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**Democracy in Africa Is Either A Myth Or A Reality. An Analysis of
Democracy And Democratization in Africa, A Case Study Of Zimbabwe**

BY

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**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF SOCIAL
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APPROVAL FORM

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

The undersigned certify that they have read and recommend to the Midlands State University for acceptance of a dissertation entitled: Democracy in Africa Is Either a Myth or a Reality.

An Analysis of Democracy and Democratization in Africa, A Case Study of Zimbabwe.

SUBMITTED BY: Lance Majengwa Reg No. R 131878 E in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the BSc Honours Degree in Politics and Public Management.

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DECLARATION

I, Lance Majengwa declare that the work I have submitted is my own effort and it has not been submitted anywhere for any degree purposes in any other university. I certify that the information in the Dissertation which is not my own has been identified and acknowledged. I therefore submit it in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the Bachelor of Social Sciences in Politics and Public Management Honours Degree at Midlands State University, Zvishavane campus.

Signature

.....

Date

.....

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this great achievement to my Father and my family for the great support that they gave me in all angles, ranging from monetary/financial up to moral and spiritual support, it is my belief that without such love and encouraging words I would not have had the capacity to achieve as much as I have.

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I would like to acknowledge the loving hand of my Lord Jesus Christ that has held me tight, close and passionately and safeguard me through thick and thin despite all the challenges I had to encompass in the course of the pursuance of this achievement, I humbly say Thank you Lord for your love and for your guidance.

To my Supervisor, Mrs Mutasa, I forward my gratitude with great levels of honour. Your professionalism, your understanding character and your welcoming approach made my dissertation a workable project since I had no hesitation to ask for help, assistance and consultation. I would have not asked for more than to have such a dedicated and committed supervisor who expeditiously had the capacity of being more than just a supervisor and exhibited motherly support.

ABSTRACT

As popular and mostly craved for as the most special and responsive form of governance and best form of political setup, democracy has caused quite a problematic predicament and dilemma in Africa. Criticisms have been directed at Africa's failure to fully comprehend democracy and its many tenets that have at most times been seen as undermined. Amongst the most crucial complaints by the International organizations and renowned International Criminal Court have been the underlying accusation of an African continent that is laden with Human rights abuses, constitutional bastardization and meaningless elections that are dominated and saliently characterized by political violence and rigging. Democracy at such a point has been also seen as a neo-colonial project by the African leaders who are more or less facing execution and most times feeling the biting tongue of the ruthless megaphone diplomacy of the West, criticizing and labelling them as Dictators and Autocrats, such a situation has made the Democratization Agenda slow up since it has already made enemies through its agents who are synonymous with writings such the whitemen' burden. Culture and Pan Africanism as national extensions of the national feeling have created a resisting bedrock for democracy with much rejection linked to such. The unlimited and forceful penetration of the many actors such as media, pressure groups has been brutally massacred at the mercy of protecting the state. Notwithstanding is the upcoming and piercing clamour for Lesbian Gays Bi-sexual and Transgender rights that have rocked Uganda and Zimbabwe. In initial reality, democracy seemingly seems to be a cultural suitable phenomenon than a one size fit all. Political actors, citizens and the governments in Africa should align their democratic tendencies with culture in order to harness democracy for the better good. In the same regard governments should open the political space in order for other actors to contribute to political development and political growth of Mother Africa.

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter covers the introduction to the research, the background to the problem, statement of the problem, research objective, research questions, limitations, delimitations and ethical considerations. This chapter brings the overview of how the research come about, introducing the reader to the issue in discussion.

1.2 BACKGROUND TO THE PROBLEM

The colonization of Africa marked a change in the sectors of economics and the general concerns of political systems in Africa. Colonization made it a point that the political systems and the natural ways of society were replaced by the colonial, imperial and foreign governments that now possessed the powers to rule arbitrarily, as such, political maturity amongst the “To be presidents and rulers of post-independent Africa” was inhibited, and where it was incurred, it was more reactionary than proactive, with more of the political growth infested with violence and revolutionized mind-sets that were negative, anti and pro African.

Democracy as a concept that needed to be introduced, assimilated and practiced religiously in governance and administrative systems of the newly independent governments was somewhat a pie in the air. For countries like Ghana which achieved independence as a frontline state, the burden was on its shoulders to adopt, adapt and make democracy a child born out of its independence and the growing demand of governmental checks by the citizenry and civil societies. The Afrfrica that had just got out the of the colonial and repressive systems of the colonizers was concerned about taking the reins of power and make sure that imperialistic and colonial influences were outmanoeuvred at all costs. Such is the trajectory and dilemma of mother Africa in the heart and storm of “Democracy”

The concept of democracy in Africa has been quite debatable as to what are the yardsticks and benchmarks of measuring democracy. To some great extent, African leaders have been accused, persecuted and almost nearly prosecuted for the alleged human rights abuses that will be tied to their political disrepute. Institutions have been put up to make sure that democracy is a world practiced norm and a compulsory one. The United Nations stands as one of the common organizations that stands as a guard to watch how democracy is upheld in all around the world.

Africa has seen to be a culprit with most of its leaders being seen as dictatorial and wayward in concerns towards democracy. The International criminal court (ICC) has been a vocal section in propagating such blame of the African leaders. For some reason, democracy in Africa has been questioned by the leaders in Africa themselves, as they say Democracy is foreign and alien to Africa, it is a form of governance that is imposed to the common peoples of Africa to cause pandemonium. To some degree therefore, the problem emanates from this standpoint. Is democracy inherent in a people? Should it be universalized? Is it part of the changes that are non-negotiable as in, that, if a nation-state does not uphold or comprehend it will face extinction? Is democracy even relevant in solving Africa's problems of ethnic conflicts, food shortages and civil strife? Is democracy even compactible with Africa political dynamics?. All these questions are there to lead us to understand the notions of democracy in Africa.

Zimbabwe as a nation-state faces much crucifixion when issues surrounding democracy are involved. The western world has declared Zimbabwe to be undemocratic at all costs. With elections in Zimbabwe being labelled as flawed, militarized and dubbed "rigged", such are the western world commentator conclusions. For some reason, democracy seems to have a number of aspects in it, such as freedom of speech, freedom of the media and the exercise and

practice of human rights. Zimbabwe has been found wanting in all regards of the herein mentioned aspects of democracy, as such the concerns of democracy in Africa has remained in the house of debate. Is democracy in Africa a myth or a reality?

Zimbabwe has not been a stand-alone in the democratic inquiry in Africa. Uganda has been also taken under the scope of questioning, with Yoweri Museveni being seen as an unscrupulous actor in the massacre and assassination of democracy in the world, as such, it is in this ambit that Democracy has been a controversy in the political discussion of Africa as a continent with even the likes of Nigeria's Odinga being investigated for cases on human rights abuse, Al-Bashir of Sudan being also investigated by the ICC and Kenyatta being a culprit under thoroughly scrutiny.

The basis of the problem of shady democracy in Africa has lied in the upholding of the practices of democratic tendencies and tenets. African leaders have decried being labelled *demons* in the gospel of democracy as they shift the blame towards colonization and the systems that came after colonization that made change of political dispensations rigid. To some level, democracy has seen to be a failed mission within Africa since its practice has drawn too much dilemmas for the governments. It is in this ambit that democracy in Africa has continually faced commentary from western world institutions such as the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, The Economist and The Freedom House Survey thus showing how democracy has its measurements inclined in western benchmarks, this therefore has seen so much debate being brought forward on ideas of democracy in Africa. Still democracy is seen as a myth by the west since the west expects its own form of democracy, and still yet African governments claim that they are democratic. Seems that the clash on how democracy is measured erupts and originates from different notions that the world is structured in, the North and the South thus democracy seems construed from each one's perspective.

1.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

1. To establish the different perceptions of what democracy is.
2. To investigate whether democracy is a homogeneous political phenomena or it differs from regions to regions and nations to nations.
3. To examine Africa's adoption and practice of Democracy with a major concern on Zimbabwe.
4. To assess the concerns surrounding Zimbabwe's democratic positioning.
5. To recommend for institutions that can interpret Zimbabwe's own democracy and clarify the debates surrounding the mythology or illusory nature associated with Zimbabwean democracy.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What do you understand by the term democracy?
2. What are the benchmarks for measuring Democracy, if any, should they be globally universal or cultures and values are key influence points for democracy in each nation?
3. Is Africa's version of democracy the same with the West, if so, why is Africa continuously labelled as illiberal and undemocratic with our own Zimbabwe being part of this questioned lot?
4. Where can we locate Zimbabwe's democratic practice in a scale of democratic practices?
5. Which institutions are standing up for democratic practices in Zimbabwe, are the institutions robust in their efficacy to inculcate democracy?

1.5 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Democracy is alien to African systems of politics and governance hence it does not fit into African political systems. The difference characteristics or salient features of democracy are at most disregarded in African politics with Zimbabwe being labelled as an Authoritarian state or a pseudo democracy where is partial and selective application of democratic practices in order to mask the illiberal and illegitimate government with a smiley political face of democracy. Makumbe (2010) labels the Zanu Pf led government in Zimbabwe as an electoral authoritarian that survives through use of violence and intimidation. This brings the question of democracy in Zimbabwe under skirmishes and disrepute.

1.6 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

This paper shall seek to investigate on the notions of democracy in Zimbabwe, evaluating whether the democracy that exists in Zimbabwe qualifies the nation to be called “democratic” and bringing a consensus on the valuation of the nation’s positioning in the discussion of democracy. It seeks to justify Zimbabwe’s democracy in relation to the different forms and categories of democracy that exist. On the ground there is a lion, in the sea there is a sea lion, maybe that the same nature that exists in the dynamics of democracy.

