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THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH IN PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY IN
POST INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE: A CASE STUDY OF THE
EVANGELICAL FELLOWSHIP OF ZIMBABWE

BY

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A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE DEGREE
OF MASTER IN PUBLIC POLICY AND GOVERNANCE TO THE COLLEGE OF
BUSINESS, PEACE LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE

2017

Abstract

The practice of democracy has been one of the most contentious issues in post independent Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe is a country with a constitution that allows for democratic practices that include citizen participation in political issues. However it finds itself with a practise that is in slight askew of these tenets, because of the conflict between the ruling government socialist party thrust and the constitution, hence putting pressure on the constitution to submit to the ideology of the ZANU PF party. It is in such a context that this study interrogates the role of Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe in participatory democracy. The study ascertained the extent to which the Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe has been involved in governance issues and the extent of its influence on citizen participation in governance and policy issues in Zimbabwe. The research highlighted the processes that have been put in place to promote participatory democracy, and the role of the Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe in these processes, and the extent to which Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe has been influencing citizen participation in political issues. It also looked at constraints faced by the Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe in its involvement in political issues in Zimbabwe. The research was guided by participatory democracy theories. A mixed methods approach was adopted in the study with gathering data being conducted by means of initiating in-depth interviews, the use of questionnaires and documentary review. The research also aimed at suggesting recommendations for the church in Zimbabwe that will help in achieving effective political participation in the country. The study recommends that the church should have a clear ethos of engagement, engage competent skills within its structures, research on policy and governance issues and develop a proper contextual theology of democracy in order for it to be able to engage the government and involve the citizens in political participation in Zimbabwe.

Key words: participatory, democracy, church, Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe.

Declaration Page

I declare that this dissertation is my original work except where sources have been cited and acknowledged. The work has never been submitted, nor will it ever be submitted to another University in the awarding of a degree.

Student's Full Name

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Main Supervisor's Full Name

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Acknowledgements

I wish to acknowledge the assistance received from the following people who made it possible for this document to be put together.

My supervisor, Dr. Mungure, who guided me in conducting and compiling the entire research project, my wife who patiently put up with the difficulties and frustrations faced in getting the work done.

I also want to express my gratitude to Mutare Baptist Church for their patience and allowing me time to pursue my studies. To all I want to say, most sincerely, thank you!

Dedication

This research is dedicated to my wife Lisa Shamiso Mangwende and my mother Tracey Murewa, for all her efforts to get me where I am today.

List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

| | |
|---------|--|
| AGM | Annual General Assembly |
| AIPPA | Access to Information and Privacy and Protection Act |
| CA | Christian Alliance Zimbabwe |
| CCJP | Catholic Commission of Justice and Peace |
| COPAC | Constitution Parliamentary Committee |
| EFZ | Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe |
| ESAP | Economic Structural Adjustment Program |
| ESS | Ecumenical Support Services |
| GNU | Government of National Unity |
| HOCD | Heads of Christian Denominations |
| HODs | Heads of Denominations |
| MDC | Movement for Democratic Change |
| NGOs | Non Governmental Organizations |
| NCA | National Constitutional Assembly |
| PF ZAPU | Patriotic Front Zimbabwe African People's Union |
| PDP | People's Democratic Party |
| POSA | Public Order and Security Act |
| RFP | Rhodesian Front |
| SADC | Southern African Development Community |
| ZANLA | Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army |
| ZANU PF | Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front |
| ZCBC | Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops Conference |
| ZCC | Zimbabwe Council of Churches |

| | |
|----------|---|
| ZCTU | Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions |
| ZESN | Zimbabwe Election Support Network |
| ZIMPREST | Zimbabwe Program for Economic and Social Transformation |
| ZIPRA | People's Revolutionary Army |
| ZUM | Zimbabwe Unity Movement |

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This chapter gives a background to the study on the role of the church in participatory democracy in post independent Zimbabwe. It looks at the church's role both in pre and post independent Zimbabwe and also give insights on the purpose, objectives, limitations and delimitations of the study.

1.2 Background to the study

One of the most contentious issues in post independent Zimbabwe has been its practice of democracy. It has a culture shrouded in dictatorial tendencies and yet giving an appearance of democratic practices, which are embedded in a stifled electoral and representative democracy. There is a general feeling amongst citizens that they are excluded and in some cases limited in their participation in decision making processes in Zimbabwe. For a country which was born out of a protracted armed struggle, driven by grievances engendered by decades of colonial subjugation, the citizenry expected a lot from the system. The struggle had the ultimate goal of freedom after many years of pain, suffering, oppression and exclusion under the colonial government. Successive colonial administrations had used political power to suppress the black majority through legislation backed by force (Barry 2004). The system was not based on equality of the human persons, especially that of the Africans, it was a racist regime which accorded Africans unequal citizenship through various legislations, with the most notorious pieces of legislations being the Land Apportionment Act of 1931, the Natives Land Husbandry Act of 1951 and the Land

Tenure Act of 1969. There were also other enactments which limited the freedoms of the black majority like the Emergency Powers Act of 1966 and the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act, a law which gave the police and the Home Affairs minister arbitrary powers to control suspected and potential foes and to criminalise political activity (Raftopoulos and Savage, 2004). The resultant effect of these segregative tendencies and legislation by the colonial regime gave birth to African nationalism and political activism, which led to the war of liberation which was led by the two major revolutionary agents which were, the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) with its military wing, Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) and the Patriotic Front Zimbabwe African People's Union (PF ZAPU) whose military wing was the People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA). The result of the armed struggle was that Zimbabwe gained independence from Britain on April 18, 1980.

Embedded in the struggle for independence was the voice of the church, which has always been a factor in Africa's democratic processes. The church castigated and challenged the repressive government of the Rhodesian Front Party (RFP). One such body that challenged the colonial regime was the Zimbabwe Council of Churches, which was created as a forum where Christian leaders from different denominations could tackle matters of their mutual concern in an increasingly tense political atmosphere (Ruzivo, 2008). However during this period, the Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe (EFZ), was silent on political issues, it did not speak against the oppressive government of the RFP. During the liberation struggle it interpreted the armed struggle in terms of the advance of communism and Russian influence. They made prayers for the destruction of the "terrorists" and the safety of the security

forces (Bhebhe, 1988). Thus at independence as other church bodies which had played a great political role during the struggle, continued to speak against the government on issues of governance, the EFZ found itself in a state of confusion as it found itself haunted by the positions it had taken against the nationalist during the liberation struggle. It could only engage on limited issues of ethics, society and development, and lost its voice on political issues, as the country drifted away from its liberation ideals and the expectations that the people had at independence.

The drifting away from the liberation ideals is attributed to the fact that at independence, the nationalist leaderships willing or unwilling failed to broaden democracy but embraced the oppressive institutions and legal instruments such as the Rhodesian imposed state of emergency which took ten years to be lifted (Mandaza and Sachikonye, 1991). Raftopoulos (2006), however notes that independence did bring the beginning of democratic political structures and practices. The participation of blacks, women and youth in social, political and economical structures was evident. There was also marked strides in other facets of life with the introduction of an education policy which allowed free primary education. This policy led to any increase in secondary schools, tertiary and teacher training colleges. There was also economic success, with Zimbabwe being accorded the title "the bread basket of Africa".

However in spite of these nascent democratic tendencies, it soon became evident that the nationalistic movement did not really want to open the democratic space for greater participation by the citizens. In 1981 it created the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU), to allow for labour participation, however this was not independent of the ruling party as it was viewed as an arm which was subordinate to

ZANU PF (Barry, 2004). ZANU PF started advocating for a one party state and “privatised” the national democratic processes, which for many was a reversal of the gains of the liberation struggle. Thus the major agent of liberation had turned itself into a tool of intolerance and oppression (Barry 2004) as it used militarist politics which was embedded in repressive politics and offering a few opportunities for democratic participation. The ZANU PF government acted the same towards opposition as it sought to force them into alliance or into silence (Raftopoulos, 1992). This led to the ruling party's authority going largely unchallenged as it claimed an immense amount of ideological capital.

The authoritarian nature of the ruling ZANU (PF) party was seen also in the way it implemented economic policies without consultations. In 1991, amidst a barrage of critics and opposition it implemented an Economic Structural Adjustment Program (ESAP). This structural adjustment program was implemented under the dictates of the World Bank and International Monetary fund (Ruzivo, 2008). Its implementation was done at the expense of the suggestions of the local voices, that the government ignored resulting in the crumbling of the economy and loss of jobs by thousands of workers.

ESAP was then precedent by a number of socio-economic policies like Zimbabwe Programme for Economic and Social Transformation (ZIMPREST) which was supposed to run from 1996 to 2000, and this was phased out without being properly implemented. This was worsened by the 1997 payment of unbudgeted gratuities of over five billion Zimbabwean dollars to war veterans and then the chaotic fast track land reform program in 2000 and the years that followed (Sachikonye, 2002).

What was happening in the socio-economic arena was a reflection of the deep seated repressive tendencies of the ZANU PF regime in the political arena. The populace was now demanding to be heard and active participation in political and policy decisions. They wanted more social and political space to air their views and be heard by their leaders. Therefore the citizens as a result, demanded the democratisation of the political space. As a result there was widespread violence against political opponents and those who, like the Movement for Democratic Change, National Constitution Assembly and Christian Alliance opposed the policies of the state . It was with greater demands for more democracy, that the government receded towards the old familiar language of war, military organization, surveillance, and suspicion and war strategies (CCJP 2000; Sachikonye, 2011;Barry 2004).

Elections became very violent as witnessed by the 2000 general elections. This was not new since in all the previous elections in 1980, 1985, 1990 and 1996 the ruling party was ruthless in dealing with opposition parties. Political participation was now a risk and only safe when one was in the ruling ZANU (PF).This is echoed by Machakanja (2010) who points out that the electoral campaign was violent and characterised by arbitrary arrests, detention, torture, disappearance and the deaths of political opponents and activists.

The years after 2000 saw the government introducing draconian legislation which infringed on people's rights and these included Access to Information and Privacy and Protection Act (AIPPA) and Public Order and Security Act (POSA) amendments in 2002 and 2008, which curtailed the gathering and movement of people. These oppressive tendencies continued, amidst criticism from other corners of the institutional church like the ZCC, the Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops Conference

(ZCBC) through its arm the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP). These engaged the government through the issuance of pastoral statements individually and jointly under the Heads of Christian Denominations (HOCD). Some of the pastoral statements include A Call to Conscience issued in 2005 and also The Zimbabwe We Want discussion document published in 2006 (Mpofu, 2008). Through these documents they initiated meetings with the president albeit with little interest coming from the government quarters (Ruzivo, 2008; Mpofu, 2008). Whilst the other groups continued with diplomacy, letters and seeking audience with the government leadership, the Christian Alliance of Zimbabwe (CA), was more antagonistic in its approach, calling for strikes and being more vocal resulting in the group being persecuted by the state and being viewed together with the ZCC and ZCBC as reactionary bodies (Ruzivo, 2008).

In light of this, this study will seek to interrogate the role of the church in participatory democracy, premised on the reality that literature has been generated around the aspects of democracy in Zimbabwe. However much of literature which relates to the role of the church in democracy in Zimbabwe is mainly about the pre-independent Zimbabwe with little on the post independent country, particularly on participatory democracy.

1.3 Purpose of study

The purpose of this study is to examine the role of the church in participatory democracy in the post independent Zimbabwe, with EFZ being the case study. In addition to generation of literature that informs policy makers, political and policy analysts and other interested groups which include civil society, this study also seeks

to help the church improve on its civic involvement and to situate itself better in terms of the church-state relations.

1.4 Statement of the problem

Coming out of an oppressive colonial system in which the black majority's right to participate in issues of governance was almost nonexistent, people looked forward to a more democratic society in which more democratic space would be created enabling citizens participation in issues of governance in the post independent Zimbabwe. However, though there were expectations, the post independent Zimbabwe has become an authoritarian pseudo-democracy in which participation is limited and in some cases nonexistent. Embedded in such an environment is a hesitant EFZ, which was complicity in its collaboration with the colonial regime when other ecumenical bodies played a significant role in the struggle for democracy during the colonial era. After independence the EFZ appeared to disengage from political participation and has been hesitant to engage with the government on issues of governance and policy. This it has done in the midst of the citizen's indifference to political participation because of the authoritarian nature of the government. This study seeks to interrogate the role the EFZ has been playing in promoting participatory democracy in the post independent Zimbabwe .

1.5 Significance of the study

This study shall generate literature for academic use in the areas of citizen engagement, architecture of governance, church and society and political and public theology. It will help EFZ and other ecumenical bodies to situate themselves with regards to church and state relations. It will widen the scope of the researcher in his leadership role in the church and society as well.

1.6 Assumptions of the study

- The study assumes that the Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe is enlightened adequately on participatory democracy.
- It further assumes that the study is politically sensitive.

1.7 Research objectives

- Explore the role of the church in participatory democracy in Zimbabwe
- To assess the role that Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe (EFZ) has played in participatory democracy in the post independent Zimbabwe .
- Examine the forms of citizen engagement of the Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe

1.8 Research questions

- What have been the processes employed in the post independent Zimbabwe to promote participatory democracy?
- How has the Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe been involved in promoting participatory democracy?
- What forms have been used in citizen engagement in post independent Zimbabwe by the Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe?

1.9 Delimitation of the study

This research focused on the study of the role of Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe in participatory democracy in Zimbabwe. The study was mainly centred on Mutare and Harare. Mutare by virtue of the researcher residing in Mutare and also Harare because many of the informant interviewees are domiciled in Harare.

1.10 Limitations of the study

The research targeted high ranking ecumenical leaders and political leaders in informant interviews, so the challenge faced was accessing the informants for interviews due to their busy schedules. Thus in order to remedy this the researcher ensured that the interviews were scheduled at times that were convenient to the informants.

