MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY

FACULTY OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

THE IMPACT OF THE MOVEMENT FOR DEMOCRATIC CHANGE (MDC) ON THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF ZIMBABWE.

BY

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Abstract

The failure by the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (Zanu PF) to address the problems of growing poverty, unemployment and the adoption of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) resulted in the deterioration of the living conditions of the hard working peasants in Zimbabwe. These problems led to a growing opposition by the Labour movement which was harboured by the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Union (ZCTU). The alliance now included a broad coalition of labour and citizens groups such as churches, cooperatives, human rights organisations, and student groups, organised into the National Constitutional Assembly (NCA). The deterioration of these living conditions gave rise to a political movement known up to today as the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). Motivated by the need to bring about democratic change and being a voice of the voiceless, MDC advocated for the basic human rights and democratic human centred development, development that is to transform the Zimbabwean peasantry. In doing so the MDC as an offshoot from the ZCTU organized strikes in a bid to put across their message to the ruling government and the masses of Zimbabwe. In a bid to explain more about the rise of MDC this research has used three theories which are the human development index (HDI), the basic needs approach and the democratisation theory. As a way of collecting data this research has employed qualitative research in includes the use questionnaires and interviews. The MDC has being involved in a GNU with Zanu PF and during its time in government it has made tangible results during its time in the government. It has offered itself as the voice of the voiceless through various demonstrations. It has made significant electoral reforms. Even to this day MDC wishes to offer itself as the way to return to normalcy, and blames the Zanu PF led government for three decades of misrule and poor governance at the hands of power hungry politicians that have transformed the jewel of Africa into an ailing state.

Key terms: MDC, Zanu PF, GNU, socio-economic, development

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The undersigned certify that they have read and recommended to the Midlands State University for a dissertation entitled: The impact of the Movement for Democratic Change on the socio-economic development of Zimbabwe.

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Declaration

I, Charlotte Rudairo Nyachowe, declare that 'Impact of the Movement for Democratic Change on the socio-economic development of Zimbabwe' research project is a result of my work and all other sources are duly acknowledged. It has not been submitted anywhere before for any degree purposes or examination in any other University. It is being submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Bachelor of Arts in Development Studies Honour Degree, in the Faculty of Arts at the Midlands State University.

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my lovely friends Chiedza, Vimbai and Blessing, my Twinny Martin, to my Aunt Nancy Nyachowe and my late uncle Charles Nyachowe.

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I would like to express my gratitude to Martin Nyamajiwa who has helped in my studies for the entire degree programme.

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Above all, I give praise and thanks to the Almighty God who provides and who has guided and kept me this far.

List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

COPAC – Constitutional Parliamentary Committee

GNU- Government of National Unity

GPA- Global Political Agreement

HDI- Human Development Index

HDR- Human Development Report

MDC-Movement for Democratic Change

NERA- National Election Reform Agenda

Zanu PF- Zimbabwe African National Union- Patriotic Front

ZCTU- Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Union

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Problem and its Setting

1.0 <u>Introduction</u>

This chapter covers the background of the study, statement to the problem, research objectives and research questions. It also includes the justification of the research, limitations, delimitations and the assumptions that would be carried out in the research study as well as the conceptual framework. It is in this paper that all work is summarized hence the purpose of this paper is to pave way for further research on the impacts of MDC on the socio-economic development of Zimbabwe.

1.1 <u>Background of the Study</u>

The republic of Zimbabwe has an estimated population of 16 million with about three to four million residing in South Africa, Botswana, the United Kingdom and other several countries. The country is divided in eight major provinces with the two largest cities Harare and Bulawayo being provinces in their own right. Among the provinces, Masvingo province is the largest province in the country.

This study was focused on the socio-economic impact of opposition parties on development and its effect on Africa as a whole, then from regional blocks such Southern African Development Community (SADC) and zeroing on the socio-economic impact of MDC on the development of Zimbabwe. According to the World Bank Data, African Gross Domestic Product (GDP) has increased from 340 to 840 billion USD between 2000 and 2007 while maintaining a growth rate from 3.5% to more than 6% per year. However with these satisfactory results about 40% of African population live below the poverty datum line. Sub-Saharan Africa is one of the most affected areas in terms of poverty, low education level and low social development. This has led to a growing opposition against the liberation political parties across African. In countries such as Nigeria terrorism as a form of opposition against the ruling party has reached its highest level and has affected the lives of the innocent civilians. The National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad (MNLA) in Mali which was an offshoot from the National Movement for Azawad (MNA) had a growing dissatisfaction with the Mali from the late 1990s to the early 2000s. The impact of this movement on Mali as a nation was that there were food crisis to the extent that Mali become extremely dependent

on outside assistance and led the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) to block the boarders in order to subdue violence. This had serious effects on the economy of Mali because it could not trade since the boarders were closed and therefore affected the trade relations of Africa as a whole. Socially Mali was reframed by other states because Malians were viewed to be violent. The main cause of the Malian crisis was due to poverty of the majority of the citizens.

In the southern region of Africa poor governance and unequal distribution of resources has resulted in conflict in the southern region. According to Dausereau and Zamponi (2005) the situation in Zimbabwe resembles that of many countries in Sub-Saharan Africa experiencing increase in conflict and instability after raising debt levels and the introduction of SAPs and government conditionality weakened the national economy. This unequal distribution of resources has resulted in an armed conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) that had many effects on the socio-economic development of the Southern African region. This conflict resulted in production limits of diamonds in DRC and therefore causing a shift on the trade patterns of the Southern African region. The conflict resulted in the abuse of women and children, women and girls were raped whilst boys and were forced to join the opposition army. This also led to civilians fleeing the country disturbing their social pattern of the SADC region.

Unequal distribution of resources, poor governance, lack of rule of law among other factors that led to growing opposition against the revolutionary parties across the SADC region have not spared Zimbabwe. The MDC in Zimbabwe was formed on 26th of February 1999 and is an offshoot of the ZCTU, a labour movement which stood for the rights of the working population even in government institution. This party wanted to address financial inclusion especially after the ESAP error which saw the deterioration of standards of living of the ordinary Zimbabweans. The MDC in its manifesto aimed at reconstruction, growth, economic and social justice. In Zimbabwe the MDC advocated for better working conditions through the NCA. In order to fully transform the lives of the peasants in Zimbabwe there was a need of empowering them economically and politically, therefore MDC propagated for economic transformation with equal distribution of resources mainly benefiting the peasants who had nothing to their names. Proper and full development encompasses political rights and justice, MDC as party advocated for constitutionalism, rule of law and justice.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

The MDC era of existence was in a heavily politically polarized country, economically dwindling, commercial agriculture was down due to complex factors chief among them the fast track land reform programme which had adverse impact on the economy and food security, the ESAP era had heard the country in every manner and democracy was just but a theory. All these factors negatively impacted development in Zimbabwe, it therefore becomes imperative to trace and assess the success and progress made by MDC as a political party and as part of the GNU.

1.3. Theoretical Framework

This section reviews the theoretical assumptions that are made to clarify the relevance of theories adopted in the research. According to Sullivan (2006) a theory is a set statements that that explains the relationship between occurrences. According to Beeghley (1997) in Milles (2001) a theory is an abstract explanation of diverse observation. As the analogy implies, it serves as a frame of reference, a guide to key issues and a vehicle of non-obvious connections. Theories help to organize the data from research into a meaningful whole. Williams et al (2006) supports the above point and argues that theory is a part of our everyday life and the most important thing about theories is we live them. It against this background that this research employs the Human Development Index (HDI), the Basic Needs Approach and the Democratisation theory.

1.3.1. The Human Development Index

The Human Development Index that was propounded by Amaya Sen in 1985 presents the concept human development as progress towards the greater human wellbeing. The key capabilities are access to health, education and goods. The HDI is regarded is a most accurate way of measuring economic development as it into account the literacy and life expectancy which in-turn an outright impact on productivity and can lead to economic growth. During the MDC apex era, Zimbabwe was in state of and economic setback that was characterised by poverty. Stanton (2007) states that in the HDI, component indices for life expectancy, literacy, school enrolment and income are combined together into a single index that can be used to measure the level of human well-being. According to the Human Development

Report (HDR) (2015) the HDI is a summary measure for assessing long term progress in three basic dimensions of human development: a long and healthy life, access to knowledge and a decent standard of living. The HDR (2015) further argues that Zimbabwe is a country is in the lowest of the human development category positioning it at 155 out of 188 as of 2014

1.3.2. The Basic Needs Approach

The Basic Needs Approach came into play during the 1970s through the work of the World Empowerment Programme (WEP). It brought employment and human needs at the centre of development. The reduction of poverty and the satisfaction of basic human needs are goals that should show up in a measure of development. Most developing countries have focused on the increase of the gross domestic product (GDP) as a measure for development. The Basic Needs Approach also supports the Human Development Index and argues that access to basic needs such as food, shelter, education and health among others is the way of achieving human and economic development of a country. The ILO report of the 1976 World Employment Conference defined basic needs in terms of food, clothing, housing and education. The nation was high unemployment rates that were as a result of the adoption of the ESAP. The majority of the Zimbabwean population was unable to access basic needs. The MDC came into play as a labour movement to address the plight of the Zimbabwean working class through the ZCTU.