1.7 LIMITATIONS

The researcher will encounter difficulties in bringing together leaders from civil societies due to their tight business schedules and dedications, however the researcher will not be deterred by this, and the researcher shall make appointments in prior time to avoid such inconveniences. To get information from the electorate who at times have suspicions of governmental torture and fear will inhibit the accuracy of information and investigations. The researcher will by all means create a conducive environment to ensure comfort of the

audience and make sure that there is open-mindedness that will facilitate the free airing of views.

1.8 DELIMITATIONS

The study will focus on democracy in Zimbabwe and just use African nation states examples to bring a comparative study altogether. Zimbabwe's practice of democracy shall be on the epitome of the study.

1.9 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The researcher was aware of the need to consider and take note of ethical concerns in the conduct of the research. Information acquired from sources was referenced and acknowledged dully and respectively thus avoiding surpassing and crossing copyright and duplication rules and boundaries.

1.10 CONCLUSION

This chapter covered the background to the problem, statement of the problem, research objectives, research questions, limitations, delimitations and ethical considerations. The chapter played an introductory role in making the reader grasp the primary concerns of the study since the background brought histologic points in relation to this research paper.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter of the research paper covers the literature review and the theoretical framework of the study. Literature review as of this study covers what other researchers and scholars have brought into light in relation to the study in concern whereas the theoretical framework seeks to highlight theories that the researcher used to establish the direction of the thesis's foundations.

2.2 LITERATURE REVIEW

The discussion of democracy in Africa has brought a lot of commentary, with scholars and writers attempting to explain the different circumstances that hinder the full swing of democracy. As such, a lot of journals, books and articles has been tabled on the debate table to try and synthesise the different notions on democracy in Africa. Democracy has led to the existence of two main camps of debate with Africanists seeking to inquire the legitimacy that Democracy has to forcibly be enforced upon African political systems, on the other hand has been the pro-democracy camp that seemingly is enticed by following the New World Order that is characterized by human rights, electoral freedom and the open door approach to the dynamics of liberalization. In assessing democracy in Africa therefore, Ake (1996) is of the view that democracy is alien to African realities and hence needs to be revised and synthesized to match and fit within the socio-economic and even the cultural setups in Africa. Ake (1996) accuses the west of seeking to globalize their own political culture and market ideology as part of the process of universal homogenization, or more bluntly stated

hegemonization. This is how democracy is seemingly viewed by Africanists who want to understand how democracy is to be fitted in African setups.

To comprehend the dilemma of Democracy in Africa, the efforts are in digging deep how democracy was even an accepted gospel in Africa, and to what extent it has been religiously adhered to. Ake (1996) posits that the elite supported democracy only as a means to power, while international agencies supported it as an asset to structural adjustment and as a result, states in Africa got trapped between the demands of external donors for economic liberalization on the one hand, and the needs of political majorities on the other, leading to the creation of ‘exclusionary democracies’, which allow for political competition, but can’t respond to majority demands in a meaningful way. From such, it is part and parcel of the concerns surrounding democracy in Africa for one to note that the Africanist camp or school of thought has taken and adopted a conscious stand point to realise that democracy was not solely adopted to enhance equality or human rights per-se but it was strategically adopted by the elites of the post-colonial and post-independent Africa without looking prior into the trajectories and demands that were attached thereof.

For Nyamnjoh (2005) the greatest shortcoming of liberal democracy is its exaggerated focus on the autonomous individual, a reality which is contrary to Africa’s dominant communal spirit. This is principally how democracy has challenged the nation-states in Africa, Nyamnjoh goes to investigate the imposition of democracy in essence its demands on the African political systems, for Him, democracy should not be taken on a one size fit all approach, that He argues that

“Implementing liberal democracy in Africa has been like trying to force onto a body of a fully figured person, rich in cultural indicators of health with which Africans are familiar, a dress made to fit a slim, de-fleshed Hollywood consumer model of a Barbie-doll

entertainment icon...then when the dress fails to fit the African body, instead of blaming the tiny dress or its designer but the body that it doesn't fit on"

On the long run, it has been acclaimed that such complaints as of saying that democracy is a western imposed ideology is a cry by the non-democratic leadership of the African continent. Zimbabwe has been brought under the guillotines of such inquiry and has been labelled as "Authoritarian". At this verge therefore it is necessary to investigate what democracy is, in its actual sense before looking at Zimbabwe's political systems and labelling them as dictatorial or authoritarian or and even labelling them as democratic. According to Schumpeter (1943) democracy is a system of governance in which rulers are held accountable for their actions in the public realm by citizens, acting indirectly through the competition and cooperation of their elected representatives.

For Zimbabwe, it seems like the expected representatives to hold the leadership accountable is continuously undermined thus subverting democracy and undermining the notions surrounding democracy. Ncube (1991) resonates that behind the façade of constitutionalism and democracy has been created by the Zimbabwean state, lies an authoritarian political and legal system, serious violations of basic democratic rights, human rights and the rule of law. As is not enough, Makumbe (2002) conquers that Zimbabwe has a compromised democracy with the state institutionalizing violence through the existence of partisan state officials and militias that are at the core of manipulation of human rights.

Elections which are seen as a part of one of the ingredients and tenets of democracy have suffered a lot of criticism in Zimbabwe's political perspectives. Chikerema (2013) points out

that election in Zimbabwe are just a window dressing ritual without them [elections] not having any reflection of the will of the voters. These allegations and judgements by scholars and or even civil society groups have brought lot of arguments around the Zimbabwean story of

Democracy, thus democracy in Zimbabwe cannot be approach at face value since there is need to assess the deepest concerns surrounding the elections such as the “*BDA*” process which are the (*Before, During and After*). What is the election environment before elections like? Is there fairness in the campaign environment, Is there peace and free will during the voting processes, are there no threats of correctional actions for those who would vote dissidently as it were after the election? This will bring sanity to the analysis of democracy in Zimbabwe.

The researcher came with information to cover the gap which existed in the literature that covers democracy in Africa with particular attention to Zimbabwe, the researcher came up with new information in explaining the divergences, differences and conflicts that have resurfaced in the debate on Democracy and Africa such as the *Water and Oil Analogy*.

2.2.1 Discussing the Tenets of Democracy

Democracy has many faces, which on its own confuse the people that subscribe and ascribe to it. Democracy has had its origins being traced in the late times of Plato and other Greek philosophers, democracy is symbolically referred to as a term which means “*rule by the people*” taken from Greek words *demos* which means people and *kratos* which refers to rule, the concept of merging the two phrases brings to the core the word democracy. Democracy cannot be fully understood with grasping the primaries of its makeup which are its tenets and principles.

The tenets/principles of democracy in this research were taken from David Beetham’s Book “*Democracy and Human Rights*”

- (a) Free and Fair Elections
- (b) Open and Accountable government
- (c) Human rights (freedom of speech, freedom of association, freedom of assembly and movement)
- (d) Civil society

Beetham (1999) presents the notions of democratic tenets into the following democratic pyramid to show how the tenets should comprehend and interlink to entail a democratic society.

These tenets of democracy drove the research's direction that's they were taken as the major components to asses Zimbabwe and Africa's general democracy.

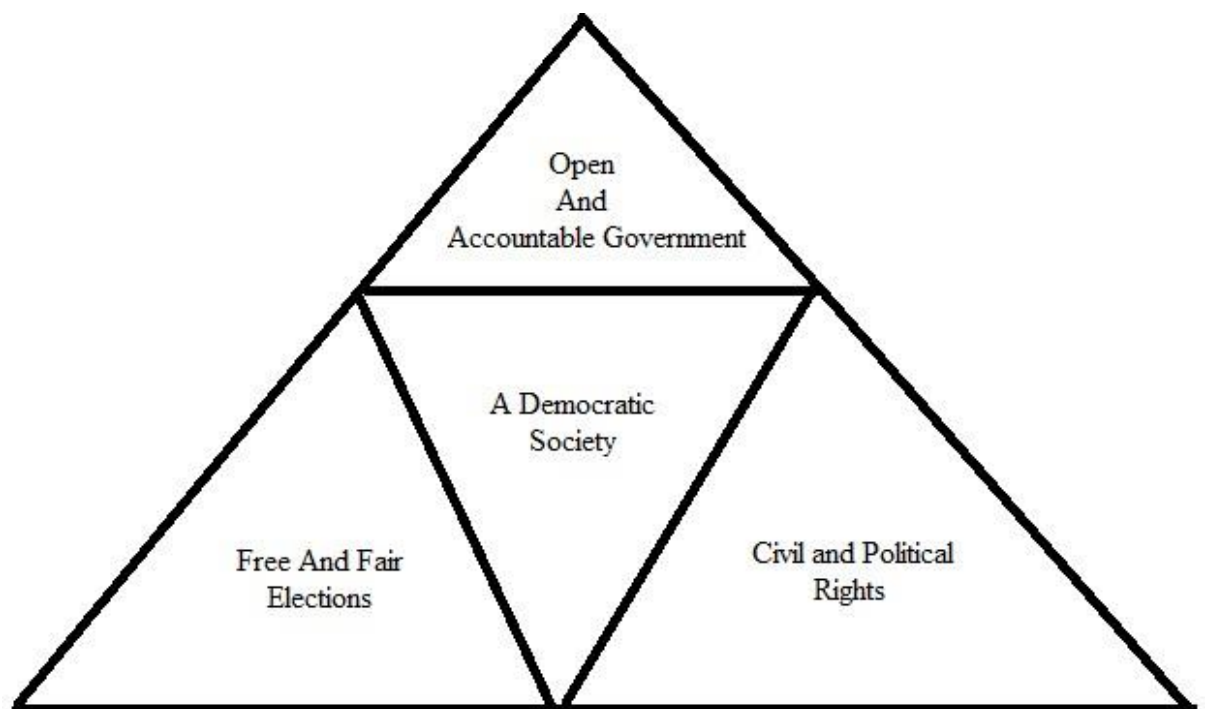


Fig 1. Democratic pyramid (*Auditing Democracy in Beetham's Democracy and Human Rights*)

Beetham (1999) evaluates free and fair elections as elections that encompass the concerns of inclusiveness in the ideals of voter registration, campaigning and fairness between parties,

candidates and voters, and the range of effective choice. He goes on to reflect that the tenet of accountability and transparency/openness comes in when evaluating the continuous accountability of the government: directly to the electorate, through public justification for its policies; indirectly to agents acting on people's behalf. In this verge it is upon this *'Beetham Democratic Pyramid'* that the research will seek to investigate Zimbabwe's democracy.