1.11 Definition of concepts

Participatory democracy- the form of governance in which the people literally rule themselves, directly and participatorily, day in day out in all matters that affect them in their common live. To its advocates, participatory democracy involves extensive and active engagement of citizens in the self governing process, it means government not just for but by and of the people (Zittel and Fuchs; 2007)

Church- Churches can be defined according to their different typologies as Chitando and Togarasei (2010) aptly capture, that there are mainly mainline churches with a Western origins and connections. There are also African Independent or Instituted or Initiated churches with African origins, and Pentecostal or Evangelical churches with more charismatic outlooks, among others. These churches can also be grouped according to their associations or ecumenical bodies that they belong to. The ecumenical bodies include the Zimbabwe Council of Churches (ZCC) for mainly the mainline churches, the Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops' Conference (ZCBC) for the Catholic Church and the Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe (EFZ) for Pentecostal and Evangelical Churches. One can therefore talk of the 'church' referring to each of these typologies, referring to all of them or referring to individual churches and

congregations that belong to these typologies. It is these associations or ecumenical bodies that this research refers to as the ‘church’.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the views by various authors on the subject of participatory democracy. It gives the conceptual framework of participatory democracy, and looks at various typologies that help in situating the level of citizen participation in Zimbabwe and also looks at the church and participatory democracy. The chapter also explores the current democratic practices in Zimbabwe

2.2 Concept of participatory democracy

2.2.1 Concept of democracy

Delwiche and Henderson (2013), posit that the term participatory democracy has manifold meanings in political science. It is conceived as a primary subtype of democracy and therefore the first necessary step is the definition of democracy as the basic concept. Democracy is an essentially contested concept and correspondingly one finds endless disputes over appropriate meaning and definition. Delwiche and Henderson (2013) posit that the etymological definition of democracy is very simply, that democracy is the rule or power of the people.

This idea of democracy which is based on the etymology of *demokratia*, is shared by several authors. However it is cast in various translations. Woolf (2007) defines it as a system in which people decide matters together or collectively and Mostert (2004), posits that it is a form of government in which sovereign power is exercised by the people in a body. Thus from the definitions above, one can conclude that democracy is rule by the people. However democracy does contain some essential characteristics which are the *demos* and the *kratos* (Zittel and Fuchs, 2007). *Demos*

included all citizens and as Zittel and Fuchs (2007) posit it included all citizens in antiquity, and equality (*isotes*) of citizens was emphasised and all citizens had equal part in government whether one was rich or poor, educated or uneducated.

The structure of the democratic government in antiquity Athens was based on four institutions: the assembly of the people (*ekklessia*), the council of the five hundred (*iboule*), the magistrate (*aragai*) and the people's courts (*dikasteria*) (Zittel and Fuchs 2007). These ensured that the people governed together as officers in these institutions were appointed by lot and were permanently rotated. Democracy in Athens was marked by participation and the level of political activity by the citizens of Athens is unparalleled in world history in terms of number, frequency and level of participation. One of the most characteristic features of this kind of democracy was its extensive discussions on public and political affairs by the citizens in public affairs. However in modern democracy, there is no joint deliberations by the demos in assemblies.

2.2.2 Concept of participatory democracy

Bachrach and Botwinick (1992), stress that participatory democracy is a Rousseauian concept that emerged during the intellectual turmoil of the 1960s and has been developed by social scientists in recent years into full blown theory of democracy. It is viewed by Held (1996), as the main counter model on the left to the legal democracy of the right in as far as it condemns closed society of the socialist societies and critique the right for inequalities. Zittel and Fuchs quoting Barber (1995:921) explain participatory democracy as:

... the form in which the people literally rule themselves, directly and participatorily, day in day out in all matters that affect them in their common live. To its advocates, participatory democracy involves extensive and active

engagement of citizens in the self governing process, it means government not just for but by and of the people (2007:40).

Thus from the various definitions above, one can perceive two central characteristics of participatory democracy, which are the directness of participation by the citizens in governing and deliberation in political opinion formation. This is clearly captured in participatory theory which envisions citizens who engage into political decision making in great number and who share a sense of collective responsibility and its main protagonist is Carole Pateman (Zittel and Fachs, 2007) It is important to note that the debate about participatory democracy as posited by Zittel (2007) is shaped by three strands that differ in their methodological approaches and that sketch their respective reform options with varying degrees of specificity and these are, the philosophical, historical and applied participatory democracy approaches.

The philosophical approach

Zittel (2007) explains that, philosophical approach in the theory of participatory democracy is closely linked to critical theory, of which Jürgen Habermas is one of the chief exponents. It is rooted in questions of epistemology that nevertheless form an essential foundation for understanding. The theory of knowledge entertained by critical theory can be traced back in a highly abbreviated way to two basic propositions that have significance for its democratic theory. First, from the perspective of critical theory, moral judgments that can claim general validity can only be formed from a social process mediated by communication. This core hypothesis distinguishes critical theory for example from critical rationalism that views general judgments as anchored at the individual level.

Second, this discursive social process if it is then to serve as the basis for general judgment is seen as dependent on a specific institutional framework that Habermas defines at the level of abstract principles and that is characterized by the autonomy of the discourse, the equality of participants in the discourse and the openness of the discourse in more specific ways. Thus political legitimacy according to Zittel (2007), rests on the partial implementation of these two moral imperatives, which focuses on the nature of discursive politics and the concept of public sphere.

The applied approach

Zittel (2007) points out that the applied approach of participatory democracy interprets this concept as a practical manifesto for democratic reform underpinned by demands for democratization and deviation from established processes in liberal democracy and it is case-specific and empirically explorative. That is to say, its exponents forego attempts to elaborate general models of participatory democracy but instead anchor their subject matter in empirical projects underpinned by demands for democratization and deviation from established processes in liberal democracy. The purpose of this strand of participatory democracy lies in the analysis of specific project designs and the political conditions required for their development, as well as in the question of the ultimate effect of these projects on political involvement.

Historical approach

In the third approach Zittel (2007) sees the concept of participatory democracy as a product of a particular intellectual development over time. Zittel and Fuchs (2007) cites Carole Pateman as the chief exponent of this strand of participatory democracy. Pateman lays before us the historical developments of such a concept and the fact

that political engagement is explained by several socio-economic factors, which include the advanced educational background and above average income of the citizens. Pateman suggests that citizens who meet this criteria are most likely to develop interest in politics and to cope with the complexities of modern political life. This theory of participatory democracy as advocated by Pateman and others is viewed as complex and in some cases inadequate. It is elaborated by Arora and Awasthy (2007) as a concept that envisages an equal right to self development, a type of society which fosters a sense of political efficacy, nurtures for collective problems and contributes to the formation of a knowledgeable citizenry, capable of taking a sustained interest in the governing process.

Arora and Awasthy (2007:112) point out that this theory of participatory democracy can be briefly stated as under:

- Democratisation of parliaments, bureaucracy, political parties and the like is the first condition of participatory democracy, so to make them all more open and accountable.
- Drastic decentralisation of powers, both vertically and horizontally, so to enable the formulation of policies and decision making run from the bottom up.
- Reorganisation of political parties, while making them less hierarchical, on the principles and procedures of participatory democracy.
- Accountability of the political administrators and managers to the people they represent.

- Direct participation of citizens in the regulation of the key institutions of society, including the work place and local community
- Maintenance of an open institutional system to ensure the possibility of experimentation with political forms.

Participatory democracy envisages an equal right to self development and a type of society that fosters a sense of political efficacy, nurtures for collective problems and contributes to the formation of a knowledgeable citizenry, capable of taking sustainable interest in the governing processes. However for this to effectively happen there are some conditions that help to meet the criteria of collective decision making and extensive involvement. These are given by Arora and Awasthy (2007:114), who quote Dahl, as follows:

- There must be equal allocation of votes amongst citizens
- Enlightened understanding is needed in order for citizens to express preferences accurately.
- Throughout the process of making decisions, every citizen must be given the opportunity for effective participation. Citizens must have adequate and equal opportunities to express their preferences to the final decisions.
- The citizens must have final control of the agenda and also the process must be inclusive of all adult members except transients and mentally challenged persons.

2.2.3 Rationale for participatory democracy

The nature and the role of political participation have in recent years been centre of discussion and advocacy by citizens in varying degree and for various ends. Participation in politics is democratic and consequently citizen's participation must be desired to ensure efficient government. Zittel and Fuchs (2007) note that institutional restraint impinging on political participation within the frame of liberal democracy lessen political engagement and spawn political apathy in the long run. This is a result of the fact that in many liberal democracies mainly in Africa and in particular Zimbabwe, few people have access to policy decisions and have little ability to influence those decisions.

In a country like Zimbabwe where there is a clear distinction between the ruling class and the demos, participatory democracy as noted by Fung and Wright (2003), will enable transformative democratic strategies that can advance traditional values, egalitarian social justice, individual liberty combined with popular control over collective decisions, community solidarity and the flourishing of individuals in ways which enable them to realise their potentials. This will in turn capacitate ordinary people to make sensible decisions through reasoned deliberation and empowerment. Barber (2003), adds that participation enhances the power of communities and endows them with the moral force that non-participating ruler ship rarely achieves. A point which Held (1996), agrees with, as he highlights Pateman's (1970) point that participatory democracy fosters human development and enhances a sense of political efficacy, reduces a sense of estrangement from power centres, nurtures a concern for collective problems and contributes to the formation of an active and knowledgeable citizenry capable of taking more acute interest in government affairs.

2.3 Typologies of political participation

2.3.1 Arnstein's ladder of participation

Arnstein's Ladder of Participation presents one of the most vivid practical examples of the different stages that governance can take place. Arnstein came up with this model in 1969, when she analysed citizen involvement in decision making in social urban programs in the United States of America from the point of view of the redistribution of power. On this basis, she characterised a series of levels of devolution of power to citizens, represented as rungs on a ladder (Hague and Jenkins, 2005). The ladder or a hierarchical structure she presents portrays participation in three phases, that is, nonparticipation, tokenism and citizen power (Schroth, 2010; Aldgate, Healy, Malcolm, Pine and Seden, 2007; Mapuva, 2014). Arnstein argues that institutions can either make decisions without involving citizens, can consult citizens as a formality or can empower citizens to take control of all decision-making processes. Mapuva (2014), points out that through the 'ladder of citizen participation' Arnstein presents citizen participation in hierarchical order and as existing in degrees of development as follows:

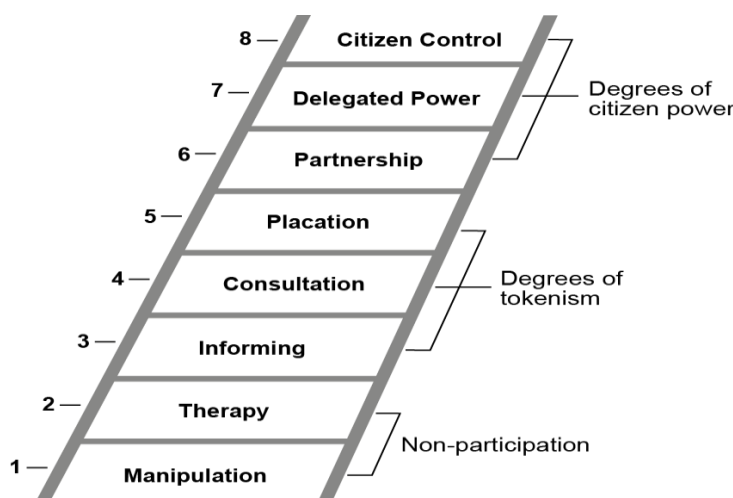


Figure 1: Arnstein's ladder of participation 1969.

Thus as seen in Fig 1, Arnstein portrays participation as existing in three tiers. At the bottom of the ladder is nonparticipation where decisions are made from the top and handed down to citizens and there is manipulation as participants can be put into committees whose only function is to approve decision that have already been made (Aldgate et al, 2007).

On that on the second tier, the quality of participation is through informing and consulting citizens without giving assurances that their contributions will be considered for decision-making purposes. The third tier consists of a wholesome involvement of citizens in the public decision-making process where citizens become partners in making decisions and can directly influence policy formulation and implementation. Thus true participation of citizens occurs higher up the ladder of participation partnering, delegation and citizen control (Aldgate et al, 2007). Schroth (2010), however notes that in the modern political arena conflict between citizens on the one side and government on the other has resolved into a more complex situation with multiple stakeholders. Hence more improvements have been done to Arnstein's ladder of participation.

2.3.2 Ladder of citizen empowerment

Burns, Hambleton and Hoggett developed a new version of Arnstein's ladder in the 1990s to take account of the many new forms of citizen participation subsequently developed by governing authorities (Flores 2005). The new ladder is called ladder of citizen empowerment which improves Arnstein's by incorporating degree of participation and quality of engagement (Tritter and McCallum, 2006), though it is identical in depicting three categories of participation, with slightly different names

captured in 12 levels. The model makes fine distinctions: between 'cynical' and 'genuine' consultation as well as between 'entrusted' and 'independent' citizen control (Navruzov, Rose and Shelley, 2000). The ladder of citizen empowerment is shown by the diagram below:

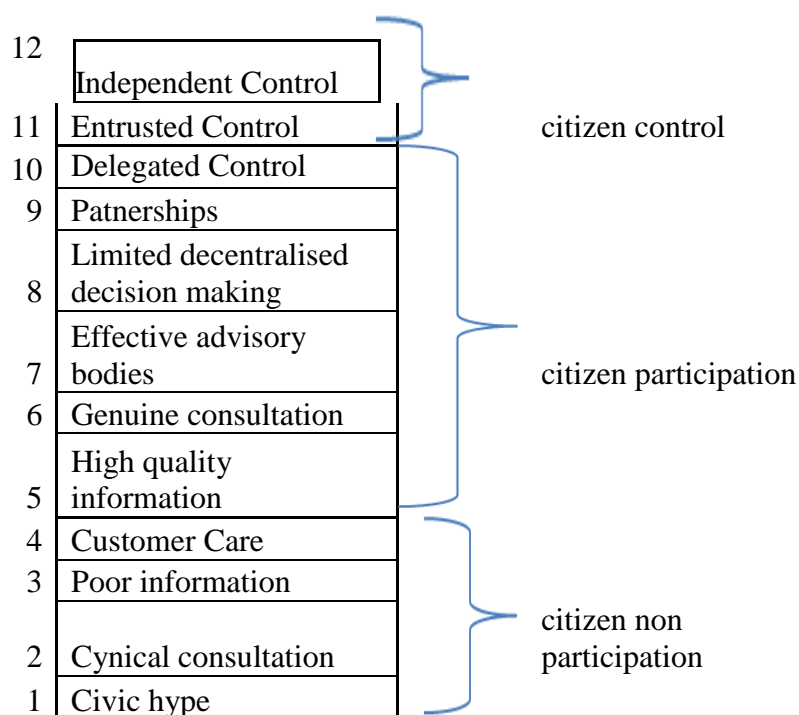


Figure 2: Citizen ladder of empowerment


The first part of the new ladder identifies four areas of interest, over which all citizens interact. These areas are the individual sphere, the sphere of the sub local, the sphere of local government and the sphere of the national government (Flores, 2005). The twelve rungs of the ladder are divided into three main divisions which are non participation, citizen participation and citizen control. The first four rungs are defined as one way communication process, in the first rung the authorities implement large publicity campaigns to distract the public attention from any participatory intentions. The second rung is where pseudo participation mechanism

are established to legitimate actions that have been previously decided by authorities (Flores, 2005).

