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Elections and Development in Zimbabwe (A case of Uzumba Maramba Pfungwe)

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DECLARATION

I, Annamaria Chifungo, declare that this project is my original work and affirm that it has not been submitted to this or any other University in support of any application for a degree or any other qualifications.

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I, ... declare that I have supervised this thesis and I am satisfied that it can be submitted to the Faculty of Social Sciences Bindura University of Science Education.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this project to my Dad, Mom and my siblings, Alois and Francis Chifungo. Look at how the hard work you invested in me eventually paid off. I dedicate this work to my Heavenly father – my faith in Him kept me on my feet through all times.

ABSTRACT

This thesis sought to examine elections and development in Zimbabwe (case of Uzumba Maramba Pfungwe). Regionally, achieving development has been critical by encouraging good governance in African countries. The research used liberal theory with a focus on good governance. The study employed qualitative research as well as an exploratory design. Random and purposeful samplings were used. Interviews and questionnaires were used to collect data. The questionnaires and interviews used in the study were administered to a sample of forty people. Latent Content Analysis was used to examine the data. According to the study, elections are only a minor factor in development. It only allows for public participation, but the consequences of the elections are ignored. According to the study, elections are not solely responsible for development; other factors, such as good governance, also play a significant role. The study also contends that electoral violence and one-party dominance have hampered Zimbabwe's development.

Key words; Elections, governance, good governance, development, democracy,

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CCJP   Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace

FPTP   First Past the Post

GDP   Gross domestic product

MDC   Movement for Democratic Change

NGO   Non-Governmental Organisation

PR   Proportional Representation

SADC   Southern African Development Committee

STV   Single Transferable Vote

UMP   Uzumba Maramba Pfungwe

UNDP   United Nations Development Programme

ZACC   Zimbabwe Anti-Corruption Commission

ZANLA   Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army

ZANU-PF   Zimbabwe African National Union- Patriotic Front

ZAPU   Zimbabwe African People's Union

ZEC   Zimbabwe Electoral Commission

ZESN   Zimbabwe Electoral Support Network

ZIMCET   Zimbabwe Civic Education Trust

ZRP   Zimbabwe Republic Police

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1. BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Uzumba Maramba Pfungwe is a constituency in Mashonaland East. It was established under the Rural District Councils Act Chapter 29:15 in 1982. Before 1982 UMP district was under Murewa RDC but was created after the amalgamation of councils. According to the 2012 ZIMSTAT Preliminary Report, the population of UMP district as a whole is at 112 116 with major concentrations around Mutawatawa Growth Point, Manyika rural service centre, Nhakiwa rural service centre, Katiyo rural service centre and Chitsungo rural service centre. Elsewhere population is fairly high along the main routes and along the Mazowe River.

Mashonaland East, where UMP lies, has always given ZANU-PF its highest figures, and the widest margin of victory over the opposition. This remote constituency never fails to deliver, the poll numbers are always a talking point after every election. What is of concern is the unwavering support by UMP folks towards ZANU-PF, despite its dominance in the district, the ruling party seems to have neglected the people who live in abject poverty and are victims of perennial food shortages. The commitment of UMP folks can be traced back to the Zimbabwe's war of liberation, with its horror tales, blood, sweat and tears, left indelible marks on both the landscape and memories of the people of Uzumba Maramba Pfungwe (UMP) and still influences how they vote in national elections. Booysen and Toulou (2009) referred to elections in Zimbabwe, as the continuation of war of liberation through polls as there have perpetuated ZANU PF in power. According to Bratton and Masunungure (2008), the very process of struggling for liberation, especially by resort to force of arms, may generate political practices that prefigure undemocratic outcomes in the wake of revolutionary success. Since 1980 when the spirit of nationalism and political emotions ran high, they condition that ZANU-PF is the only party that can prevent another war visiting this hot and underdeveloped part of Mashonaland East. Thus they cast their vote for the party every election despite the fact that signs of development elude the home of black granite, mined and exploited for the benefit of a few top leaders in the area as condemned by Maverick Citizen (2021) in Cartels: Dynamics of Power in Zimbabwe.

On the same note, the reason why people vote for ZANU-PF is because the constituency has many people who participated in the liberation struggle and are the one who occupy

influential positions. Bhebhe & Ranger (2003) note that African nationalism in Zimbabwe was hegemonic, intolerant of diversity, criticism, and dissent, as well as sweeping in what it claimed and annihilatory in what it rejected. Therefore this well-knit system has been kept in place and is passed on from generation to generation, a system that ZANU-PF has encouraged and perpetuated, ensuring its political hegemony in the area. Church of Christ leader Charles Jokonya even said connection of ZANU-PF and the community and its history of the liberation struggle is unbreakable. What becomes the matter of concern is that, it is therefore claimed there is democracy in UMP and one can vote wherever they want, but not to forget that this it's a ZANU-PF stronghold and because of that any opposition party normally faces massive resistance.

The use of violence and intimidation can be traced after the Lancaster House conference held in London in December 1979 between the colonial Ian Smith regime and nationalists including PF ZAPU and ZANU, which were leading the armed struggle against the white regime, one of the concessions was to end the war and demobilise both the guerrilla and the regime's armies. The Lancaster deal left some in the liberation movement uncomfortable as they viewed it as being too compromised, and a "sell-out" deal (Caute, 1983; Herbst, 1990; Mandaza, 1986). But the ZANU military wing, ZANLA, is said to have breached the demobilisation agreement, and instead kept a signification number of its armed guerrillas in rural areas like Pfungwe to violently campaign for the party and threaten to go back to war if Nkomo any other party besides ZANU-PF won. Therefore it was conditioned as beginning of post-war violence that has kept ZANU-PF in power over the years. Ndlovu-Gatsheni & Ndlhovu (2013) argued, African Nationalism itself was deeply interpellated by colonialism, and reproduced colonial violence and authoritarianism, bequeathing it on postcolonial Africa as a mode of governance. Ndlovu-Gatsheni & Ndlhovu posit an explanation for both the behaviour of the guerrillas during the fight for independence, as well as the behaviour of the ruling party after attaining independence. This is in sync with the generality of the African postcolonial trope which generally argues that colonial legacies shaped post-colonial states into all powerful and arbitrary political formations, which continued the colonial legacy of turning against democracy (Mamdani, 1996; Ake, 2000; Mbembe's 2001). Mbembe (2001) also argues that the general practice of power in postcolonial Africa, thereof, has followed directly from colonial political culture.

On the same note, Hundreds of thousands of people were killed and injured during the liberation war, over 20 000 were killed by the army's Fifth Brigade in Matabeleland and Midlands in the early 1980s and over 200 were reportedly killed in the 2008 election violence, with remote rural areas like UMP having had the highest number of casualties. This scenario has worked to the advantage of ZANU-PF, which has not been keen to fully operationalize the National Peace and Reconciliation Commission as it is crippled by lack of resources, ZANU-PF continued to interchangeably use its party structures and the state security agents to keep a tight control in areas like UMP. The literature suggests that violence was part of ZANU-PF's electoral campaigns for all post-2000 elections (Masunungure, 2010; Sachikonye, 2011; Collier Vicente, 2012 and Alexander and Chitofiri, 2010)

 UMP has remained the stronghold of ZANU-PF because of propaganda as they continually hope that politicians are going to deliver political, social and economic development. Villages in UMP are connected by a treacherous network of dirt roads, people has to walk long distances to access education, health services and basics like water. In the name of democracy, they are the ones who decide what others can eat, where, if others can have access to health care, education, how much tax to pay, when to retire and amount of pension. However Ian Smith was right when he noted that people without registered mining claim in, immovable property, wages or salary or who doesn't pay tax in Southern Rhodesia shouldn't vote. Politics is casting a vote but it's also activism, its awareness, it's keeping informed, and caring for the facts.

After 1990 UMP recorded an increase in population through migration of people from towns after ESAP programmes. Some moved from the far away remote areas to pursue better lives in the small constituency. This caused high number of uncontrolled settlements as well as a result of the increased gap between the demand for and supply of land, housing and allied infrastructure. On one hand, explosive population growth and rapid urbanization accelerates demand, while on the other, the public monopoly on the supply of land reduces the supply of serviced land. The growth point of Mutawatwa is experiencing uncontrolled urban development resulting from a shortage of serviced stands, an absence of planning tools and instruments. The demand for housing stands at approximately 500 units per year, and available land for development is minimal. The results are that over half of the population

lacks proper housing; there is rapid development of unplanned, inadequately serviced, and often unsafe settlements; and illegal development and occupation is high.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Uzumba Maramba Pfungwe in Mashonaland East has always and is regarded a ZANU PF stronghold. Notably the people in UMP are not any better than people in other constituencies. They are suffering like other people in rural Zimbabwe. What is surprising is that when you are in UMP, the people in the constituency are not happy and complain bitterly and yet when elections are held, they "vote enmasse" for the ZANU PF party. Questions therefore arise whether elections are a true reflection of what is on the ground? Do people in UMP freely participate in elections and are elections therefore a sign of democratic growth in the country or they are coerced. These and other questions are what the researcher endeavours to answer.

1.3 Aim of the study

This research aims at researching why UMP (Uzumba Maramba Pfungwe) continue to be a Zanu-Pf stronghold despite the absence of meaningful development in the constituency.

1.4 Research objectives

The main objectives of this study are:

1. To discuss the nature of elections in Uzumba Maramba Pfungwe from 2000-2018.
2. To analyse whether electoral promises of people in UMP have been fulfilled.
3. To examine why UMP is a ZANU-PF stronghold.

1.5 Research questions

1. What is the nature of elections in Uzumba Maramba Pfungwe between 2000 and 2018?
2. What is the nexus between elections and development in UMP?

3. Why UMP remains a ZANU-PF stronghold?

1.6 Justification of the study

It should be noted that a lot has been written about elections and democratic growth in Zimbabwe. The existing board of knowledge does not seem to account for why Zimbabweans are incessantly in conflict with each other while some are calling for regime change? It is therefore the purpose of this study perhaps to unravel the nexus between elections and

democracy in Zimbabwe. This study will fill the gap that exists in the existing board of knowledge on voting patterns and potential party support in UMP.

The research is of great importance as it will provide an insight on elections in Zimbabwe post-independence. It will also be an eye opener on the various expectations for democracy to be fully achieved in African countries and what has been an oversight on the part of the Electoral Commission in Zimbabwe. Various non-governmental organisations, ZESN, ZIMCET will verily benefit from the study, on how they can to continue to actively support democratic growth in Zimbabwe. More importantly the study will be of much prominence to students who might be interested in this topic, as a valued source of research.

1.7 Limitations

Limitations are constraints that may be encountered when undertaking the study (Simmon 2011). The possible limitation is that this study will not make any possible divergent discourse on the concept of democracy and will discuss some of the factors that influence elections in enhancing democracy.

1.8 Delimitations

The research will only cover Mashonaland East specifically Uzumba Maramba Pfungwe. The research is mainly focused on assessing elections and democratic growth as well as looking into Civil Society Organisations that are concerned with elections and democracy and the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission.