2.2.2 Testing Zimbabwe's Democracy in the Beetham Democratic Pyramid framework

The notion of free and fair elections in Zimbabwe has taken serious debate amongst scholars and electoral observers. The election mood in Zimbabwe is anticipated with great curiosity since the idea of "free" has been compromised by assumed governmentalistic violence that is undertaken in the guise of militias and state sponsored violence to control the voting outcomes. Makumbe (2009) is of the view that elections in Zimbabwe lack legitimacy and electoral choice since they have a great phenomenon of inflicted choice. Makumbe substantiates this when he acclaims that political violence in Zimbabwe has taken all forms aimed at making sure that the electorate are made to vote in a certain designed way, he stresses that the violence has become physical through beatings, abductions and killings of opposition members whereas on the other side it has become psychological through verbal threats that are uttered by the ZANU PF political party. Masunungure and Shumba (2012) assert that the run-off in the Presidential election campaign in Zimbabwe pitting Mugabe and Tsvangirai was characterized by intense and unprecedented state-sponsored violence and intimidation that instilled deep and pervasive fear in the electorate thus leading to a Tsvangirai tap out/surrender.

From the above scholarly writings, it is upon this background that it is with disappointment that Zimbabwe has suffered a loss in this phase of the "free and fair" test. However it is not only violence that has been cited as a stumbling block in Zimbabwe's full realisation free and fair elections, some scholars have referred to a phenomenon called electoral fraud performed

by the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission though the allegations have lacked to hold much water.

The second tenet under discussion is the openness and accountability principle. This study was mostly enticed and inspired by the dichotomy that exists within accountability as outlined by Beetham (1999). Accountability is given a *political, legal and financial* built in by this scholar thus political accountability is referred to as the government's accountability to the legislature and or parliament for the content and execution of its policies; with legal accountability reflecting to the accountability given to the courts for ensuring that all state personnel, elected and non-elected, act within the laws and powers approved by legislature and finally with financial accountability being given to both the legislature and the courts and largely accountability to the electorate. In Zimbabwe's case scenario, it has been seen that openness and accountability has been doubted by scholars as a democratic principle, scholars have highlighted that media as a source/vehicle towards accountability has lacked the audacity to be relevant.

The practice of accountability and openness according to the Beetham Democratic thesis will entail assessing the respective powers and independence, both legal and actual, of different bodies : of the legislature and judiciary in relation to the executive; of the investigative capacity of the media; of an independent public statistical service; powers of the individual citizens to seek redress in the event of maladministration or injustice, in addition with the degree of government responsiveness to public opinion through systematic processes of consultation with relevant interests and organized groups. Putting Zimbabwe under this test made the researcher to look at the **Land reform Programme** and the position of the courts, the **Operation Murambatsvina, Constitutional Amendments** e.g. 2000 referendum as the case studies of evaluating the independence of other important key players in policy and

general government action. According to Solidarity Peace Trust (2008) the land reform programme lacked the backing of the courts and had no legal sanctioning power since the courts were made weak in the hands of political power manifestations, with the amendment number 17 stating that the government could repossess land without compensation and without any court having the power to reverse the forceful acquisition, this reflected badly on Zimbabwe's test in the openness and accountability test since Saki (2010) purports and proposes that judicial officers in Zimbabwe had predetermined judgements that are driven by political attachments and commands from the top governmental big wigs thus clouding logical legal reasoning. This makes the concern of openness and accountability a critical issue in the discussion of democracy and Zimbabwe since accountability seems to be skipped and replaced with governmental autonomy.

2.2.2 Operation Murambatsvina and Operation Mavoterapapi: Worshiping in the Altar of power

Democracy in its own notions seeks to limit the power of the leadership as is the general norms of checks and balances and the concerns of decentralization of power in order for power to be limited. Human rights are at the core of the discussion of democracy, if one of the principles is broken, the mirror/glass of democracy is disfigured thus making democracy less appealing. In

Zimbabwe's context human rights were misconceived and construed in order to serve the ZANU PF led government as per to the scholars. Bratton and Masunungure (2006) point out that analysts and observers inside and outside the country commented that the crackdown [Operation Murambatsvina] was performed in an indiscriminate manner and with excessive force because it breached national and international laws guiding evictions and undermined the livelihoods of large numbers of people with the operation broadly facing condemnations for grossly violating human rights. The abuse of human rights in this context of house

demolitions has been associated with the idea that ZANU PF wanted to drive people to the villages so that they could be easily monitored and brainwashed through the traditional leadership, this is justified by the Solidarity Peace Trust (2006) which purports that the urban areas have consistently voted for the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) in all national and local elections over the last five years, thus Operation Murambatsvina has been seen as an act of vengeance and a reminder that ZANU PF effectively can do what it wants even in areas where there are MDC elected local councils and Members of Parliament (MPs). When the above literature is used to look into Operation Murambatsvina it can be seen that democracy in Zimbabwe is in a critical situation that Chikerema (2014) refers to as democracy in the intensive care unit. The analysis of democracy in Zimbabwe shows that democracy in Zimbabwe is seriously in a process that needs to be addressed with key players such as civil societies, pressure groups, political parties, trade unions and the government coming together to find ways to cultivate grounds for democracy to grow. Edward, Eleanor and Mc-Quiod (1996) refer to human rights as rights that are morally universal, they are also called natural rights, and they belong to people simply because they are human. Human rights do not have to be earned, bought or inherited; people are equally entitled to them regardless of sex, race or colour. Edward et al (1996) point out that they are second generation rights which are sometimes referred to security oriented, these rights protect people from having basic things taken away from them such as food, shelter and health care. Section 28 of the Zimbabwean constitution assures:

“The State and all institutions and agencies of government at every level must take Reasonable legislative and other measures, within the limits of the resources available to them, to enable every person to have access to adequate shelter”.

With the above constitutional section, it is clear that there was a breach of the constitution in the execution of the Operation Murambatsvina thus denting the face of democratic practice in Zimbabwe.

2.2.3 The dichotomies of democracy

Democracy in its initial discussion has been taken lightly and looked at on its face value, which is simply relating democracy to elections. Fayemi (2009) outlines that democracy has been given a minimalist approach in how it is practised. Within the minimalist camp resides Schumpeter who sees democracy as a system of government that is characterized by the competition amongst men who are of interest to run the government, without much reflection on human rights and other involved concerns. Przeworski as noted by Fayemi (2009) identifies democracy as a system where parties lose elections. This definition entails what Africa has been continuously witnessing in line with the opposition parties in their attempt to secure political power. Popper in Fuyame is proud to outline that democracy reflects a cleaner transition of power from government to another, without the use of brute force and bloodshed. This school of thought in relation to democracy has posed so much influence in relating democracy to elections hence limiting democracy to elections and nothing else. The minimalist camp eliminates the idea of pre conditions of democracy which are then covered by the maximalist school of thought. What can be an election if it has no respect of choice and intimidation characterises it throughout?

The maximalist school can be referred to as the “conditionalists” who see democracy beyond the concept of just handling elections. This school of thought is profoundly presented by the likes of Dahl (1971) who points out that for democracy and elections to manifest, they should be fair enough level of competition between and amongst political actors, there should be political choice that is accompanied by the ability for one to make a free and fair political

decision and lastly democracy should according to Dahl be characterised by basic civil and political rights that protect the citizens from the arbitrary nature of the state. This has been also emphasized on by Chikerema (2014) who argues that elections do not have a meaning if they are not integrated with protecting the citizen as he points out that without much choice in an election, the ethos and real reason for election is overtaken hence obstructing and undermining the concern for democracy.

2.2.4 Africa and the West (Imposition and Opposition)

The water and oil analogy ghostly haunts democracy when it comes to Africa and the West. The measurements of democracy are set through benchmarks and yardsticks from the West or and Europe. To some point when democracy writings are read, it is dominated by Euro-lingual connotations with the European and Western states referred to as Democracies and African states referred to as the new democracies or at most transitional democracies, such a dichotomy and labelling shows the democratic disparity that co-exists in the discussion around democracy. This labelling has made most Africans reject the notion of democracy as a project that marks the imposition of ideological colonization. This has been seen in the storm of discussing the concerns of how democracy came to be in Africa, the clash between the West and the Eastern bloc in the Cold War exposed the African states to an ideological dilemma that meant that African governments were ought to choose a side, with some African states choosing socialism/communism that was mostly Eastern bloc ideology pushed forward by Russia and on the other side there was Capitalism that was pushed forward by the West with United States of America being the fore runner in the gospel of the latter. This shows that democracy was transported together with the Capitalist language under the term “Liberal Democracy”.

The existence of international law as a tool to administer, drive and monitor the course and adoption of democracy has made Africa's story with democracy a gloomy one, with African Presidents seen as possessed with undemocratic demons that need exorcism via the emphasis of the ICC and the UNSC Resolutions of interventionism. De-Guzman (2013) points out that in its first ten years, the ICC's investigations and prosecutions have all concerned situations in Africa. The Court has issued arrest warrants for two African heads of state, and has opposed efforts by African governments to avoid ICC involvement in several situations. Moreover, the Court has declined to investigate crimes allegedly committed in Venezuela and by British soldiers in Iraq. These actions among others have led to charges, particularly among African political leaders, that the ICC is targeting Africa inappropriately. This Casestudy shows that democracy has been seen as an imposition from the Western world thus creating an oppositionist attitude in amongst the Africans.