The citizen participation section is the largest with six rungs, which are composed of high quality information, genuine consultation, effective advisory bodies, limited decentralised decision making, partnerships and delegated control. The last two are areas of citizen control (Flores, 2005). However Cornwall (2008) is of the view that much of what claims to be public participation on the ladder of citizen empowerment continues to be situated towards the lower rungs of Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation. A view shared by Bishop and Davis (2002), who argue that though an attempt has been made to develop Arnstein's ladder of participation, much of the arguments are still underpinned to the normative assumptions made by Arnstein.

2.3.3 Continuum of participation

Van Lammeren and Hoogerwerf (2003) and Beckley, Parkins and Sheppard (2006) have also tried to acknowledge the changed situation with modified "ladders of participation" with a different emphasis. The authors have summarised the most influential classification of today and identified five common levels of participation. These levels are not exclusive in relation to each other so that Beckley et al (2006) orders them as a "continuum of participation", rather than a ladder as indicated by the diagram below.



| | | | | | |
|------------------------|----------------------|--------------|--------|-------------|-------------|
| Level of participation | Information exchange | Consultation | Advice | Cooperation | Co=decision |
|------------------------|----------------------|--------------|--------|-------------|-------------|

Table 1 Basic levels of participation ordered as a continuum with an increasing level of participation from left to right (Berckley et al (2006:25))

By information exchange, Van Lammeren and Hoogerwerf (2003) refer to an one way communication process in which one party informs the other. Schroth (2010) argues that comprehensive and fair information is a prerequisite for meaningful participation, although information on its own is not sufficient for democratic legitimization, though it is a basis for further levels of participation. Consultation is the process in which the public is asked for feedback, hence it is a two way process. This according to Schroth (2010), can be done through questionnaires or forms, however this is not effective without a binding character from the planning authorities, who takes into account issues raised. This kind of participation is usually organised in the form of an advisory body. Schroth (2010), notes that it is only in cooperation in which stakeholders have equal share and rights and in co-decision, the responsibilities are delegated to the public.

2.3.4 Contribution of the typologies to study

Arnstein's ladder of participation, Burns ,Hambleton and Hoggett ladder of citizen empowerment and continuum of participation, are going to help the researcher to determine the level of citizen participation in Zimbabwe's democratic arena. The bottom-line presented by these typologies is that in a democracy, citizen participation

is the prime political practice which every democratically-elected government should strive to achieve both in principle and in practice. The typologies put citizens right at the centre of decision making processes, acknowledging that there are now other actors involved in issues of citizen participation. Thus a government which fails to give citizens the right to decision making power and free political choices presents an unacceptable form of democratic practices, if any at all. Therefore the three typologies and in particular Arnstein's ladder of participation will help to inform the practice of participatory democracy or lack of it thereof in Zimbabwe. The reason being that as given by Bishop and Davis (2002), who argue that though an attempt has been made to develop Arnstein's ladder of participation, much of the arguments are still underpinned to the normative assumptions made by Arnstein

Mapuva (2014), notes that according to the Arnstein under nonparticipation, the political practice is characterised by manipulation of citizens by the ruling elites. This is similar on the ladder of citizen empowerment and continuum of participation in which the first stages are just about communication processes which are one sided. Citizens are manipulated through public campaigns by the government in order to distract them from any participation intentions. Using the typologies and in particular ladder of citizen participation help determine level of participation within the political arena in post independent Zimbabwe and the stakeholders that are involved .

Under the tokenism stage on Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation, citizens are merely informed by the government of what programmes the government intends to undertake without seeking public opinion. Under citizen power, communities are given the opportunity by legislation to contribute or influence decision-making

processes. All these governance processes exist within a legislative context which provides for a regulatory frame work that govern citizens' behaviour. The legislative regime can either be restrictive and prohibitive or contribute to the creation of an enabling political environment.

Thus the political environment of any nation will show whether that nation is a practicing true democracy, which is participatory as seen by its engagement of and political participation by the citizenry. This research uses Arnstein's Ladder of Participation that presents a democratic best practice to establish the extent to which citizen's are engaged by the state and participate in governance issues and also note the role that has been played by the EFZ in the whole process.

2.4 Theological critical approach

To study the church , the theological critical approach is used. Theological critical approach clearly states that theology promotes clear socio-cultural values which enhance quality life (Schreiter, 1992). What this method contributes to this study is the allusion to the fact that theological institutions operate under human will, power and limitations hence the need to question certain issues that the church does or fails to do. The method therefore assesses the conditions in which the church operates in, the church's relevance and authenticity to the historical social context of its mission.

2.5 Church and participatory democracy in post independent Zimbabwe

Dorman (2002) posits that Zimbabwe has a rich literature on the roles of churches and church organizations in the colonial period, which neatly captures the complexity of their relations with the Rhodesian state. Yet post-independence

church-state relations have been little studied. These relationships have seemed to be complex depending on which side of the political pendulum one's church belongs. It appears that in independent Zimbabwe historical relations between church and state have tended to be largely co-operative and a bit non confrontational, this is because institutional churches have tended to hedge their bets, always looking for a safe way out of the confrontation with the ruling ZANU PF, should they end up on the losing side (Dorman, 2002).

The most significant post-independence division between church and state as posited by Dorman (2002), came as the state sent troops into Matabeleland ,allegedly to quell 'dissident' activity instigated by ZAPU, which retained political strength in the area, and South Africa. The activities of the security forces against the civilian population of Matabeleland led to numerous reports of human rights abuses being made to the Catholic Commission of Justice and Peace (CCJP). Their attempts to document and publicize the abuses being perpetrated by the security forces were rebuffed and denied by the state.

Despite such sanctions, the CCJP continued to pursue cases of human rights violations, and finally in 1997 published a definitive and detailed report called "Breaking the Silence, Building True Peace," on the Matabeleland atrocities. In the 1990 the CCJP criticised the government's adoption of the ESAP condemning the whole exercise. After the 1995 general election, the ZCC and the CCJP joined with other organizations which monitored the vote to create the church or nongovernmental organisations (NGO) civic education project.

In 1996, Dorman (2002) explains that CCJP hosted a two day national workshop on ZIMPREST which was the economic blueprint then, but this initiative failed when

responsible minister failed to attend. In October 2011 they realised a letter entitled, "God Hears the Cry of the Oppressed," criticising the small black elite they said replaced a small white elite and perpetuated colonial like misrule. Apart from CCJP, there was a small group called Ecumenical Support Service (ESS) which tried in vain in 1994 to institute debate on ESAP.

With the exception of the CCJP, other ecumenical bodies have politically avoided criticizing the government openly, with the EFZ limiting its engagement much to general issues of ethics, society and development, until in 2002, with leaders of Family of God, Catholic church and the Anglican church sought to initiate dialogue between the MDC and ZANU PF, after the disputed election (Chitando and Togarasei, 2010) and also when they co-authored the Zimbabwe we want document with other ecumenical bodies like the ZCBC and ZCC.

Chitando and Togarasei (2010) do note that many church organisations were involved in trying to diffuse tensions in the run-up to the March 2008 elections. Among the bodies that sought to provide enlightened leadership at this time of political polarisation were ZCBC, ZCC and EFZ. However, some activists felt that these organisations were either too close to Mugabe and ZANU-PF or were not outspoken enough. As a result, these activists formed a new body, the Zimbabwe Christian Alliance (CA), on 3 February 2006, headed by Levee Kadenge of the Methodist Church in Zimbabwe. According to the Anglican-mainstream. net the idea and ethos behind CA was to bring a peaceful transformation to the situation in Zimbabwe. This the CA sought to do by engaging the government in meaningful dialogue about the root cause of the nation's multiple social ills.

In all this, other church bodies felt it was not yet time for open confrontation with government since they had access to the government officials concerned to voice their fears and concerns. As a result some chose to just play the watchdog role, though others played the legitimating role (Matikiti, 2009). It is such a cautious approach that caused the church to retreat to its denominational enclosures, but scholars like Friedman (1997), reckon that the church can locate itself within the political arena as an active player, and promote sustainable national discourse on democracy. Since it has the structures and a presence which gives it organisational distinctiveness, to be a voice of the voiceless.

This may not be the only reason why the church may not be playing a political role in Zimbabwe, Kumalo (2009), points out some of the reason as, parliamentary democracy and centralisation of power around the presidency, the lack of socio-ecclesial analysis and lack of contextual theology of democracy in which the church can be enabled to move from its theological rigidity and identify with its proper role in its politics.

2.6 Current democratic practices in Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe democratic landscape is of much debate amongst scholars and its citizenry. There is the argument of what the country really is in terms of its democratic practices. The tags that are always given to it, usually depend on the perspective of the writers, some call it a liberal democracy, other's it is a pseudo-democracy, by virtue of the fact that it holds elections and has every constitutional institution, which dances to the whims of the ruling party and other classify it as an

outright dictatorship. Thus the question still remains, what are the current democratic practices in Zimbabwe?

The current democratic practices in Zimbabwe are embedded in its historical structures as they were adopted at Independence in 1980 and also in the narrative that the new government that replaced the colonial one sought to write. This is why Chikerema and Chakunda (2014), noted that Zimbabwe is in a constant state of transition. The political system is marked by centralization through the adoption of a *de facto* one party state rule and authoritarian political culture by ZANU PF since independence. This is because at Independence, though the new government adopted the Western liberal democracy through the Lancaster House constitution, they failed to broaden democracy but embraced the oppressive institutions and legal instruments that the Rhodesian government used (Nhema, 2002). Thus the new leaders after independence sought legitimacy by calling themselves "revolutionaries" rather than "democrats", with the Marxist-Leninist ideology serving as a substitute for the inherited "Western type liberal democracy". Ironically, it was the exposure to those, "Western type liberal sentiments" that sparked the nationalist favour in the first place (Nhema, 2002).

The paradox of it is that once in power the ruling party did not want to open up the democratic space and develop a self reliant and decentralised political system. For the new government, development subordinated democratic practices and they advocated for a one party state. This was seen by Mandaza and Sachikonye (1991), as an undemocratic structure which was a convenient device to perpetuate rule by a particular elite or a coalition of interests. Thus though there were periodic elections from 1980 to 2013, which were marred by violent contestations of power, these did

not include the possibility of the ruling party being unseated, thus there is no accountability politically and economically.

This saw the development of monopoly politics, as stated by Jonathan Moyo, as quoted by Nhema (2002), which is a system which does not recognise individual liberties and dignity, thus it does not promote political participation, that is, the right of individual self determination in the pursuit of their constitutional rights in an open society. Thus this political monopoly discouraged political discussion and proper political participation and sought to create a dearth of credible and viable opposition, thereby undermining the whole system of democracy. This was seen in the ruling party's intolerance to opposing opinions as manifested by the rampage of its youth wing in general elections against any opposition (Mandaza and Sachikonye, 1991). This hegemonic approach of the ruling party is also noted by Kagoro who notes that it:

gave rise to a legacy of repressive and monolithic state politics in the post-colonial politics that was suspicious and intolerant of notions of pluralism and independent associated life. Pluralism and dissent of any kind have often been characterised as anti-revolutionary and therefore divisive (Barry, 2004:152).

The drive behind all this was the ruling party's ideology of one party state, which they may have failed to legislate, but aspired for and adhered to it in spirit and practice by ensuring that state institutions are dominated by recruitment from one political party. This included the military, police and intelligence services and the bulk of the public service. This attempt at pervasive one party domination was embedded in structures set up for elections, with the Election Commission and

Delimitation Commission being appointed by the president without any consultation, thus skewing the electoral system in ZANU PF's favour (Sachikonye, 2011).

Government policy was now the prerogative of its central committee and the politburo which it had established in 1984. This was done with little or no consultation of the *demos*, even those within its party structures. The central committee and politburo became the supreme decision making bodies, and possessed more power than the cabinet. Even though members within ZANU PF are free to speak their minds the party does not brook dissent. AS noted by Makumbe that:

as a movement engaged in armed struggle against a strong state, ZANU effectively became commandist and regimentalist rather than democratic in its operations and management style. Thus although the various party structures claimed to engage and encourage participation and the active involvement of party members in decision making processes, the militant approach tended to brook no dissent. (Barry, 2004:152).