1.9 Definitions of key terms

- **Democracy** can be seen 'as a way of government firmly rooted in the belief that people in any society should be free to determine their own political, economic, social, and cultural systems.' Makinda (1996). Democracy can be defined as a government by the people, especially the rule of the majority, a government in which the supreme power is vested in the people and exercised by them directly or indirectly through a system of representation usually involving periodically held free elections (Blondel, 1998).
- **Development** is synonymous with national economic growth measured by indicators such as GDP and access to life, sustaining goods such as health, water and freedom debt for the majority of the population world (Bank, 2002)

- **Elections** is the most critical and visible means through which all citizens can peacefully choose or remove their leaders, and which are evidently costly affairs (Anglin,1998) or elections are the principal instruments that 'compel or encourage the policy-make to pay attention to citizens' (Powell, 2000).

- **Free Elections** means that all those entitled to vote have the right to be registered and to vote and must be free to make their choice when voting (Richard, 2003)

- **Fair Elections** it is an election where every person can vote as he/she pleases, the voter must not be restricted from voting his conscience (Shapiro, 1996).

- **Credible Elections** are characterized by inclusiveness, transparency, accountability, and competitiveness. Michael, (2000) simply referred to credible elections as reliable elections obtained on a free and a fair process.

- **Voters roll** is a document in which all persons are listed, there is a national voter's roll, and a constituency voter's roll and ward voters roll as noted by the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission.

- **Governance** is the exercise of economic, political, and administrative authority to manage a country's affairs at all levels. It comprises mechanisms, processes, and institutions, through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations, and mediate their differences. (UNDP: 1992)

1.10 Chapter summary

This chapter introduced the study as it explored the concept of elections and development presented the thesis' puzzle, which revolves around the contradiction inherent in this type of regime. The study's main lines of enquiry are regarding ZANU-PF strategies to maintain its grip, power and dominance in UMP. It highlighted the temporal, spatial and historical aspects of these arguments.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2. INTRODUTION

The chapter aims at providing a theoretical framework and an overview of the existing literature regarding elections and development in UMP. The purpose of the literature review is to demonstrate the researcher's ability to identify relevant information and outline existing knowledge. Rowley and Slack (2004) define a literature review as "a summary of a subject field that supports the identification of specific research questions."

2.1 Theoretical framework

2.1.1 Liberal Theory on Good Governance

In John Locke's theory, the consent of the governed was secured through a system of majority rule, whereby the government would carry out the expressed will of the electorate. Locke (1999) wrote, "Men being, as has been said, by nature all free, equal and independent, no one can be put out of this state, and subjected to the political power of another, without his own consent". Liberalism as the political doctrine that takes protecting and enhancing the freedom of the individual to be the central problem of politics, believe that government is necessary to protect individuals from being harmed by others, but they also recognize that government itself can pose a threat to liberty. Thomas Paine (1776), government is at best "a necessary evil." Laws, judges, and police are needed to secure the individual's life and liberty, but their coercive power may also be turned against him. Zimbabwe's governance is characterised by rule of law whereby law is used as a tool of political power to control citizens, rather than rule of law, whereby law is used to control the state and people in power. Anti- corruption laws are used selectively by cartels against political opposition, while those in power and their associates enjoy impunity from accountability avoiding prosecution for human rights violations and corruption. It is claimed that institutions like ZRP, National Prosecutors Authority and ZACC are controlled by cartels and they have been involved in manipulation of investigations and this is pulling down the economy thereby hindering development (Maverick Citizen, 2021). After the reconciliation process following the liberation war it is claimed that ZANU-PF has been using its party structures and the state security agents to keep a tight control in areas like UMP .Thus impartial enforcement of laws requires an independent judiciary and an impartial and incorruptible police force. The

problem, then, is to devise a system that gives government the power necessary to protect individual liberty but also prevents those who govern from abusing that power.

Globally, elections have been the norm for selecting representatives in government. According to Levitsky and Way (2012), ZANU-PF remained in power because it possessed strong identities and post-material ideological solidarity ties forged during the collective colonial experience of violence. According to Hyden (2006), this is the "movement legacy" of symbolic power from the collective experience of colonialism. In UMP, from the pre-independence to the post 2000 era, the young and the old have witnessed the worst of the politically-motivated violence and harassment, leaving many of them with no choice but to give in to the whims of the ruling party in order to live at peace and co-exist with Zanu- PF. The period from 1980 onwards, the Ndau people began to vote along ethnic lines. They were staunch supporters of Sithole and his party, ZANU-Ndoga, which they backed in elections until Sithole's death in December 2000. This allegiance to Sithole occurred despite the various challenges that people faced in the political game. Chipinge residents continued to vote against ZANU-PF when they supported opposition parties such as the Movement for Democratic Change. This stance was maintained by the Ndau people despite ZANU-efforts PF's to win votes in Chipinge through violence, coercion, patronage, theft, and chicanery, all of which are elements of what Masungure (2014) defined as "the menu of manipulation" and the dynamics of unfree competition, following Schedler (2002; 2006; 2013). They voted for the MDC not because they were passionate about it, but because ethnicity had never taught them to vote for ZANU-PF. According to Mandaza and Sachikonye (2008), Zimbabwe's post-independence elections since the 1980s demonstrate that the ZANU-PF regime has resorted to a complex recipe of electoral manipulation strategies and techniques as its domestic and international legitimacy deteriorates.

The Ugandan ruling party, the NRM, is synonymous with its government bureaucracy, legislative branch, judiciary, and army, as is the ZANU-PF in Zimbabwe. The ruling parties use the country's resources to stifle opposition political parties and thus keep themselves in power. According to Kiiza (2005), when Africans took power in the 1960s and beyond, the structures of colonial despotism remained in place. Many post-colonial regimes, such as Tanzania, Malawi, and Zambia, became one-party states for a variety of reasons, one of which was "One People, One Country, One Party." Segments of this solution have remained in play for most countries, including Uganda and Zimbabwe, which, despite portraying democratic leaders behind rose-colored glasses, are leaders who want the one-party system.

Modern liberalism has it that, the chief task of government is to remove obstacles that prevent individuals from living freely or from fully realizing their potential. Such obstacles include poverty, disease, discrimination, and ignorance Good governance must show itself in an ability to create a bond that is teleological, ontological, affective, moral, organisational and communicative (Messner cited by Anaulogho, 1997). ZANU-PF, like most ruling parties in the region, have benefited from having control over the state purse, which enables them to deliver goods and services to voters, especially during election season. ZANU-PF has consistently delivered fertilizers and other farming equipment to their rural voters. At the start of the 2012 campaign season, ZANU-PF strategically delivered seed grain to rural voters in packaging engraved with ZANU-PF symbols. The strategy was met with outcries of injustice and accusations of vote buying from opposition leaders, who argue that ZANU-PF is using state funds for campaign purposes (Staff Writer, 2012). The survival of ZANU-PF can thus be explained in part by the party's ability to consistently deliver patronage to their supporters, but patronage delivery does not fully explain why voters remained loyal even when the party could not deliver such patronage.

On the same note, good governance entails responsiveness and accountability such that, institutions and processes try to serve all stakeholders within a reasonable timeframe and governmental institutions, private sector and civil society organizations must be accountable to the public. Good governance should be able to create a society where people are responsible for one another as well as towards the community as a whole. At the height of Zimbabwe's crisis between 2008 and 2010, the Human Rights Watch group reported that the food deficit in Zimbabwe had affected an estimated 4.1 million. The food crisis was

worsened by the drought, and as result most rural provinces including UMP did not have good harvests during that time. In May 2008, the government via the Ministry of Social Welfare issued a directive prohibiting international aid agencies from distributing food in a few rural provinces, including the ZANU-PF stronghold, UMP. The government argued that international agencies were using food to buy votes for the opposition, and yet without donor food many rural Zimbabweans would have died. The government blamed food shortages on the drought, the MDC and western sanctions. Hospitals and clinics in rural areas all but shut down in the last decade, and schools were not functioning. There is a whole generation of children who dropped out of primary and high school between 2005 and 2008, the majority of whom were from rural areas. The number of people who died from HIV and related illnesses was high, and this put pressure on grandparents in rural areas who are usually left to care for orphans. The cholera epidemic ravaged high-density areas and rural areas the most because of poor sanitation and shortages of fresh water in those areas. The rural population was hit worse by the economic conditions, and most villagers depended solely on food donations by NGOs. Yet, between 2006 and 2008 the government banned NGO donations in the country, leaving rural dwellers destitute. More than anyone else the rural voters should have been the ones voting for the opposition. Notwithstanding all this, ZANU-PF maintains a stronghold in the rural areas. Clearly patronage cannot explain rural voter loyalty; ZANU-PF benefited from the absence of a strong and vocal middle class who presented the only viable opposition to the ruling party rule.

Liberals believe in periodic elections to make the decisions of any given majority subject to the concurrence of other majorities distributed over time. Elections give citizens a chance to participate in how they are governed. Participation needs to be informed and organized. This means freedom of association and expression on the one hand and an organized civil society on the other hand. By majority decision, the members of the community entrust their collective executive powers of the law of nature into the hands of a constitutional form of government, and thus, the state is created (Iloyd, 1995). To Locke, a government existed, among other things, to promote public good, and to protect the life, liberty, and property of its people. For this reason, those who govern must be elected by the society, and the society must hold the power to instate a new government when necessary. Since 1980 Zimbabwe has done relatively well in the conduct of regular general elections. Zimbabwe also promoted good governance by complying with the SADC guidelines on elections in 2005 and also

March 2008. In December 2004, the country's bipartisan parliament passed the electoral Commission Act and the electrical Act both which came into force on 21 January 2005. Thabo Mbeki even pointed out that Zimbabwe was a step ahead of other SADC countries in terms of codifying the SADC standards.

On the same note, questions has been raised concerning the quality of elections although, they, on their own, are not tantamount to or synonymous with democracy. Since 1980 people in UMP has witnessed acts of politically motivated electoral violence, intimidation and all sorts of ugly acts particularly perpetrated by the ruling party. The liberal critique of ZANU-PF generally saw ZANU-PF as a norm violating authoritarian regime that use the coercive apparatus of the state to prolong its stay in power.it is claimed that ZANU-PF virtually locked out the opposition from campaigning in rural areas especially between 2000 and 2005. One of the main ways in which ZANU-PF has been accused of this long-range manipulation is through redistricting or constituency delimitation, and voter registration. The Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) completed a delimitation exercise in January 2008 that increased House of Assembly constituencies from 150 to 210. During this and previous delimitation exercises, speculation was rife that the Delimitation Commission gerrymandered constituencies to favour ZANU-PF through placing more constituencies in rural areas. Therefore, they have failed to fulfil the concept of rule of law; good governance requires fair legal frameworks that are enforced impartially. Thus, despite having elections after every five years, economic, political and social challenges have been experienced.

Furthermore, according to liberalists, transparency means that decisions taken and their enforcement are done in a manner that follows rules and regulations. It also means that information is freely available and directly accessible to those who will be affected by such decisions and their enforcement. It also means that enough information is provided and that it is provided in easily understandable forms and media.in contemporary Zimbabwe, despite the wider access to information through the affordability of ICT gadgets like smartphones, in UMP the ZANU-PF structures are still very active in relaying information concerning elections and campaigning to the villagers through traditional leaders who conduct regular *indabas* with their subjects and there is a general culture of fear, which dates back to pre-independence Zimbabwe. Prior to the 2008 election, there was a delimitation (re-districting exercise). With the exception of a single announcement in the Herald two weeks prior to the

election on the new voting precincts, no other information was released, and the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) announced that the agency was "too broke to conduct any voter education. This has worked to the advantage of ZANU-PF as UMP constituency remains ZANU-PF bastion.