Mapuva (2010) notes that the impunity with which dictators (past and present) have regard themselves and are regarded by fellow incumbent political leaders on the continent leaves a lot to be desired. The continent does not seem to want to put on record (through its actions) that ex-dictators should be asked to account for their actions during their tenure of office. This sense of brotherhood that exists among various African leaders has weakened African democratic institutions. This has made Africa notorious for being a retirement home for most of its former dictator leaders or for providing a safe haven for such dictators. If Mapuva's perception is anything to go by, it is in this verge that one questions the resistance of democracy in Africa, is it a genuine repel strategy taken by African politicians who are the fathers seeking to direct the continent into the right land of political destiny or the African leaders have deliberately averted democracy on the basis of fear of the power of democracy to exorcise impunity and political misdemeanours. Gumede (2014) is of the view that apart of

imposition; African leaders have modified democracy and formulated their own democracy. This democracy, Gumede points out that it is referred to as the African-style democracy which is mostly minimalist, limited and elementary if it is to be a kind of democracy as it rests on profoundly inconsistent assumptions, the first being that democracy is only about elections: if an election takes place, the country is supposedly democratic.

2.2.4 To democratize or not? The dilemmas of Globalization

Democracy's growing demands make it controversial to adopt as a governance practice and a socio-economic custom and behaviour. The need to have LGBT (Lesbians, Gays, Bi-sexual and Transgender) rights and an open market as concepts of democracy makes democracy sound foreign and alien to Africa's systems. Uganda and Zimbabwe have stood still and unmoved regarding the issue of LGBT rights with Yoweri Museveni drawing clear lines of dislike for such behaviour, Zimbabwe's President, His Excellency R.G Mugabe has argued that Dogs are better than gays thus disbanding gay rights. This brings a clear concern firstly a about democracy and Africa and secondly about democracy and Zimbabwe as it broadcasts the negative signals that exist in the discussion of democracy. It comes out in a manner that Africa is picky and choosy when it comes to the notions of democracy with African presidents choosing what contents of democracy to uphold and comprehend in their states.

Nationalism has taken a toll to crash the common democracy that emphasizes "*open markets*", in Zimbabwe there is the common talk of nationalization of mines, businesses and companies leading to the "*Indigenisation and black empowerment*" mantra that echoes through the economic plateau, this has been analysed from a point of demonizing Zimbabwe's policies as non-democratic by the West and other nations that are playing the concerned role in the drama/soapie of Zimbabwe's politics.

Boutros Boutros (1996) points out that:

“Democratization and democracy raise difficult questions of prioritization and timing. It is therefore not surprising that the acceleration of democratization and the renaissance of the idea of democracy have met with some resistance. On the practical level, the world has seen some slowing and erosion in democratization processes and, in some cases, reversals. On the normative level, resistance has arisen which in some cases seeks to cloak authoritarianism in claims of cultural differences and in others reflects the undeniable fact that there is no one model of democratization or democracy suitable to all societies. The reality is that individual societies decide if and when to begin democratization. Throughout the process, each society decides its nature and its pace”

This drives home the idea that the desperate need for democracy to be evaluated by external groups that deem it necessary to have the scale of democracy distorts democracy at all costs that’s making democracy an alien species in Africa and Zimbabwe precisely. Boutros Boutros’s line of thought that sometimes democracy is resisted along lines of cultural reasons comes in this point whereby the government in Zimbabwe has alienated LGBT rights due to its cultural values and national beliefs.

Mapuva (2010) highlights that the recent interest of the UN and the World Bank in human rights issues has come about as a result of an attempt to define ‘good governance, thus making it clear that to secure a funding for development and other necessities African states should comply to conditionalities set by the Bretton Wood institutions (World bank and the International Monetary Fund). Mapuva notes that failure by states to conform to democratic tenets of democracy, human rights, and good governance has not only denied them the chance to secure financial support from the Bretton Woods Institutions, they have also met in civil unrest and disturbance. This points out that the nature of democracy to be seen as a deity to

be worshipped in order for economic blessings (aid) to be received has created a great rift since African states have seen it as an imposition not a prerequisite to political sanity.

2.2.5 Africa and Democracy: Forcing the donkey to drink water

The tale of democracy and Africa goes on and on. Democracy seems to be one political dimension that has been investigated in studies and researches in a bid to trace its birth and growth and whether in its genetic makeup it has any Africanism. Uwizeyimana (2012) opines that democracy has never and was never there in Africa thus he concludes that neither during the pre-colonial era nor the colonial era, could most African states be generally described as democratic according to the Liberal democracy model, while there are a small number of fully democratic states in the post-colonial era, most African states claiming to be democratic are in fact pretend democracies. Ahluwalia (2001) in *Uwizeyimana' Democracy and pretend democracies in Africa: Myths of African democracies* points out that all the African leaders of post-independence Africa such as Nyerere in Tanzania, Nkrumah in Ghana, and Kenyatta in Kenya dismissed multiparty democracy, a fundamental principle of liberal democracy, as not being congruent with their African traditions, as they argued that a system of one-party government was African and an essential part of the African tradition, thus therefore, according to their definition, an African democracy is a form of government based on one-party rule. Political parties may exist nominally- but may not freely organise political activities in opposition to the rulers and the ruling party. This presents the political realities of Africa in relation to democracy and the concerns to democratize. To fully accept democracy will entail the loss of Africa's personal values in terms of the perceptions around power and ruler ship in general. Since this research paper sought to investigate whether democracy is a homogeneous political phenomena or it differs from regions to regions and nations to nations, it is at this juncture that it is noted that some scholars have associated democracy with

westernization thus portraying the process of full adoption of democracy as taking the donkey (Africa) to the river and forcing it to drink water (democracy).

The reason for the failure of democracy to materialize has been reflected upon by Held (1987) and Monga (1996) in Murhula (2012) as they posit that democracy is failing because it is essentially a Western project lacking in universal significance, this lack of universal significance can be coupled up with the essence culture and its diversity. This reveals that democracy has been a borne contention amongst the African leadership because of its nature that has been contested largely by African Scholars and African leaders themselves. Fayemi (2009) is diametrically opposed to Uwizeyimana (2012) and Ahluwalia (2001) who cancel out democracy in the history of the Africa's political systems. This is brought out by quoting and appreciating the academic work of Wambia, Francis Offor, Kwasi Wired and Marie P. Eboh who trace the historic existence of democracy in pre-colonial Africa. The Yoruba state is utilised by the afore mentioned authors to reflect on the respect of human rights, decentralization of power, freedoms and rights, the choosing of political leadership and participatory nature of the Yoruba state.

Noteworthy is that the African scholars have noticed the existence of decentralization system. Fayemi notes that pre-colonial Yoruba societies were kingdom based which ascertained and ensured decentralization. Breaking down the structure of power, Fayemi noted that the kingdoms were made of a central town and several villages. The ruler of the kingdom as a whole was called the Oba (king), which can be analytically and presently be referred to as the President, and from the reside politically over each of the subordinate villages and town whilst at same time in due acknowledgement of the sovereignty of the king. Akintoye (2009) in Fayemi brings out the nature decentralization when he outlines that each town was divided into quarters. The quarters were intricately linked and interconnected with the other with

respective internal governments with each government not having a democratic process to choose who governs at their various levels. This point in time, democracy has been linked to original political practice, what then is the disparity in the practice or worship of democracy. The major issue may be the issue of seeking ideological hegemony by the West under their scholars such as Fukuyama who set a notion of democracy as necessity and new irresistible point of political discourse that was as a result of the end of the cold war, which however becomes flawed when one looks at how Africa and democracy share a history.

At the end of the day, the so called West and its history is associated with the neglect of the minority groups and the discrimination of people in line with their level of wealth since some were referred to as slaves and serfs, Africa should be one continent handling the Agenda for democratization since historically it was practised in Africa without fear or favour. How then can democracy be imparted upon Africa's people if it was already there? May it is an issue of a new people who just tasted a new political experience and discovered its greatness and suddenly thought that it was their sole mission to overemphasize and even label others as illiberal and autocratic.

2.2.6 Elections and Africa

Elections are one characteristic of democracy which has been associated with the power of the citizens to choose those in the political office, with a political belief that indeed they have the persuasive power to wait for the next election and vote out non-compliant members of parliament who would have changed their ways of conduct. With so much emphasis on how elections clothe democracy and make the political dispensation lookable it has been with much contestations that Africa has failed the elections test. Zimbabwe, Uganda and Kenya are typical examples of elections without choice as articulated by Scholars and other commentators.

Uganda Elections and Uganda depict a sorrowful story of coercion, violence and pain. Elections have not been alluded to as a way of changing government and diagnosing it of its failures or and incapacities. According to Tisdall (2016) the elections in Uganda in 2016 were marred with political violence, intimidation and vote buying. Tisdall quotes Kizza Besigye who was a presidential candidate saying that they was an appeal to Yoweri Museveni to stop using police and other state apparatus to intimidate, harass, arrest supporters. This reveals the bad name that Africa has in elections and democracy as a whole. This claim is also covered by Kaka (2016) who exposes that instances of a hostile political environment were reported. Police intimidation, harassment, and arrests of opposition politician and supporters were witnessed with the shrewd and tenacious leadership of President Museveni having created limited campaign opportunities for the opposition candidates. State officials and resources were used for campaigning for the incumbent; Uganda yet again went into elections with the same contested electoral body over its credibility and partisanship. Attempts to reform the electoral commission in the period preceding elections were viciously avoided by government. This tables out how democracy and Africa is positioned like in the case of Ugandan elections.