The government also closed and squeezed democratic space by the various legislations that they carried forward from the colonial government and those that it enacted. In the 1980s and 90s, it used the Rhodesia, Emergency Powers Act, to arrest and detain dissenters without charge or trial. They used this act, at the height of the Matebeleland crisis and also at the height of student activism. In 1991 they gazetted the University of Zimbabwe Amendment Act which gave power to the regime and the university administration to deal with dissent amongst student, following student crashes of 1988-89 (Nhema, 2002). In 2002, the government enacted the Public Order and Security Act (POSA) which made it illegal to demonstrate or gather without police clearance and the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA), which restricted media freedom and forestalled the exposure of

government officials corrupt tendencies (Barry, 2004; Orwenjo et al, 2016). These legislations limited and impinged on the citizens liberties to associate freely. In the area of media the Broadcasting Services Act (No.3 of 2001), was fast tracked through parliament in an attempt to control alternative opinions in the electronic media, particularly through radio which is the dominant source of information for the rural population (Barry, 2004).

One of the accusation levelled against the Zimbabwean democracy, is its lack of respect for the rule of law. Barry (2004), notes that the rule of law is an essential foundation of any democratic system of governance, though it is a complex concept. This requires that power be exercised in accordance with the law and disallows the arbitrary use of extra-legal power. It requires that everyone should be equally subject to the law and that no-one should be above the law, it requires that law enforcement agencies and the courts should enforce and apply the law impartially. Finally it requires that the law should protect everyone equally against illegal action causing harm (Barry, 2004).

During the period 1980-2013 there was progressive erosion of the rule of law in independent Zimbabwe, minimal to the assurance of human rights, and the dignity of man, constitutional democracy, characterized by the absence of unregulated executive or legislative power. Though Primorac and Chan (2007), do acknowledge that in the early years after independence the rule of law was generally observed. However with the turn on 2000 and the inception of the chaotic land seizures, property rights were not respected and judges were accused of protecting the minority at the expense of the black majority. The elections that followed this were marred by

violence against opposition parties and displacements, and those that were accused of perpetrating such acts, went with immunity.

After the fiercely contested election of June 2008, with the help of the international community, Zimbabwe was run under a Government of National Unity (GNU). This was made up of the three major political players, ZANU PF, MDC-T and MDC-M. The GNU to a greater extent managed to bring about sanity and a new national constitution, with the hope to democratise the political space and allow greater involvement of the citizenry. Even though the new constitution is yet to be aligned with the current legislation in full, strides have been made to open up the political space and allow for political participation amongst the citizens, though the ZANU PF hegemony is still entrenched within the democratic space.

2.7 Summary

Participatory democracy is the most desirable form of democratic practice, which allows for greater involvement of the citizens. This chapter looked at the concept of participatory democracy and its proponents and also looked at how different typologies including Arnstein's ladder of participation can be used to determine political participation of the citizen in Zimbabwe. The Theological Critical Approach was also looked at as a framework to study the church. The chapter also looked at the role the church has played in the political space in Zimbabwe and it also looked at the current democratic practices in Zimbabwe and how they have either impinged or promoted citizen participation.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will provide a general description of the methods used to conduct the research. The chapter will cover data collection strategies, sources of data and the reliability of the data. On data collection approaches, interviews and questionnaires were used as the main source of information based on their descriptive nature. Snowball sampling method was also used in which the researcher used the respondents to recommend other suitable participants for the study. Also documentary search was adopted as a way of uncovering relevant data from published literature relating to the church and state relations in Zimbabwe. Data management and tools of analysis are also discussed in which data reduction, hermeneutic analysis and quantitative analysis were employed.

3.2 Research design

This study used a mixed methods approach in order to properly seek answers to questions by examining social settings and individuals who inhabit these setting. Thus the study used both qualitative and quantitative approaches as it sought answers to issues to do with the role of the church in participatory democracy within the political settings in post independent Zimbabwe. Data was gathered through interviews and also questionnaires. This approach was used in order for the quantitative method to play a supplementary role and for it to enhance the primary method, which was qualitative in nature. Thus allowing the researcher to examine

people's experiences through an interpretive naturalistic approach (Flick 2009) and also to guard against bias as quantitative data was gathered randomly from the ordinary citizens.

The researcher interpreted the role that EFZ has played in participatory democracy in post independent Zimbabwe in terms of the meanings people bring to them, through the collection and analysis of qualitative data that are narrative and subjective. This was also done through the collection and analysis of quantitative data, which further explained the initial results acquired through a qualitative manner. The researcher, as a result collected data concurrently using both methods and analysed the data separately, while merging the conclusive results. This helped the study to be grounded in the real life experiences of those who would have experienced the phenomenon, and in this case, it is grounded in the historical study of events as they developed in the post independent Zimbabwe .

The study is a case study of the Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe, in which the researcher interrogated the role that the church has played, in enhancing participatory democracy in post independent Zimbabwe. A case study is an attempt to systematically investigate an event or a set of related events with the specific aim of describing and explaining this phenomenon (Berg 2009). It is also known as a detailed examination of one setting or a single subject, a single depository of documents, or one particular event (Bogdan and Biklen, 2003). This method as a result allowed the researcher to effectively systematically gather enough information about EFZ and the role that it has played in political participation in post independent Zimbabwe.

3.3 Population and sample

Population is defined as a unit consisting of people or things or share common set of characteristics. It is the entire set of individuals or elements that are relevant to the subject matter (Nieswiadomy, 2002; Rednro, 2010). Therefore it was critical for the researcher to choose participants who are knowledgeable to ecumenical movements in Zimbabwe and the role that they have played in the political life of Zimbabwe. Thus the researcher interviewed ten participants of the initially targeted twenty participants. The participants included the past and present leaders of the EFZ who served at national and provincial level in Manicaland. These participants included leaders who had served EFZ from 1980 to the present leadership of EFZ. The interviewed population also included leaders who have served in other ecumenical bodies like ZCC, CA and a political leader from People's Democratic Party (PDP).

The researcher used snowball sampling to reach out to the informants. Snowball sampling is a non probability sampling strategy that involves a chain referral or respondent driven sampling (Berg, 2009). Snowball sampling was the best way to locate subjects the researcher needed who had the attributes or characteristics necessary for the study. The reason for this sampling method was that the subject that the research was dealing with maybe considered sensitive and snowball sampling made it easy to locate participants and also for the participants to be receptive having been referred by an individual that they trust and know. Thus the researcher's strategy was to first identify several people who had the requisite traits and interviewing them and having them answer the questions. These in turn were asked to recommend or refer the researcher to other people they know who also mate the selection criteria (Bhattacharjee, 2012).

Included in the population sample were 100 participants who were randomly selected from citizens from different walks of life including churches in Mutare and Harare. This was done to avoid systematic bias and also to get views from the ordinary people who are not part of the leadership of the ecumenical bodies in Zimbabwe and in particular EFZ. The research also needed to gather data from the segment which the researcher was not able to interview because of time constraints.

3.4 Research instruments

3.4.1 Interviews

The research employed the use of interviews as its instrument of research. An interview is defined by Berg (2009) as a conversation with a purpose, whose specific purpose is to gather information. These interviews were coordinated and conducted by the researcher, who interviewed each individual participant separately at a date and time as requested by the interviewee. These interviews had their advantages and disadvantages in that they were a more personalized form of data collection. During the interviews, the interviewer had the opportunity to clarify any issues raised by the respondents and also to ask probing and follow-up questions. However, these interviews were time consuming and resource intensive as the researcher needed to travel between Mutare and Harare on separate occasions to conduct these interviews. The interviews were challenging in that they needed special interviewing skills and the researcher who is considered to be part of the measurement instrument, had to proactively strive not to artificially bias the observed responses.

The research used the most typical form of interview which is personal or face to face interview for eight participants and telephone interviews for two participants. The interviewer worked directly with the respondents as he asked questions and recorded their responses. These personal interviews were conducted at the respondents office and the questions were formulated in words that the participants being interviewed are familiar with. The interviews were semi-standardized and involved the implementation of a number of predetermined questions and special topics. These questions were typically asked of each interviewee in a systematic and consistent order, but the interviewer had freedom to digress, and to probe far beyond the answers given to prepared standardized questions.

3.4.2 Questionnaires

The research apart from interviews also employed the use of questionnaires as a research tool. A questionnaire is a research instrument consisting of a set of questions intended to capture responses from respondents in a standardized manner and is regarded as the medium of communication between the researcher and the subject of research (Bhattacharjee, 2012; Bruce, 2008). The researcher issued one hundred questionnaires in a random manner, in order to eliminate systematic bias and to give participants an equal chance to be chosen. The retention rate of the questionnaires was 67% , however of the 67% returned 26% was unanswered. The questionnaires were not answered due to two assumed reasons, which are, the participants lack of knowledge of the EFZ or lack of interest . The response rate is shown diagrammatically below.

| Description | Amount | % |
|-------------------------------------|--------|-----|
| | | |
| Questionnaires answered at returned | 41 | 41 |
| Questionnaires returned unanswered | 26 | 26 |
| Questionnaires not returned | 33 | 33 |
| Total questionnaires distributed | 100 | 100 |

Table 2: Questionnaires Response

The questionnaires contained structured and unstructured questions which allowed the respondents to provide a response in their own words, while structured questions asked the respondents to select an answer from a given set of choices . Responses to a structured questionnaire are easier to analyse compared to unstructured questionnaire, and may be aggregated into a composite scale or index for statistical analysis.

The role of the questionnaire was to provide a standardised interview across all subjects. This was done through asking all respondents appropriate questions, which were asked in the exactly the same way. Questionnaires have several advantages as noted by Gillhan (2011), who notes that analysis of answers to closed questions is relatively straightforward because the answers are predetermined. Questionnaires also gave less pressure on the respondents for an immediate response since they were

given a week to answer in their own time and at their own pace. Questionnaires also provided responded anonymity since some respondents feel freer in an anonymous style of responding. The other advantage of questionnaires is that there is always the lack of interviewers bias and the unstructured questions do provide specific and meaningful information especially if the subject is sensitive.

Questionnaires are without their own disadvantages, the researcher did not know who had responded and who had not. There were also issues of the typically low response rate which the researcher attributes to what Gillham (2011) terms sample captive. Sample captiveness of a questionnaire depends on whether the respondents know the researcher personally and on whether the questionnaire is seen as interesting and worthwhile to complete. The other disadvantage was that of misunderstandings that arose from the questionnaires that the researcher could not correct since there is no face to face contact between the subject and the researcher. Also the researcher by use of questionnaires was unable to notice and understand the feelings, emotions and facial expressions that the responded expressed and made as they completed the questionnaires.

3.4.3 Documentary review

The research also employed documentary articles that were availed during the in-depth interviews and other published work as a way of synthesising the research findings and enhance the research. Publications by the church and government publications, assisted the research in giving a clear understanding of the state, and extent of the democratic processes that the government has employed in post independent Zimbabwe and the extent to which the church has been playing its role and in influencing political participation in Zimbabwe.

3.5 Data collection plan

The researcher asked for consent from participants, and collected data through conducting ten key informant interviews with past and present national leadership of EFZ and past leadership of Christian Alliance, and Zimbabwe Council of Churches, and also a national leader in the Peoples' Democratic Party as was permitted by time and resources. The number of informants was limited by the availability of such targeted individuals, who had busy schedules.

Since it was impossible to interview every respondent, hundred questionnaires were also used. The researcher with the consent of the participants personally distributed the questionnaires to respondents in Mutare and Harare. The participants were given a week to complete the questionnaires, after which the researcher collected them for analysis.

3.6 Data analysis

Monette et al (1996), states that data analysis refers to the application of coding schemes and other procedures to the field notes that will be describing the phenomenon. Data analysis is further defined by Berg (2009) as consisting of three concurrent flows of actions, data reduction, data display and conclusion and verification. The research used data reduction, hermeneutic analysis for data gathered from interviews and questionnaires and quantitative analysis to do data analysis of questionnaires.

3.6.1 Data reduction

Data reduction refers to the process of selecting focusing, simplifying, abstracting and transforming data that appear in written up field notes or transcriptions. It is a form of data analysis that sharpens, sorts, focuses, discards and organises data in such a way that final conclusions can be drawn and verified (Miles and Huberman, 1994). The researcher reduced and transformed the qualitative data gathered from interviews in order to make it more readily accessible, understandable as he drew out of the data various themes and patterns. This was necessary since data from interviews in its very raw state was voluminous hence there was need for focusing, simplifying and transformation of raw data into manageable form. It is important to note that this process occurred throughout the span of the research. Thus as the in-depth face to face interviews were going on, data was being transcribed and themes developed, this was also applied to completed questionnaires as the researcher identified differences in people's description of the role of EFZ in participatory democracy in post independent Zimbabwe.

Data display

Data from the interviews and questionnaires was reduced to tally sheets of themes, summaries of various statements, phrases and terms. These displays assisted the researcher in understanding and observing certain patterns in the data and also determining what additional analysis or action needed be taken. Data display permitted the researcher to analytically draw out conclusions from the compressed data.

Conclusion and verification

This is the process by which meanings emerging from the data were tested for their plausibility, their sturdiness and their validity. This process was done in a twofold manner, the first being the confirmation of the patterns apparent in the data, so that the researcher was assured that they are real and not just his own merely wishful thinking. The second verification involved assuring that all of the procedures used to arrive at the eventual conclusions have been clearly articulated.

3.6.2 Hermeneutic analysis

The research also used hermeneutic analysis in order to interpret the content of the data gathered from the interviews cognisant of the socio-historic context that affects one's opinion and explanation of an event. Hermeneutic analysis as posited Bhattacharjee (2012) is a special type of content analysis where the researcher tries to “interpret” the subjective meaning of a given text within its socio-historic context. Myers and Avison (2002), describe it as a mode of analysis which suggests a way of understanding textual data and it is primarily concerned with the meaning of the text. Hermeneutic analysis is an interpretive technique for analyzing qualitative data, whose assumptions is that written texts narrate an author's experience within a socio-historic context, and should thus be interpreted as such within that context. Therefore, the researcher continually iterated between singular interpretation of the text (the part) and a holistic understanding of the context (the whole) to develop a fuller understanding of the political role of EFZ in post independent Zimbabwe, considering the different political dynamics that it faced since 1980. Thus hermeneutic analysis helped the researcher to have a more direct, non-mediated, and

authentic way of understanding the social realities in the midst of contradicting views on the role that EFZ played in participatory democracy in post independent Zimbabwe. These contradicting views were found amongst people who have served in EFZ at different periods in the life of the organisation. Hermeneutic analysis also helped in analysing data gathered from people who are outside of the EFZ.