1.3.3. The Democratic Theory

According to Philip (2011) democracy deals with three main aspects and these are; it has to do with voting and popular participation, free, fair and competitive elections and includes a system of checks and balances. According to Laurence (2015) democratic theory is an established subfield of political theory that is primarily concerned with examining the definition and meaning of democracy, as well as the moral foundations, obligations challenges and overall desirability of democratic governance. The democratic theory this research saves to check the activities of MDC from its apex era and during the GNU. Zimbabwe was at the edge of becoming a defacto state (one party state) when the MDC came into the picture. The coming of MDC. The main question becomes do democratic institutions facilitate socio-economic development. Democracy is a good thing as it facilitates a free human choice and it furthers good political participation. Democracy has a direct link on

electoral democracy as it affects the development. This research seeks to find out if democracy in Zimbabwe has led to socio-economic development or if indeed democracy really exists in Zimbabwe. According to Peeler (1998) democracy is a necessary component of the ability of individuals to live freely and autonomously. Instrumentally, it is an institutional guarantee that polices and laws created by a government will have a reasonable fit with the fundamental interests of the people. Thus democracy is a central determinant of the quality of life, and a central ability of men and women to live freely and autonomously as human beings. Democracy is aimed at giving development that leads to significant and continuing improvement in the quality of life for the poor and the near-poor and these are the majority of the population in Zimbabwe. Peeler (1998) further argues that democracy is development that serves to broaden the distribution of economic assets and incomes, it is development that is aimed at improving the quality of life which is access to health care, clean water and education.

There is a strong link between democracy and development. According to Peeler (1998) as parties compete for electoral support they have the policies that favour the poor and this is most prevalent in third-world countries. Democracy is more concerned by putting the needs of the people first and during election campaigns most politician seem to be more concerned with the needs of the citizens. In third-world countries politicians fail to meet the needs of the electorate as soon as they are elected, they tend to pursue their own dreams. In Zimbabwe the failure of the Zanu PF government to deliver the needs of the citizens led to the growing opposition with gave birth to the MDC. The MDC came into play as a democratic party that was aimed at bringing democratic change in Zimbabwe by being the voice of the marginalised citizens.

1.4. Conceptual Framework

It is of paramount importance to define some of the key of this study. The term social can defined as a society or community of people living together. The term development can be defined as transformative process from undesirable conditions of society to desirable ones. Social development is listening to the poor and promote their voices in policy implementation. It further argues that it means transforming institutions to empower the vulnerable groups of society. Economic development is an increase in living conditions,

improvement of citizens' self-esteem needs and free and just society. Economic development involves development of human capital, increasing the literacy ratio, improve of important infrastructure, improvement of health and safety and other areas that aim at increasing general welfare of the citizens. For the purposes of this study all the political parties that broke away from MDC due to various conflicts will be identified as MDC.

1.5. Research Aims

1. To assess the impact of MDC on social development of Zimbabwe
2. To analyze the economic effect by MDC on development.
3. To evaluate the measures and strategies advocated for or implemented.
4. To assess the existence and activities of the GNU
5. To assess the costs and benefits of multi-partism on development

1.6. Research Questions

1. What is the significance of the rise of MDC into the politics of Zimbabwe?
2. What has the MDC party done to improve the social wellbeing of the Zimbabwean population?
3. What was the progress of the GNU?

1.7. Significance of the Study

It is important to analyse and validate the effectiveness of this research and its benefits. The study will put into perspective the fact that the MDC is an offshoot of the ZCTU which is a labour body meaning the formation of the MDC has being brewing for some time since the early 1990s. The significance of the study is to assess the efforts made by the MDC to improve the social wellbeing of the Zimbabwean peasantry. It is also necessary to the public to check the underlying motives by MDC, was it to free the so called depressed population of Zimbabwe or it had entirely a different mission on its sleeves. This study is significant to the researcher as it helps the researcher to gain more experience in the research field, Midlands State University as an institution, the civil society, the students as well as the public.

1.8. <u>Limitations of the Study</u>

This research is limited by a number of facts. Participants of the research are not willing to bring out accurate information with regards to the impacts of MDC on their socio-economic wellbeing because of the fear of political violence.

The absurdity around the rise of MDC into the political scene of Zimbabwe, whether it was to help the peasants or it was because of a self-gain for the MDC party leaders.

1.9. <u>Delimitations of the Study</u>

The study is limited to Zimbabwe and mainly focus on the Midlands Province, Masvingo Province, Mashonaland West Province and Harare Province.

1.10.<u>Ethical Considerations</u>

Blaxer et al (2001) suggest that a common cause of ethical challenge is conflict of interest between the researcher and the researched. The researcher may be excited about his and her research idea, and be keen to collect in-depth high quality data from those most closely affected by whatever they are researching. In a bid to avoid conflict and getting carried away the researcher will adhere to the following research ethics;

➢ Research participants have got the right to agree or refuse to participate.
➢ Research participants will be briefed on purposed and objectives of the research.
➢ No names will be recorded for the sake of anonymity.
➢ Information provided by the respondent will not be used for any other purposes except that of academic endeavors.
➢ The questionnaires and the interview guide will only be available to the researcher for data analysis.

1.11.<u>Structure of Dissertation</u>

➢ Chapter 1- Problem and its setting
➢ Chapter 2- Literature Review
➢ Chapter 3- Research Methodology

1.12. <u>Summary</u>

This chapter is an introductory chapter of what shall be discussed in the whole dissertation. Among other issues it discussed the whole dissertation. It discussed the background of the study, the theoretical which is an explanation of the three theories adopted by this research which are the human development index, the basic needs approach and the democratization theory. This chapter also conceptualized key terms of the study and these are social, social development and economic development. It as well pointed out the research aims and questions, limitations and delimitations as well as the ethical considerations.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.0. <u>Introduction</u>

This section reveals the literature related to the topic under research that is the impacts of MDC on the socio-economic development of Zimbabwe. This research dwells much on evaluating the impacts of MDC on the Zimbabwean populace during the MDC apex era, during the GNU era, its improvement on social and economic development. It as well seeks to understand the Western Sanctions and their impacts on the development of the economy. This chapter will look firstly on MDC apex era, going down to the various impacts that were caused by MDC on the socio-economic development of MDC.

2.1. <u>The MDC apex era</u>

After the attainment of independence of Zimbabwe in 1980, Zimbabwe had two political parties, Zanu PF led by RG Mugabe and PF-Zapu led by J Nkomo and after the Gukurahungi massacre which was targeted against PF Zapu and silencing the opposition against the Mugabe regime, there was a unity accord signed between the two parties and PF Zanu was adopted into Zanu PF. After the signing of the unity accord Zimbabwe became a de facto one party state and efforts were made by President Mugabe to make Zimbabwe a 'de jure' one party in September 1990 but however it failed. During this period students, trade unionists, and workers often demonstrated to express their discontent with the government. In 1994 there was widespread industrial unrest, in 1996 civil servants, nurses and junior doctors went on strike over salary issues. There was a massive human rights abuse.

It is against this background that MDC was founded on the 11th of September 1999. It is a political party that is under the movement leadership of Morgan Tsvangirai. It was formed as an opposition to Present Robert Mugabe's ruling party ZANU PF. The MDC party rose from the Zimbabwe Labour Movement. As poverty deepened in Zimbabwe in the late1990s, and allegations of corruption against regime leaders became more frequent the ZCTU organised a number of strikes and protests. According Ploch (2010) in September 1999 the MDC was formed on the ZCTU with support from many in Zimbabwe's churches and in urban areas. In February 2000 the MDC members elected the then ZCTU General Secretary Morgan

Tsvangirai to be the President of the party. It is of paramount importance for one to note that there many views regarding the raise of MDC into the political scene of Zimbabwe.