Kenya

Elections in Kenya are not anyhow exorcised from the common demons of violence and intimidation that have affected most African countries; it has had its challenges with alleged vote rigging that involves the electoral body. Jill (2016) points out that the 2013 elections in Kenya were peaceful but however Kenya is still haunted by the 2007 vote, since alleges of rigging set off violence that killed an estimated 1,100 people and displaced 600,000 Kenyans. The electoral body in Kenya is facing accusations of being in the storm of vote rigging and doctoring election results in favour of the incumbent, Jill quotes one protestor who engaged in the protests and demonstration calling for the elimination of IEBC, saying:

“We will see, elections will not be credible, the results will be doctored and that, yes. They’ll favour the current government.”

Gettleman (2016) observes that opposition parties have had their discontention being fuelled by Kenya’s election commission; Gettleman doesn’t skip emphasizing that Raila Odinga has demanded that the government abandon the commission, which is widely viewed as unfair, prejudicial and corrupt to reside over an election fairly and sensibly.

2.3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The researcher used democratization and pan-Africanism as theoretical forces to the achievement of the research objectives and findings.

2.3.1 Democratization and Liberal democracy

According to Boutros Boutros-Ghali (1996) democratization is defined as a process which leads to a more open, more participatory, less authoritarian society which adopts democracy as a system of government which embodies, in a variety of institutions and mechanisms, the ideal of political power based on the will of the people. This theory was used to explain whether in Zimbabwe there is democracy or not, measuring the level of openness of the political system that exists. The evaluations of democracy were hinged on finding out what comprises and completes democracy. The benchmarks for democracy were taken from this theory of democratization which spells out the different tenets of democracy. Meier (2002) outlines that democracy has principles that ranges from presenting an environment that is protective, pluralist, developmental and participatory. These principles were used to understand

Zimbabwe’s own democracy. Notable was the stretch of democracy to the economic side apart from the general notion that democracy is concerned with politics; economically it encourages the openness of the economy to market forces.

Liberal democracy is mostly associated with the measure of this research; the concept of democratization was addressed from an angle of evaluating the phenomena of democracy from this perspective. Liberal democracy is defined by Cochran (2015) as a political system which emphasizes the protection of freedoms and individual rights of the citizens and it emphasizes that there are unalienable rights that humans are born with which are not to be compromised at one point or another.

2.3.2 Pan Africanism and Nationalization

Pan-African Nationalism for Nantambu (1998) is the total liberation and unification of all African peoples under African communalism and it also seeks nationhood. This served to investigate the existence of democracy in Zimbabwe and the common notions surrounding its criticisms, Pan-African nationalism was brought on a comparative scope of analysis to bring out the crucifixion of Zimbabwean government on the “democratic cross” since in its storm, this kind of nationalism seems to counter some of the concerns that democracy covers. The adoption of the Empowerment and Indigenization policy, Land reform programme and the antigay mantra was analysed to position critically the position of democracy in Zimbabwe.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter address the “how part” of the research, it answers how the researcher aims to gather information related to the study. It is this part of the paper that research methods are explained, sampling methods and the target population are exposed to the reader. The nature of the study is exposed herein, clearly stating the form and characteristic position of the study.

3.2 Nature of the Research

The researcher will adopt a longitudinal stance in gathering information for the research since democracy in Africa is a trend that started in the early 1990 with the likes of Samuel

Huntington commenting the Third wave of Democracy in Zambia and other parts of Africa. The study will be largely qualitative since it will seek to find out opinions, findings and reasons around democracy in Africa. Secondary sources of information such as journals and book publications shall be used by the researcher to gather information before its final synthesis is concluded.

3.3 Research Instruments

To gather the Zimbabwean account of Democracy, the researcher will engage civil society leaders and the electorate in general in focus group discussions and interviews at one point or another. Open-ended Questionnaires will be issued out to a targeted population to fish out information; their nature of open-endedness will ensure a myriad and wide scope of answers to be deciphered from the questions asked thus giving out a larger spectrum in the discussion of the matter at hand “*democracy in Zimbabwe*”.

3.3.1 Questionnaires

Hussey (1997) opines that a questionnaire is a brief and unambiguous document of carefully structured questions which can be 2 pages or less. Questions are chosen after considerable testing; with the view of eliciting reliable responses from a chosen. This research utilized openended questionnaires to find out the different concerns that are of great influence in the understanding of Democracy in Africa. The use of questionnaires will cover a number of issues regarding democracy in Zimbabwe, it will help deduce the type of democracy that is practised in Zimbabwe.

3.3.2 Interviews

Interviews give a face to face interaction between the interviewer and the interview, helping the interview an opportunity to ask new questions that can develop from the interview session. The process of interviewing is described as a direct contact between the interviewer and the respondent in a convenient and conducive environment Aaker and Kuman (1999).

Interviews cultivate an interpersonal relationship in between the individuals involved in the interview process. The question and answer process between the interviewer and interviewee enhances quite an informative process that can yield sensible information since the process of the question and answer opens space for a wider and broader spectrum compared to questionnaires. This study had structured interview and unstructured interviews in each session.

Advantages of Interviews

- (a) They facilitate a face to face interaction between the researcher/interviewer and the interviewee which in turn creates a relationship that is synonymously filled with comfort and rapport.
- (b) They enhance a capture of diverse responses and out of their flexible nature, allow the researcher to develop new questions whilst following the line of thought that has come up from the interview section thus addressing issues more broadly and detailed.
- (c) Interviews make it easy for data gathered to be analysed since the recording of responses can be done thematically there and there during the interview session thus lessening the consumption of time for separate data analysis.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter managed to cover the research methodology which is the how part of the research. It tabled out how the research aimed to achieve its goals and purpose in line with gathering the information. It brought to light that the study will use interviews and questionnaires to bring out the issue of democracy in Zimbabwe and in some length democracy in Africa as a whole.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter of the research paper presents the findings in an overview snapshot, discusses the findings and presents them in themes that underline what the respondents on the ground gave out as their own experiences about democracy in Zimbabwe.

The research sought to reach out to thirty Zimbabwean respondents that were randomly selected in order to give every individual within the age groups that ranged from 18-65+ a chance to be part of the research ambit. The researcher managed to get hold of 12 females and 18 males. Of the population sample 40% were females and 60% were males. The response rate for the questionnaire was pleasing since all the questionnaires were returned after selfestablishment by the respondents.

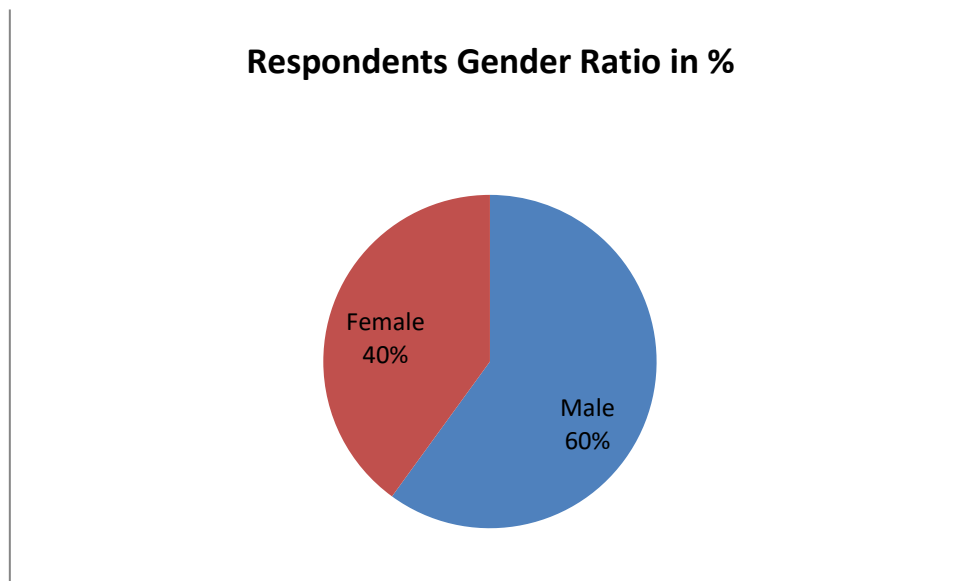


Fig 1.0 Respondents Gender Ratio

4.2 Defining Democracy

The research revealed that of the 40% of the females that answered the questionnaires, there was consensus that democracy was defined in line with freedoms of the female in the community and the need for the democratization of all systems of society ranging from education, social, economic, religious up to political aspects of social life. Three (3) females who amount to 25 % of the women who answered questionnaires showed that their understanding of democracy was founded along the lines of putting the female counterpart at par with the male counterpart in terms of employment opportunities thus revealing a concept of the “*feminization of democracy*” as they reflected that it was hard for them to penetrate the core of the employment world which they identified as the managers offices, CEO offices and the commanders offices in uniformed forces. The other (7) female respondents who contributed 59 % of the female respondents reflected that democracy meant that there should be equality in access. The 2 females that contributed 16 % of the female respondents reflected that they understood democracy to be associated with economic freedoms and political participation as means for women representation. The following bar graph seeks to diagrammatically present the findings.