3.6.3 Quantitative analysis

Quantitative analysis is statistics driven and largely independent of the researcher. The researcher analysed the data from questionnaires using quantitative means and presented it through simple and compound graphs, which are bars to illustrate the relative frequency of categories within a variable (Longest, 2015) and, pie charts which were constructed to summarise groups of separate variables using excel.

3.7 Validity and reliability

Berg (2009), states that validity refers to the accuracy and trustworthiness of instruments, data and findings in research, this is also defined as the degree to which any measure or procedure succeeds in doing what it purports to do, thus validity refers to the "meaning" of an evaluative measure or operation (Suchman, 1967).

Reliability is defined as the degree to which the measure can be depended upon to secure consistent results upon repeated application. Reliability therefore, indicates the probability of obtaining the same results upon repeated use of the same

measuring instrument whether this be an objective test or a subjective judgement (Suchman, 1967; Berg 2009).

Thus in order to achieve this, the researcher used more than one instrument of data gathering, that is, questionnaires and interviews. During informant interviews the researcher, sought feedback by using some issues raised in the previous interviews in the next interview in order to validate the reliability of the data obtained.

3.8 Ethical considerations

The researcher showed consideration for the participants by getting written consent from the participants and also by informing the participants of the nature and purpose of the study. This was done to ensure that participants were in a position to voluntarily participate free from any element of fraud, deceit, duress or any similar unfair inducement and manipulation. Thus the participants participated with the full knowledge of the risks and benefits of the study.

The researcher remained highly objective and adhered to basic social research code of conducts, and respected people's rights and dignity and was not discriminatory in the conducting of the research. The research guaranteed anonymity and confidentiality to the participants and ensured that this was not breached and the privacy of the participants was respected .

3.9 Summary

The mixed methods described the role that EFZ has played in participatory democracy in post independent Zimbabwe. The research used snowball sampling for the informant interviews and random sampling for questionnaires. The researcher had targeted to conduct twenty informant interviews, however ten were conducted. These respondents were from the ecumenical bodies, civil society and also the political arena. All the respondents were deliberately high level respondents who have expert knowledge in the subject. This was done to ensure that the researcher collects high quality and credible information. The data collection instruments which were used were face-to face interviews, which were conducted using an interview guide with open ended questions to guide the discussions. The research also used questionnaires which were randomly distributed and these had structured and unstructured questions which solicited a response from the participants. The research also used documentary review method.

Data gathered was analysed through data reduction analysis and hermeneutic analysis was used to interpret the content of the data. The researcher also employed the use of quantitative data analysis and used graphs and pie charts to analyse data from questionnaires. The findings from the study will be presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4: DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents major findings, comments and themes drawn from the research as well as the analysis of the data collected in the research. Through data analysis, this chapter explores the role that the Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe (EFZ) has played in participatory democracy in post independent Zimbabwe. This chapter will begin by articulating the constitutional provisions and privileges that the government availed to the citizens to promote participatory democracy since independence and also look at the role that the church has played within that legal and constitutional framework. It will also look at structural influences shaping the role of the EFZ and how it has influenced the participation of the ordinary citizens in political and governance issues in post independent Zimbabwe. Obstacles and motivators for political participation will also be look at, including also the EFZ's relationship with state and non state actors.

4.2 Processes employed in post independent Zimbabwe to promote participatory democracy

Since independence Zimbabwe has been a constitutional democracy, in which the involvement of the citizens in issues of governance has been enshrined in both the Lancaster House and the 2013 current COPAC home grown constitution. This is seen in the preamble to the current constitution which recognises the need to entrench democracy, good, transparent and accountable government and the rule of

law, cherishing freedom, equality, peace, justice and tolerance. The constitution also recognises that Zimbabwe is a multiparty democratic political system, with an electoral system based on free, fair and regular elections and adequate representation of the electorate. In section 4(58)(1) of the constitution, the freedom of assembly and association with others is recognised and in section 4(67)(2c and d) the constitution gives the citizen the right to participate in peaceful political activity and to participate individually or collectively, in gatherings or groups or in any other manner, in peaceful activities to influence, challenge or support the policies of the government or any political or whatever cause.

Section 164 of the constitution guarantees the independence of the Judiciary, which is key for any democracy. Section 264 of the constitution provides for the devolution of power, in which powers of local governance are given to the people to enhance their participation in the exercise of the powers of the state and thereby making decisions that affect them. This does promote democratic, effective, transparent , accountable and coherent government of Zimbabwe as a whole. Participants also pointed out the parliamentary portfolio committees as a vehicle for political participation including the public hearings that are done on bills to hear the views of the people. Thus democratic participation in governance by all citizens and communities in Zimbabwe is permissible under the constitution.

The underlying comments from the participants responses is that, indeed from a constitutional perspective there is so much that has been done to promote participatory democracy. However, though there are tenets that do allow such as guaranteed in the constitution, there is a slight askew of these tenets to what is practically practised. There is and has been a conflict between the ZANU PF ruling

government socialist party ideology and the constitution, hence putting pressure on the constitution to submit to the ideology of the ruling ZANU PF party. The way of rule which has been pushed since independence has been that of one party state, though there were other political players, these had in practise no voice, as the state pushed this one party aura. Any discontent was seen as a non patriotic stance and is still seen as a non patriotic stance, which attracts the tag, sell out.

An analysis of the interviews reveals that though the constitution allows for elections, including voter education, however, these have been characterised by violence and intolerance, which is not concomitant to the tenets of the constitution. Thus the actions and practice of the state always militate against these values, processes and structures which allow the citizens to participate politically. Therefore there are structures that embody democracy and politics which does not, but frowns with discontentment at these tenets. As a result this limits participation as the ruling ZANU PF government does not seek to vote and legislate itself out of power. An EFZ leader noted that, good example are the public hearings which are marked by violence. In some cases these public hearings are just a formality and a sign of tokenism, yet the government would already have made a decision on a policy that they will be purporting to consult on.

4.3 The role of the church in relation to politics

The role of the church, in relation to politics is wide and also contested one, as revealed by the in-depth interviews .A former EFZ leader noted that, the church is supposed to be the voice of conscience and accountability to the ethical and moral

behaviour of politics. Thus as outlined in the Zimbabwe we want document (ZCC, ZCBC and EFZ, 2006), this role of the church is derived from its theological mandate, in which the nature of the Gospel demands that the church be involved in the transformation of the social, economic and political systems or environment within which God's people live. Thus for the church politics and economics are serious activities which affect people's lives and can therefore not be left to secular authority alone. Its theological mandate enables the church to be concerned with issues of good governance, justice and peace as a way of demonstrating God's concern for humanity.

The church also derives its role from its historical mandate, since the church has a long history of dealing with social needs of the people of Zimbabwe. Therefore the church's role is to engage in public debates and show concern over how Zimbabwe is organised, ruled and developed as it legitimately engages the government on governance and policy matters. The church is also involved in the social teaching ministry in which it deals with the general themes of public policy, duties of citizens and this is done in a non partisan environment which enables its members to make informed choices on policies that affect their everyday life. The church also has a role to be actively involved in concrete policy debates and has a duty to either support specific policies and also to oppose others which violate the people's moral principles and it is also the voice and the people's representative (ZCC, ZCBC and EFZ, 2006).

The church also has the duty of being a sign of hope, in that as God's divine incarnation, it has a moral duty to contribute to the creation of social, economic,

political and cultural institutions, systems, structures, processes and personalities that facilitate the integral growth and fulfilment of every human person.

4.3.1 The role played by EFZ in participatory democracy since independence

Since independence the EFZ has not played a very significant role in political issues for varying reasons. Its role was located in its reason for existence and objectives , thus it was an organisation that was predominantly preoccupied with the preaching of the gospel, and very concerned with spiritual matters, evangelism , church growth and spirituality. The other issues that EFZ was concerned with, as noted by a former EFZ leader, were issues of social concern ,which had to do much with welfare of the people, hence its thrust was aligned much in terms of poverty reduction, clean water supply, intervening in times of hunger and disasters like floods and drought. Thus it partnered the government on these social concern issues and was politically silent in many cases, it prayed for the government and some instances collaborated with it, however it appeared to distance itself from political involvement.

This is the view shared by many respondents from questionnaires, who felt that the role that EFZ has played has much to do with spiritual and social concerns issues, as compared to those that are political. This is shown by fig 3 below.

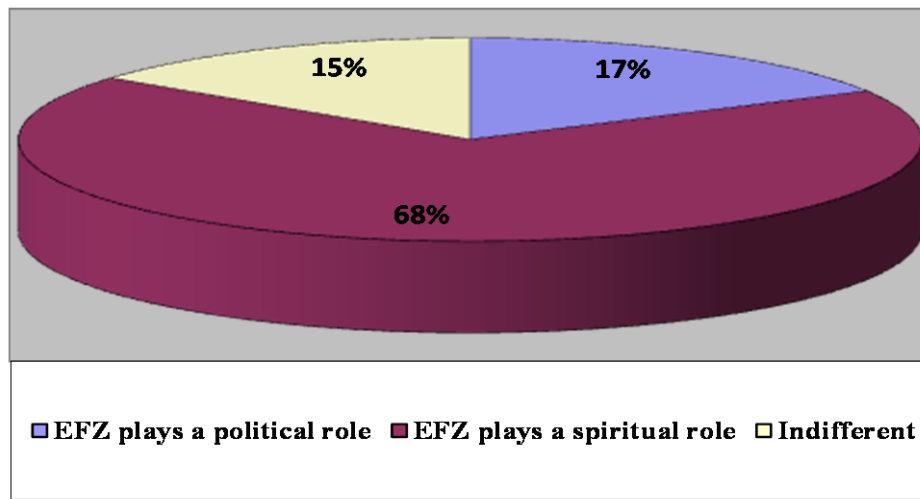


Figure 3: The role played by EFZ

This analysis is in sync and conformity with findings from the informant interviews participants. However even though it was concerned with social concerns, the EFZ was involved in the constitution making process with other ecumenical bodies and also non religious bodies under the National Constitutional Assembly (NCA). Being part of the NCA broadened the scope of discussions around democracy, however EFZ later abandoned the processes after NCA took a political stance to support the formation of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), to support the government led constitutional making process. This had little support from EFZ member bodies, who felt this was a direct collaboration with the state at the expense of a people driven constitution. Some within its membership and leadership during the first referendum then canvassed and mobilised support for the new constitution

A former EFZ leader noted that , though the EFZ has continued playing its spiritual and social roles, with the turn of the millennium the role of EFZ in political issues

changed, as it now seeks not only to address social concerns issues but also move to social action. EFZ has now moved to view the need to look at the gospel and social responsibility in terms of social concern and action. This had to do with addressing the causes of the social concerns issues like poverty, unavailability of clean water and sanitation and many other issues, thus changing its focus to addressing political realities. Hence EFZ starting around the year 2000 with rising economic and political challenges, the EFZ felt as a church, it was not relieving the suffering of the people, hence it took a shift from the position of shying and shielding away from politics and started engaging in political matters. This led EFZ to collaborate with other ecumenical bodies, like the Zimbabwe council of churches (ZCC), the Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops' Council (ZCBC) more closely in the democratisation process.

This collaboration culminated in the publishing of The Zimbabwe We Want, which was the three ecumenical bodies national vision document. In this discussion document, ZCC, ZCBC and EFZ as the ecumenical voice critiqued the state over its failure to initiate a national dialogue about the land issue, economic policies, the constitutional debate, electoral process, human rights, governance and national reconciliation. The churches also critiqued the state over its failure to establish an independent land commission that would ensure transparent, equitable, and fair land distribution. Through the document ZCC, ZCBC and EFZ rejected and lobbied against the AIPPA and POSA amendments, which they felt impinged on the citizens fundamental rights of access to information and freedom to associate and movement. ZCC, ZCBC and EFZ urged government to address the issue of the ailing economy and poverty reduction, to support the informal sector and create genuine wealth. The

churches pledged to use their global and international connections to help government build bridges among Zimbabweans and between Zimbabweans and the international community.

It is important to note that even though the Zimbabwe We Want document was a great initiative and it articulated the views of the generality of the population, it does not bind anyone to action since it is called a discussion document. Thus though it spoke against political intolerance, impunity, political violence, lack of transparency, accountability and the need for people to be involved in the political process in Zimbabwe, it lacked the binding authority. As a result, as pointed out by a former ZCC leader the document was generally ignored and there were no follow ups to it. The other challenge is that it did not have the input of the people, thus though it resonated with much of the aspirations of the population, there was no clear buy in from the citizens. However the participants point out that the positives that came out of The Zimbabwe We Want is that when the EFZ and other ecumenical bodies participated in the Constitution Parliamentary Committee (COPAC) constitution making process, some of the views that they had expressed in the document, were finally included in the country's new constitution.

Besides The Zimbabwe We Want discussion document, EFZ together with Heads of Christian Denominations (HOCD), ZCBC and ZCC in 2005 published a pastoral letter, A Call to Conscience. This pastoral letter reflected on the silver jubilee of the nation, reflecting on the manifestation of economic and political crisis, the death of conscience in the political leadership. The letter also challenged the nation to be oriented towards peace through word and action and also by listening to "our

conscience." The EFZ has also been encouraging its members through the national and provincial leadership to attend and be part of the public hearings of bills. However these hearings are mostly attended by those in leadership. The top leadership of EFZ has at national level, from time to time, engaged with the government and the president, on governance and policy issues. Some of the engagements that EFZ has done has been around the issues of the national pledge that primary and secondary students were supposed to recite at assemblies and the 2017 new education curriculum which was introduced by the Ministry of Education. EFZ has participated in election monitoring and also as observers, under Zimbabwe election support network (ZESN). EFZ has also with other nongovernmental organisations (NGOs), been involved in civic education, especially during election periods, however they do not do this as a standalone entity but under ZESN.

