimbabwean and thus political parties like ZUM, ZANLA, and ZAPU took root. Of significance to the study is MDC that has been in power for the past 20 years but has repeatedly failed to permeate through the glass ceiling in order to gain power.

The research findings awarded the failures of MDC to secure power in Zimbabwe to its current strategies that it has implemented, its use of emotional politics as opposed to intimidation that is vigorously practiced by ZANU-PF, its implementation of the non violent moves and the fact that MDC seems to would have lost focus on the real reason why its play in the political scene was accepted in the first place. All these facts were obtained from the findings that were secured from the interviews that were conducted, the focus groups and questionnaires that were handed out in relation to the study. MDC has not had clear strategies from the onset which should be straight to the point the secret is on HOW TO SECURE POWER and not how to remove ZANU-PF, clearly set goals and fights are the best strategies not forgetting the fact that politics was and always will be a dirty game and they should start getting their hands dirty.

MDC is missing in action when it comes to its rural participation and its contenders have taken advantage of that fact. In 2016 a couple of by-elections were held in Chimanimani, Guruwe, Norton and MDC did not take part in all of them and these were considered to peaceful, but when one looks at the Bikita west by-elections when MDC took part there was a violent interruption of the proceedings . This can further show that there is a need for MDC to retaliate in a much different fashion that can solve their problems, for example in some of the findings during the research a lot of participants suggested

that the MDC takes a swing at intimidation. In as much as this might not be the best move but politics is by all aspects a dirty and intimidation related game

Democracy has always brought about different results in every country where it has been attempted to be put in place and in Zimbabwe democracy is home brewed and has been set up in such a way that is beneficial not to the populace but rather to the power party. The question that was being asked was on whether or not the existence of MDC has brought about democracy and the responses differed, some commented that democracy does not exist in Zimbabwe while others felt that MDC had the most to contribute to ushering democracy into the country, while others thought that democracy had always existed with or without the existence of other political parties.

Various reasons were crafted by respondents to try and dissect the reasons behind the failures of opposition political parties to secure power in Zimbabwe and all arrows pointed at the strategies that are implemented by the parties. Some of these strategies included crafting policies in the hopes that they can help in them securing power, playing at emotional politics whereby the candidates are constantly under media speculation bruised and battered to the people's attention .all these gestures have not yet won them any elections yet. Parties are marred by the relaxation syndrome whereby if it's not election time these opposition parties' leaders completely disappear from view. All their plans seem to be premature whereas research brought out the fact that elections are supposed to be planned gradually as far as 5years if possible.

### **5.3 CONCLUSION**

MDC and other opposition political parties face challenges in their bid to permeate the political arena and to consolidate power. Various influences have been awarded to these failures to consolidate power in Zimbabwe, to note was the fact that there are over 34 political parties in Zimbabwe yet of significance is the MDC which has been battling for power consolidation for over 15 years and counting. Most of the opposition political parties seem to conveniently lack funding during election time which makes it difficult for them to expand and exert their influence where the significant masses are in Zimbabwe looking at the rural areas where ZANU-PF has the most influence. The research findings also brought to light the fact that, three quarters of the population of Zimbabwe reside in the rural areas where ZANU-PF conducts the majority of their campaigns unlike MDC or any other opposition political party within the country. To note was also the fact that the suburbs where these opposition political powers seem to exert most of their influence in, only a quarter of the residents take part during election time which has presented a significant challenge to these powers in their bid to consolidate power in Zimbabwe.

Most of the participants during the research argued on whether or not there is the existence of a multiparty system in Zimbabwe. The existence of over 34 political parties in the country does not over ride the fact that only two political powers seem to have more significance in the country looking at ZANU-PF and MDC. Some of the research findings indicated that with ZANU-PF being the most influential party in Zimbabwe it can be said that Zimbabwe is a one party dominant state which then rules out the existence of a multiparty system. This situation was likened to that of China which is a one party dominant state, the party being the Chinese Communist Party. ZANU-PF has the paramount

recognition in a majority of the parts in Zimbabwe despite the fact that they also enforce other instruments of intimidation to gain their votes looking at their use of violence, electoral fraud, disenfranchisement through legal frameworks and use of media. MDC has to put into practice all these forms of vote attainment such that they can be able to win the elections; there is a strong need for them to stop playing it safe in order for them and other opposition political parties to be able to consolidate power in Zimbabwe. If they fail to eliminate these challenges there is a possibility that Zimbabwe might end up being a one party state.