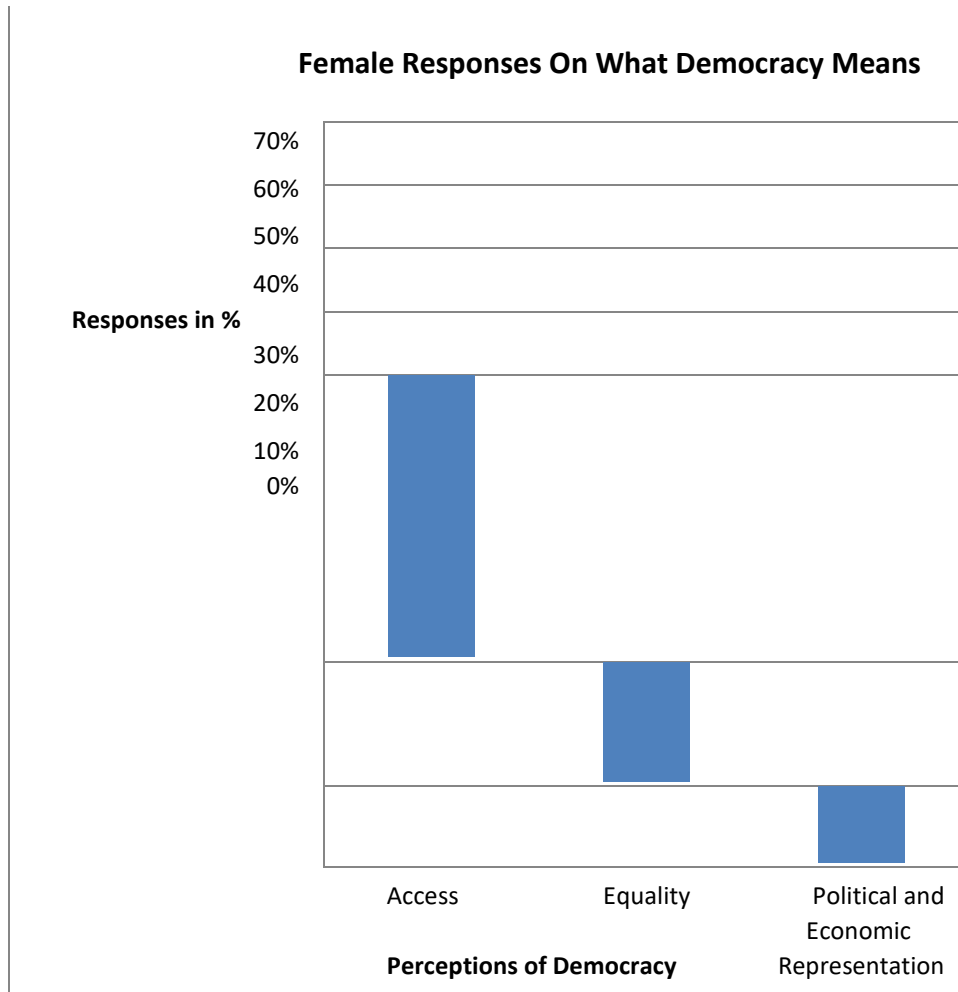
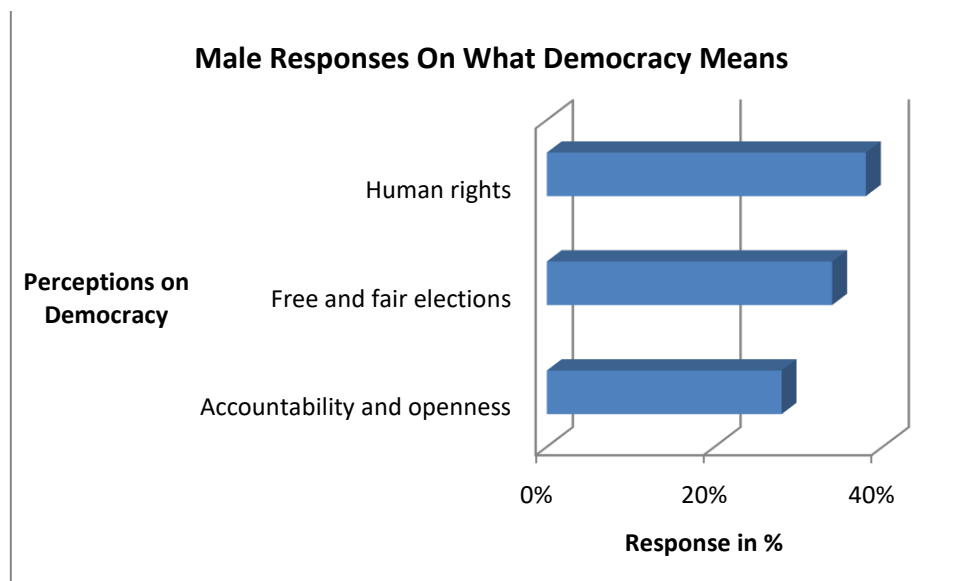


Fig 1.1 Female Responses on what democracy means.

The male counterparts had a fair share to explicitly describe and share their notions on democracy with 5 (28%) of the male respondents reflecting that democracy meant that they should be openness and accountability in terms of government conduct and equality before the law which is simply the rule of law. 6 (34%) of the males under the research revealed that they understood democracy in terms of elections and voting citing that elections should to be free from force or intimidation to make democracy sensible. The other 7 (38%) reflected that democracy referred to the upholding of human dignity in essence with human rights. The disparities between the responses of the female and counterparts are symbolic of the positions

that each group is situated in the storm of democracy in Zimbabwe. The data from the male responses is presented below pictorially to give an appreciation of the data.



The differences between the males and females in viewing democracy in Zimbabwe showed that democracy is linked with gender experiences and in its thrust democracy commands and emphasizes the idea of gender equality. The *feminization of democracy* that featured in the findings shows that democracy has been taken as a vehicle to communicate equality in terms of access to economy and opportunities (*Access and Control as highlighted in the Harvard Gender Analytical Framework*); this aspect comes from the idea that most women have been denigrated by the patriarchal situation of their habitant “Africa” where the man has been considered the man of the house, this has shown that most democracy findings have shown that women have clamoured equal representation in the parliaments in order to make their voices heard and have also made sure that there are gender mainstreaming programs to address and redress the inadequacies and in-sufficiency of society. Two of the female respondents highlighted that they knew about democracy when they were at a church conference, one of them called Mai Sibanda said

“I want to thank my church Deaconess for the powerful and encouraging words that she utters to us [women], we can have fair chances at work, community and even stand on the pulpit in church as long as there is democracy”

This reflected that they are different forums that democracy penetrates through with, such as church, schools and society at large with each being an agent of democratization. The other woman, who asked for anonymity reflected that:

“I am educated and qualified to be a teacher, but I have not been working due to being a mother despite the fact that I can hire a nanny and be at work, now I know that there are equal opportunities and equal rights, I can now pursue my dreams”

The two respondents quoted above on what democracy entails reflected traits of spelling democracy along the lines of access to public spheres such the church and having an equal standing in critical issues such as religion (*where most women are biblically subdued scripturally*) and employment spheres (*economic security*).

On the contrary, the male counterpart reflected that democracy meant human rights, free and fair elections and accountability and openness. This context showed that the male counterpart was already in the verge of understanding democracy from a more informed or knowledgeable positions due to their societal positioning since most men are already in the workplace. 15 (84%) of the 18 male respondents reflected that they heard of democracy due to their interaction with their colleagues at work thus revealing that democracy and its

notions is shaped mostly by social positioning and diffusion of ideas. One of the respondents posited

that:

“I know of democracy because of the trade union and worker’s committee elections we conduct at work”

The above shows that the face of democracy is formed by the different matters that dominate the business agenda of the concerned individual. For female respondents democracy seemed to be economized (*access and control*) whilst the male respondents reflected on the pluralistic and power of the masses notions that make up democracy.

4.3 Measuring Democracy

On discussing democracy, it was imperative to find out what the fellow citizens in Zimbabwe use as major criterion in measuring democracy. 5 (12%) of the male respondents reflected that going to elections was the major component of democracy or standard to measure if there is democracy. This was clearly brought out through Mr Nyoni, who opined that:

“Elections are the major indicator of democracy and that is how we can measure Citizen’s participation in politics”.

The essence of elections in determining the index of democracy reflects well with the traditional definition of democracy which relates to democracy as a government that is ran on the basis of the people’ will, people who do not directly participate in the government but are in the point of needing government to follow their expectations and demands by the election of their favoured and trusted representatives. The idea of elections has however attracted so much attention and requirements, elections are a political ritual that needs much attention and procedure to satisfy the benchmark notion. Kamp (2011) notes that elections must be competitive in the sense that opposition parties and their contesting members should be given freedom of speech, assembly and movement necessary to voice their criticism of the

incumbent government openly and to bring alternative policies and candidates to the voters. Kamp points out the fact that elections should be periodical since democracies do not elect dictators or presidents-for-life and also officials that are elected should be accountable to the citizens and they must return to the voters at prescribed intervals to seek their mandate to continue in office or face the risk of being voted out of office. Is this the reality of elections in Africa and Zimbabwe?

Another respondent, Mr Mlalazi reflected that democracy is measured by the level of independence in all sectors of governance and the power or viability of other actors who are non-governmental to review, criticize and engage government on a no-barred relationship.

His initial statement was that:

“Democracy is when we can criticize government policy, debate issues and let the Media dish out unbiased or non-partisan information for the glory of development And creation of a pluralistic state”

Noting the measurement that the respondent gave, it is imperative to take into cognisance the idea that at most times, the issue of pluralism has been cited as the major ethos of democracy, it is however left for critical individuals to note that criticism of government policy need at times to be limited, not restricted rather to enhance political order since at times, some groups may criticize for the reasons of discrediting than building up the existing systems to satisfactorily serve the masses.

Another respondent highlighted that democracy is simply measured through abiding with the constitution and the treatment of citizens with the highest level of humanness and respect of human rights. Mrs Rusike highlighted that:

“We cannot begin to talk of democracy if we ignore the real reason we have Institutions and a constitution, Democracy is about the Citizens, those are the primaries of democracy. Protection of the minority groups, human rights.