EFZ together with the ZCBC, and ZCC, were involved in trying to bring about dialogue between ZANU PF and MDC and helped in creating an environment conducive for talks. These hesitant manoeuvres by EFZ and its partners as they sought dialogue amongst the country's political parties culminated with the involvement of the regional block Southern African Development Community (SADC), which resulted in the formation of the government of national unity (GNU). Even though with such results and as it speaks into political space, the voice of EFZ has not been coherent, thus it is heard from time to time, without consistence. Thus as former leaders of CA and ZCC noted EFZ sometimes participates not out of conviction but out of convenience especially in programs that are donor funded, hence some of its initiatives are not home grown.

4.4 Structural influences shaping the role of EFZ

The role of the EFZ in participatory democracy in post independent Zimbabwe has been influenced by a wide range of structural issues which include its founding principles. The EFZ which was formed in 1962 according to a former ZCC leader, it was formed as an alternative to ZCC and ZCBC, and was premised on the need to preach the gospel as a pristine movement that is not contaminated by dabbling in politics. Thus after independence they somehow continued to walk according to their founding principles and focused their role on spiritual matters and social concerns issues.

The EFZ 's role was also influenced by its historical role that it played during the liberation struggle. During the liberation struggle the EFZ interpreted the armed struggle in terms of the advance of communism and Russian influence. Many evangelicals felt that it was their duty to speak out against communism and the liberation movement. Thus EFZ present the oppressive Rhodesian government as a Christian government that merited the support of all Christians. According to Ruzivo (2008), prayers were made for the destruction of the 'terrorist' and safety of the security forces. This then greatly shaped and influenced the role that EFZ played after independence, because it had undermined its credibility in terms on engaging with the ZANU PF nationalists government immediately after independence. As a result, after independence the EFZ limited its engagement with the government on general issues of ethics, society and development and social concerns matters. From 2000 going forward, the economic meltdown, the rising unemployment and the increasing closure of factories awakened the EFZ to the need to engage the government on political issues. EFZ had come to realise that government policies

were continually at variance with the needs of the country and the people. This was accentuated by the political environment, which now had an increasing culture of intolerance and violence during elections, which had affected a number of people, including those who were member bodies of the EFZ. There was now a lack of respect of the constitution and the continued move towards isolating the country from the international community.

An analysis of the interviews reveals that the role of the EFZ has been also influenced especially amongst its structures by lack of proper theological education and understanding of the theology of engagement. Proper theological engagement would help the member bodies within EFZ to wrestle with crucial political issues in the country. Thus lack of proper theological education and understanding gives some of the member bodies and leaders within the EFZ structures a shallow knowledge in terms of engaging with governance and policy issues. This lack of theological education and understanding of theology of engagement is then manifested by the lack of interest and also disengagement from governance and policy issues by EFZ's constituency. This usually results in a push to just pray for those in authority without challenging their policies. However it can be noted that the change in the role that EFZ has played and now playing is as a result of proper theological engagement amongst its top echelon, that they have come to a realisation that the church has a role to play in the politics of the land from a non partisan perspective.

A PDP leader posited that, EFZ's role has also been largely influenced by its organisational structure. Participants pointed out that as an organisation, EFZ has a structure that can influence and shape its role in participatory democracy. It is

composed of both national, provincial and grassroots structures, which includes districts and zones. However an EFZ leader did acknowledge that even though the ideals do exist, whereby people at zonal level can talk and engage at their levels as well as those at district, provincial and the national level. In reality this is not happening effectively, since much of what happens is top down mainly because there is lack of conscientisation on the lower levels of the structures on governance and policy issues and also on the theology of engagement. Therefore there is a vicious cycle of things being done at the top echelons and then the provincial people being asked to cascade them down to the other structures, which in some cases does not occur as expected.

The other issues raised by a former EFZ leader is that there is lack of clarity within the organisational structure on who has the responsibility of being the policy originator and who directs the organisation. There is no clear clarity of who holds power between the national executive, management or the heads of denominations (HODs). There is a feeling that HODs do not have much influence on the national executive and on the other hand others feel that HODs wielded too much authority on the national executive, and then there is the annual general assembly (AGM). Hence there is the feeling that its organisational structure has an implication on the role that the EFZ plays. There are also political dynamics within these structures of the EFZ, because of different political persuasions they may not agree on the route to take when it comes to issues of governance and policy, though it has the commission on peace and justice, which is supposed to be the vehicle upon which its governance role is played. Though the commission is a noble idea in shaping the role of the EFZ, few have seen it operating.

4.5 Assessment of the role of EFZ

All of the informant interviewees agree that the level of EFZ's involvement in governance and policy issues in post independent Zimbabwe is far from convincing. The participants pointed out that the political terrain in Zimbabwe is so fractured and this is reflected in the ecclesiastical terrain as well. Thus any involvement in political matters is seen as trying to elicit controversies, and political mileage using the ecclesiastical body. Yet the church as it lives out its mission of being the salt and light is supposed to be the voice of conscience and accountability to the ethical and moral behaviour of politics. Therefore instead of helping with social cohesion the church finds itself with fragmented voices, as a result it struggles to play its role effectively. It has found itself in the same scenario in which the nation is in, in which the political players are not talking with each other but are talking at each other. Though in the midst of all that ancillary processes like the publication of The Zimbabwe We Want document have been going on, though at a slow and slothful pace.

The role of the EFZ has evolved since independence, at first the church took a neutral position, a position attributed to its colonial legacies when it sided with the RF oppressive government. As a result it did not want to be involved in political issues thereby choosing not to play an role beside praying for the present government. However it must be noted that there is no marked difference between neutrality and collaboration as highlighted by a former ZCC leader. The former ZCC leader noted that neutrality is inactive collaboration. An analysis of the interviews show that this neutrality role of EFZ changed with leadership change and the EFZ found itself being collaborators with the state. Thus the church found itself being

accused by its constituency of seeking visibility by supping with the high ranking government officials.

EFZ's position and role has varied throughout the years and this is largely attributed to the presiding leadership for that period. Thus depending on the one at the helm, EFZ has found itself on the pendulum of either inactive collaboration or open collaboration or active engagement with the state on political issues. As a result the EFZ has found itself losing credibility and its prophetic voice during period of collaboration with the state, as those whom it represent would be accusing it of being part and parcel of what has been happening. Hence the researcher noted that the EFZ's leadership from the late 1980s into early 2000s did find itself at variance with those it was leading and also unable to play a critical role of being the voice of conscience and accountability to the country's political players.

Since the early 2000s the role of the EFZ has evolved as it has adopted the model of engagement with the government, this came as a result of its national leadership starting a process of engaging the government on issues of governance and policy. EFZ also engaged the government in collaboration with other ecumenical bodies like ZCC and ZCBC as it voiced its concern with regards to the political terrain and many policy issues that affect the people, without necessarily being consumed by the state. However a former CA leader, noted that because of its history, there is scepticism from its constituency making its role difficult, because there is limited involvement of the ordinary citizens. Thus without the involvement of the citizens, pastors and leaders within EFZ want to speak on behalf of the citizens who will be thinking differently thereby misrepresenting the citizenry.

It was noted from the interviews and also questionnaires that EFZ operates much at national level and many of its engagement has been at the top levels, with the national leadership engaging government. EFZ was involved with the Constitution Parliamentary Committee (COPAC) during the constitutional processes and it is generally very weak when it comes to the involvement of the ordinary citizens in these issues of governance and policy. This was echoed by respondents from questionnaires, with 34 participants highlighting that EFZ is weak at involving ordinary citizens and their participation in issues of governance and policy is not as a result of EFZ's initiatives to involve ordinary citizens, as shown by Fig 4 below.

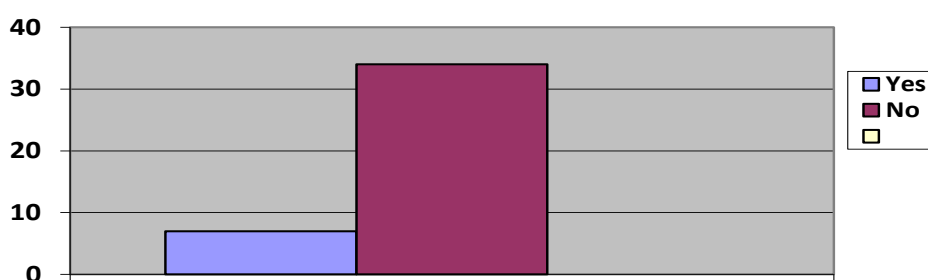


Figure 4: Political participation as a result of EFZ's initiatives?

As a result, in most cases the EFZ finds itself having an ecumenical voice which does not echo the voice of the citizens. The researcher noted that some of the reasons which explain the EFZ's weakness in involving ordinary citizens is that there is political polarisation which make it difficult to bring the citizens together because of their political identity. Therefore those that participate do so because of interest and other political factors that may drive them to be involved politically.

EFZ has also budgetary constraints as a result it fails to effectively engage and involve some of its constituency. There was agreement from the participants that since most of its projects are donor funded EFZ ends up playing according to whims of the donor community at the expense of their own agenda. Hence it will end up pursuing other projects which many not have anything to do with political engagements in governance and policy issues. EFZ also has not intentionally involved the citizens on the assumption that church members of their member bodies are citizens who are supposed to be influenced by their denominational leaders to be involved in political issues. This does not usually happen because of different doctrinal views that denominations adhere to when it comes to issues of governance and policy. Also the provincial, district and zonal structures that are expected to expedite the programs of EFZ are not as robust and some lack the ethos of engagement as a result they do not play their role properly.

This view is echoed by 24 respondents from questionnaires who seem to believe that EFZ does not have structures that help in political structures. The majority of these 24 posit that if the structures are there they are not robust hence they believe it is the same as if they are not there. There were 5 who were indifferent, and 12 who noted that the structures are there though they may not be as robust as they would expect. This is indicated by Fig 5, below.

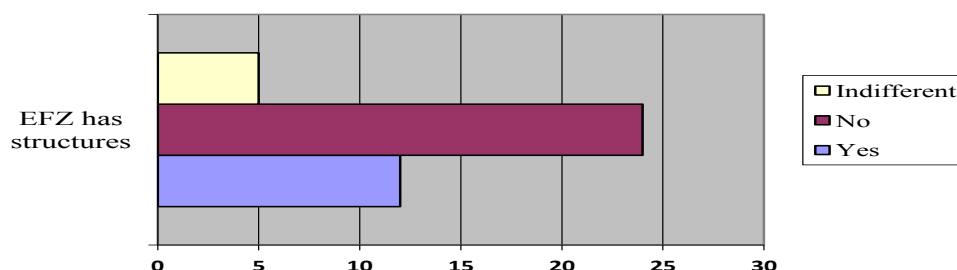


Figure 5: Availability of structures that promote political participation.

EFZ also faces the challenge of identity amongst its constituencies. Thus it finds it difficult at times to involve the ordinary citizens because there are competing forces. Its constituency is predominantly Christian and one would expect that amongst them, the Christian identity will be the supreme one, but however in most cases because people have multiple identities, the political identity is upheld, making it difficult to engage people on political issues. Thus as noted by a former EFZ leader, EFZ may have structures, but these structures are overwhelmed by politics, the same polarisation that exists in politics is taken to the church, making it difficult for people to participate democratically. A former ZCC also noted that EFZ has not truly undertaken its role because of a lack of a unified ethos or ideological thrust of engagement by its leadership and also its structures. As a result they have variant view on how to engage politically, hence the participants noted that the role that EFZ has played is a bit hesitant and they still have a long way to go before they can play their political role and involve the citizens better. Thus even though they have been involved in public hearing of bills, monitored and observed elections and engaged

the government at the top level they find themselves at times being reactionary in their role. In some cases, EFZ finds itself playing a role of simply agreeing with the policies formulated and enacted from the top, resulting in it inviting people to endorse policies that they would not have been involved in generating.

4.6 Obstacles faced by EFZ in its role in participatory democracy

It can be noted from the interviews that one of the greatest obstacles that EFZ has faced in playing its role is political polarisation. There is polarisation in the wider political sphere whose political influence is penetrating the EFZ structures. Thus within structures of HODs the voices one hear are voices which echo politics. This has presented challenges to the EFZ in that, if an issue that would have been raised does not echo what they support they do oppose. An EFZ leader noted that EFZ meetings and structures have been infiltrated by security agencies, leading to a culture of fear and high level of insecurity. The EFZ operations and meeting are heavily monitored resulting in people being afraid to speak and participate as some pastors within the body play double roles. Those that are vocal have been accused of harbouring political ambitions, and have been accused of using EFZ as a vehicle of political ambition. This has led to divisions within the EFZ as the national fragmentation in Zimbabwe is reflected in the ecumenical body, with some leaders being accused of aligning with the government and some seen as opposition party activists. As a result people are afraid of openly challenging the state structures of policy and governance practices. The polarisation has led to a lack of tolerance of different views within the ecumenical body, and some have experienced victimization and this is attributed to the country's years of one party state. This is echoed by responses from the questionnaires as indicated in by fig 6 below.