However some of the challenges and failures have also been presented by these parties themselves. MDC has played a part in contributing to the challenges and its failures to consolidate power looking at factionalism and infighting which has been one of the major challenges that has deterred it from consolidating power in Zimbabwe. Research findings pointed out that the more the in fights the further the parties stir away from a possible win. The disintegration of a party does not only harm the party itself but it also takes a bite out of its own supporters and those who fund it. It is claimed that MDCs funding comes from Britain but its continued failures have seen to it that the funds are slowly thinning out. MDC has struggled to recognize its failures and to eradicate these failures, instead it has continued to implement the same tactics to try and consolidate power but to no avail. Its time it shifted its tactics and probably recognized where it's going wrong. The current state of MDC has been labeled as state of denial which has also attributed as deterrence in their bid to consolidate power in Zimbabwe.

#### **5.4 RECOMMENDATION**

This is the researcher s suggestions on what can be done by MDC and other opposition political parties to consolidate power in Zimbabwe.

- i. MDC and other opposition political parties should exert more influence in the rural areas where the majority of the Zimbabwean population is by widening their campaign space .they should spend more of their funds in the rural areas to convince the residents that there is a need for change in order for Zimbabwe to move forward.
- ii. Free and fair elections are not possible and Zimbabwe s elections have been a clear example of this fact. Therefore the parties should strategize on which group to brainwash, which group to panel bit and which group to spend money on (giving mealie meal, rice, regalia etc).they should refrain from spend too much of their funds in the suburbs .
- iii. Polling dates should be convenient to all and the time should also ensure that the targeted population has had time to access it.
- iv. Politics is known to be a dirty game; therefore opposition political powers should also be able to come up with confusing ballot papers or even using designs or features that can confuse voters into voting for a different candidate.

- v. There is a need to have a strategic and tactful campaign staff which will include the campaign manager, fundraiser and treasurer .Take note the candidate should refrain from also being the campaign manager. Candidates should concentrate on appearances where ever it's necessary and trying to keep a clean reputation that is favorable to voters.
- vi. There is a need for more media time instead of only broadcasting through radio, there is need for voters to get acquainted with the candidates since it could be noticed that most voters did not know how the people they vote for look like. In that regard face time essential. b

### **5.5 CONCLUSION**

Opposition political parties in Zimbabwe have been fighting for a meager of power in the political arena but to no avail. Various suggestions have been put forward pertaining the reasons why their strategies have been failing to consolidate power for the parties with a closer look at the MDC party. Their use of emotional politics, victim politics are some the strategies used by the MDC but have done little to accommodate their bid to secure power .their tactics have been labeled weak and would not bear fruit since they have been using the same strategies for over 15 years now. ZANU-PF has been playing at these strategies and to some extents using them to slow down MDC pace to consolidating power .there is need to take into cognisance the recommendations proffered by the researcher so as to redress their strategies used by MDC.



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**QUESTIONNAIRE GUIDE**

As part of my HPPM research thesis at Midlands State University Zvishavane Campass. I am conducting a survey that is investigating *the strategies employed by the opposition political party in an effort to consolidate power in Zimbabwe: The case of MDC since 2000 – 2016*. Any information that will be obtained in assisting with the study will remain confidential and will only be used for academic purposes only.

		YES	NO
1	Do you know what a multiparty state is?		
2	Is Zimbabwe a multiparty state?		
3	Do you know of any political parties in Zimbabwe?		
4	Is it essential to have a multi party system?		
5	Do opposition political parties in Zimbabwe have a chance in the political arena?		
6	Do you understand the concept of Democracy?		
7	Is Zimbabwe a Democratic country?		
8	Has Zimbabwe managed to promote multi partysm?		
9	Does ZANU-PF have the upper hand in the political arena in Zimbabwe?		
10	Has the participation of MDC changed political scene in Zimbabwe?		

Any other comments

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<b>Strongly agree (1)</b>	<b>Agree (2)</b>	<b>Neutral (3)</b>	<b>Disagree (4)</b>	<b>Strongly disagree (5)</b>	
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		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1	Do opposition political parties in Zimbabwe have a chance to secure power?					
2	Do the media participate in the failures of opposition political parties to secure power?					
3	Democracy exists in Zimbabwe					
4	Presidential democracy cripples any other opposition political power					
5	Opposition political parties need to change their strategies and techniques if they are ever going to acquire power in Zimbabwe					
6	Has MDC played a role in the promotion of democratic governance in Zimbabwe?					
7	Did the formation of the GNU in 2008-09 help the prevailing situation that was present in Zimbabwe?					
8	Would Zimbabwe have been better off as a one party state?					
9	The political system in Zimbabwe has no space for the practice of multiparty					
10	The AIPPA and POSA cater for all political parties in Zimbabwe and its citizens					

Any other comments

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