The response reveals the idea of the cradle of democracy which is closely intertwined with the need to create responsive systems that seek to protect the citizens from the arbitrary nature of the state, and there hence ensuring practice of human rights. This measurement or benchmark of democracy in Africa has been strongly sacrificed and compromised in the clash between political power and citizens’ needs. The likes of Kenya, Uganda and Zimbabwe as suggested in human rights reports have stood to violate citizens and at most times neglect the protection of human rights and rights of minority rights such as gay rights.

20% (8) of the respondents indicated that democracy was measured best by the level of participation of the citizens and the level of leadership sensitivity towards the grievances of the people/masses. Respondents reflected that participation in policy decisions, referendums was a benchmark of democracy as it made citizens to be fully vexed on and about the political realities that may affect them. Mrs Chikuyo alluded that:

“Policies can never fulfil anyone’s dream if they are decided behind closed doors, Democracy gives us the privilege to engage in deciding our own fate. I remember The constitutional referendum of 2013, I voted for the constitution because I had made an input during the session of giving our ideas to the composition of the constitution.

Democracy on its face value, is mostly married to the idea of the government of the people by the people, as such the idea of active participation draws the citizens closer in making the government abide by the idea of doing things right and participation guarantees citizens of having policies that satisfy them. Dahl (1989) is of the view that no one else has the same privileged position to understand anyone's interest hence experience has reflected that if others would fully understand other people's interests participation would be less relevant, but on a different note everyone has a need to participate and voice out their views since they would have guts and incentives to defend these interests in the decision making process. The idea that the interests of all persons should be given equal consideration lands participation in democracy in a position known as the "Strong Principle of Equality" which denotes that:

“This principle holds that all members are sufficiently well qualified, taken all around, to participate in making the collective decisions binding on the association that significantly affect their good or interests. In any case, none are so definitely better qualified than the others that they should be entrusted with making the collective and binding decisions”

The above notation of concerns itself with direct democracy which scratches out the involvement of multiple government representatives who have to stand up for the citizens but it however takes into initiative the capacity of individuals to air their own views and put up their ideas on their own, however this line of democracy can only be applicable in other issues that may concern the constitution, health policy but however in other issues it causes unnecessary delays in decision making.

12 (30%) of the respondents reflected that democracy is critical to the growth of the political sensibility of the government in all angles, in the line of bringing out such a concern they was consensus that culture plays a pivotal role in line with the manifestation of democracy. Mr Chakanetsa reflected that:

“The problem that has been there in relation to the understanding of democracy In Africa has been how democracy has been understood, it has been compared With how others do it, but culture differs, I think we ought to have our own form of Democracy, we have chiefs and councillors. That is the nature of democracy we ascribe to in Africa”.

Cementing this notion of democracy and culture, Mrs Nleya highlighted that democracy in other countries may mean disrespect and the flash down of norms and values but for Africa it should reflect the respect of culture an norms or rather even strengthen the norms and values of the African system than destroy them. Mrs Nleya reflected that:

“The essence of democracy is not disrespect for our ancestors and our values, to Insult the President, Village head or to draw the President naked cannot be democratic despite the idea of freedom of expression. In terms of the marriage of doom “gayism and lesbianism” I can begin to express my condolences of this form of democracy, it is wrong, very wrong”

The above response shows how democracy has at times failed to materialize in Africa or even in Zimbabwe precisely due to culture clashes. In relation to Pan Africanism, Africa has to strongly detached from any form of colonialism or imperialism by all means through the

proper upholding of the Africa cultures. This perspective of thought has made Africa an enemy in the story telling session of democracy since Africa is seen as a taboo worshipper of partial democracy which ignores other angles or dimension of democracy, however, Chikerema

(2014) notes that democracy needs a factor called the “indigenization process” in order to fit into other nations’ systems without compromising their systems, cultures and norms since democracy is not one size fits all.

The idea of culture and democracy breeds a hot contestation of ideas and political realities of nations reflecting that democracy and culture is synonymous with the body, spirit and the soul. Democracy (spirit) needs to fit into a body (culture) in order to correspond with the politics (body) of the day. This notion of democracy however has been out ruled by other schools of thought that have favoured the forcible adoption of democracy on the basis of western liberal democracy.

4.3.1 Interview responses: Defining democracy and culture

The researcher extended research efforts to involve interviews to be part of data gathering means and modes so as to get an extensive and spatial view on democracy. The interview was aimed at interviewing 8 respondents that could respond to democracy largely due to their own understandings, in cases where the interviewed was somewhat attached to organization or pressure, interest groups, it was the interviewer’ agenda to deduce the institutional and organizational standing on other serious issues linked with democracy. Amongst the respondents for the interview, there were 3 civil society activists, 2 members from pressure groups and 2 member of an LGBT organization that insisted on being kept anonymous and 1 representation of a political party.

Democracy was explained by the civil society voice as a political system that allows for the nature of the national systems to be filled with opinion and different actors in order to enhance a diverse view in policy and governance. A lady who denied to be named reflected that:

“Democracy is when we can talk on more pluralistic environments so that the voice we speak with portrays the view of society at some point and the National voice at large”

The theory of democratization as espoused by Boutros Boutros (1996) reflects that democracy ought to emphasize the less authoritarian society which adopts a system of government which embodies, in a variety of institutions and mechanisms, the ideal of political power based on the will of the people, this is also cemented and supported by Meier (2002) who outlines that democratization adds more players to the system of governance and process of politics through pluralism as she defines pluralism as a facet that links democracy to power held by specific interests groups or players. Pluralism spells out that citizens are disinterested in becoming involved thus therefore those who are engaged do so through minute representative political groups stand as the group to check and balance the government. Governmental leadership lies amongst those who are elected who mostly are elites. Special interest groups play an important role and jockey for power in areas related to specific issues and values that emphasizing the voice that becomes national after the jostle for power and influence is over.

The LGBT representatives conditioned democracy as a tolerant culture of governance and political system that allows for flexible possibilities to tabularise new developments into

culture for the need to appreciate other groups such as women, disabled and children. The respondents were not hesitant to point out as follows:

“ At one point there was no place for women in the field of politics, there was no Place for women in front of the pulpit but today we have prophetesses and female Politicians, that the nature of democracy. It breaks the discrimination of groups and it upholds the protection of groups ”

The response given by the respondent from the LGBT group showed that democracy was seen as an ideology that seeks to forward and present the rights, protection and representation of all groups. Kehinde (2013) is of the view that there is no disbelief that the idea of homosexuality has attracted deep, heated and extreme reactions in Africa, with many seeing the phenomenon as un-African and against African social and religious heritage. Homosexual lifestyle is perceived to be against nature. Traditionally, Africans place high premium on procreation.

Marriages are first and foremost, expected to fulfil the divine mandate to replenish the earth. Homosexuality is a direct negation of this divine imperative; hence, the homosexual preference is considered unnatural and it is against sexual ethics among the African people. Pan Africanism seeks to unite Africans under one ideology, culture and political system, this justifies the case of the resistance that homosexuality has met in Africa and Zimbabwe. At this juncture therefore the idea of Democracy in line with homosexuality and Pan Africanism has shown a circumstance of frictions than relations that are amicable.

Another respondent reflected that democracy has no limits and has no culture, it is simply a gospel of tolerance, emphasizing on the appreciation of female participation in politics the respondent reflected that:

“Gays and lesbians are people; their sexual orientation must not be ignored. It is as good as ignoring a female’ cry in labour if we are to ignore the emotional Needs of other groups, democracy means representation, tolerance. Culture is on The other side is not flaccid, it changes, and women were once enslaved in the jail of culture, so are gays”

The concept of tolerance and representation of minority groups has however clashed with the notion of nationalism and the deepest norms of Africa’s culture to allow the issue of gay rights. Thompson (1998) highlights that nationalism can create conditions for distrust xenophobia and reactivity and the distrust is concerned with viewing everything as evil-minded and threatening. The suspicion of foreign intention and the fear of foreign infringement often lead those nations to reject the outside world and crave for self-sufficiency. Due to their sense of vulnerability, they are thin-skinned to foreign pressure and insults, real or perceived. However, the cornered-animal characteristics of such reactive nationalism are often confused with aggression. This kind of juxtaposition portrays the major confluence of chaos and disconnection between democracy’s representation of the Gays and Lesbians (evil) versus the Nationalism purity (culture and heritage) thus leading to the clash of ideas.

Outlined was that democracy greatly preaches the gospel of multi-partyism and it gives much openness to diversity in political thought and this links democracy to the positive development of the political position of the nation. Mr Mwenje representing a political party that he insisted to keep unnamed noted that:

“Democracy and development are linked together. To develop you need opinions

From other key players such as political parties, trade unions and pressure

Groups who can appraise the government's performance and recommend policies

For development"

Linking the respondent's view with recent studies, it will not go unnoticed to discover that democracy and development are closely associated in relation to how actors involved in the appraisal of the government can influence government to adopt better policies as outlined by Hofmeister and Grabow (2011) who note that political parties and other actors enhance development of government policy through the criticism and the appraisal they make in relation to governance and policy decisions. This can be seen in the likes of the MDC-T and other political parties' thoroughly engagement to question the ruling government's progress in implementing the ZimAsset economic blueprint in relation to the promised 2 million jobs

Group	Perception of Democracy	Response rate in %
Civil Society	Pluralism	37
LGBT Rights groups	Tolerance, Protection of Minority rights, i.e. women, children and LGBT people	25
Political Party	Developmental: Criticism and improvement of government policy	13
Pressure group	Representation of other interests, social and religious interests	25

as cemented by Mashaya 2016 who quotes Tendai Biti ridiculing the government for failing to create their 2 million jobs election promise by simply creating the 2 vice Presidents posts.

Interview Response rate and reflections on democracy

Table 1.0 shows the interview response rate and the reflections of democracy on each group

The table above shows that for the pressure group, democracy is about pushing forward interest such as social and religious issues that are loosely and lowly taken into consideration.

For Mr Muza, democracy is when everyone has an input in governance issues and has a voice, Muza postulated as follows:

“Most people has thought that democracy is the rule of the majority, what about the Minority in our communities, they have social issues such as sanitation issues, Welfare issues and protection issues. That should be the role of democracy, to open up the political spaces for such people”.

Zimbabwe’s democratic performance was deduced from the respondents in quite a sporadic response trend that showed democracy from a diverse and heterogeneous angle that showed that democracy address a number of issues. Democracy in Zimbabwe was viewed as halfhearted since democracy is being practiced partially. 12 (30%) of the respondents reflected that democracy is practiced in a choosey manner since some tenets of democracy were limited such as labour action. One respondent reflected that:

*“There is no openness and transparency in the operations of the government.
For me as a worker I cannot practice my right to striking and demonstration.
It’s either striking is slowed and delayed through provisions in the Labour
Act. That is how democracy is for workers, limited”*

Another respondent commented on the reasons fuelling the perception that democracy in Zimbabwe is illiberal. The respondent revealed that there is less initiative and passion to uphold the practicalities of democracy since democracy is faced with institutional sabotage. One woman who preferred to remain anonymous revealed that:

“Freedom of expression is limited. For us to go on strike, we are conditioned, Police, managers give us instruction on how to demonstrate for pay rise, working Conditions and other employment issues, how is it democracy if it is limited to that Extent”

This response questions the validity of democracy if the level of democracy is linked with limitations to freedoms. In some point, it seems like democracy and the its different principles is like abiding to biblical commandments that require to be followed religiously, completely and fully without undermining any of one of them. Ncube’ observation that behind the façade of constitutionalism and democracy in Zimbabwe there lies an authoritarian political and legal system, with a great commission of serious violations of basic democratic rights, human rights and the rule of law goes in line with the respondent who decries the democratic system as an irrelevant and insufficient system that fails to satisfy its purpose.

Promoting democracy in Zimbabwe: Role of institutions

There was a clear reflection that few people believe in the institutions in relation to their capacity to table a fair and systematic distribution of democracy in Zimbabwe. Of the 40 respondents, 18 (45) revealed that the ZEC which is supposed to give a fair and unbiased commentary of the elections and the environment in which elections are conducted serves as a partner of the ruling government thus affecting the legitimacy of the election outcome. one of the respondents who preferred to remain anonymous declared as follows:

“To vote at times is as good as not voting, why do we only have the ZEC residing in all electoral issues? As it is we have the National Electoral Reform Agenda, it Is not just smoke, there is a fire, a fire of illegitimacy and bogusness”

The above statement from the respondent revealed that institutions that are given the mandate to safeguard democracy are somehow involved in diminishing and accelerating the level to

which democracy dies easily since they lack the prudence and the love to stand on the side of democracy. According to Mhlanga (2016) there has been a combination of political parties/actors who have taken the initiative to challenge and the pressure Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) to fairly present the political playing field which is characterised by insufficiency in the electoral laws and the composition of the electoral residing officers. It is not only in Zimbabwe that the Electoral commission has been allegedly accused of being an accomplice in vote rigging, According to Jega (2011) independence of the electoral bodies is pivotal in the blossoming of democracy, this he points out when recommending Nigeria to initiate and inaugurate an independent electoral body that will give object judgement on issues relating to laws and rules of electoral conduct after diagnosing that the Nigerian electoral commission was laden with unscrupulousness.

3 (7%) respondents were of the view that the justice system as a group of captains has lost the plot in helping direct the democratic ship in Zimbabwe. Human rights and civil liberties were cited as the most critically institutionally ignored concepts of democracy since the judicial system is hesitant in punishing perpetrators of such violations of the named herein. One the respondents in this camp of opinion highlighted that:

“I am a civil society activist from the WOZA/MOZA group, and I assure you, you will be amazed to note that I was detained for 2 weeks and 3 days without communicating With my family or even getting any legal advice from our legal representatives, so Tell me, where is democracy there?”

This attitude of courts to delay justice in Zimbabwe have been typical since Saki (2010) reverently shows that judges in Zimbabwe seat on the bench with a predetermined judgement already, the issue of arbitrary nature of Zimbabwe in relation to human rights and freedoms can be deduced also form the International Commission of Jurist (2013) which intervened in

the Beartrice Mtetwa case that involved her unlawful apprehension and detention by state police after she had insisted that the police should produce a search warrant. This is contrary to the ethos of liberal democracy and democratization which emphasizes and encourages the protection of individuals from being arrested arbitrarily and forcibly, as a consequence, Zimbabwe finds itself nailed on the democratization cross for its miscarriage of some of the tenets of democracy.

4.4 Conclusion

This section of the research paper was concerned with data presentation, findings and discussion. It managed to discuss the deepest notions of democracy as per the response findings that the researcher managed to get, in that same line, tables, column bars and pie charts were utilized to bring out the essence of diagrammatic presentation of work.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter is a manifestation of the previous chapter as it seeks to tuck in the findings that were made on the previous chapter. The chapter makes conclusions in relation to the findings

made and it recommends for strategies that can be used in order for democracy to be well practised within Zimbabwe' borders and in Africa as a whole.

5.2 Conclusions

The research established that democracy in Africa was there way before the colonization of Africa and before the civilization mission that the West has adopted, and the issue of investigating democracy is rather more ethnographic as it needs more engagement and interactions with information that is unbiased for the correction of the history of democracy.

Notable was that despite the prior existence of democracy in pre-colonial Africa, the waves of modification of the ideology to embrace the new changes such as Gayism and liberalization of the economy have been quite a threat to the simplicity of the practice of democracy thus reflecting resistance to the modification than resistance of the ideology on its own. Pan Africanism has become a point of reference as a uniting factor to let Africa be heard with one voice, emphasizing the loyalty that should be tied to sovereignty, heritage, culture and pride of the African state.

The democratic practice of elections is marred with so much irregularity which cannot be justified. Respondents to the interviews and questionnaires made it clear that elections and choice are separate entities in Zimbabwe since elections are accompanied by cohesion and violence that is politically motivated to alter the voting intention and choice of the voter. This went against the maximalist approach to democracy that embraces the practice and upholding of civil and political rights during elections, since apart from Zimbabwe, Kenya and Uganda as partial overviews that the study focused on revealed that irregularities were existent in line with police brutality, stifling of media freedom and manipulation of election results in order to avert election power.

Democratic consciousness/awareness is replaced by democratic cautiousness in Zimbabwe since the political systems do not fully comprehend it. They step on the democratic grounds with carefulness. The research established that mostly, democracy was legally sanctioned through statutes such as the AIPP, POSA and the Labour Act and thus therefore defied the common notions of freedom of movement, freedom of expression and access to information. The state's intensive control of media, the police and other state apparatus in its operations reflected that democracy was seriously compromised and hence therefore discrediting the existence of a fair dosage of democracy in Zimbabwe. For Kenya and Uganda the governments switched down access to internet during the course of voting and this denied the flow of communication and access to information hence reflecting that democracy in Africa is taken with caution.

Democracy in Zimbabwe was not universally shaped by its initial originality that it is known of by the world which emphasizes much on political power and the limitation of state power. In relation to the respondents, democracy was associated with representation amongst the females in relation to equal opportunities. This concept was revealed by female respondents who gladly confessed that democracy for them meant that they could engage and interact with the society freely and have an equal standing with their male counterpart in essence to positions of influence.

In relation to the court and justice system, the storm of democracy was significantly seen as illusory and non-responsive to the citizens. The court system was seen as an extension of the political tomfooleries and a lesser institution in the promotion of democracy since citizens felt less safe under the hands of law. This contradicted the notions of both democratization and Pan Africanism/nationalism which seeks to communicate on the freedom of the citizens in their national borders and in general sense of being human. In relation to Pan Africanism

seeks to explain the responsive nature of the African continent to the protection needs of the its citizens as enshrined in the African charter whereas in a bigger picture approach, there is need to protect citizens in the sense of democracy that seeks to emphasize the freedom to be observed by the citizens.

5.3 Recommendations

The following recommendations are resultant of the findings made in the previous chapter. For democracy to be well understood and conceptualized in Zimbabwe and Africa as a whole there is need for the following recommendations to be made:

- ❖ Political parties and other actors in the political sector should be given a fair share to jostle, debate and appraise the government freely without much limitation.
- ❖ The government in Zimbabwe should religiously and meticulously follow its constitutional promises of keeping an independent media situation that promotes independent thinking and catapults political criticism of the government that can enhance freewill and objectivity within the citizens so that they can achieve political opinion that is shaped from deep within.
- ❖ The court systems should be devolved from government control and devolved in a manner that empowers them to rule out cases in relation to the upholding of democracy at all costs. In a clash between citizens and the government, the court system should viably stand neutral, objective and apolitical.
- ❖ Democracy is seemingly differently adopted in all sectors of the world. The issue of democracy should not be approached with a one size fit all perception since culture and traditions may compromise the democratization Agenda hence causing fault lines in the whole process of understanding democracy. Governments, other actors such as pressure groups must make sure that democracy is not over-emphasized nor undermined in any essence because such extremes cause problems in the dispensation of democracy. In line with the cultural clash of democracy and Africanism which denounces the tradition of man-man marriages democracy is in a bad space that cannot be easily understood. Plebiscites and referendums can be adapted to measure

public perception in regards to such changes and demands in the society's sexual orientation discourse.

5.4 Conclusions

This chapter presents the conclusions reached by the research; it is linked with the previous chapter (chapter four) which is mostly about the findings and discussions. It makes recommendations for Africa and Zimbabwe in relation to the adoption of the gospel of democracy, providing suggestive measures that can lessen the impact and outcome of wrongly consumed democracy.

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