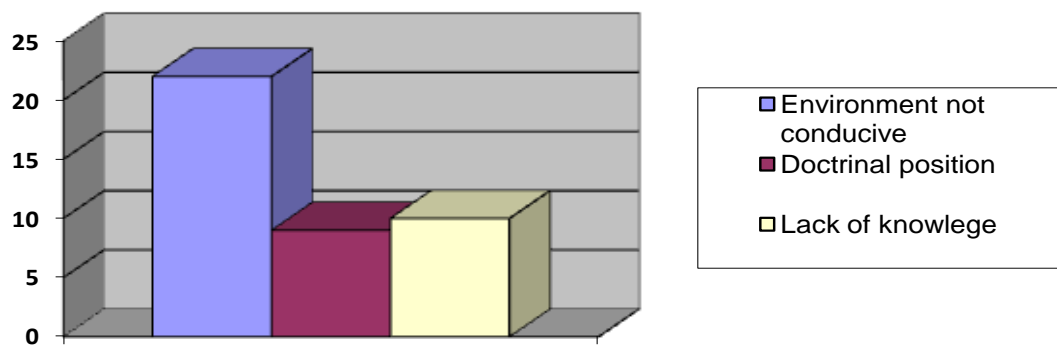


Figure 6: Reasons for non participation

Fig 6 shows the reasons why many people do not participate in political issues, with 22 attributing their non participation to an environment that is not conducive but broods with victimisation, intimidation and fear. 10 of the participants pointed out to their lack of knowledge on how to play a role in governance and policy issues, with 9 revealing that their church's doctrinal position does not permit them to be involved in politics. But the majority indicated that fear is their greatest deterrent when comes to political participation.

The other obstacle is the economic conditions the country has been experiencing over the past decade. Since issues that involve political participation are motivational issues, political participation may not be what the citizen is concerned with, in the face of poverty and lack of economic empowerment, thus EFZ finds it difficult to be effective in such an environment. People would rather go about their businesses and daily activities than for their itinerary to be disturb by a public hearing of a bill and a community meeting on policy issues, because of the economic stress. Also as pointed out by a former ZCC leader who noted that, amongst the pastors and leaders, some have collaborated with the government with the hope that the ruling government

might unveil something to them, thus they betray the constituencies that they represent since they do hope to survive through the government.

The economic stress has not only affected the citizens but it has affected the EFZ as well. EFZ operates as a voluntary organisation which survives on the voluntary giving of its constituencies. Since many of its members have been crippled by the micro and macro-economic environment the organisation has been crippled as well. Therefore it ends up functioning on donor funds and it ends up being an organisation that promotes donor agenda, which may not be for social action but for social concern like water projects. The participants pointed out that the EFZ has become an implementing agent of donors and their agendas, rather than a standalone body which determines its own agenda, thus its voice is muted by lack of resources, hence it's not as effective as it would want to be.

Another obstacle of note, is lack of education amongst some of its leaders and its constituency. This results in the participation of citizens being poor across the board. The interviews revealed that some of the pastors who are leaders in EFZ at various level have little appreciation of the theology of engagement, hence lack theological understanding when it comes to the role of the church in participatory democracy. Thus they lack the ideological spine that would enable them to properly represent their constituencies. Also the citizens have little training and are not schooled for political participation and engagement, making it difficult for them to cope with the complexities of modern politics, which requires citizen participation in political matters. They are either doctrinal in their approach or they tow a party line and ideology, since in Zimbabwe over the past three decades citizen participation has

usually been tied to a political position, especially when being pitted against a party position. This as noted by a former EFZ leader who posits that, this is as a result of little conscientisation on political issues, because there are no institutional structures for citizens to be guided by, to the extent that they just listen to the one who makes the most noise and in most cases they are the political parties. Hence validating Pateman's assertion that political participation is tied to several socio-economic factors which include advanced educational background and an above average income. Pateman suggests that citizens who meet this criteria are most likely to develop interest in politics and cope with the complexities of modern political life (Zittel:2007).

Issues of socialisation and the historical government framework in Zimbabwe are also viewed as other obstacles to political participation. Most citizens in Zimbabwe have accepted the status quo in which they just participate in elections, whose processes have been contested due to lack of liberties that the voters have to enjoy and also credibility. In many cases the majority of voters have little knowledge of why they have to vote for some of the candidates, they do not fully exercise their freedom of choice based on an informed position, but they just tow party lines or intimidated into doing so. This has been exacerbated by the governance framework in Zimbabwe of guided democracy in which people do not have an opinion but are informed. The participants noted that the government's challenge is in its inability to consult citizens, thus there is an embedded political culture of non consultation, to the extent that those who question it are labelled non patriotic and anti-establishment. Hence according to Arnstein's ladder of participation governance in Zimbabwe is a mixture of non-participation, that is, decision are made at the top and cascaded

downwards and tokenism, in which there is manipulation of the citizens, where there are pseudo-consultation processes in which the views of the citizenry are then not considered when the decisions are made.

Interviews revealed that though the current constitution allows democratic political participation, there is disparity between policy and practise and also abuse and misinterpretation of the legal framework, which makes it impossible to play a political role as the Church. This is because the legislative environment in Zimbabwe is not the determinant of what we ought to do, it is what the executive and party allow to be done that carries the day. There is freedoms guaranteed on paper but that is at tangent with reality. Legislative acts like AIPPA and POSA has been used to stop citizens from gathering and demanding accountability from their leaders, because there are misinterpreted. As a result people have been incarcerated because the legislative environment has been affected by politics.

The EFZ has had challenges because of how it is constituted, from the interviews it can be noted that EFZ is a loose coalition of churches that purport to believe in doctrines that are common. However there appears to be no rallying point amongst them when it comes to issues of political participation. Thus EFZ is viewed as an amalgam of churches whose ideology are diametrically opposite. Added to that EFZ has structural issues, were nothing really happens at the bottom rungs unless something comes from the national office. This is because in some provinces they do lack robust structures, which are prepared for engagement.

4.7 Factor's encouraging EFZ's role in participatory democracy

Despite the fact that EFZ has faced obstacles in playing its role, it has had some factors encouraging political participation in post independent Zimbabwe. Former EFZ leaders noted that the fact that the church is finding a voice in unity as the various ecumenical bodies are now coming together, is encouraging, as the church used to operate very much apart driven by different theological persuasions and agendas. However though there are still different agendas, the church has been finding a common voice. This is been seen by the joining of different ecumenical church bodies together in unity, with the intent to partner and speak into the political space in Zimbabwe, albeit in the face of many challenges. An analysis of the interviews point to the fact that, there is growing interest amongst the leadership in the church to participate politically as they have been noticing that there is a vacuum that the politicians cannot fill in terms of giving proper civic education to the people of Zimbabwe.

All the participants also noted that the environment is ripe as a result of the socio-economic challenges that have pushed people to begin to speak and participate politically. Thus as the people participate out of desperation, there is a gap that the church can come and fill, which is of providing a model of political participation and engagement to follow. Since many participate as a mob without proper ideology and agenda. Thereby allowing the church to come in and proffer a proper ideology and agenda as it becomes the voice and representative of the population on policy and governance issues. The participants also noted that the collaboration of the secular civic organisation to address and participate politically has been encouraging to the church as it plays its role.

4.8 Relations with state and non state actors

4.8.1 Relations with state actors

The EFZ's relations with state actors, according to a PDP leader, varies depending on the leadership running the organisation. Since the early 2000s when EFZ took a position of engagement their relationship has been tentative, though EFZ's leadership would meet with the state leaders at the highest levels. However within the EFZ body there are those who are aligned with the ruling party and some want to appear neutral and others have an opposition strand. Hence there is always mutual suspicion between the state and the church, with the state questioning the church's stance.

Hence the need for a relationship which is non partisan and yet which allows boldness in engagement as the church plays its role in participatory democracy in Zimbabwe. Though the suspicion on both parties and the selective engagement from the state, accompanied by its unwillingness to engage always makes it difficult for the church to play its role without fear. Since the government seeks the church to be a willing and submissive bride who plays to the whims of the state.

4.8.2 Relations with non-state actors

The participants noted that the EFZ's relationship with non state actors is open and cordial. They usually collaborate when their interests converge, thus as highlighted by a former ZCC leader, theirs is usually a marriage of convenience. Thus EFZ has been partnering with whoever has a voice that lines up with their voice especially in election monitoring and observing, with organisations like ZESN. They also meet with non state actors under the church and society forum and are involved in civic education through these organisations. However the interviews revealed that in terms

of ideological and theological thrust EFZ in many cases does not share the same with some of these non state actors, hence its role of trying to influence the ordinary citizenry participation in policy and governance matters is greatly affected and compromised.

4.9 Summary

Research findings agree that the church has a role to play in participatory democracy in Zimbabwe. However that role of the church in participatory democracy is contested, despite the fact that the church have a role of being the voice of conscience and accountability to the ethical and moral behaviour of politics. This chapter explored the role of the church in particular EFZ in participatory democracy in post independent Zimbabwe and noticed that EFZ went through a period of non participation and then after 2000 added its voice in the political sphere. The findings also revealed the structural influences shaping the role EFZ, and noticed that though EFZ has played its role, it failed to involve and influence the ordinary citizens with regards to participation in political issues. EFZ has also faced obstacles in its quest to play its role, though there are other factors that are encouraging political participation. The findings noted that EFZ has good working relations with non state actors, however the relationship that does exist, has to an extent both negative and positive influence to its role. When it comes to state actors, there is mutual suspicion and their role is tentative, thus making its role in participatory democracy in post independent Zimbabwe a difficult one.

CHAPTER 5: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

Chapter 4 presented and discussed the findings of the study. Chapter 5 presents a summary of the study through providing information on the research problem, implications of the findings on conception and practices in terms of participatory democracy and the role of EFZ. The chapter also presents recommendations for enhancing the role of the EFZ in governance and policy issues and suggestion of further study.

5.2 Discussion

The background of the study alluded to the fact that the practice of democracy in post independent Zimbabwe is one of the most contentious issues. Zimbabwe over the past three decades has had a culture shrouded in dictatorial tendencies and yet with an appearance of democratic practices, which are embedded in a stifled electoral and representative democracy. As a result the citizens have felt excluded from the decision making processes and at times they are given limited participation which is a form of tokenism. This is a challenge to a country that fought the same type of an unjust system.

Hence the statement of problem was that coming out of an oppressive colonial system in which the black majority's right to participate in issues of governance was almost nonexistent, people looked forward to a more democratic society in which more democratic space would be created enabling citizens participation in issues of governance in the post independent Zimbabwe. However, though there were expectations, the post independent Zimbabwe has become an authoritarian pseudo-

democracy in which participation is limited and in some cases nonexistent. Thus in the face a hesitant EFZ which appeared to disengage from political participation and issues of governance and policy. There was need to interrogate the role that EFZ has been playing in promoting participatory democracy in the post independent Zimbabwe.

Zimbabwe is a constitutional democracy which does have the legal frameworks that permit participatory democracy, however what is on paper does not tally with the reality on the ground. There is little consultation and involvement of the citizens in matters of governance and policy. This has resulted in a non participatory citizenship, and when it does participate, the participation is limited, it is a form of tokenism. In cases in which the public is consulted on policy and governance issues their views are rarely taken into consideration. It is the politics which rules the day more than the constitution, hence the need for the involvement of the citizenry in matters that concern them.

In an environment which has limited citizen involvement the church's role in political participation becomes paramount, as it is the voice of conscience and accountability to the ethical and moral behaviour of politics. Thus the church with its structures can enable the processes of citizen engagement in political issues, however at the independence, EFZ found itself in a paradoxical situation. This was a result of its colonial legacy, when it did not support the liberation movement but instead supported the oppressive colonial regime. Thus at independence and the years which followed, it maintained a neutral position, which was a position of disengagement, and it only worked with the government on issues surrounding social concerns.

This role changed as the leadership changed, and took a more collaborative stance, the EFZ was seen aligning with the government, and also taking a conservative position of praying for those in power. The turn of the millennium brought about change in its approach, as it now sought to address social concerns through social action, thereby addressing political issues, which were the cause of many of the social concerns issues. It started engaging the government on many economic and political issues, and together with other ecumenical bodies like ZCBC and ZCC, they came up with a document the Zimbabwe We Want. In this document the EFZ, ZCBC and ZCC defined the voice of the church and the role that the church plays as it derives it from its theological and historical mandate and also from the fact that it is the voice and representative of the people and also a sign hope.

However the document was a discussion document, which was their national vision document in which they critiqued the state over its failure to initiate a national dialogue about the land issue, economic policies, the constitutional debate, electoral process, human rights, governance and national reconciliation. Through the document they rejected and lobbied against the AIPPA and POSA amendments, which they felt impinged on the citizens fundamental rights of access to information and freedom to associate and movement. They urged government to address the issue of the ailing economy and poverty reduction, to support the informal sector and create genuine wealth.

The challenge with the document, though it was a noble initiative, is that it did not bind anyone, thus the document was ignored even by its sponsors. The publishing of

the document ushered in a process of engagement with the government and also opposition political party MDC. However these engagements were being done by the top echelon of the EFZ and did not include the citizens. Therefore its form of engagement was top level discussions with the government, with little dissemination of the information pertaining to the discussions to the ordinary citizens. Thereby making its role of involving the citizens into political participation very weak. The EFZ though in some instances has managed to raise awareness on the need for the church to play a role in the political life of Zimbabwe, it failed to engage the grassroots and to fully utilise the structures that it has throughout the country to play this role. As a result it remained unknown and without visibility even amongst citizens who belong to its member bodies, thus losing credibility and a voice in its constituency. The majority of ordinary citizens who have knowledge of EFZ, view it as a body of pastoral representation, which has nothing to do with them, hence it is regarded as elitist in nature.

EFZ has been involved observing and monitoring of elections, however this is done under ZESN, making it difficult for it to drive its own agenda. Hence the need for it to observe and monitor as a standalone entity. This is exacerbated by the fact that it relies on donor funding on many of its activities, thus making it an implementing agency of donor programs and agenda. This makes its role of involving citizen in participatory democracy difficult, though the church has a role to play in participatory democracy in Zimbabwe. EFZ also finds itself in a very politically polarised environment in which the fragmentation that is in the national politics is also manifested not only amongst its top leaders but also in its downstream structures. Its structures have also been infiltrated by state security agencies who

keep tabs on EFZ activities, thereby brooding a culture of fear. This makes it difficult for EFZ to engage the citizens as there is much fear within its structures to participate politically.