2.2 Elections and development

Elections are regarded as the most important component of African politics. Regular conduc of elections provide citizens with a platform to elect leaders of their choosing. Elections can have a positive developmental impact in developing countries, such as improved economic policy, and this is especially true when elections are conducted well (Chauvet and Collier, 2008). However, there is little evidence on the impact of specific electoral measures on elections, and there is no evidence that shows a direct link between elections and a country's development. It may be difficult to link specific electoral measures to long-term development. Chang (2012) asserts that democracy is the mechanism that allows the public to hold elected officials accountable for their policy decisions and outcomes. Furthermore, regular and competitive elections are used to select governments, with the goal of allowing multi-party competition via secret ballots (Bratton, Masunungure, 2012). Despite the establishment of competitive elections in Zimbabwe after independence, the same party, ZANU-PF, remained in power for long periods of time and maintained its dominance as UMP became a stronghold. When it comes to issues of governance, democracy allows for a share of power. As a result, from a liberal standpoint, there is a lack of plurality in governance issues. Elections are important for a democratic process as they help establish a representative government, bestow legitimacy and credibility on the government, aid in the process of institutionalizing orderly succession of governments, and compel elected representatives to be accountable to voters. Zimbabwe has done relatively well in conducting regular general elections, but there is a flaw in election quality.

The founding pillars of any democratic political system, whether considered fragile or established, remain undoubtedly elections which can simply be taken as the most critical and visible means through which all citizens can peacefully choose or remove their leaders, and which are evidently costly affairs (Anglin 1998). In other words, elections are the principal instruments that 'compel or encourage the policy-makers to pay attention to citizens' (Powell 2000:4).Makinda (1996:557) held that, generally, democracy can be seen 'as a way of government firmly rooted in the belief that people in any society should be free to determine

their own political, economic, social, and cultural systems. New democracies, as opposed to more established ones, are by definition fragile in the sense that they not formally constituted and are less experienced (Pridham & Lewis 1996). Vengroff and Magala (2001) have gone ahead to contend that new democracies also lack the pre-existence of a political culture of democracy, the emergence and growth of which could, however, become possible as a result of institutional modifications independent of economic development.

Elections require the existence of a multiparty system in order for citizens to make a political decision by voting for competing candidates fielded by various political parties holding divergent views and presenting different alternatives.It has therefore resulted in conflict between political parties (Chikerema, 2014). Violence, hostility, and mutual distrust between political parties have increased the destabilization of the current political system. Chitando (2005 cited in Chibuwe 2013) is of the assertion that, ZANU-PF's use of fear appeal was regarded as undemocratic. Elected representatives therefore required free, transparent, and fair elections, in order to achieve legitimacy. There is general agreement among political scientists that one of the essential components in a healthy democracy is the existence of an enduring opposition that critically checks the day-to-day activities of the ruling party (Kiisa 2005; Ionescu & de Madariaga 1968). In fact, the ruling parties attempt to run the government in order to defend their record and gain public approval, knowing that failure to do so may result in their removal from office. It is however a different case in UMP, despite the fact that politicians are not in any way developing this rural constituency, UMP's support towards ZANU-PF is unwavering. The opposition, then, is essentially a government-in-waiting' (Kiisa 2005:3).

In any political system, the democratic litmus test will be power-sharing (Budge & Keman 1990). When the ruling party's confidence and legitimacy are severely weakened while still controlling the most important institutions, a power-sharing arrangement is usually formed. The formation of a power-sharing arrangement has the advantage of conferring some legitimacy to the ruling party while not discrediting the opposition. It may alleviate the ruling party's fear of losing everything and future retaliation, while also assuaging the opposition's fear that the ruling party may have rigged the elections. That is what happened in Zimbabwe following the bloody 2008 elections, but only after the unexpected post-elections turmoil killed many people and caused a significant setback to the country's image as Africa's model

of democracy and stability. What is grave is that it may still prove to be more deceitful than genuine and may further undermine the already shaky faith of Zimbabweans in development. (Chege et al 2007)

2.3 Elections in post-independence Zimbabwe from 2000 to 2018

Elections have been held in countries all over the world as a means of involving the majority in matters of governance. It is worth noting Zimbabwe's post-independence elections, particularly the nature of elections in the UMP. The Zimbabwean situation is that of an election-based attempt to destabilize a liberation party in a region where the legacies of anti-colonial struggle remain strong (Mlambo, Raftopoulos, 2010). Political democratization is viewed as a form of Western regime agenda. Since Zimbabwe's independence on April 18, 1980, the ZANU-PF has been in power. However, the credibility of Zimbabwe's elections has been called into question (Makumbe, et al,2000 cited in Chibuwe, 2013).Regardless of regular conduct of elections, it is vital to note that, participation of the majority has necessitated in a one-party rule since Zimbabwe post- independence.

The participation of the majority is a vibrant component in Zimbabwe, as evidenced by the numerous campaigns conducted prior to elections. Zimbabwean politics is based primarily on state power, so fierce competition for state power is seen as an end in itself (Ake, 2007; Lumumba-Kasongo, 2012). Hartman (2006) backs up Ake (2007) by claiming that the lack of sovereign experience, state and developed nationalism, resulted in one-party rule under the father figure. According to Lumumba-Kasongo (2012), despite the goodwill of many social movements, Zimbabwe in its current form is not an agent for positive social change because the state is designed to advance the interests of the ruling elite. Despite holding several elections since Zimbabwe's independence, power has undoubtedly been concentrated in the hands of a few revolutionaries and a revolutionary party.

2.3.1 2000 Parliamentary Elections

The struggle for power between parties intensified following the 2000 elections. President Mugabe and the ZANU-PF government faced significant opposition after the mid-1990s, owing in part to deteriorating economic and human rights conditions (Huffman, 2007). The emergence of the MDC in 1999 resulted in significant changes in the nature of Zimbabwean political party contestations (ZESN, 2008). A referendum on a draft constitution proposed by

the government was held in February 2000. This would have allowed President Mugabe to run for a second term and given government officials immunity from prosecution. However, the referendum was defeated. According to Moyo (2014), single-party rule was consistent with African traditions, appropriate for a unified and classless African society, and a necessary alternative to imported multi-party models, internal democracy. Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) failed to transform from a liberation movement to a political party (Mapuva and Muyengwa-Mapuva, 2014. This has been demonstrated by its failure to embrace a democratic culture that allows citizens to dictate the country's political pace. Sachikonye, 2001 in Mapuva and Muyengwa-Mapuva, (2014) notes that the UMP parliamentary elections in June 2000 were marred by localised violence, claims of electoral irregularities, and government intimidation of opposition supporters. Matlosa 2002 in Kadima and Pottie (2012) supports the preceding point by equating elections with violence. Despite the chaos, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) was able to secure 57 of the 120 seats in the National Assembly. In this parliamentary election, ZANU PF's grip on governance was challenged by a new political rival, the MDC.

2.3.2 2002 Elections

In March of 2002, presidential elections were held. In the months leading up to the election, ZANU-PF launched a campaign of intimidation and suppression against the MDC-led opposition, with the support of the security services, the army and war veterans (Wines, 2007). Fear of being dominated by another party compelled UMP to resort to violence as a solution, leading people to vote for ZANU-PF. While the actual polling and counting processes were peaceful and ballot secrecy was ensured, the Commonwealth Observer Group noted that the Presidential Election in Zimbabwe was marred by a high level of politically motivated violence and intimidation that preceded the poll. The Group also concluded that "conditions in Zimbabwe did not adequately allow for free expression of will by electors." According to Meredith (2011), the MDC and Morgan Tsvangirai have always been associated with regime change and Western imperialists' puppets. Thus, the fear of being colonized through puppet leaders prompted localised violence in the country. Despite international condemnation, these measures, combined with organized subversion of the electoral process, ensured Mugabe's victory (Raftopoulous, Mlambo, 2009). The use of force, cohesion, and fear has been a prominent tool used by political parties to win elections, raising the question of whether elections can be credible in influencing democratic growth in Zimbabwe.

2.3.3 2005 Parliamentary Elections

In March 2005, ZANU-PF won parliamentary elections with a two-thirds majority. They were criticized as flawed by international observers (The Economist, 2016). According to Chigora and Guzura (2008), Mugabe's political operatives weakened opposition internally while the state security apparatus destabilized it externally through violence against anti-Mugabe strongholds, preventing citizens from voting. According to Sachikonye (2010), in Zimbabwe, violence was used to achieve independence and has remained a cancer that corrodes the country's political culture and stifles Zimbabwe's democratic progress. In support of Sachikonye, Mude and Chigora (2013) state that "the 2005 election was marred by violence, intimidation, and all sorts of ugly acts, particularly by the ruling party." The election had a knock-on effect because the institution was unable to supervise and coordinate voter registration, Voter's Roll inspection, and boundary delimitation. The voter roll was in shambles, with surveys in UMP indicating that voter names were duplicated, some voters were not known at the addresses given, and some voters were mistaken, inflating eligible voters and voter turnout. As a result, convincing Zimbabweans that there can be a constituency with such massive voter movements will be difficult. ..Some voters were turned away from polling station despite having proper identification, further guaranteeing that the government could control the results (Wines, 2007). Mugabe was also able to appoint 30 of the members of parliament. From the parliamentary elections in 2005, elections are being associated with all forms of violence and intimidation between parties.

2.3.4 2008 Harmonised Elections

A presidential election was held in Zimbabwe on March 29, 2008, along with parliamentary elections. These elections were held in a political context that was extremely limited. President Robert Mugabe of the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF), Morgan Tsvangirai of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC-T), and independent candidate Simba Makoni were the three primary contenders in the election. Because no candidate achieved a clear majority in the first round, a second round was held on June 27, 2008, between Tsvangirai (who received 47.9% of the first-round vote) and Mugabe (who received 47.9% of the first-round vote) (43.2 percent). Tsvangirai withdrew from the second round a week before it was scheduled, alleging violence against his party's supporters. In areas like UMP Zanu PF had already bagged triumph. Their isolation from the rest of the country, aided by the incapacity of other political parties to campaign, ensures Zanu PF victory. So Zanu PF has everything in this portion of the country, although through shady ways. Despite strong opposition, the second round was held, and President Mugabe was

declared the winner. The management of the electoral process was criticized by Mugabe's opponents, who accused the government of plotting to rig the election. The election, according to Human Rights Watch (2010), was likely to be rigged. Despite this, Jose Marcos Barrica, the chairman of the Southern African Development Community observation mission, praised the election as a peaceful and credible manifestation of the people's will after the first round.

Tsvangirai received 47.9% of the vote, while Mugabe received 43.2 percent, necessitating a run-off election on June 27, 2008. The opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), led by Morgan Tsvangirai, became the first major danger to President Mugabe's power in these elections. As a result of this decision, MDC-T members and supporters were subjected to violence, reportedly perpetrated by Mugabe and ZANU-PF. Zimbabwe's political culture has taken on a life of its own. Many researchers, including Makumbe (2002), Tarugarira (2008), and Mandaza (2005), have labeled Zimbabwe as a country with a punitive anti-democratic culture. Nkomo (2010) named ZANU PF as the key ingredient underlying the country's politics of intolerance in his analysis of the roots of impunity and intolerance. Nkomo (2010) and Gumede (2010) go on to say that ZANLA's tactics revealed it to be more of a political front than a military branch, coercing and indoctrinating people to accept ZANU's communist political ideals and make them a part of their lives. When it comes to elections in Zimbabwe, the aforesaid professors emphasize the use of force and coercion even more. After Morgan Tsvangirai dropped out of the second round, President Mugabe won the second round and was sworn in for a second term on June 29. (Sturcke, 2010). According to Mude and Chigora (2013), the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) lacked transparency and accountability since it was receiving orders from the army, the secret service, and high-ranking ZANU PF politicians. Despite being a component of growth, the lack of credibility of Zimbabwe's elections is considered as "unfair". As a result of the foregoing, elections do not guarantee that change will occur, but they do appear to increase the influence of one political party in the country. As a result, it is nearly hard to say that Zimbabwe has good elections and growth when there are always questions over how elections are conducted and election outcomes, especially in light of the 2008 Zimbabwean elections.

2.3.5 2013 Elections
Elections in 2013 demonstrated that, despite holding elections on a regular basis, the country's development is not sustainable. Mugabe's regime was elected in a rigged election in 2013, according to The Economist (2016). The media's polarization and bias, as well as inadequate and delayed voter education, an inadequate and flawed voter registration process,

failure to provide the voters' roll to political parties and stakeholders on time, chaotic special voting, and the high numbers of assisted and turned away voters, all seriously harmed the credibility and fairness of the 2013 elections, according to ZESN (2013). The MDC, the opposition party, slammed the polls as rigged. According to Zamchiya (2013), ZANU PF exploited political hegemony to win the 2013 elections. Furthermore, the impartial and multi-party Zimbabwe Election Commission (ZEC) pronounced President Robert Mugabe the outright victor of the 2013 presidential election in Zimbabwe after calculating the ballots cast on July 31, 2013. According to Chisango (2013), President Mugabe received 61.09 percent of the vote (2 110 434 votes out of the possible 3 315 000 participating voters). Outgoing Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC-T) received 33.94 percent (1 172 349 votes) of the vote, while Professor Welshman Ncube, the smaller MDC leader, received just 2.68 percent of the vote. Dumiso Dabengwa, head of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), and Kisinoti Mukwazhe, president of the Zimbabwe Development Party, received 0.74 percent and 0.29 percent, respectively. Zanu PF received 94 percent of the vote in Maramba Pfungwe, with candidate Washington Musvaire receiving 22 264 votes, while Linnet Chimusoro of the MDC headed by Welshman Ncube received 224 votes and Joseph Matambo of the late Morgan Tsvangirai's MDC-T received 1 071 votes. Following the election, there was a "clean up" of everybody who voted for the opposition (CCJP, 2013).

2.3.6 Elections in 2018

On July 30, 2018, Zimbabwe conducted tripartite elections, with the public concurrently voting for presidential, parliamentary, and local authority candidates using the 'first-past-the-post' (FPTP) and proportional representation (PR) systems. Zimbabwe's governmental system consists of ten provinces split into 210 constituencies and 1,958 wards. The ZEC produced its own voters roll for the first time in the 2018 Harmonised Elections. The new roll was created by digitally recording a voter's biometric (picture and fingerprints) and biographical data. This new roll was viewed as a significant advance since it was widely considered as accurate and credible. However, political parties did not have enough time before Election Day to evaluate, identify, and remedy flaws on the ballot. Mnangagwa of ZANU-PF received 50.67 percent (2,456,010 votes) in the announced results, while his rival Nelson Chamisa, who was then the leader of the MDC Alliance, received 44.39 percent (2,151,927 votes), with the remaining percentage obtained by the remaining twenty-one candidates who contested the elections. Maramba Pfungwe voted for Zanu PF with 24 317 votes to 1 087 for the remainder

of the opposition, a margin of 96 percent to 4%. According to the Commonwealth Observer Group (2018), the tallying processes should be reduced and simplified while maintaining the process's integrity and transparency. Unfortunately, the post-election scenario in which the results process took place was contaminated by political violence and the heavy-handedness of security personnel. Tensions were heightened by the lengthy publication of findings in a less-than-transparent way. These problems eroded residents' and observers' trust in the voting process. The Zimbabwe Army allegedly shot six unarmed persons in the streets of Harare on August 1. According to media sources, the Zimbabwe Police stormed the MDC Alliance offices in Harare on August 2nd, according to a search warrant granted by a city court, alleging that Nelson Chamisa and many others were suspected of possessing dangerous weapons and inciting public unrest. The warrant also gave authorities the authority to look for and seize any evidence, including computers and papers. Sixteen MDC staffers were detained and questioned before being charged and appearing in magistrate court. As a result, the country looked to be falling down the scale of democracies and might certainly be justified in reclassifying as a pseudo-democracy since the existence of officially democratic political institutions, such as election competition, obscures the reality of authoritarian dominance.

From the foregoing, it is plausible to conclude that diverse academics have offered distinct perspectives on Zimbabwean post-independence elections from 2000 to 2018. It should be highlighted that elections have been marked by violence both during and after the polls, and that, notwithstanding the holding of elections, Zimbabwean political culture is that of a single party that has won all elections since independence. Furthermore, there appears to be a dearth of analysis in the literature on the aftermath of democratic elections in terms of electoral violence. There is great focus on regular election conduct as a factor of growth, but there appears to be a lack of understanding of the mechanisms that sustain democratic administration. Elections do not reflect a sense of elections as a tool for political empowerment of the poor, but rather as a chance to exchange votes for material gain or favor.

2.4 Forms of Elections

There are several election systems across the world, and there is no agreement on which is optimal in terms of representation, greater involvement, democratic governance, stability, and legitimacy. An electoral system, often known as a voting technique, governs the methods by which voters' choices or preferences are gathered, tallied, aggregated, and collectively interpreted to produce election results (Shahandashti, 2016). In the SADC area, only two

methods of elections are commonly used: First Past the Post and List Proportional Representation (Maundeni, 2005).

There are three basic types of electoral systems namely plurality system, proportional representation systems and majority systems. First Past the Post (FPTP); Block Vote (BV); Party Block Vote (PBV); Alternative Vote (AV); and the Two Round System are examples of plurality systems (TRS). List Proportional Representation (List PR) and Single Transferable Votes are two proportional representation systems (STV). Mixed member proportional (MMP) and parallel systems are examples of mixed systems. Reynolds et al (2005)

2.4.1 First Past The Post (FPTP) Voting System

In general, the outcome of elections and the amount to which they bring value to democracy are inextricably linked to the sort of voting system established by each nation. Zimbabwe prefers First-Past-the-Post voting (FPTP). First Past the Post The first-past-the-post (FPTP) voting method, also known as Simple Majority Voting, Winner-takes-all voting, or Plurality voting, is the simplest basic type of voting system. In its most basic form, FPTP voting occurs in single-member constituencies. Voters mark a box next to their preferred candidate, and the candidate with the most votes in the constituency or other electoral district wins. All other votes are meaningless. FPTP rewards parties with 'lumpy' support, that is, with just enough votes to win in any specific location, rather than assigning seats based on real support (Jeffrey, 2011). Maundeni (2005), on the other hand, contends that the FPTP election system contributes to weak opposition in parliaments. There is a difficulty in that one party may dominate in parliament; hence a lack of equality between political parties may produce turmoil.

While fostering two-party politics might be beneficial, in a multi-party culture, third parties with strong support are frequently severely disadvantaged. According to Bates (2009), Zimbabwe utilizes the First Past The Post voting system and is racked by violent election-related disputes. The first-past-the-post system is more exclusionary, establishing the hegemony of one or two major parties while marginalizing other parties. This has had an impact on the constructive management of electoral problems in the disputed 2008 elections that resulted in the creation of a coalition government in Zimbabwe between ZANU PF and the two MDC factions. The party which wins most takes all the seats in the districts and the list of candidates are elected, (Ace Project, 2016). However, while the First Past the Post system can provide an efficient administration, it fails to reflect all of the viewpoints of the

country's minority groups. According to Laponce and Saint-Jacques (1997), the FPTP is a punishing system for minor political parties.

2.5 Proportional Representation

The Proportional Representation (PR) voting method is based on the assumption that following elections, all significant organizations and their leaders would continue to have a stake in the system that is parliament and associated bodies. Seats are apportioned to political parties based on the proportion of votes they receive in the election. In terms of proportional representation, for every 0.025% of votes that a party gets, it is allocated one seat hence, the risk of groups feeling excluded is much lower, (Faller et al, 2013). The main objective of PR, in contrast to the other two models, is to ensure that a proportionate ratio between votes received and seats allocated is established (Amtaika, 2013). Thus, it could be argued that the List PR electoral system is more effective in ensuring both enhanced gender participation and more diversity in political representation in parliament, (Maundeni, 2005) just like during the Zimbabwe's harmonised elections in 2018, according to the Commonwealth Observer Group (2018), youths, people with disabilities, the elderly, civil society, and faith-based organizations were all involved.

PR systems are classified into two types: Party List Systems and Single Transferable Votes (commonly known as the STV). The Party List-principal System's goal is to represent parties by arranging candidates in order of merit. It is critical to compile a prioritized list of applicants. Should a party receive 15% of the votes; the first 15% of its listed candidates will be elected, (Amtaika, 2013). However, there is no direct link between voters and representatives. The STV method is more suited when representation is viewed as the representation of persons, with the individual considered to be practically antecedent to the party. Thus, the major goal of the STV system is to express individual viewpoints while limiting the influence of parties as much as feasible.

Kadima (2003) asserts that Proportional Representation is the most suitable system of representation as far as fair representation of minorities is concerned. When well-designed, PR helps in nation-building efforts by encouraging political parties to seek votes and membership from across communities. These reduce the attraction of monoethnic, racial, or religious communities and avoid political instability caused by the de facto exclusion of particular populations from parliament or administration. PR has been found to be more

inclusive, representative and participative system. It therefore permits a "delicately differentiated representation which expresses all of a country's diversity" (Lijphart and Grofman, 1984 in Amtaika, 2013). Additionally, PR encourages coalition and collaboration among political parties. It encourages multi-party competition, allowing the whole political spectrum to be represented in the legislature. More importantly, the fact that the STV combines the merits of both the PR and plurality systems, it therefore ensures a close relationship between voters and representatives (Amtaika, 2013. This strengthens the concept of a constituency representative. The distribution of seats reflects a party's majority of votes, with a smaller possibility of a majority being 'manufactured,' as can be the case with the plurality system. The voter may vote based on his or her personal preferences, thereby reducing the chance for tactical voting.

2.6 Legal Institutional Framework for Elections in Zimbabwe

This is a local development influenced by the SADC Principles and Guidelines for Democratic Elections. The framework connects together the principal acts that govern electoral operations as well as the relations of political parties. These acts are the Electoral Act (Chapter 2:13), the Referendum Act (Chapter 2:10), and the Political Conduct or Finance Act (chapter 2:11).According to Booysen and Toulou, (2009) these are the constitutional sections that control day to day electoral and political activities in Zimbabwe and within them are also sub sections acts which core relates.

The Zimbabwean Electoral Commission is responsible for delineating all constituency borders, as well as preparing for and conducting elections and referendums. ZEC's mandate is to organize free, fair, efficient, and transparent elections in line with the law, as well as to direct and oversee voter registration and voter education. According to the Constitution of Zimbabwe, (2013) the committee on Standing Rule and Orders Act empowers the president to appoint ZEC Chairperson in consultation with the Judicial Service Commission and Committee on Standing Rules and Orders In terms of political parties and political involvement, Zimbabwe currently lacks a statute requiring the registration of political parties. A multi-party liaison committee is legally responsible for enforcing political party codes of conduct.

Despite the fact that the literature on electoral changes, particularly in Zimbabwe, is relatively scarce, the trend has gained traction in recent years. Onapajo (2015) brings out that the literature on elections, democratization and electoral reform is not entirely recent phenomenon Beroke, (2012). Kurfi, (1983) then tracked the history of it by saying reform movement's dates back as far as the ancient Greek direct democratic systems which was calculated at enhancing universal suffrage in electoral activities. Therefore in Zimbabwe local and international scholars that include Maisiri, (2010) Kriger (2008) and peace institutions like Zimbabwe Peace Project, (2011) and non-governmental organizations like ERC and ZESN post (2000) have become interested in Zimbabwean issue giving out various interpretations over the management of electoral activities, with some disqualify the efficiency of both the government ZEC whilst conservative scholars like Chavaura and Mahoso defends regarding the influence of foreign infiltration especially the west.

CCJP (2013) giving an experienced event claimed that: "ZEC voter educators lacked entry approaches and some of their officials on voter education were seen just waiting at public places, asking people whether they have enough identification documents, recorded as voters and

whether they are able to vote" According to ZESN (2013), "biased media coverage, intimidation of prospective voters and the lack of intra-party democracy among other factors were the major problems that were encountered during the 2013 harmonized elections". While the preceeding is accurate to some extent, several of the interactions had little to do with real voter education but with ZEC's institutional shortcomings. During a parliamentary discussion on the 22nd of May 2013 (House of Assembly), Mutambara mentioned a lack of political will to ensure that every Zimbabwean who is qualified to vote is able to vote as another issue impeding election procedures, including voter education.

Matlosa, (2007) also mentions that, there are just too many institutions in charge of the management and administration of Zimbabwe's elections and this situation tends to lead to slippage and duplication of effort which may adversely affect the smooth running of elections. The tasks of various institutions might likewise be performed by an independent election commission for cost effectiveness, increased efficiency, and levelling of the playing field. If the Electoral Supervisory Commission could be transformed into an independent electoral commission, it would not only help to centralize election management and administration, but it would also help to assure voters and other contestants that the election management body is independent of the state.

2.7 Chapter Summary

Elections in Zimbabwe provide distinct perspectives; once an election is held, development occurs. Elections have long been recognized as a means of transitioning from one type of administration to another, as indicated by the frequent holding of elections throughout Zimbabwe. Nonetheless, the unwillingness to embrace change following elections has left any possibilities of complete progress unrealized. There are several factors that contribute to a country's growth. According to the liberals, they include citizen engagement, responsibility, and the rule of law, as well as equity and openness. These aspects of effective governance are required for long-term development. In many nations, citizen engagement has been a dominating aspect of democracy. Citizens participate in governance concerns through elections by voting for their representatives for a specific term in office. People will have sway on public policy and decision-makers. Zimbabwe has aggressively engaged the population in the election of their Representatives. When elected leaders are held responsible for their policies and their outcomes, a country experiences socioeconomic development and long-term peace. Despite providing a platform for the majority to engage in governance, it

has failed to hold elected officials responsible for carrying out their stated obligations to the people after being sworn in. Furthermore, democracy is equated to the rule of law in the study. Elected leaders should be held accountable for the decisions they make on behalf of the people.

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CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the data collection methods. These methodologies comprised research design, research instruments, population sample, sampling methodology, and data collection techniques, ethical issues, and the study's delimitations and limits. The qualitative research approach was used in the study. For the study, questionnaires, in-depth interviews, and a review of the literature were used to collect both primary and secondary data. The questionnaires and in-depth interviews give clear and direct replies from participants in order to determine sentiments about the study. The literature research, on the other hand, aided in the establishment of a policy regarding elections and development in Uzumba Maramba Pfugwe, Zimbabwe.

3.2 Research Paradigm

The study employed qualitative research. The goal of qualitative research was to answer descriptive or explanatory questions, resulting in a first-hand understanding of people's perspectives on the role of elections in development. A qualitative approach is the one in which the inquirer often makes knowledge claims based primarily on constructivist perspectives (multiple meanings of individual experiences), meanings socially and historically constructed with the aim of developing a theory or a pattern (Creswell, 2003). According to Babbie and Mouton (2005) qualitative research seeks to gain first hand holistic understanding of a phenomenon, using flexible methods such as interviews. The primary approach of data collection aided in data analysis in regards to the study. Furthermore, in relation to the research, qualitative research attempt to derive what regulates human behaviour prior and during elections, as well as the causes of such behaviour. The study was able to determine the value of elections in terms of development using qualitative research. It also aided in determining that involvement is more than just a requirement for democracy.

3.3 Research Design

Rugg and Petre (2007) states that research designs constitute the blueprint for the collection, measurement and analysis of data. David de Vaus (2001) asserts that a research design refers to the structure of an enquiry. The study focused on explorative design. The study used exploratory research to evaluate election patterns in Zimbabwe, Uzumba Maramba Pfungwe,

from 2000 to 2018. The goal was to provide informal explanations about elections and development in Uzumba Maramba Pfungwe, Zimbabwe. The exploratory research approach assisted in answering the questions of who, what, when, where, and how a specific issue is related to a certain study problem. The research paradigm employed gathered data on the present state of the phenomenon and defined what happens in relation to factors or circumstances in a specific setting. As a result, it is a critical instrument for discovering new findings in this field.

3.4 Target Population

A population refers to any group that is the subject of the research interests (Melville and Goddard, 1996). William (2006) further gives another definition of population in the context of a research as he states population as the total number of individuals who fits the criteria laid out by the researcher for research participants. Macus (2006) argued that a study population is the total members of a defined class of people, objects, places or events because of their relevance to the study being carried out. The research targeted council staff councillors, department of national housing, and department of public works, district administrator's office, business community and villagers. The research also targeted youths between the ages of 18-40 years with vast knowledge on elections in Zimbabwe.

3.5 Sample and Sampling Procedure.

A sample is defined as a subset of a statistical population that accurately reflects the members of the entire population (Sudman, 1976). Brink (2009) also comes into play with his own definition of a sample where he defined it as a subject of a population selected to participate in the study, it is a fraction of the whole population selected to participate in the research project. Somekh and Lewin (2011) further define a sample as a unit of a population in which the same range of characteristics or attributes can be found in similar proportions. . The basic goal of sampling is to save resources by gathering and maintaining data from a smaller sub-group and to improve data quality by focusing on a smaller group. A ten percent was determined and utilized as a target sample, as well as 30 people from Uzumba Maramba Pfungwe, including youths, men, and women. Interviews and questionnaires could not be administered to the whole planned population, one-fifth of the sample was chosen at random from several categories of participants.

3.6 Sampling Techniques
The sample research used random sampling and purposive sampling procedures.

3.6.1 Random Sampling

Simple random sampling involves randomly selecting individual units from a sampling frame giving all units an equal chance of being selected (David and Sutton, 2004). In choosing the sample of participants for the study, random sampling was utilized to guarantee that a sample was represented by a broader population. Simple random sampling was one of the primary sampling procedures used in the study's data gathering from the study's target population. This sampling method was used at random to pick responders. This strategy was important to the investigation since no member of the population had a higher probability of being chosen than any other member. Under other words, in simple random sampling, any conceivable sample of a certain size has the same chance of being chosen. Simple random sampling is also less time consuming to administer than other sampling procedures.This technique was therefore used in administering questionnaires from the business community and villagers. However, this technique cannot be used to obtain information from key informants.

3.6.2 Purposive Sampling

According to Punch (2005) purposive sampling is a sample selected in a deliberative and non-random fashion to achieve a certain goal, this technique was chosen by the study because it is sampling with a purpose in mind of the research. It was exclusively used to question those with expertise and understanding about elections and development in Uzumba Maramba Pfungwe, Zimbabwe. The fact that the sampling technique method focuses on respondents or individuals who possess deep knowledge of the topic in question made it a unique sampling method as stated by Kothari (2005) purposive sampling provide adequate and reliable information.

3.7 Data Collection Instruments

Data collection is a systematic approach to gathering information from a variety of sources to get a complete and accurate picture of an area of interest (Maxwell, 2012). Best and Kahn (1993) argue that data collection procedures involve the following steps, making appointments with research subjects, through telephone, fax, or letters, distribution and administering of instruments on the sample for example by hand, mail or through research assistants and lastly through retrieval of instruments. Data was gathered through interviews and questionnaires. Interviews collect information from a person's spoken responses to oral queries, whereas questionnaires collect information from participants through a sequence of questions. As a result, employing diverse data gathering methods raises the possibilities of

the legitimacy of the facts acquired or gained, because varied approaches complement each other. To gather information, questionnaires were distributed to diverse individuals namely heads of departments and other participants were interviewed using an interview guide. Furthermore, an interview guide was created to aid the research at the data interpretation and analysis level.

3.7.1 Questionnaires

Structured questionnaires were used to gather primary data from the participants selected for the study. Primary data can be defined as the first-hand account of an event or experience (Neale, 2006). Questionnaires were practical; hence, information was obtained in a short space of time. The research was carried out on any number of people with a limited effect on validity and reliability. Questionnaires were also used to analyse the nature of elections, determine if pre-electoral promises of people in UMP have been fulfilled and to measure change as the information gathered was quantified.

With regards to the research, questionnaires were however inadequate to understand. Also, a limited number of questions were asked without any justifications on the reasons. It also lacked validity, as there was no way of telling how truthful the participants were, in answering the questions. The participants also read differently into each question, thus different interpretations of the question as a whole. They were based on the participants' assumptions on what is and is not important, thus negligence of what may be of important.

3.7.2 Interviews

Interviews were another form of gathering information from participants with regards to research. The main purpose of using interviews was to analyse the nature of elections, determine the influence of elections towards development and examine why UMP is a ZANU-PF stronghold. Further, views, experiences, motivations or beliefs of individuals on a specific matter of concern were explored. Interviews therefore offered valuable insights into the study and asserted unique assumptions to the study as well. They also helped define areas to be explored, thus giving more detail to the research. Interviews also gave guidance to the interviewee and interviewer on what to talk about. They were flexible thus, giving room for elaboration, further explanations to the research. They also gave a deeper understanding of a phenomenon, thus acquiring more knowledge about the research topic since information would be first hand, and respondents are both the victims and observers. Interviews also

provided a chance for the interviewee and the interviewer to clarify their questions and answers with regards to the study. From this advantage, the research was able to gain knowledge on the research at hand and acquired more information.

Nonetheless, during the conduction of the interviews, there was lack of attention from the participants that there will be need for constant repetition of the question being asked. The participants were interviewed in their work places, that sometimes there were other commitments, thus disturbances occurred constantly. Also, interviews suffered from bias with regards to the questions. It is vital to note that, because of the sensitivity of the subject of elections, the interviewed, often held back information from the research, making it difficult to obtain the data needed for the research.

3.8 Validity

Validity means the extent in which an instrument measures what it is claimed to measure (Punch, 2010). A plot testing will be done before carrying out interviews and giving questionnaires to determine the validity as noted by Brick and Wood in Samuel (2008) and also to test whether the instruments will accurately answer the research questions which provide the required information for the study. To ensure validity of the research, the researcher is going to enact questions that will give a vivid reflection of what is being studied, thus content validity is addressed.

3.8 Reliability

Punch, (2010) contends that reliability is a central concept of measurement and basically means consistency. Kirk and Miller (1986) see quixotic reliability as the attempt to specify how far a particular method can continuously lead to the same measurement or results. Jacobs and Razaueh (1996) noted that highly reliable instrument is one that gives the user a consistent measure of important characteristics despite fluctuations.

3.9 Data presentation and analysis

Data analysis is a process of systematically searching and arranging the interview transcripts and other materials that you collect to enhance your understanding of them and enable you to represent what you have discovered (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992). According to Wellman (2005), data analysis is a process of gathering data with the aim of highlighting useful information, suggesting conclusions and supporting decision making. The research presented the data gathered as guided by the research objectives and research questions. The information was analysed utilizing qualitative methods. As it were, the research triangulated

the outcomes in a way that is clear and on point. The data got from the research was analysed by a procedure of Latent Content or Secondary Data Analysis.

3.10 Data collection procedures

The research acquired a permit from the University of study (Bindura University of Science Education) approving her to direct the examination in various Civil Society Organisations. The research also had authorization from the various organisations that took part to complete the research. It is important to note that both the male and female respondents were interviewed by the research. The questionnaires were hand delivered to the participants who were given two weeks to complete the questionnaires after which they were collected in person.

3.11 Informed consent

Consent was sought from all the research participants before they were interviewed so as to ensure their rights. At the same time, the research also fully explained the purpose of the study to research participants. This aimed at ensuring that the research participants were made fully aware of the nature of the research and their role in it.

3.12 Ethical Considerations

Ethics generally spell out the researchers' responsibilities towards respondents (Laws, 2003). Research ethic is an area of growing significance that cannot be ignored. Ethics thereby assist the research to deal with ethical dilemmas that may arise. Ethics were also considered so as to protect the rights of the participants in the research process and to report results fairly and accurately. In the interest of research participants', the following ethical considerations were taken into account.

3.11.1 Anonymity

The research took every effort to ensure anonymity and confidentiality of all the participants. As part of ensuring anonymity, no names were used to refer to contributions made by participants in the research.

3.12 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, the researcher examined the research design and methodology, sample processes, instruments employed, and their validity and reliability. The qualitative technique was also addressed under research design. The qualitative design was chosen since it is simple, easy to use, and comprehends. The research equipment, questionnaire, and interviews were discussed. Questionnaires were chosen because of their benefits, which included the absence of bias produced by the researcher's or respondents personal traits, and questionnaires have an undeniable capacity to obtain correct and relevant data since respondents had time to study and consult. Interviews were also favoured since they often offer a high response rate and prompt replies.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, DISCUSSIONS AND ANALYSIS FINDINGS

4. INTRODUCTION

This chapter is wholly for the presentation, analysis and discussion of findings obtained from questionnaires, in depth interviews and observations on exploring elections and development in UMP. The data was collected from the council staff, councillors, and district administrator's office, department of national housing, department of public works, business community and villagers. The data being presented is responding to the objectives of this research. The data is presented qualitatively and quantitatively using tables, graphs, pie charts and photographs taken during observation.

4.1 AGE RANGE

As shown on figure 4.1 below, the age range was divided into four groups namely, 18-30years, 31-45 years, 46-60 years and 60+ years. It was observed that individuals with more than 60 years of age (60+) had the highest number of respondents because the youths fled UMP in search for greener pastures, followed by the youths (18-30 years) with 15 and 10 respondents respectively. Further, individuals aged, 31-45 and 46-60 were observed to have the least number of respondents of 3 and 7 respectively (Figure 1).
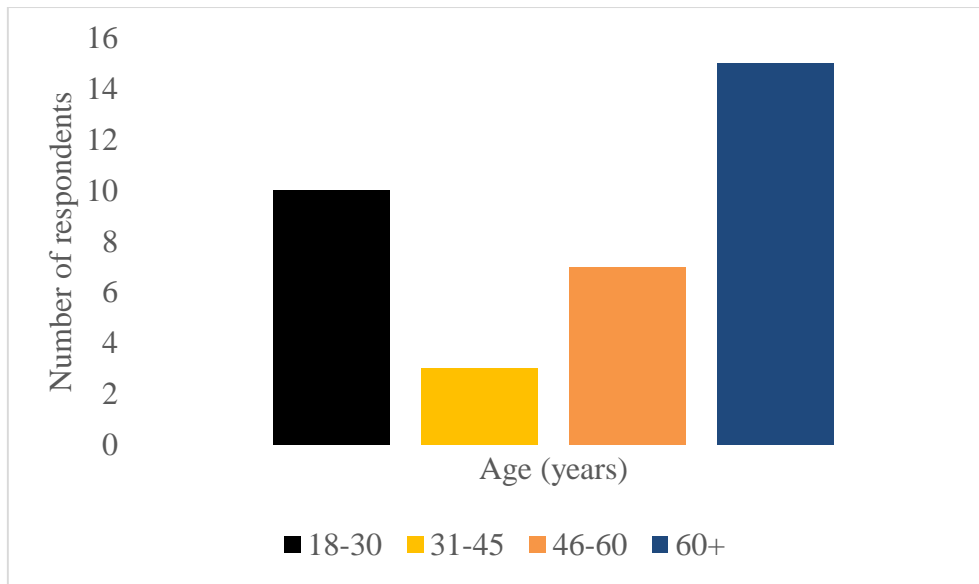
Figure 4. 1 Age range of respondents

4.2 RESPONSE RATE

The response rate from the current study was also analysed as shown on table 1 below. It was observed that business communities and villagers had highest response rate of 86% and 100% respectively. In the category of councillors 50% responded, 66% responded on the council staff category, 33% responded in the district administrator's category while 67% was obtained in the department of national housing category. Overall, the response rate was 73% which was quite a reasonable percentage for the researcher to get adequate information on the study (Table 1).

Table 1: Response rate through questionnaires and interviews

Category	Targeted population	Those who responded	Percentage of those who responded (%)
Council staff	3	2	67
Councillors	2	1	50
Department of national housing	3	2	67
Department of public works	4	2	50
District	3	2	67

Administrator's office			
Business community	10	**10**	**100**
Villagers	25	**21**	**84**
TOTAL	**45**	**40**	

4.3 Theme Analysis

The discussion of the actual data derives from interviews observations and the questionnaire. The research will focus more on emerging themes in its analysis.

4.3.1 Theme 1: Conduct of elections in UMP

Elections in Zimbabwe have been a subject of debate amongst various scholars. From all the participants given out the questionnaires, there seemed to have interesting ideas on how elections are conducted. Out of the participants who responded, one of the participants noted;

'*They are done through a secret ballot'*

These electoral systems thereby determine the rules according to which voters express their political preferences. The people are given the role of participating in matters of governance, by choosing representatives in parliament through voting. Masunungure, Bratton (2012) is of the view that regular elections are adopted as a means of selecting governments and to allow multi-party competition through secret ballots. Thus, elections have been used as a way of allowing the majority to have a say in matters of governance. to ensure sustainable human development, elections must be taken towards the aim of making good governance a reality.

To add on, one participant noted;

'Elections in Zimbabwe are held after every five years to influence democracy in the country'

Through the three systems of governance, elections for the president, legislators, senators, and local councils; a one man one vote concept has been adopted in Zimbabwe. Thus, it is beyond reasonable doubt that elections play a crucial role in African politics. Diamond, Ruhanya (2016) asserts that Zimbabwe is a pseudo- democracy that is a nation with opposition political parties that meet some tenets of electoral democracy such as regular elections but fails to provide sufficiently fair arena to contestation to allow the ruling party to be taken out of power. Therefore, regardless, of regular conduct of elections, there is little or

no change in the form of government as the same ideologies have been instilled since independence by the same party, ZANU-PF.

4.3.2 Theme 2: Are electoral times encompassed by violence?

When asked if they have ever witnessed violence in times of elections from 2000 - 2018, all respondents acknowledged being witnesses to some form of electoral violence. They explained that violence against women was more pronounced. One of the five women interviewees witnessed a couple in Uzumba Maramba Pfugwe tortured and humiliated by a ZANU-PF youth militia. She had this to say

"A teacher and his wife were forced to engage in sex naked in full view of the crowd. Assaulted for indulging in the act despite being forced and denied any choice. It was scary and humiliating."

The intimidation was done to teach fear by forcing the people to support ZANU-PF. Uzumba Maramba Pfungwe district is a ZANU-PF stronghold where the party garnered more votes than in other regions (see fig4.3 Mash East Province). In all incidents, the youth were instrumental in violent campaigns as reported by both questionnaire and interview witnesses.
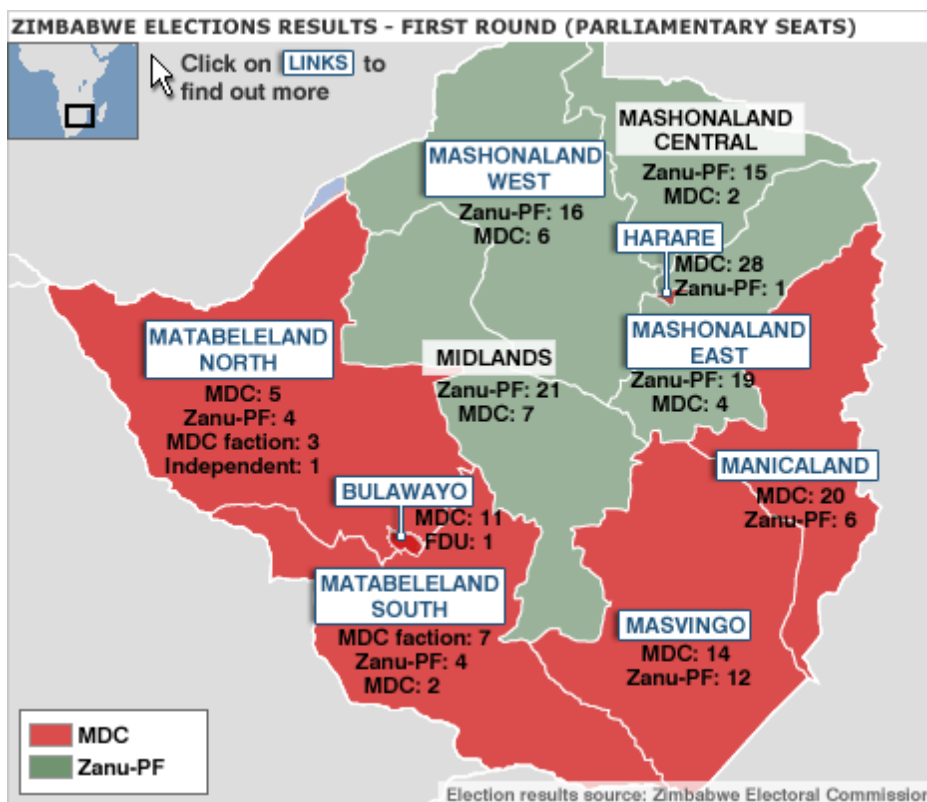

Figure 4.2. Zimbabwe map 2008

The respondents defined electoral violence to which they demonstrated a better understanding of what constitutes electoral violence. Some of the most elaborate definitions given were as follows:

- Electoral violence refers to the political unrest that engulfs a nation before, during and, in the case of Zimbabwe, even after elections. It involves all the atrocities mentioned above: arson, rape, torture, intimidation, and murder, all done in a bid to garner more votes. It is a powerful psychological tool used to force people to vote for a particular party.

- It is an activity intentionally done to another person which may result in physical or emotional or spiritual harm to that person, all this being done to deprive one's freedom of choice to voice an opinion or elect an official.

- It occurs when people are intimidated, harassed, tortured, raped, injured for life, beaten up, murdered and have their property burnt and destroyed just before and during election campaign period, and during election time itself.

- Subject someone to violence because of their different political views or to coerce them to vote for particular political persuasion.

- The contesting parties or one dominant party wields the muscle to intimidate and harass voters to a point where they are not free to elect their leaders independently. A party in power can monopolize its control over state apparatus such as the police and the army which a dictatorial ruling party can unconstitutionally deploy to crush opposition groups. Electoral violence also entails the kidnapping and brutal attacks on members suspected of belonging to an opposition political party.

These definitions indicated that participants witnessed acts of violence and intimidation and that they are in agreement with (Laakso 2007; Sisk 2008; UNDP 2009) definition.

One participant summarized what most of the participants witnessed. He states that,

"Giving a single year will be doing injustice to many years of intimidation. Electoral violence has been a continuous cycle in Zimbabwe. I witnessed a continuous span of violence from 2000 to 2008."

All these experiences help the belief that violence is a tool for cohesion and manipulation of the opposition supporters. Respondents have it that, perpetrators were mainly members of the ruling party ZANU-PF known as 'Green Bomber' or Border Gezi youth. They incorporated state apparatus such as the police, soldiers, and Central Intelligence Officers (CIOs). Some

rogue elements disguising themselves as the ruling party and a few opposition supporters were also part of the machinery. In most cases, ZANU-PF youth militias and the army deployed throughout the country to areas designated as "base stations" where they orchestrate violence on innocent people. These "base stations" were strategically placed near villages and farms to intimidate members perceived to be of the opposition. the victims of violence was anyone vocally opposing the status quo; rural dwellers and farm workers believed to be supporters of the MDC.

Participants listed several factors as contributing to electoral violence in UMP from 1980 up to date. Participants pointed to corruption, theft, and mismanagement of the economy by the government as most significant contributing factors. ZANU-PF feared repression and imprisonment in the event of a new government taking over. The regime used dictatorship to manipulate the electorate. Participants also noted that voting regulations were in shambles. It is easier for ZANU-PF to rig elections. There is no transparency, no freedom of speech, and no rule of law. Political polarization and the fear of losing an election influenced the status quo. The right to vote for the diaspora community revoked. There was uncertainty among the ruling party which led to a violation of the constitution. ZANU-PF is intolerant. The liberation movement failed to transform itself into a fully-fledged political party since Zimbabwe's independence in 1980. Participants also cited poverty and unemployment, frustration and disillusionment among other contributing factors to electoral violence.

4.3.3 Theme 3: What factors do you think qualify for a free and free election?
Free and fair elections have been a desire for everyone when it comes to conducting elections. The various participants interviewed gave insightful views on unique factors that qualify for a free and fair election in Zimbabwe.

No intimidation

Intimidation is one of the tools that politicians may use to dishearten the populace from casting a vote on the leader of their choice. This can be either through threats or violence in affecting fear on a human being, thus, his or her security is violated. Therefore, in order for there to be fair and free elections, one participant, had this to say;

'Lack of intimidation'

Basically, making someone timid or fearful to have the freedom to vote for he or she wants, does not qualify for a free and fair election. In terms of Zimbabwe post-independence,

elections there have been some issues raised by scholars when it comes to intimidation prior, during and after elections. The UMP folks who have endured decades of politically motivated violence appear to have been intimidated into silence, preferring to shun away from political discussions. Mactaggart, (2013); Zinyama, (2012) is of the view that, the Mugabe regime has had history of influencing the entire process including pre-election, during voting and post-election and in 2008 Mugabe refused to accept the results in which his party was heavily defeated, he intimidated people, before claiming victory. Therefore, from the above, elections in Zimbabwe have been equated with intimidation; thus, there have been somehow not free and fair.

Zero violence

Elections in Zimbabwe have exerted some forms of violence during and after elections. One shop owner at Katiyo business centre had this to say;

'We do not talk about politics here because you do not know what will happen to you. We have seen people being killed or disappearing. So, it is safer to keep quiet."

Zero violence is what makes an election free and fair as people will be able to fully express themselves without fear. The participants were against the element of violence when it comes to elections. To add, one of the participants had this to say;

'For there to be fair and free elections, violence should not be experienced, as it happened in the 2008 elections.'

One the youth participant has this to say;

'I hope to see peace and tolerance of other people's views because I do not see why someone can be beaten for simply disagreeing with another"

People should have the right and freedom to fully participate in elections without fear or fear of violence. Nonetheless, Zimbabwean post-independence elections have proved otherwise. One respondent, a victim of the 2008 violence, he highlighted that he still vividly remembers the beatings he suffered for not attending ZANU-PF rallies .Raftopolous (2010) is of the assertion, that recently, the formation of the Movement for Democratic change in 1999 and its formidable challenge to the hitherto unchallenged political ZANU-PF dominance created a sense of panic within the ruling party which resulted in ruthless efforts to destroy the opposition, including widespread use of violence.

A culture of violence prior, during and after elections can limit the number of people to vote and express their concerns in relation to issues of governance. Therefore, elections can never be free and fair as long as there is widespread violence before, during or after elections.

Freedom of movement, association and expression

Also, for there to be free and fair elections, there is need for freedom of movement, association and expression. People should be free to move from one place to another; associate with whomever they want and express their views whether they are political or social. From all the participants, 21 of them stressed on the notion of freedom of movement, association and expression. One of the participants had this to say;

"Freedom of movement, association and expression is important for there to be free and fair elections in Zimbabwean elections"

One of the youth participants also had this to say;

"As youths, we have aspirations and our future lies in the political decisions that we make. So, the safest way is to talk about it"

Sachikonye, (2010) who purports that, the 2008 elections in Zimbabwe, experienced a period of systemic violence, widespread bribery and unjust infringements on freedoms of movement and expression before the elections, hence ensuring that an election is far from "free and fair", even if voting day itself is exemplary.

From the above views, elections without freedom of movement, association and expression is a toothless bulldog. Zimbabwe post-independence elections have been characterised by infringements of freedom of association, expression and movement. The people are unable to fully express their political views in fear of discrimination or harassment, thus posing a problem to the rights of an individual and development.

Moreover, a free and fair election also involves election campaigns of the various political parties. Out of 15 participants, one noted that;

"There should be a conducive pre-electoral campaign period for all political parties."

Various political parties should be given the platform to campaign in a bid to influence voters before the election. The ZEC should be able to ensure compliance of state media to all the political parties before and during elections, thus ensuring pluralism and independence.

Level media coverage for all parties

Media is one form of instrument that helps in the dissemination of information from one person to another. The Zimbabwean constitution promotes freedom of the media and expression, despite being fraught by interference and the implementation of strict media laws. One of the participants noted;

"There should be level media coverage for all parties in Zimbabwe"

The use of public or private media allows for free independence of political parties contesting to freely express their views and their policies without fear. Reporters Without Borders (2011) note that, the media in Zimbabwe involves surveillance, threats, imprisonment, censorship, blackmail, abuse of power and denial of justice are all brought to bear to keep firm control over the news. Opposition views are often skewed, scantly covered or not mentioned in the state media, which has also criticised demonstrations and strikes against the government. Therefore, during elections in Zimbabwe, the ZANU-PF party has been the only party dominating the media, thus posing an element of bias.

4.3.2: Are electoral promises to people in UMP being fulfilled?

During the 1982-1990 periods, the Mutawatawa has been characterised by construction of houses (low, medium and high density), light industry and shops. Later in the period after 1990 there came an influx of rapid development with construction of government complex and other infrastructure. All in all, UMP district has one (1) growth point, three (3) rural service centre and seventy-five (5) business centre as focal areas where economic activities are taking place thus the process of development is gradualism. What is of concern is some of the development of buildings and service facilities without proper adherence to the required standards as stipulated by the guidelines and master plan and these were destroyed by council in the 2005 Murambatsvina operation. ZANU-PF is failing to deliver the services and goods to ensure development settlement. Some of the respondents were bold enough to point out structures which are within the growth point but were built without the consent of the local authority such as the Suraj Gold Processing plant which is situated near the Chikono dam which is the main source of water to the residential, commercial and industrial stands. A few illegal houses were also built close to the primary school without the consent of the local authority at the site which was earmarked for a hotel according to the layout plan. The

photographs below show some illegal settlements around the Central Business District of Mutawatawa Growth point.

Plate 4. 1: A residential cottage which was wrongly built on a hotel site- Mutawatawa growth point

Plate 4. 2: Sub-standard building structures at Mutawatawa growth point

Plate 4. 3: Roads in UMP

ZANU PF and its government have bold plans for the development through its manifestos for the country infrastructure which they are failing to deliver. The ZANU-PF Government has pursued aggressive irrigation infrastructure rehabilitation work development programme since 2002. There are no adequate government schools in Uzumba-Maramba-Pfungwe, even the day schools and now it is very difficult for people to access education because most of the schools are owned by churches who give first preference to their members. More than 10 percent of school-going children, particularly those at secondary level, are dropping out of school with the issue of distance being the major cause. As a party of the grassroots, ZANU-PF was certain to build on the phenomenal progress in the education sector in order to create a resounding social gain. According to Jonga (2013), many of the people involved in violence in Mutoko and Uzumba-Maramba-Pfungwe did not even finish primary school, and this group was the most vicious. ZANU-PF and its government are far from complacency, thanks to the many schools built by local people, it is quite clear that the whole educational infrastructure needs revamping. Many schools need resources with which to renovate old buildings while putting up new classrooms. There is a sore cry for well-equipped laboratories for both "0" and "A" Level classes. Books are in short supply, as is also classroom furniture. Although power has begun reaching many schools through the Rural Electrification Programme, not all schools are connected especially in UMP. Teachers' quarters remain woefully short and, in some schools, quite sub-standard. Therefore, ZANU-PF remains the same yesterday, today and tomorrow.

On the same note, fighting pandemics remains a crucial calling for the party ZANU PF, and government. While the AIDS Levy is proving quite important bringing relief and succour to families affected by the pandemic more resources will continue to be directed at preventive measurement which include raising awareness about risky behaviour. Respondents highlighted that in order to achieve better sanitation and health, the government should pay special attention to the provision of adequate and clean water supply in the clinics and hospital, and build many more boreholes in the rural areas. Water shortages should never be tolerated. Chinhanga dam, one of the few remaining water bodies has become the source of relief for the surrounding villages. Like an oasis in the desert, the dam is visited by hundreds of villages, who ferry water in scorch carts, school children, who ferry water buckets on their heads to the nearby Chinhanga primary school, cattle, goats and donkeys. Close to the dam is a well that provides drinking water and villagers could be seen streaming to it, with some saying they had travelled more than 10km. The ZANU PF government should and must increase health expenditure, and direct the allocations of those funds to the rehabilitation of the infrastructure in UMP.

Furthermore, Zimbabwe is, vulnerable to vagaries of nature, especially devastating drought that seems to visit it every ten years. Since Independence, it has, suffered three serious droughts and politicians in UMP had it that they will relief drought yet villagers in Uzumba Maramba-Pfungwe constituencies are struggling to put food on their tables as Zimbabwe faces a severe food security emergency further exacerbated by climate change. One participant had this to say;

'Let me tell you, we are facing drought. We are surviving on one meal per day. I don't want to lie, we are struggling'

However even after struggling to put food on their table and the constituency remain underdeveloped when the times of elections comes UMP produces positive results for ZANU-PF.

4.3.3: Why is UMP a ZANU-PF stronghold?

Since ZANU PF was one of the liberation movements parties it had already laid its roots in UMP during the war it bases on Mao"s beliefs in which the peasants were regarded as the most essential and influential class in the society towards a successful revolution. According to Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2007:3) ZANU-PF was led by a veteran of the liberation struggle whose

liberation war credentials are not questionable and because of this ZANU-PF and Robert Mugabe have been very popular since 1980, and this popularity continued even in the midst of economic and political crisis Mugabe quickly rushed to rural areas to hunt and gather support from the peasants by restructuring the party from village level (cell), up to provincial representative. The appointment of party loyalists as District Administrators and throw of the old native and racial structure into a political dust bin was a political move towards ZANU PF dominance since the party moulding its strong rural foundations. The party struggled in order to assure position occupation by its loyalist candidate. This was a way of reinforcing the party's dominance from the grassroots and this was successful because the ZANU PF party managed to take all these rural posts up to the provincial level. This practice was towards the recognition of political legitimacy by ZANU-PF itself since district councils were crucial and responsible for delivery of social services hence the fact that ZANU PF dominated the district councils was an ingredient and catalyst towards ZANU PF dominance since the delivery of services was in the name of its officials hence adding the flesh and capacity of its dominance. The coordination of DDF programs mostly in UMP also cultivated ZANU PF's dominance as the funds were disbursed by the vibrant Ministry of Local Government Urban and Rural Development which was headed by ZANU PF officials. The emergence of this rural area political utilisation brought a bright way forward for ZANU PF since this was a further reinforcement of the rural majority which had once given ZANU PF political hegemony in 1980 through the secret ballot box election with a vote of certainty from the rural areas through the Shona unstoppable support.

UMP is a ZANU-PF stronghold because, according to Meredith and Blair in Bronwell (2004:358), they demonstrate clearly that, throughout his career, Mugabe's modus operandi has been one of intimidation and ruthlessness when confronted with political opposition of any sort. During the Liberation War in the 1970s, Mugabe used violence to terrorise rural black African communities into submission, and used similar tactics, it is rumoured, to eliminate rivals within the liberation movement. In the last decade Mugabe has utilised the security service, ZANU-PF militias and War Veterans to carry out an on-going assault against his political opposition, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) and its allies. Moss and Patrick (20063:22) buttress the point on ZANU PF's use of violence to stay in power by stating that the security forces, intelligence services, and government-backed militias have terrorized civilians, committed gross human rights violations, and have been deployed to infiltrate and disrupt the opposition. In an election largely regarded as free and

fair because in March 2008 the opposition fared better than the ruling party but, in the run-off, election marred by violence ZANU PF emerged victorious after forcing the withdrawal of Morgan Tsvangirai the victor in the first-round election.

On the same note, ZANU PF has relied heavily on the security structures to mobilise support, campaign and organise elections. Members of the security structures have been deployed to run the Electoral Supervisory Commission, while war veterans have been recruited to work as militias during elections. Mugabe's government established the National Command Centre (NCC) shortly before the 2002 election, the NCC became the nerve-centre from which the 2002 election was run, and it was manned by personnel from the Zimbabwe National Army, Air Force of Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe Republic Police and Central Intelligence Organisation (Muzondidya, 2009:4). With the security services in charge of elections it became virtually impossible for the opposition to win the elections because the security chiefs had earlier declared that they would not accept a president without liberation war credentials thus standing between Morgan Tsvangirai and the presidential chair.

Furthermore, to protect itself from regime change Mugabe allowed the security services to increase its influence from 2000 onwards. Trying to remove ZANU PF from power directly threatens the military which is quick to rush to the defence of ZANU PF ensuring its continued stay in power. This was evidenced by the security sector's intervention in the electoral process after ZANU PF's defeat in the first round of the March 2008 elections by launching Operation *"Mavhoterapapi"* which involved the deployment of the military, war veterans and youth militias to intimidate people into voting for President Robert Mugabe in the second round of presidential elections which Mugabe won resoundingly after Tsvangirai pulled out citing violence against his supporters (Muzondidya, 2009:5). Therefore because of intimidation UMP remains ZANU-PF stronghold as people would cast their vote to ZANU-PF for their safety.

4.4 Chapter summary

This chapter provided an analysis of the data obtained from participant response. A regular conduct of elections does not guarantee sustainable development as illustrated by the case of UMP in Zimbabwe post-independence. Elections are basically a piece of the puzzle when it comes to elections that foster participation in a country. From the research conducted, without accountability, transparency, rule of law, and equality, participation is nothing but a

toothless bulldog. These elements complement each other for there to be development. Zimbabwe on the other hand, has put much emphasis on the participation of the populace through regular conduct of elections rather than other elements of good governance. From the findings, there has been lack of consideration of accountability, rule of law, transparency and equality when it comes to matters of governance. Despite having regular elections after every five years, Zimbabwe has been a pseudo democracy. Taken into consideration, the discoveries made from the participants and the reviewed literature, the country has been ruled by one party, ZANU PF, since its independence in 1980. Various opposition parties have contested since Zimbabwe's post-independence but were unable to surpass the one-party system (Sibanda, 2013). There have been some political changes from various political parties especially MDC, but one party has still dominated. ZANU-PF labelled the MDC as "traitors'', "stooges'', "western puppets'' and "sell-outs'', bent on undermining the sovereignty of the country. The party was involved in instigating its supporters against the MDC supporters or anyone perceived to be sympathetic to the opposition to coerce them to vote in favour of the ruling party. This therefore explains why UMP has remained the ZANU-PF vanguard despite the fact that politicians are not fulfilling their electoral promises and UMP remains undeveloped like any other rural constituencies thus the hottest place in hell is reserved for the politicians.

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter focused on the results of the study and the conclusions made from the participants' responses. The summary will encompass the various issues addressed by the study with regards to elections and development. This chapter also took note of the various recommendations deduced form the participants views with regards to the study.

5.1 Summary

Elections have been held in various African countries for the participation of the people in issues of governance and their representation. African countries after colonisation have tried to incorporate, western kind of democracies in the way of governance as an element of democracy so as to foster development. This has however, in Zimbabwe created a Zimbabwean kind of democracy whereby one party dominates, ZANU-PF.

Chapter 1- Presents a rational background of the study. This chapter emerges or comes into play as the base in researching on why UMP continuously vote for ZANU-PF despite the absence of significant development. More so apart from taking a stand as the corner stone of the entire study the chapter also stretched its focus as it further presented on issues like, the purpose of the research, research objectives and research questions.

Chapter 2- The political culture of Zimbabwe has been characterised by violence before, during and after elections. Elections, in this sense, have proven to bring about turmoil, and basically, lack of good governance afterwards. While the adoption of elections in Africa has gradually drawn attention of political scientists, the understanding of electoral participation in less democratic countries remains far behind the studies of voting in modern democracy as in the case of Zimbabwe post- independence elections. The lack of understanding of elections in non-democratic regime view elections as undemocratic or even considers them as a means of strengthening the dominance of authoritarian regimes. Electoral democracy has been challenged by various reasons in Zimbabwe post-independence. These include, lack of freedom of association, movement and expression, one party system, lack of media coverage for all political parties, violence and intimidation prior, during and after elections (Chikerema, 2014). Intimidating voters prior and during elections have been a problem when it comes to elections in Zimbabwe. Thus, people in fear, are unable to participate in elections.

Also, media is a vital tool in disseminating information. There has been an element of bias when it comes to state media in Zimbabwe as one party; ZANU PF has been able to make use of these resources fully prior, and during elections. The majority should express their views freely, move from one point to another, and freely associate with whomever they want. People have been unable to fully express themselves, in fear of being harassed or intimidated for siding with any political party, thus lack of participation in governance matters.

Chapter 3- Presents and reviews the research methodology and research designs employed for purposes of the study. The study employed the use of questionnaires and interviews as methodologies in a bid to collect more information as much as possible. The two methods were sought to provide a free and conducive environment for the participants to answer freely.

Chapter 4- There has been a misconception that once a country ushers in a new form of government after elections; the socio- economic and political situation also changes. It has however been not the case, as evidenced by the rampant violence in UMP. It is prudent, therefore, to argue that the respondents in this study strongly believe that electoral violence in UMP is perennial cancer. The interviews and questionnaire data shows a recurring theme of violence mainly perpetrated by the youth militia and state agents. Hence, elections do not bring about peace or human security but may as well bring about divisions, leading to conflicts. The electoral boards on the other hand have failed to put in place punitive measures in dealing with perpetrators of violence, thus people continue to be involved in such acts.

5.2 Conclusion

This dissertation presented a unique descriptive analysis of elections and development in Zimbabwe using a case of UMP. The dissertation used the detailed descriptive analysis to draw inferences on the trends of voters in UMP from 2000 to 2018.The analysis presented in this thesis was based on the respondents' views concerning the fulfilment of electoral promises by politicians, the nature of elections as well as to why is UMP is ZANU-PF stronghold.

The study revealed a spatially and temporally variegated strategic logic to ZANU-PF's campaigns centred on its need to preserve power and enhance its legitimacy. The thesis found that ZANU-PF pursued these goals by deploying a vote and turnout maximisation logic for

itself. It also employed a vote and turnout minimisation strategy for its opponents. The thesis showed how ZANU-PF deployed combinations of seemingly competing strategies that included persuasion, intimidation, and clientelist inducements in varied proportions across space (constituency types) and time.

The data analysed reveals that the physical infrastructure in place is exceptionally poor. However, the uncontrolled development scenario comes with its own problems, for example: uncoordinated development, land zoning challenges, skewed land use distribution, poor townscape, urban sprawl and sub-standard buildings. UMP is dominated by residential development with no corresponding industrial development and service infrastructure development. Apart from affecting the attractiveness of the town as an investment centre, uncontrolled development contradicts sustainable development agenda which advocates for efficient use of resources without exhausting them for future generations.

5.3 Recommendations

There have been various suggestions put forward with regards to elections and development in UMP, Zimbabwe post-independence. The recommendations are of great importance to the election board in Zimbabwe, government of Zimbabwe, academics and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) that relate with issues to do with elections and development.

- The research recommends, zero tolerance to political violence; prior; during and after elections.

- There should be a reinstatement of special voting with regards to Zimbabwe's elections by accommodating citizens in prisons, hospitals etc on Election Day to represent them in matters of governance.

- There should be voter education in all constituencies for the citizens to be well equipped with issues to do with voting. A comprehensive and intense voter education should lack bias and be accurate.

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