The rising inflation and unemployment bred discontent in the 1990s and led to the opposition against the sitting government in 1999.

2.2. <u>MDC and Investment in Zimbabwe</u>

Investment can be defined as a placement of capital in expectation of deriving income or profit from the use. Investment is regarded as one of the ways that can be used to rebuild an economy that has been faced with deindustrialisation.

According to Shumba (2015) in Zimbabwe investment goes a long way in resurrecting the economy that was ravaged by the illegal sanctions imposed by the West at the behest of the MDC party. There are abundant investment opportunities in Zimbabwe but due to political instability Zimbabwe has been termed a nation that is not investor friendly due to the polices of the Zanu PF led government which has come up with polices that scares away investors and this placed the country in a situation that was unbearable and the country is yet to recover from it.

According to Makumbe (2009) the period between 2000 and 2007, the Zimbabwean economy declined sharply to the extent that 80% of the nations' manufacturing companies have witnessed declining output volumes. Investment is the way of economic revival and MDC wishes to make Zimbabwe a safe journey for investors. Shumba (2015) further argues that investment leads to job creation and it is the way of improving the socio-economic life and therefore enhancing development.

According to Sims and Masamvu (2010) the continued downfall of the economy and social challenges are undoubtedly caused by the Zanu PF misgovernance and self-destructive economic policies and these include the chaotic and violent fast track land reform and the indigenisation economic empowerment act which obliges all foreign businesses to 51% of their shareholding to the government. This resulted in the rising opposition from the MDC towards the Zanu PF led government. MDC has drafted policies that were meant to bring about investment and drive the economy forward and these polices include the JUICE and RESTART. It must be noted that the policies drafted by the MDC were very much unpopular among the Zimbabweans. They failed to bring a positive change in the country.

However it can be argues that these polices failed to gain popularity in Zimbabwe because the Zanu PF party have monopolised state media and therefore the MDC were not able advertise its policies. It must be noted that before the signing of the GPA all media was controlled by the state

2.3 <u>MDC and Sanctions</u>

The issue of sanctions in Zimbabwe has been so much misunderstood as it has been told in many ways. according to Sims and Masamvu (2010) in response to the deteriorating stability within Zimbabwe and the risk it posed to the region Western governments levied coordinated restrictive measures against high ranking Zanu Pf and other influential officials as well as specific entities believed to be gaining from systematic human rights abuses and the aberration from rule of law. According to the MDC party the Zanu PF led government has caused sanctions on Zimbabwe, this has been blamed on the rhetoric statement of the Zanu PF chairperson which states that 'keep your Britain and I will keep my Zimbabwe'. One cannot deny the fact that sanctions in Zimbabwe have been caused the behaviour of the ruling party Zanu PF, mainly the violent fast track land reform programme and the growing human rights abuses and the lack of rule of law in the country during the 1999-2002 era. According to Ploch (2010) following the controversial elections in 2000 and citing abuses of human rights and rule of law, the USA and other former allies of the government become vocal critics and the USA enforced sanctions against targeted Zanu PF members and the party allies. According to Coltart Zimbabwe's humanitarian and economic crisis are rooted in politics. The Zanu PF government has been a pains to blame economic collapse on the combination on Western Sanctions and drought. Targeted sanctions imposed on top government officials by the west only came into effect in 2002 some 5 years after Zimbabwe's economic collapse begun. Zimbabwe has had to endure sanctions before, the UN imposed an international trade embargo on the white minority government of Rhodesia in 1966. Fourteen years later the Zimbabweans economy emerged from the sanctions with one of the largest economies in Africa and a currency that was stronger than the US dollar. This shows that the imposition of sanctions are not to blame on the crisis in Zimbabwe which then resulted to the rise of MDC into the politics of Zimbabwe.

However one should not turn a blind eye on the fact that the MDC is also to blame on the issues of sanctions in Zimbabwe. Many Pan Africanist writers has blamed MDC for the sanctions as they argue that the MDC president Morgan Tsvangirai called for the sanctions in the country. According to Shumba (2015) in Zimbabwe investment goes a long way in resurrecting the economy that was ravaged by the illegal sanctions imposed by the West at the behest of the MDC party. MDC has been termed a party based on crisis and therefore the reason behind the calling of sanctions in Zimbabwe was to frustrate the Zimbabweans and turn them against the Zanu PF led government and then vote for the opposition party MDC. According to Ploch (2010) in 2002 in conjunction with the USA and the EU, the British government imposed targeted sanctions on leading members and affiliates of Zanu PF regime as well as an arms embargo and an asset freeze. The UK imposed travel bans on over 100 members and affiliates to the party. Concurrently, the UK has maintained its willingness to release funds to Zimbabwe to pay for parts of an orderly land redistribution programme if the sitting President retires and rule of law is returned. According to MDC Zimbabwe is a country in crisis, whose roots are structural in nature but whose visible signs are political, economic and social, poverty has deepened to extreme levels inequality has widened and land redistribution is incomplete and distorted. This provides a clear evidence that it is possible that MDC has called for the sanctions in Zimbabwe as it share the same ideology with the British government that the land reform programme was done in a distorted manner and that it is incomplete. The main reason of the calling of sanctions was for the sanction by MDC was to frustrate the Zimbabwean populace. According to Zanu PF, MDC uses the politics of the stomach.

Sanctions were imposed on the Zanu PF officials and affiliates but however MDC was very much aware that this move was to frustrate the Zimbabwean citizens as these sanctions caused much harm on the trade patterns of the country. The sanctions were imposed on the Zimbabwean President and this literally means that Zimbabwe is sanctions as the head of state represents the country. Sanctioning the ruling party is in a way sanctioning the country as they control of the economic activities of the country.

2.4. <u>MDC during the GNU</u>

Governments of National Unity (GNU) are not as new to Africa and to Zimbabwe. Quite a number of countries have had GNUs and according to Chigora and Guzure, these emanate as a result of failure to agree politically especially in post-election periods where different

political parties will be fighting for power to control the governments. In South Africa, Mandela led a tripartite GNU during which the tripartite nature of ANC remained coherent. The focus of the GNU was to stabilise the internal situation in South Africa and revive the economy that had been under sanctions for so long.

As hinted above the GNU is not new to Zimbabwe. The country had had several experiences with coalition governments intended to achieve national unity. Soon after the attainment of independence in 1980, the Patriotic Front comprising ZANU PF and PF ZAPU entered into a GNU with the former ruling party the Rhodesian Front. This GNU however fell apart in 1982 following the government security officials' alleged discovery of arms of war on PF ZAPU properties. This break up led to a civil conflict which is well known as the Gukurahundi Massacre and it ended in 1987 after the signing of a unity accord. The Unity Accord signed in 1987 by the then ruling party ZANU (PF) and opposition party PF ZAPU saw them merge into one party under the name ZANU PF. According to Maruta (2013) the Unity Accord was arguably the first political agreement between opposition parties in post-colonial Zimbabwe. The signing of the Unity Accord marked the end of five years of a dissident uprising in the Matebeleland and Midlands Provinces. Thus the Unity Accord brought relief to almost half of the country's population in the dissident-affected areas.

According to Sims and Masamvu (2010) the signing of the GPA opened a new chapter for Zimbabwe, it prevented the country from continuing to spiral out of control and helped to establish socio-economic and political stability. The crisis in Zimbabwe during the 2008 era culminated in the formation of a GNU on the 15th of September 2008. This era marked a new dawn in Zimbabwean politics, signifying a united front between the major political parties that agreed to bury the hatchet and forge on agreement that laid the foundation for a government for a GNU, otherwise named a coalition government. Earlier on the country had been characterised by heated political contestations of society. According to the GPA (2008) they pledged to formulate a genuine viable permanent, sustainable and nationally acceptable solution to the Zimbabwean and to resolve the nagging political and economic crisis and map a new political dispensation thereof. According to Tendai Biti, the then General Secretary of the MDC, in 2008 the country had fallen apart and the state had failed, Zimbabwe exhibited the paradox often in fragile and failing states in the African continent. He went on to argue that Zimbabwe was suffering from a lack of leadership for over a decade and a radical change was needed. The Global Political Agreement (GPA) which was signed between the three

major political parties in Zimbabwe in September 2008 gave birth to the GNU which governed the country up to 31 July 2013. The signing of the GPA was one of the most significant events in the history of Zimbabwe since independence in 1980. According to Maruta (2013) the signing of the GPA stands out as an event having had a notable impact on the direction of the country's socio-economic and political development.

The GNU brought a sigh of relief to the general Zimbabwean populace who had endured more than 30 years of the ZANU PF rule. The year 2000 began with elections held in March in which the leading contenders were ZANU PF, the MDC led by Morgan Tsvangirai (MDC-T) and the other led by Arthur Mutambara (MDC-M). The harmonised elections combined local government, parliamentary and presidential elections. For the first time, ZANU PF was officially defeated in national elections. According to Mavhinga (2011) the delay in announcing the results of the presidential election aroused anxiety about the possibility of government tampering with the results. However, the results were finally announced and ZANU PF had suffered defeat enough to allow a re-run of the election which was a one man's race after the withdrawal of the MDC from the election. According to Mavhunga (2011) political writer the issue of GNUs infact discredit the essence of having elections, by the end of the day the biggest beneficiary is the loser. It can be argues that the 2008 GNU in Zimbabwe was a survival strategy by the ZANU PF party.

Mukoma in Chigora and Guzura (2011) defines a GNU as coalition government, designed specifically to accommodate all participating political players in governmental structures. Chigora and Guzura (2011) further argue that the GNU was a unity arising from the political contestations that emerged in the year 2000 and had a ripple effect leading to economic meltdown and political malaise. This resulted in the improvement of the livelihoods of the general populace of Zimbabwe. During its time the coalition government the MDC has contributed to the socio-economic development of Zimbabwe. To start with the 2005-2008 era was faced the high rates of inflation with at one time the inflation rate being a four trillion percent and after the GNU era the inflation rate drastically fell to about 4%. Zimbabwe have faced steep rises in the prices of food and non-food items during the 2005-2009 era, the coalition government's adoption in 2009 of multiple currencies including the US Dollar stabilised prices but however the cost of living remained high.

According to Dude and Makwere just like the Unity Accord in 1987, the GNU was a way of restoring peace and order in the country. Dress (2005) argues that security and peace building issues should not be a sole preserve of governments. He calls for a strong horizontal and vertical synergy between peace building structures and a creation of formal structural relationship. The establishment of the GNU opened new opportunities for peace building in Zimbabwe. The establishment of the Organ on National Healing, Reconciliation and Integration (ONHRI) provided a window of opportunity for the creation of a comprehensive peace infrastructure although it would appear the organ has reminded purely political in its approach. The adoption of the Joint Monitoring and Implementation Committee (JOMIC) after the GNU was a peacebuilding strategy. Peacebuilding strategy is the development of constructive personal, group and political relationships across ethnic, religious, class, national and racial boundaries. The period before the coming of the GNU was characterised by political violence and intimidation. During the GNU there was a need for peace in the country and hence the JOMIC. According to section 22.3 of the GPA, the JOMIC should ensure the implementation of the accord. It was supposed to receive reports and complaints and serve as a catalyst in creating and promoting an atmosphere of mutual trust and understanding between the parties. According to Political Analyst Paradzai Ruhaya, the body has achieved nothing due to lack of unity among the political parties. The absence of violence between the citizens made it seem as if there was peace in the country yet the political parties themselves were failing to be at peace and therefore JOMIC failed to carry out some of its operations. According to the Zimbabwean Newspaper of 21 November 2012 JOMIC was ineffective in its mandate to assist political parties with the implementations of the GPA. The main reason behind the failure of JOMIC was that there was no legal framework guiding JOMIC and the lack of political will from both parties. The then JOMIC spokesperson Joram Nyathi had a different point of view, he argues that the body had pushed towards the prevalence of peace and tolerance in the country, he added that people that people misunderstood the body's function.

2.5. MDC and Constitutional Reforms

A constitution can be defined as a legal document controlling the exercise of state power. According to Belz (1998) a constitution is not simply a collection of rulers and institutional arrangements regarding the use of state power but is in addition about placing limits on that power. Zimbabwe having inherited a constitution between the colonial and liberation forces

at the dawn of independence (The Lancaster House Constitution in 1979) and having amended it 19 times in 30 years. The first attempt to create a constitution failed when the voters of the referendum rejected the proposed constitution in February 2000. According to Magaisa (2012) the major grievance was in regards to the process of making the new constitution which civil society groups criticized as dominated by and intended to advance government interests.   The experience since independence has demonstrated the government's pre-occupation with the as means of legitimizing its power and less a mechanism of limiting such power. The government appeared to have been interested in only constitutionality and put aside constitutionalism by which the principles governmental powers must be limited. Magaisa (2012) says although a constitution is a legal document controlling the autocratic control, legitimizing rather than preventing arbitrary power. It must be noted that for a country to promote democracy it is necessary to implement the principle of constitutionalism. Allen and Thomson says that a government cannot be completely trusted with power and that this power must therefore be restrained.

Magaisa (2012) says in Zimbabwe rather than power the constitution being the supreme law controlling the exercise of state power, it became an instrument for government control and the legitimization of arbitrary actions. Evidence of the state trying to practice outright authority is realised in Constitutional Amendment number 17 of 2005 which states that

> *16(3) The provisions of any law referred to in section 16(1) regulating the compulsory acquisition of land that is in force on the appointed day, and the provisions of section 18(1) and (9), shall not apply in relation to land referred to in subsection 2(a) except for the purpose of determining any question related to the payment of compensation refer dib section 2(b), that is to say a person having any right or interest in the land:*
> (a) *"Shall not apply to a court to challenge the acquisition of the land by the state and no court shall entertain any such challenge*
> (b) *"May, in accordance with the provisions of any law referred to in section 16(1) regulating the compulsory acquisition of land that is in force on the appointed day shall challenge the amount of compensation payable for any improvements effected on the land before it was acquired.*

The legal and practical implication of this provision is that it ousted the jurisdiction of the courts of law in land acquisition matters. In so doing the parliament and the executive took over the role of the judiciary and thereby violated a principle of constitutionalism which is

the separation of powers. It is with these reasons that the MDC party advocated for a new constitution and wanted a change of government. The sitting government was abusing its powers and did not consider the need of its citizens.

The centrepiece of the GPA reforms was a parliament led constitution making process under the direction of the Constitution Parliamentary Affairs Committee (COPAC), a board that was tasked with the drafting of the constitution.

2.6. MDC and Socio-economic Development

The economic situation in Zimbabwe led to a severe economic contraction, a sharp drop in living standards for the rural poor and the urban poor, a massive exodus of Zimbabweans in search for work. According to the Solidarity Peace Trust over three million Zimbabweans were living outside the country by 2004, this amounts to 25% of the total population and about 50% of productive adults. Those living the country because of economic hardships are forced to send remittances back home. This has resulted in the emergence of child headed families as parents go to the greener in search for livelihood strategies. According to the IMF and World Bank Zimbabwe is the fastest shrinking economy prior to 2009. The gross domestic product (GDP) has declined by over 50% since the late 1990s.

2.7. Summary
This section focused on the related literature of the study. It main emphasis on the reasons behind the rise of MDC into the political scene of Zimbabwe and it has managed to achieve. From the related literature provided it is relatively clear that there is the period of the MDC apex era has faced much resistance from the ruling party Zanu PF as it made it difficult for MDC to enter the political scene. Although the MDC had become very much popular with the electorate, the Zanu PF made it difficult for MDC to be in power. On the other hand, MDC was desperate for power and used the politics of the stomach through the calling of suctions on Zimbabwe. The MDC has been able to stand as the voice of the voiceless and during its time in the GNU it has made some significant changes that cannot be denied.

Chapter 3

Research Methodologies

3.0. <u>Introduction</u>

Main focus in this chapter was on how, where and when the study was carried out. It focused at population targeted, sample size, research instruments, data presentation and procedures analysis. Research subject requires methodology to reach conclusions. Research instruments are tools used in the collection of information and data. Process of data collection is a tool used to collect data and information. According to Borg and Gall (1989) data presentation and analysis procedures are used to organize, describe and analyze collected data.

3.1. Research Methodology

Petersen (1995) defines methodology as ways of producing and analysing data so that theories are tested, accepted or rejected. Norman (2000) defines methodology as systematic study of methods that are or have been applied within a discipline. Also defined as principles analysis, methods and rules employed by a discipline. Methodology includes concepts collection as related to a field of inquiry, therefore without a systematic way of producing knowledge. In this study methodology is the research project framework which stipulated information that was gathered from which sources and by what means and procedures.

3.2. <u>Research Design</u>

Petersen (1995) states that research design provides magnetic relationship which holds the research project together. Research design is used to structure research and show how major parts of the research project are addressed. It also shows how samples and methods of investigation work hand and glove in trying to address the central research questions. The study used a descriptive survey design, it investigated the impacts of the MDC on the socio-economic development of Zimbabwe.

3.3. <u>Exploratory Research Design</u>

The researcher used the exploratory research design in analysing the activities of MDC on the

development of Zimbabwe. It helped in the determination of best research design, data collection method and selection of subjects. It based on secondary research such as reviewing literature available, qualitative approaches such as informed discussion with the Provincial chairpersons of both MDC and Zanu PF. This approach was useful in gaining background information on a particular topic. It is flexible and can address research questions of all types (what, why and how).It provided an opportunity to define new terms and clarity existing concepts and is often used to generate formal hypotheses and develop more precise research problems. Exploratory researches studies help establish research priorities.

However, the exploratory research generally utilised small sample size and thus findings are typically not generalizable to the population at large. The research process undermining exploratory studies is flexible but often unstructured, leading to only tentative result that have limited value in decision making. The nature of the research inhibits an ability to make definitive conclusions about the findings. According to Cooper and Schindler (2006) the design lacks rigorous standards applied to methods and analysis because of the areas of exploratory could be to determine what method or methodology best fit the research problem.

3.4. Target Population

The target population is the entire group a researcher is interested in, a group which the researcher wishes to consult in compiling his or her research. A population is a collection of objects, events or individuals having common characteristic that the researcher is interested in studying. Donovan (1997) defines research population as the total set that includes all the variables with the characteristics one wishes to study and understand. The target population for this study are the provincial chairpersons of MDC and Zanu PF and this study used for provinces namely Harare Province, Mashonaland West Province, Masvingo Province and Midlands Province. Various members of the both parties have been interviewed.

3.5. Sampling

Longhurst (2000), defines sampling as a process of selecting from a population. It also embraces the derivation of estimates and any inferences derived from them for that population and a sample is a subset of a population. Sampling method can be divided into two that is probability and non-probability sampling. The former is a technique in which every member of the population has an equal chance of being selected. Non probability

selection is where being selected into the sample relies on the characteristics of what the researcher is after. Sampling saves time and data collection is more manageable as fewer people are involved and dealing with a sample leads to higher overall accuracy than the whole population. In this study the researcher employed judgemental sampling.

3.6. Judgmental Sampling\Purposive Sampling

Judgmental sampling is defined as the process whereby the researcher purposively selects some respondents and purposively leaves some respondents. The researcher selected a particular group or category to act as the representation of the whole population. The researcher used this technique to pick the people, from MDC and from Zanu PF and the members of other political parties such as Mavambo. This approach is effective as the researcher targeted key people well versed with knowledge and understanding of the area under study. The researcher picked the provincial chairpersons as they are well versed with the politics of the day. The researcher also targeted those who have served more than 15 years in each party as they have the full knowledge of how MDC raised into the political scene of Zimbabwe. The researcher also picked people from different political backgrounds other than that of MDC or Zanu PF so as to gather information that was not politicised.

3.7. Simple Random Sampling

Simple random sampling is the technical technique which were used by this study to determine the probability that the sample accurately represents the population from which it was drawn. It is a selection process and obtains a sample in such a way that every member of the population has an equal chance of being selected.

3.8. Advantages of Random Sampling

- ➢ It removes bias in the selection of a sample.
- ➢ It is defensible that is the replication and verification is possible.
- ➢ It provides precise mathematical statements.

3.9. Disadvantages of Random Sampling

➢ Time consuming.

➢ Difficult to understand hence false conclusions can be drawn.

➢ Requires high level of mathematical knowledge to the researcher.

3.10. Primary Data

According to Van Heerlen (1999) primary data sources is original material from the field one is studying. It is that data collected by the researcher expressly to answer questions at hand. In this research primary data collection involved interacting with respondents or people with information pertaining to the area understudy. Primary data is unpublished data as it is straight from the field of investigation. The instruments that was used by the researcher to collect or gather primary data was interviews and questionnaires.

3.11. Questionnaires

Primary data for this research was obtained through the use of questionnaires. Questionnaires are series of printed questions that are handed or mailed to respondents who complete them on their own, giving their own judgments. They can be either being open or closed. In open questionnaires the reply that the respondent wishes to give is acceptable and in closed the responded is presented with a list of possible answers from which to choose, closed ended questions. This researcher used both open and closed ended questionnaires.

3.11.1. Advantages

The advantages of closed ended questions are that:

➢ The answers were standard and could be compared from person to person.

➢ The answers were much easier to code and analyse.

➢ The respondents were clearer about the meaning of the questions.

➢ There was no chances for irrelevant answers from the respondents.

3.11.2 Disadvantages

- It was relatively easy for the respondents who were not sure of what of their answer to choose answers randomly.
- There will be higher chances of clerical arrears as the respondents would circle the wrong answer
- Open ended questions will be used for complex questions that could not answered in few simple categories and required more detail and discussion.

3.11.3. Advantages of Open Ended Questionnaires

- The use of open ended questions helped the researcher to see what the respondent viewed as appropriate answer categories.
- They also helped the respondents to answer adequately in all the detail he or she likes and to clarify and their answers.
- Open ended questionnaires were used as a preference for complex issues that could not be condensed into few small categories.
- They also allowed more opportunity for creativity or self-expression by the respondent.

3.11.4. Disadvantages

- They lead to the collection of worthless and irrelevant information...
- Data is not standardized from person to person making comparison difficult.
- They also require much time for the respondent which is a challenge given the time frame.

3.12 Interviews

Interviews are defined as direct conversations that will take place between the researcher and selected respondents. Such approach was a conversational one as it gave the researcher the opportunity to interpret body language of their respondents. The technique gave the researcher a chance to pose follow up questions and probe for more information. Semi structured interviews (using checklist) will be used. The researcher personally interviewed

the selected respondents the provincial chairpersons. Telephone interviews were used in very exceptional circumstances. As a way of enhancing convenience and efficiency the researcher made appointments with respondents prior to the interviews and made arrangements of time and venue. During interviews a flexibility approach was employed and efforts were made that there was no diversion from the main purpose of the study. Interviews were useful to explore more information from questionnaires face to face with the respondents. However the researcher noted that interviews are time consuming. There was also much greater possibility of bias and therefore reliability problems than with questionnaires as the interviewer and interviewee interacted in some way. Factors such as political party affiliated by the interviewee as some were becoming emotional and therefore affected the outcomes of the interview.

3.13. Secondary Data

According to Link (2000) secondary data is information or data used other than the purpose it was collected for. Secondary data saves time, money and may provide access to historical data which cannot be produced using primary means. Policy documents and previous cases for hearings documents will be analysed and labour outcomes. The researcher searched for information from secondary sources such as the MDC Manifesto, the GPA as well as newspapers.

3.14. Ethical Consideration

Privacy and confidentiality of sensitive information will be upheld
- ➤ Participants consent in participation will be sought first rather than compelling them when they are not willing.
- ➤ Participants' rights in the research will be upheld and not interfered with.
- ➤ Permission to carry out the research will be sought.
- ➤ There will be no names endorsed on questionnaires or against any information gained in the research.
- ➤ Rules and formalities of each party will be followed during the research.

3.16 Pre Testing Instruments

The researcher carried out a pilot study with use of personal interviews with provincial chairpersons of both parties that is MDC and Zanu PF.

3.17 Data Collection Procedure

The researcher made appointments by telephone. The distribution, administration and retrieval of instruments was by hand by the researcher.

3.18 Data Presentation and Analysis

Data collected was presented using a descriptive method.

3.19 Summary

The chapter focused on how this research was carried out. It describes all activities which include Research Design/ Plan which be a descriptive survey by way of personal interviews and questionnaires. The subjects who were the Provincial chairpersons of Midlands Province, Harare Province, Masvingo Province as well as Mashonaland West Province. The researcher also handed out questionnaires to different members of the political parties in Zimbabwe. In the next chapter, the researcher looked at data presentation techniques, discussion and interpretation of research findings. The data presentation and analysis was done in a descriptive manner with the aid of pictures.

Chapter 4

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION.

4.0. Introduction

This chapter discusses the study findings with regards to the impact of MDC on the socio-economic development of Zimbabwe. The coming of the MDC party into the political scene caused a stir on the development of Zimbabwe. The situation that was prevailing in Zimbabwe in 1999 seemed to internally reveal an unstable country politically, economically and socially. The aim of the researcher was to find out the events and activities after the MDC apex era mainly the issues to do with stability of the country politically socially and economically. In order to give a clear meaning of the results the research questions of this study were answered and presented in explanatory form with the aid of pictures. The raw data from the field research was arranged and presented into meaningful information and was codified or analysed and gave meaningful results of the study.

4.1. Response Rate

Table 4.1 Questionnaire and Interview Response Table

Respondents	Target	Actual Respondents
Provincial Chairpersons of MDC and Zanu PF	8	6
Members of MDC and Zanu PF	16	11
Members of other political parties	5	4
Total	29	21

Source: Primary Data

As seen in table 4.1 the targeted population was mainly politically active citizens. Interviews were done with the provincial chairpersons of both MDC and Zanu PF. According to Howard et al (2005) required interview response rate should be at least three quarters of the targeted population and this can be noted in table 4.1 column 1. The researcher also distributed questionnaires to members of MDC, Zanu PF as well as other political parties in Zimbabwe. The response of the questionnaire was above 50% showing reliability of results. Owen and Jones (1987) say an average response rate of 20% of questionnaires returned is considered

satisfactory while 80% is exceptionally good as evidenced by the response rate to this research.

4.2. Fieldwork Area and Profile of Respondents.

The researched carried out the research in four provinces of the country which are Harare Province, Mashonaland West Province, Masvingo Province and Midlands Province. From each province at least one area was included as shown in table 4.2. The researcher deliberately made effort to balance gender and age of the respondents and 65% of the respondents were males and the rest were women. Also of importance is the aspect of judgemental and convenient sampling made. This was especially done to save time and target respondents who were as knowledgeable on the subject matter as possible.

Table 4.2 Fieldwork Area

Province	District Visited
Harare	Harare Urban
Mashonaland West	Chinhoyi
Masvingo	Masvingo Urban
Midlands	Zvishavane

Source: Primary Data

4.3. The rise of MDC

The rise of MDC into the political scene was as a result of number of factors. During the time of the MDC apex era Zimbabwe was in a state of an economically crumbling economy, it came during the time when the country was facing serious socio-economic hardships. According to the respondents the MDC came into the political scene due to poor polices of the government such as the adoption of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) and the involvement of Zimbabwe in the DRC war without enough funds and this that brought untold suffering among the working class. This resulted in many uprisings against the government from student boards and the ZCTU. The friction between the employer (government) and the employees gave rise and power to the ZCTU which in turn gave rise to the MDC. According to Coltart the ruling party was responsible for an economic meltdown that has turned one of African's most prosperous countries into a country with one

of the lowest life expectances in the world. The deterioration of the standards of living of the Zimbabwean populace gave the MDC the power to rise against the government and stand for the rights of the people

Political power was in the hands of a few power hungry Zanu PF politicians who were at the edge of turning the country into a *de jure* one party state and give all the powers to the President. There was a need to ensure the system of the checks and balance on the issue of power and as well ensure that rule of law was being put into full practice. According to Meridith (2002) the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) was formed in September 1999 out the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Union (ZCTU) and members of some thirty civic groups to challenge Zanu PF's monopoly to govern Zimbabwe.

There was massive corruption within the government. Many MDC respondents argued that the formation of MDC was to end the corruptions of the Zanu PF led government. From 1990 to this day MDC wishes to offer itself as the way to return to normalcy and blames the Zanu PF led government for three decades of misrule and poor governance at the hand of power hungry politicians that have transformed the jewel of Africa into an ailing state. MDC has stood as party that stands and fights against corruption. The land reform programme that only benefited the Zanu PF members and which resulted in top government ministers having more than two farms while other did not have a single acre. This is the reason why to this day MDC wishes to carry out a proper constitutional land reform programme in Zimbabwe.

In regarding to the issue of the rise of MDC into the political scene, some Zimbabwean citizens have a totally different point of view. The MDC was formed at the instigation of mainly the former commercial farmers through the commercial farmers union (CFU) who had their farms compulsorily gazatted to resettle the landless Zimbabweans after the British former colonizer breached its agreement in the contracts that were signed at the Lancaster House Talks on the land question. On the other hand the landless Zimbabweans were becoming restless for a land, the Zanu PF had no option but to embark on the land reform Programme. It is argued that the growing resentment towards the Zimbabwean government nationalist polices by the West led to the formation of MDC. MDC is viewed as a resident weapon used by the west, it is viewed as the puppets of the west within the country as a play to effect regime change.

4.4. <u>Beneficiaries of MDC in Zimbabwe</u>

According to the MDC supporters, the Zimbabwean populace benefited from the rise of MDC into the political scene of Zimbabwe. The MDC has been highlighting the issues that are affecting the all Zimbabweans. For a decent standard of living people need jobs with a decent salary. The working class benefited through the improvement of the labour   law.

The main beneficiaries of the formation of MDC were the political elites of the party. They benefited politically as they were given money by the western governments. The west also benefited according to Zanu PF as they managed to bring down the Zimbabwean economy through the imposition of the illegal sanctions.

The formation of the opposition was an eye opener to the ruling party Zanu PF as it gave them a warning that they was a high possibility of them losing a power base in the country. The Zanu PF then had to do what it deemed necessary to remain in power. The extreme wave of violence during the fast track land reform was a way to safeguard its sovereignty that was the edge of being taken away by the new opposition party, MDC. According to the respondents Zanu PF had to tighten up and find new survival tactics in the game of politics and they further argue that this is the main reason why Zanu PF has remained in power even up to this day. In line with this Sims and Masamvu (2010) argues that Zanu PF introduced repressive legislation including three constitutional amendments between 2000 and 2007 and these included the notorious Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA) which criminalised the practise of journalism without a licence and the Public Order and Security Act (POSA) which severely restricted freedom of speech and assembly. The introduction of AIPPA and POSA was meant to restrict the MDC from being popular with the citizens.

4.5. <u>Conflict Resolution</u>

The major political rivals of Zimbabwe Zanu PF and MDC could not sit down to discuss the way forward and hence there was need for a mediator and to this end the African Union (AU) appointed the then President of the Republic of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki. The GNU was set to ensure the creation of a democratic Zimbabwean.

According to Moyo and Kayoayo (2013) the protracted conflict in Zimbabwe between the ruling elite and the democratic forces had taken a heavy toll in terms of loss of human life, economic meltdown and erosion of its democratic credentials, they was need of a conflict resolution strategy. The GNU was created to cool down tensions between Zanu PF and MDC arising from the 2008 runoff election. According to Dude and Mawere (2010) just like the unity accord of 1987 the GNU was a way of restoring peace and order in the country. During the pre-election period of 2008 and before the run-off period Zanu PF unleashed a wave of violence against the MDC supporters. Moyo and Kayayo (2013) further argues that while bad governance, democratic deficit and blatantly flawed electoral process coupled with gross violation of human rights had eventually stripped the Mugabe regime of all the democratic pretenses, the launching of a comprehensive negotiation seemed to be the first towards the resolution of the crisis. The GNU as regarded as the best approach to end power struggles between the Zanu PF and MDC.

 4.6. Success of the GNU.

The GNU came at a time that was the country was facing political violence and a crumbling economy. The main aim of the GNU was to restore order and peace in the country as well to revive the economy. According to Mukunhlani (2014) the effects of the GNU on political and economic development of the country were a mixed bag but it was a sigh of relief to Zimbabweans who had endured it all during the period 2000-2008.

4.6.1. Economic Success

From the research finding it is clear that the understanding of the Zimbabweans is that the main aim of the GNU was to resuscitate the economy and improve the lives of people which had deteriorated. It is argued that the Zanu PF government had failed to improve the economy and hence there was a need to engage the in the government which made a significance rise of the economy. With the coming of the GNU, multi-currency system was introduced. According to Mukunhlani (2014) the coming of the multi-currency system gave birth to stability in the financial sector. Before the coming of the GNU chaos characterized the banking sector with people failing to withdraw their salaries and an inflation of two hundred and thirty-one million percent. The government had no a legal tender of its own and resorted to the use of the bearer cheques. In June 2013 the inflation was pegged at a single digit of

5%. There was a resurrection of defunt services such as Medical Aid, Insurance and Pension schemes. There was the availability of basic commodities in supermarkets as well as fuel at the service stations. However respondents have argued that although there was the availability of the basic commodities and fuel, these commodities were only available in supermarkets and not at homes, Zimbabweans continued to suffer. One MDC respondent stated that:

> *"MDC is a party that is committed to promoting a modern, inclusive and socially just economy. The MDC has a comprehensive to give the Zimbabwean children back their future, reintroduces the grants and loans programme for tertiary students and to establish a system of bursaries and scholarships for disadvantaged students."*

It is clear that MDC is committed to improve the livelihoods of the Zimbabwe population and bring a tangible turn to the economy.

4.6.2. <u>Social Effects.</u>

Mukunhlani (2014) argues that with the advent of the GNU schools and universities opened their doors to the public. The new government negotiated deals with the United Nations Children Education Fund (UNICEF) and textbooks were availed to schools. The education sector was improved with the introduction of the teacher incentives and through the dollarization civil servants' salaries began to gain its buying power. Among the key capabilities of the HDI is education which is measured by the literacy levels.

Notable results was also with the media industry. According to Mutanda (2012) prior to the GNU the print and broadcasting media were conquered by the Zanu PF governance through its publications such as The Herald, The Sunday Mail, The Chronicle and The Manica Post. Broadcasting channels were the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation Television (ZBC TV), Radio Zimbabwe, Power FM and national FM. With the coming of the GNU there was the emergence of independent newspapers such as the Newsday, Daily news and radio stations such as Zi FM and Star FM. Mutanda (2012) says that freedom of the media represents a crucial step towards societal developments because it allows people to speak their mind on issues impending development and solutions to improvement.

4.7. The Constitution Making Process

The mandate of the GNU was to come up with a new constitution in Zimbabwe. According to Ndlovu (2010) the constitution was to partly fulfil the demands of the GPA, partly to afford the citizens an opportunity to contribute to the making of a democratic indigenous constitution and partly to afford the nation an opportunity to transcend the past violence, authoritarianism, impurity and arbitrary rule. There was a need of a new constitution as the Lancaster House Constitution was drafted because of the need of a cease fire and there was no participation of the black majority, it was a negotiated document. Ndlovu (2010) argues that the period of 1980-1990 Zimbabwe was governed by a 'cease fire constitution' and the period 1990-2010 Zimbabwe was being governed by a Zanu PF constitution. There was a need for a people driven constitution and hence the COPAC constitution. There was a need for a people-driven constitution since 2000.

4.8. MDC, the Voice of the Voiceless

MDC has also presented itself as the voice of the voiceless through its demonstrations. In April MDC carried out a demonstration as it was demanding the 2.2 million jobs that were promised by Zanu PF during its 2013 election campaign. The MDC was also demanding the $15 billion stolen from the Chiyadzwa diamonds as they argued that the corrupt Zanu PF government was responsible. From the pictures below it is evidenced that efforts made by MDC to address the issues that are affecting Zimbabweans are always crushed by the government as the riot police was sent against it. MDC has carried out a number of demonstrations in a bid to address the socio-economic problems that the country was facing. The MDC has offered its self as the mouthpiece of the Zimbabweans to address the citizens' grievances to the government.

According to some MDC respondents, MDC is a people's movement that promotes freedom of affiliation and speech. It encourages the masses to stand up for their rights and also respects human rights and the constitution. They argued that MDC is a social democratic party committed to serving all citizens through a transparent and accountable government. A transparent and accountable government is a government that is that has the needs of its people at heart. Sirowy et al (1990) argues that most developing societies are in a state of transition from authoritarian regimes to democratic ones. By the virtue of being the voice of

the voiceless MDC wishes to usher Zimbabwe into a democratic regime where the citizens are free to express themselves and their needs being the priority of the government.

MDC party is that is aimed at combatting corruption. This is evidenced by the recent demonstration they carried out in the capital city, Harare on 14th of April 2016. The main reason for the demonstration was a demand of the 15 billion form the Marange/ Chiyadzwa diamonds which they believe was taken by the top Zanu PF government officials for their own benefits.

Source: Secondary Data

In a bid to promote social justice the MDC has stood with the Dzamara family after Itai Dzamara a journalist and political activist was abducted in Glen View in 2015. MDC leader has once joined the Dzamara family in demonstrations as a demanded for the release of their brother, father and husband. He has joined the family in a prayer meeting as the family was praying for the safe return of Itai Dzamara. MDC has proven itself to be the voice of the voiceless. This is shown by the pictures below.

Source: Secondary Data

Source: Secondary Data

4.9. Challenges of the GNU.

The GPA was signed by the major two political powers and intended to provide a foundation for response to the multiple political and economic crises but however become a battleground for control if the country future. The GNU faced various challenges as many respondents to this study termed it 'a marriage of convenience'. According to Gomera (2013), although there was an air of political stability, there were undercurrents between the political parties, the GNU was has been characterized by squabbles, disagreements and reengagements among the main actors. According to Makoni (2012) the GNU was not people oriented and hence it was a failure. He argued that 5 years after the formation of the GNU, Zimbabwe was still struggling with massive water and power cuts, poor health facilities, company closures , skills flight as evidenced by the almost four million of the country's nationals who have left the country in search of better prospects in the Diaspora.

4.10. Ideological and policy discord in the GNU

According to the Zanu PF respondents, the GNU was a survival strategy by the Zanu PF party. This clearly show that the Zanu PF did not have the people at heart when it entered the GNU, it was pursuing its own political agenda. According to Article 3.1 (a) of the GPA,

> 'The parties agree to give priority to the restoration of the economic stability and growth in Zimbabwe. The government will lead the process of developing and implementing an economic recovery strategy and plan. To that end the parties are committed to working on a full and comprehensive economic programme to resuscitate Zimbabwe's economy which will urgently address the issue of production, food security, poverty and unemployment and the challenges of high inflation, interest rates and the exchange rate.'

It clearly shows that the Zanu PF from the onset signed the GPA yet it did not adhere to the demands of the agreement. The GPA failed to give priority to the citizens of Zimbabwe as every party signed the GPA with its own hidden agenda. According to Chigora and Guzure (2011) GNUs emanate as a result of failure to agree politically with especially in post-election periods where different political parties will be fighting for power to control the government. This clearly explains the GNU in Zimbabwe, it was a result of political disagreement of political parties that were contesting in the presidential elections in the 2008 election.

Some respondents have also argued that the GNU was the only chance that the MDC had to rule the country and therefore could not miss it. The MDC had almost spent a decade trying to be in power, it only got into power after the inconclusive elections in 2008 in which it was ruled that there was no outright winning party to claim the absolute power, the power sharing then resulted in MDC getting the premiership under the new dispensation. The ideological agenda of MDC was to take the country's presidency through electoral victory but the GNU seemed to be the only chance it had to be in the government. According to a Zanu PF respondent:

> "MDC is a puppet party controlled by the British who were opposing the majority of blacks in Zimbabwe."

The GNU was comprised of major political parties who were using this chance to further their political interests. Mukunhlani (2014) supports this notion and argues that the inclusive government has often acted as two distinct competing, sometimes opposing entities rather than a government of national unity. The main reason behind this is because the GNU was had two different political parties with different political ideologies that needed to be pursued. According to Tatira and Marevesa (2011) the main reason of the failure of the GNU was the conflict of ideology between Zanu PF and MDC. The difference between the two parties can be best explained by their historical backgrounds. Zanu PF has liberation history, a party that saved the nation from the white minority rule while at the same time claims that MDC formations are handled by the west who are aimed at reversing the gains of the liberation struggle. On the other hand MDC claims to be the party of the time that do not rely on past historical exploits for their legitimacy and relevancy. This then becomes clear that the GNU was comprised of enemies sitting on the same table. Zinyama and Takavarasha (2011) give a concluding statement and comments that the GNU was caught up in policy discord and dissension among the partners.

4.11. MDC and Electoral Reforms

The issue of electoral reform is also another cause of concern as the MDC members argue that significance change was made as the elections are concerned. It was also interesting to note that the MDC respondents are divided as far as elections are concerned as some have argued that their party did not anything in regards to elections in Zimbabwe. At the same time the Zanu PF respondents have stated that the MDC did not bring any significance change as far as elections are concerned.

MDC respondents has argued that the National Electoral Reform Agenda (NERA) was initiated by MDC in conjunction with other opposition political parties, the church and the community. According to the respondents

> '*The signing of the deal on electoral reforms marks the beginning of a grand opposition coalition to challenge President Mugabe and His Zanu PF part.*'

The signing of the NERA by the opposition political parties was done at the end of 2015 which is in preparation of the 2018 elections. This has forced the government has the government to allow Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) to operate independently. This has also resulted in the resulted in the removal of the voter's roll form the office of the registrar general to ZEC commissioner general. ZEC was as well mandated to conduct voter education country wide and registration of the voter. MDC respondents have argued that in the 2013 elections they found it difficult to take part in the process of the voter registration. MDC was also able to come up with civil society groups responsible for voter education and voter education is an important aspect of elections. MDC have made all efforts within its reach to stand for the majority of the Zimbabweans. However it can be argued that the efforts of MDC are not as good enough to bring a positive change in the country.

In the end the failure to implement the GPA to the fullest has haunted the country to this day. A new constitution was written though accepted with reservations by some observers. Elections were done but with the outlook of things on the ground were not as pleasing. The majority of the Zimbabweans were still suffering living under the poverty datum line. The unemployment rates were still very high with the youths who are the center of development found in their homes idle.

4.12. Summary

From the above discussion it is clear that the MDC has made quite a number of successes and have failed in many ways as well. The rise of MDC was a result the decrease in the standards of living of the Zimbabweans. The ESAP had left a devastating impacts on the Zimbabweans and there was a need of a change of government or at least there was need of an opposition party. The issue regarding sanctions has remained a controversial issue as both parties blame

each other on the imposition of sanctions on the country. Its rise into the political scene of Zimbabwe has resulted into positive and negative impacts. Zanu PF believes that MDC has called for sanctions while at the same time MDC blames the behaviour of Zanu PF as it argues that it attracted sanction into the country. However one should not turn a blind a blind eye on the achievements of MDC. It has managed to stand as a voice of the voiceless and has stood for the basic rights of the Zimbabwean citizens. It has took part in the drafting of the COPAC constitution, a people-driven constitution and it has managed to push for elections reforms through (NERA).

Chapter 5

CONCLUSIONS AD RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Introduction.

The chapter marks the end of the study, summarizes findings, drawing conclusions and recommendations with regards to the effectiveness of MDC in bringing about socio-economic development in Zimbabwe.

5.2. Summary

The study was focused on the impacts of MDC on the socio-economic development of Zimbabwe. The coming of MDC in the political scene of Zimbabwe has caused a shift in many areas that in turn tend to affect the socio-economic activities of the country. The response of the ruling party Zanu PF is what mainly affected the general population of the country. It was the researchers' interest to find the impacts of MDC on the socio-economic development of the country. In order to successfully convey the research, research objectives and research questions were outlined in the chapter that states the problem and its setting (chapter 1). Other issues of relevance that were highlighted in the first chapter include the background of the study, statement of the problem, theoretical framework, conceptual framework, research aims and research questions, significance of the study, limitations, delimitations and ethical considerations. The first chapter sited the problem and its setting giving an introduction to the study.

Relevant literature related to the study was discussed in the second chapter under literature review. This chapter acknowledges that this research is not the first to look at the impacts of MDC on the socio-economic development of Zimbabwe. The researcher extracted of accumulated knowledge from various scholars have looked in the area of study. The main section of this study included the period of the MDC apex era, MDC and investment in Zimbabwe, MDC and Sanctions, MDC during the GNU, MDC and Constitutional Reforms and as well MDC and Socio-economic development.

Of significance importance is the research methodology which is discussed in the third chapter of this research. This chaptered defined the methods and procedures used in gathering

and analyzing the information. In this regard the chapter looked at the sampling techniques, research design, instruments, target population, sample size, data collection methods, interviews and questionnaires. The sample size was limited to 58 and only 42 managed to participate. The target was aimed at MDC, Zanu PF and other political party members. 6 individuals managed to participate in interviews and 36 responded to questionnaires.

The fourth chapter focused on data analysis, presentation and discussion. The main objective of the chapter was presenting the data gathered during fieldwork by researcher. Data collected in form of questionnaires and interviews was discussed and presented into a meaningful information. The research findings showed the citizens' perspective on the impacts of MDC on the socio-economic development of Zimbabwe. The main impacts of MDC in Zimbabwe was two sided. From the party supports they argued that MDC brought about change in the country as it managed to prevent Zanu PF from creating a one party state. To the Zanu PF respondents MDC brought suffering to the citizens as it is a party driven by the whites to further their interests and reverse the gains of the liberation struggle.

The thrust of the final chapter was to provide conclusions and summaries to the study and as well give recommendations.

5.2. Conclusions

5.2.1 The Rise of MDC

MDC came into the political scene of the country in an economically crumbling economy. This economic situation was as a result of poor polices adopted by the government during the 1990s. Political power was in the hands of a few who were at the edge of turning the county into a one party state. Democracy had become just but a theory. The sitting Zanu PF government had become corrupt and MDC was a way of bringing democracy and a way of returning to normalcy. At the other hand MDC came into the political scene of Zimbabwe at the instigation of the white commercial farmers as a weapon against the setting Zanu PF government. It can be concluded that the behaviour of the Zanu PF government led to the rise of MDC in the politics of Zimbabwe.

5.2.2. Beneficiaries of MDC

Despite the great opposition from the government, the MDC has addressed many issues that are affecting the Zimbabwean populace. The political elites of the party has also benefited from the formation of MDC. It as well benefited Zanu PF as it was an eye opener especially on the 2000 referendum of the new constitution. Zanu PF realized that it was possible for it to lose the election and hence came up with a new political ideology. The MDC did not benefit the

5.2.3. MDC during the GNU

Most of the successes of MDC were realized during the GNU. The GNU was a result of the signing of the GPA, it was a way of restoring order in the economy and it was a way of reviving the economy that was characterized by high inflation and food shortages. Socially there was significant change, school and universities opened their doors to the people. The media industry opened its doors to non-state actors such as NewsDay, Daily News, Zi FM and Star FM.

5.2.4. Ideological differences

The GNU failed to carry out its mandate to the full mainly because of ideological difference between the parties. Both parties were trying to further their interests rather than the needs of the people.

5.2.5. Election Reforms

It as well made significance in the signing of the NERA which is a step towards the 2018 elections.

5.3. Recommendations

The researcher has made some recommendations for MDC as a party as it furthers the needs of the Zimbabweans.

- ➢ Come up with more policies that further the interests of the people.
- ➢ Stand as a democratic party governed by democratic principles.
- ➢ Come up with more policies that drive the economy forward.

5.4. Summary

This chapter was a summary of the whole dissertation. It is important to note that the MDC failed to as party to change the livelihoods of Zimbabweans. Socio-economically the Zimbabweans are suffering. When the MDC got a chance to be in the government during the GNU it was furthering its own interests rather than the interests of the Zimbabwean masses.

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Appendix 1

Questionnaire

My name is Charlotte Rudairo Nyachowe (R124502R), an undergraduate student of the Midlands State University (MSU) doing a Bachelor of Arts in Development Studies Honours Degree. I am undertaking a research titled: **Impacts of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) on the socio-economic development of Zimbabwe.** This research is done in partial fulfilment of the above mentioned programme. I am kindly requesting your assistance by answering the following questions.

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

- Please respond to the following questions as fully as you can. (Tick where applicable)
1. Sex   Female ………Male…………..

2. Organisation/Party   Name
   ……………………………………………………………………………………
   ……………………………………………………………………………………

3. Age   Below 25 years ☐   26-40years ☐   41+ years ☐

4. How long have you been working with your organisation/party?
   1-10years ☐   11-20yeras ☐   21-30years ☐   31+years ☐

5. In your own understanding what led to the rise of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) in Zimbabwe?
   ……………………………………………………………………………………

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6. Who   benefitted   from   the   rise   of   MDC?

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7. Do you think MDC has improved the livelihoods of the Zimbabweans?

YES………   NO………

8. If yes, in what ways has the MDC improved the livelihoods of the Zimbabweans?

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9. If no, in your own opinion what should be done by MDC as a political party to improve   the   living   conditions   of   the   Zimbabweans?

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10. In your own understanding what was the purpose of the Government of National Unit (GNU)?

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11. Did the GNU achieve its purpose?

YES ………   NO ………

12. If yes, in what ways did it achieve its purpose?

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13. If no, what were the reasons behind its failure?

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14. Are they any improvements made by MDC in regards to elections in Zimbabwe?

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15. Is there anything else you can tell me as far as MDC is concerned

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Appendix 2

<u>Interview Guide</u>

I am an undergraduate student of the Midlands State University (MSU) doing a Bachelor of Arts in Development Studies Honours Degree. I am undertaking a research entitled: Impacts of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) on the socio-economic development of Zimbabwe. This research is done in partial fulfilled of the above mentioned programme. I am kindly requesting your assistance by answering the following questions.

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

1. What has MDC as a political party done to achieve its purpose?