However in spite of all that, the church has an important role to play in participatory democracy in post independent Zimbabwe. There is lack of institutional structures for citizens to be guided by in terms of modelling and training, and the church can play this role. Some of the benefits of the church's role in politics are that:

- In the absence of institutional structures for citizens to be guided by and also trained and modelled in terms of political engagement and participation, the church can play that role in a non partisan manner. Thus having an educated and informed citizenry.
- The church has the structures in particular EFZ, which it can use for citizens to engage in discussions of governance and policy issues. These structures can also be used in educating the citizenry and disseminating information pertaining to governance and policy issues, thereby involving the citizens at the lower level in political issues.
- It will provide a critical solidarity role, in which the church will be a voice and representation of the citizenry as it supports initiatives which promote justice, peace, and democracy, while continuing to protest against unjust policies and protecting the interest of the voiceless.
- There will be checks and balances on the government, thereby providing accountability, constitutionalism and respect of the rule of law.

5.3 Conclusion

There was a consensus amongst participants that the church has a role to play in participatory democracy in post independent Zimbabwe. This role is made possible by its theological and historical mandate and also because of the fact that the church is the voice and representative of the people as it shines as a beacon of hope. This study focused in particular on the role that EFZ has played, and discovered that for years the EFZ was complicit in its neutrality, and silence and disengagement role with the state, which some participants noted as collaboration. The years that followed the change of leaders were of open collaboration. However with the turn of the millennium EFZ has with other ecumenical bodies been involved politically. It has engaged the government through the release of a discussion document: The Zimbabwe We Want in which various demands which had to do with governance and policy were laid down by the church. The release of the document enabled the EFZ to engage the government on issues of governance and policy, however it was not effective in terms of involving the citizens in political issues.

The EFZ together with other ecumenical bodies initiated dialogue between ZANU PF and MDC, which under the initiative of SADC resulted in the government of national unity. They have also participated in election monitoring and observing under ZESN and also have taken part in civic education under the same body. However the study's finding is that though the EFZ has played its role, it is crippled by the fact that it finds the fragmentation in the national politics reflected in its organisation and structures. Thus as a result it has not made an impact when it comes to involving its constituency, who are the citizens in matters of governance and policy. Those who have been playing a political role do so out of their own interest

not as a result of EFZ's initiatives. The other reason is that much of its structures are not robust and schooled in politics of engagement thus they usually tow their denominational position of non involvement in politics. Others because of economic stress, they do not desire to participate in politics but rather in looking for their next meal, validating Pateman's assertion that political participation is tied to several socio-economic factors which include advanced educational background and an above average income.

The other finding is that there is an absence of institutional structures for citizens to be guided by and also trained and modelled by in terms of political engagement and participation. Thus when it comes to participation and engagement in issues of governance and policy they do tow the party line. This is a gap that the church can fill and provide using its structures as model of proper political engagement and also train the citizens. However the challenge is that the church has been accused of not practising participatory governance itself, hence it becomes difficult for it to play this role and also be able to speak to the government as it lacks integrity. Thus the church reflects the same non participatory and tokenism governance model, that the government stands accused of.

Thus the church must be able to engage its constituencies, and educate their structures on political participation. EFZ must also be able to develop a clear strategy and ethos of engagement and be able to utilize its Justice and Peace Commission which has the competent skill to do this function, with integrity. EFZ must build a health relationship with the government whilst maintaining its independence in matters of participatory democracy in post independent Zimbabwe.

5.4 Implications

The findings of this study respond to the research questions and they both have significant implications on the study as follows:

- The study offers the opportunity to reform the role of the EFZ in political participation, in light of it being the voice of conscience and accountability to the ethical and moral behaviour of politics. It needs to deal with its fragmented voices which echo the voice of politics within its structures by conscientising its constituency of its responsibility to governance and policy issues.
- EFZ though it has played a role in the political arena in post independent Zimbabwe, it is yet to make an impact in terms of involving the citizens in issues of governance and policy. One of the reasons for lack of proper participation amongst the citizenry was noted as lack of institutional structures that will proffer guidance to citizens with regards to political participation. Thus the EFZ has an opportunity to structure itself in a way that will provide institutional structures that will help in giving guidance to the citizen in issues of political participation.
- The EFZ seems to engage the government in discussing issues of governance at the top level and at times encouraging its structures to attend public hearings of bills. However in order to develop proper models of citizen engagement, there is need for the EFZ to fully utilise its Peace and Justice commission as an independent and apolitical actor to increase its visibility and improve in term of its role in governance issues.

5.5 Recommendations

5.5.1 Recommendations to the church

Citizens democratic participation in political issues is a necessity if a nation is to build a healthy democracy. Here are some recommendations from the research findings:

- The EFZ must reform its role and develop a clear strategy and ethos of engagement with the involvement of its constituency in order to properly engage the government on governance and policy issues, with the involvement of the citizens.
- The EFZ must engage people with competent skills within its structures in order to properly engage on governance issues and also play its role.
- Holding the government accountable will require that the EFZ, will continually raise its voice when there is something amiss in order to keep leaders accountable to their constituencies.
- There is need for research on policy and governance issues so that the EFZ can speak from an informed perspective, without such it has no voice or role to play in governance and policy issues.
- EFZ must facilitate theological education and democracy workshops so that they develop a contextual theology of democracy that emphasises the citizens inherent right and ability to participate in governance, policy and decision making. EFZ must also create institutional structures that will guide the citizens in political participation.

- The church must financially capacitate its organs like the Peace and Justice Commission, and enable them to have a functional staff that will carry out its governance and policy role.
- There is need for alternative funding avenues so that it does not become an implementing agency of donors.

5.5.2 Recommendations to the government

- The government needs to accept without suspicion the voice of the church and its role in seeking ethical accountability from political leaders. Thus there is need for the government to be responsive to the democratic and constitutional demands of the church.
- Government need to build a healthy relationship of trust with the church, acknowledging the independence of the church body.
- Constitutional alignment is critical for participatory democracy to flourish in Zimbabwe and also to create an environment that allows political participation.
- Government needs to uphold legislatures that uphold citizen participation in the political life of Zimbabwe and do away with restrictive legislatures that inhibit the democratic space.
- There is need for capacity building and creation and improvement of institutional structures that will model and train citizens in issues of political participation, so that there is a healthy engagement between the church, ordinary citizens and the government in issues of governance and policy.

5.6 Suggestions for further research

Based on the findings, this study can be broadened further to include other ecumenical bodies and study the church combined under the HOCD, it also opens an opportunity for further studies to be conducted especially on how the fragmentation in the national politics impacts the role of the church in the democratisation processes in Zimbabwe. Other areas that can be pursued are how the structures that the church has can be used for effective civic education or political mobilisation. Studies can also be conducted on how the church can provide institutional structures to guide citizens in political participation.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Questionnaire

My name is Naison Mangwende, a student at Africa University doing a Masters in Public Policy and Governance. I do invite you to contribute to my dissertation by completing this questionnaire to the best of your knowledge. My research is on : The role of the church in participatory democracy in post independent Zimbabwe: A case study of Evangelical Fellowship in Zimbabwe (EFZ). Please do not write your name on the questionnaire. The questionnaire has been prepared specifically for academic purposes and the information you supply will be handled with strict confidentiality.

1. Sex : Male ☐ Female ☐
2. Age group: 20-30 ☐ 31-40 ☐ 41-50 ☐ 51-60 ☐
above 60 ☐
3. Level of education: Primary: ☐ Secondary: ☐ College: ☐
University: ☐ Other: ☐
4. Do you know of Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe: Yes ☐ No ☐
5. What role has EFZ played in your
community:.....
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6. What is your understanding of
governance.....
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7. In terms of issues of citizen participation in elections, policy issues, rule of
law and keeping the government accountable , what has been its
role:.....
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8. Does the EFZ have structures that help you in participating in these issues of keeping the government accountable, election and policy formulation ☐ Yes ☐
No

What are the structures that are there.....
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9. How have these structures been effective in promoting citizen participation in issues of governance in your area.....
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10. How has the position of EFZ helped you in participating in issues of governance at either local, provincial or national level.
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11. What is your evaluation of its involvement in issues of governance:

Strongly involved ☐ Moderately involved ☐

Not involved ☐

12. Do you involve yourself in governance issues in your community:

Yes ☐ No ☐

13. If the answer on 12 is Yes, at what level do you involve yourself: local ☐

provincial ☐ National ☐

14. If the answer on 12 is No, what are your reasons for non participation.....

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15. Is your involvement a result of the EFZ's initiatives (answer only if your answer to 12 is yes). Yes ☐ No ☐

16. In your view how can the role of the EFZ be improved on issues of Elections.

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Policy issues.....
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Rule of Law.....
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Keeping the government accountable.....
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Appendix 2: Interview guide

My name is Naison Mangwende, a student at Africa University doing a Masters in Public Policy and Governance. I do invite you to contribute to my dissertation by participating in this informant interview. My research is on : The role of the church in participatory democracy in post independent Zimbabwe: A case study of Evangelical Fellowship in Zimbabwe (EFZ).The interview has been prepared specifically for academic purposes and the information you supply will be handled with strict confidentiality.

Interview Questions

1. I hope you will not mind if we would start by a brief personal profile of who you are.
 - Name.....
 - Level of Education.....
 - Profession.....
2. What is your knowledge of the Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe?
3. What have been the processes employed in post independent Zimbabwe to promote participatory democracy?
4. What role has Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe played in these processes and governance in Zimbabwe?
5. At what level is the EFZ in issues of governance
6. In terms of citizen participation in elections, policy issues, rule of law and keeping the government accountable, how has EFZ played this role ?

7. How effective has been its role in the involvement of the ordinary citizens in political participation in areas of elections, policy issues, rule of law and keeping the government accountable ?
8. What have been the structural influences shaping the role of EFZ?
9. How would you assess the EFZ's level of involvement ?
10. What have been the obstacles that the EFZ has faced in issues of political participation?
11. What factors have been encouraging political participation?
12. How would you assess the participation of the citizens in governance issues.
13. How would you assess EFZ's relations with the state and non state actors?
14. What suggestions would you give to the EFZ in order to improve its role in governance issues?

-Thank you for your time.

Appendix 3: Informed consent form

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

My name is Naison Mangwende, a final year Masters in Public Policy and Governance student from Africa University. I am carrying out a study approved by the University's Ethics Committee under AU014/17, on the role of the church in participatory democracy in post independent Zimbabwe: A case study of the Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe. I am kindly asking you to participate in this study by answering the attached interview questions.

The purpose of the study is to examine the role of the church in participatory democracy in the post independent Zimbabwe. In addition the study seeks to generate literature that informs policy makers, political and policy analysts and other interested groups which include civil society and also to help the church improve on its civic involvement and to situate itself better in terms of the church-state relations.

You were selected for the study because of your knowledge of ecumenical history and its political involvement.

Duration

If you decide to participate it is expected that the interview will take about one and half hours.

Benefits and/ compensation

There are no foreseeable risks to your participation in the study and there are no direct benefits that will accrue to you for participating in the study. However the end

product of the study will benefit the church, general public and the academia since the findings of the study will provide literature

Confidentiality

The study will be done with strict confidentiality and the names of the informant interview participants will not be directly linked to the information gathered without prior permission from them. Names and any other identification will not be asked for in the questionnaires.

Voluntary participation

Participation in this study is voluntary. If participant decides not to participate in this study, their decision will not affect their future relationship with Africa University. If they chose to participate, they are free to withdraw their consent and to discontinue participation without penalty.

Offer to answer questions

Before you sign this form, please ask any questions on any aspect of this study that is unclear to you. You may take as much time as necessary to think it over.

Outcome of Research

The results of the research shall be shared with Africa University and a second round of meetings with informant interviewee's to inform them of the findings shall be done.

Authorization

If you have decided to participate in this study please sign this form in the space provide below as an indication that you have read and understood the information provided above and have agreed to participate.

Name of Research Participant (please print)

Date

Signature of Research Participant or legally authorised representative

If you have any questions concerning this study or consent form beyond those answered by the researcher including questions about the research, your rights as a research participant, or if you feel that you have been treated unfairly and would like to talk to someone other than the researcher, please feel free to contact the Africa University Research Ethics Committee on telephone (020) 60075 or 60026 extension 1156 email aurec@africau.edu

Name of Researcher -----

Appendix 4: Africa University Research Ethics Committee approval letter



(A United Methodist-Related Institution)

INVESTING IN AFRICA'S FUTURE

AFRICA UNIVERSITY RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (AUREC)

P.O. BOX 1320, MUTARE, ZIMBABWE • OFF NYANGA ROAD, OLD MUTARE • TEL: (+263-20) 60075/60026/61611 • E-MAIL: aurec@africau.edu • WEBSITE: www.africau.edu

Ref: AU014/17

February 10, 2017

Naison Mangwende
College of Business, Peace, Leadership and Governance
Africa University
Mutare

RE: The role of the Church in participatory democracy in Post Independent Zimbabwe: A case study of Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe.

Thank you for the above titled proposal that you submitted to the Africa University Research Ethics Committee for review. Please be advised that AUREC has reviewed and **approved** your application to conduct the above research.

The approval is based on the following.

- a) Research proposal
- b) Questionnaires
- c) Informed consent form

• **APPROVAL NUMBER** AU014/17

This number should be used on all correspondences, consent forms, and appropriate documents.

• **AUREC MEETING DATE** NA

• **APPROVAL DATE** February 10, 2017

• **EXPIRATION DATE** February 09, 2018

• **TYPE OF MEETING** Expedited

After the expiration date this research may only continue upon renewal. For purposes of renewal, a progress report on a standard AUREC form should be submitted a month before expiration date.

- **SERIOUS ADVERSE EVENTS** All serious problems having to do with subject safety must be reported to AUREC within 3 working days on standard AUREC form.
- **MODIFICATIONS** Prior AUREC approval is required before implementing any changes in the proposal (including changes in the consent documents)
- **TERMINATION OF STUDY** Upon termination of the study a report has to be submitted to AUREC using standard form obtained from AUREC.

Yours Faithfully

MITI G.P. AUREC Administrator
FOR CHAIRPERSON, AFRICA UNIVERSITY RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE