COALITIONS AND LEADERSHIP CHALLENGES IN AFRICA: A CASE OF THE
2009—2013 GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY IN ZIMBABWE

BY

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Abstract

The objective of this study was to find out whether coalition governments are feasible for the continent of Africa and to establish why they have in recent times become a recurrent feature of African politics. This was established through gauging the gains and challenges of coalition governments and its success in transforming socio economic and political situations. Factors that led to its formation were also analysed in depth in order to make contributions that may solve this phenomenon. The study also focused on the leadership challenges that Africa faces. The study was informed by the concept of coalitions. The concept reveals that parliamentary democracies will engage in a coalition due to parliamentary representation in order to achieve a set of goals. The study is qualitative study which was analysed thematically. It was found that many coalitions are formed after disputed elections and that leadership in Africa is largely characterized by long serving rule and millitarian ideologies. The study revealed that coalition governments are a successful and effective system for achieving its intended goals and addressing socio economic and political instability. The researcher then recommended that transparent processes must be engaged in a bid to reduce disputes. The researcher also recommended that the electoral commissions and the security sector should be clearly liberalized and work in independence from the government. The researcher recommended that political parties should set aside party agendas and advance those of the coalition for the maximum benefit of the nation.

Declaration

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Dedication

This research is dedicated to my father Davenport Munjoma and my mother Sophie Munjoma. My parents have been my pillars of strength throughout the research as they continued to encourage me and give me the hope that I carried to the end. I would also like to dedicate this research to my sister Tatenda Munjoma Cortez for standing by me throughout the research.

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List of Abbreviations

ZANU PF   Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front

MDC T   Movement for Democratic Change-Tsvangirai

MDC M   Movement for Democratic Change -Mutambara

GNU   Government of National Unity

GPA   Global Political Agreement

JOMIC   Joint Monitoring and Implementation Committee

COPAC   Constitution Parliamentary Select Committee

IPLG   Institute of Peace Leadership and Governance

NGO   Non-Governmental Organisation

ZRP   Zimbabwe Republic Police

Chapter 1

1.0 Introduction

The re-emergence of multi-party politics in Africa has seen a drastic increase of coalition governments. This phenomenon has spread across Africa like a virus. Coalition governments have particularly been established to resolve political disputes emanating from political deadlocks. They have been established to curb politically motivated violence, post electoral violence and to end ensuing conflict. Coalition governments have been established in post-independent Africa as transitional processes meant to ensure smooth transfer of power to majority rule or to resolve political difficulties.

A coalition government is a cabinet of a parliamentary government in which several political parties cooperate, reducing the dominance of any one party within that coalition. The Oxford dictionary defines coalition government as "a temporary alliance for combined action, especially of political parties forming a government."

In Zimbabwe a Government of National Unity (GNU) was established following the contested Presidential runoff in June 2008 in which Robert Mugabe, the Zimbabwe African National Union - Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) candidate had 'won' uncontested after the dramatic withdrawal of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC-T)

candidate Morgan Tsvangirai from the race, accusing his rival of intimidating his supporters (Mapuva, 2010).

Coalition governments are not a new phenomenon they have been a means of settling political disputes in Europe for decades. Newton & Van Deth (2005), the multi-party systems of Western Europe have been associated with coalition governments and these include Austria, Germany, Switzerland, Iceland, Luxembourg, Italy, France, and Norway. However this phenomenon is fast becoming a permanent feature of pluralist democracies in Africa. Africa has been a continent that has seen many disputed elections. The first generation leaders develop a sense of ownership of the presidium and hence refuse any electoral result that is not in their favor. This dispute in elections has led to the formation of transitional arrangements. Conflict on the African continent mainly due to ethnic tensions has been on the increase. Coalition governments have become a means by which these conflicts are resolved. (Mesfin, 2008) states that, "Unity governments work best when countries are in a state of war or emergency, or when they are polarized by ethnic conflicts with no clear policy differences between contenders. Governments of National Unity have been used to drive policy change and bring about reforms that are all inclusive". This research seeks to investigate why coalitions are increasing on the continent of Africa, if they are feasible and the leadership challenges that coalitions face. What have been the developmental results of GNUs? Other than contributing to immediate peace, or handling national crises, have they also contributed to sustained growth and political stability? What has happened after their dissolution?

1.1 Coalitions and Democracy

Although coalition governments have been used to resolve crisis in many African countries to some extent it has worked against democracy

(Becker 2008) explains that, "The word 'democracy» is a term that comes from Greek and it is made up with two other words demos= People and kratein= to govern, to rule. "Democracy" can then be literally translated by the following terms: Government of the People or Government of the Majority. Abraham Lincoln defined democracy as, 'The government of the people, by the people and for the people'. (Kiranda 2010) notes that, "Political parties play an essential role in the functioning of every modern democracy and consensus almost exists that the concept of democracy is indivisibly linked to the concept of multi partyism, in which effective participation and competition should be guaranteed". But the presence of political parties does not always amount to complete democracy. The playing field is not always level and hence this may present problems in satisfying the tenents of democracy one of which is elections.

Single party rule for prolonged periods in Africa has been a common scene, this has led to political dominance and the structures in these countries tend to favor the ruling party. This has left opposition parties with very little political space. Majoritarian institutions allow some political actors to be excluded from government, stimulating an adversarial competitiveness in the political system (Lijphart 1999). The vote in many African countries has often been manipulated and hence leading to electoral stalemates. These

stalemates are often resolved by coalition governments and to some extent this undermines the concept of democracy. Mapuva (2010) states that ,GNUs on the African continent have come to represent a short-cut to those who want to cling to power and even promote electoral inconsistency to achieve this objective. As a result, democracy has been dealt a heavy blow by the GNU phenomenon, which appears to have emerged in many countries where rival political parties unite after disputed elections to form an inclusive government in the interim and to implement structural political reforms. However, despite justifications for this form of political arrangement, political scientists have predicted that this formation could herald the demise of democracy on the continent.

1.2 Background to GNU in Zimbabwe

1.2.1 Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe is a mineral rich landlocked country in the south of Africa. It is bordered by South Africa to the south, Botswana to the west, Zambia to the north and Mozambique to the east. It is blessed with beautiful scenery and an agricultural environment. Zimbabwe has an estimated population of 13,5million people. It is a former British colony which attained independence in 1980. Zimbabwe attained independence through an armed struggle that saw an estimated 30000 lives lost. The Zimbabwe government consists of an elected head of state, the president, and a legislature. Zimbabwe is a multi-

party state with one dominant party. The dominant party is the Zimbabwe African National Union - Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF). ZANU-PF is the revolutionary party that brought about independence. Opposition parties are permitted; some of the bigger parties that make up opposition for the ruling party include the MDC-T led by Morgan Tsvangirai and the MDC-M led by Welshman Ncube, and both formations of the original Movement for Democratic Change created in 1999. In 1997 the ruling party legalized the seizure of white owned farms which were to be redistributed to the black majority. This process was conducted in a violent manner. However land redistribution in Zimbabwe was institutionalized by the Lanchaster House Agreement. The exit of the white farmers left many farms struggling and food supplies became very low. Sanctions were later imposed on Zimbabwe leading to a hyper inflationary environment which saw many Zimbabweans struggle to survive. The situation in Zimbabwe became desperate around 2007 with food shortages, fuel shortages, high unemployment and lack of basic amenities. All this was blamed on the government of ZANU-PF, and it gave a strong support to the MDCs cause. MDC became a strong power house as people were frustrated with the situation they were living in. Elections were held in 2008 during this period of strife and they saw a large turnout of voters in what was a highly disputed election.

1.2.2 Elections

Zimbabwe has tried to adhere to the principles of democracy although this has always been questionable. Zimbabwe has allowed for a multi-party environment and to hold elections and referendums. During the elections of February 1980, Robert Mugabe and his ZANU secured a landslide victory that faced challenges but to a lesser extent. In 1985 parliamentary elections were conducted. African Election Database (2009) notes that Zimbabwean elections in March 1990 resulted in another victory for Mugabe and his party, which claimed 117 of the 120 contested seats. However some observers claimed discontent in the manner in which the elections were conducted. In 1995 parliamentary elections were held with ZANU-PF acquiring majority in Parliament. According to the African Election Database (2009), presidential elections were held in March 1996 with Robert Mugabe attaining 92.7% of the vote. In 2000 ZANU-PF received a shock from a new comer to the political arena. ZANU-PF managed to get 48.6% of the parliamentary seats while MDC acquired 47%. This is the period that marked the end of the ultimate dominance by ZANU-PF. Zimbabwe held presidential elections in which Robert Mugabe won 57% of the vote and Morgan Tsvangirai won 42%. Parliamentary elections were held in 2005 were ZANU-PF claimed majority in Parliament with 59.6% and MDC 39.5% according to the African Election Database (2009). In March 2008 Presidential, Parliamentary and Senate elections were held. Morgan Tsvangirai won 47.9% of the vote while Robert Mugabe got 43.2% in what was a highly disputed process. A run off was set for June 2008 because none of the candidates had managed to acquire the required 50% plus 1 mark. The period leading up to the run-off saw wide scale political violence. With cases of deaths and casualties

increasing, Morgan Tsvangirai withdrew from the race giving the election to Robert Mugabe.

1.2.3 The Global Political Agreement

The Global Political Agreement (GPA) is an agreement which was entered into in 2008 by the three main political parties in Zimbabwe, namely ZANU PF, MDC-T and MDC; under the facilitation of former South African President, Mr Thabo Mbeki. The agreement ended months of political violence, following the disputed June 2008 presidential run-off election, and gave way to a government of national unity (MLGI 2014).

The GPA, signed by Zimbabwe's three main parties in Harare on 15th September 2008, was intended to "create a genuine, viable, permanent, sustainable and nationally acceptable solution to the Zimbabwe situation". The GPA was a 22-page agreement comprising 25 Articles.

Article 1: Definitions

Article 2: Declaration of Commitment

Article 3: Restoration of Economic Stability and Growth

Article 4: Sanctions and Measures

Article 21: Electoral Vacancies

Article 22: Implementation Mechanisms

Article 23: Periodic Review Mechanism

Article 24: Interim Constitutional Amendments

Article 25: Commencement

These articles were representative of the challenges Zimbabwe was facing as a nation and what the union would seek to address. The GPA served as a framework and guideline for the GNU.

1.2.3 The GNU

Zimbabwe since 1980 has been led by one political party the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF). ZANU-PF had never faced significant opposition since assuming power. The first major opposition party that threatened its grip on power was the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) which burst onto the political scene in 1999. There were several disputed elections which the opposition claimed irregularities. In 2008 a heavily disputed electoral process was conducted and the results of this process were disputed by both the local and international community. The process was also marred by widespread politically motivated violence that made world headlines. The violent 2008 general elections failed to produce a single party

majority government in Zimbabwe. Amid rising international pressure, it is against the backdrop of this disputed election that the parties involved had to undertake a power sharing arrangement.

Talks between ZANU-PF and the two MDC factions began on 24 July 2008 and an agreement was signed on 11 September 2008. The arrangement was facilitated by a team of mediators led by then South African President Thabo Mbeki. The arrangement managed to curb violence on the ground by party supporters, harsh economic crisis and come up with a people driven constitution based on inclusivity. The coalition comprised of the three political parties that occupied parliamentary seats. The parties involved were those that had contested seats in parliament and had one seats. These parties were ZANU-PF led by Robert Mugabe, MDC-T led by Morgan Tsavngirai and MDC-M led by Arthur Mutambara. The mediation process was lengthy as parties failed to agree on issues concerning distribution of power and reforms that were to be implemented. The officials were sworn in on 13 February 2009. Robert Mugabe was sworn in as president, Morgan Tsvangirai as Prime Minister, Prof Arthur Mutambara as Deputy Prime Minister and Thokozani Khupe as the other Deputy Prime Minister.

1.3 Statement of Problem

In recent years Africa has seen an increase of coalition governments, in which different political parties come together to govern a country. These have been facilitated to curb conflicts and to bridge disputes. Elections are a vital element of democracy. Through elections the electorate seeks to choose a leader whom they deem is best at meeting their needs. Disputed elections have led to increased cases of coalition governments, which are just but transitional arrangements. These transitional arrangements are a temporary reprieve to curb violence, for political leaders to re-group and to bring about necessary reforms for the democratization process to take place. It is the increase of cases of GNUs that prompted for the researcher to do a study on why these cases are increasing and whether coalition governments are working for Africa. This research seeks to investigate the gains and challenges of coalition governments, and how effective they are in crisis management.

1.4 Research Objectives

The objectives of this research are to

1. Investigate the gains and challenges of coalition governments
2. Analyze the relationship between the different parties involved.
3. Establish whether this phenomenon of coalitions is feasible
4. Examine if coalitions enhance good governance.

1.5 Research questions

1. What are the benefits yielded and obstacles faced by the coalition?

2. How did the parties relate to each other?

3. How effective was the GNU in transforming the Zimbabwean crisis?

4. What challenges do coalitions pose to democracy and rule of law?

1.6 Assumptions or Hypotheses

The research assumptions are:

The parties involved have different ideologies; this is due to their differences in policy.

The parties involved have different leadership styles; each party leadership has a leadership approach that is attributable to them.

There is mistrust between the parties involved, this arises from the dispute in elections and by virtue of humans being competitive beings.

Communication is ineffective between the parties, this due to mistrust.

1.7 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to determine if coalition governments are feasible and if they are effective in their intended goals. The study aims to determine if, coalition formations are a process that has both costs and benefits. In this process those involved make rational calculations and weigh the costs and benefits. This research seeks to

establish whether the GNU in Zimbabwe gave permanent solutions to leadership crisis or it served as a temporary reprieve to the situation that was being faced. At the heart of the study the researcher wishes to identify the benefits that the GNUs has and how the parties involved managed to come up with solutions to a looming crisis. This research is important in establishing if there are positive impacts from coalition governments and hence to see how they can be implemented effectively when crisis arises.

1.8 Limitations

The limitations of this research are that some of the respondents are very busy and setting up a meeting with them may prove difficult. By this the researcher will notify the respondents of meeting dates timeously.

Time to travel to the different offices may prove to be a limitation. In order to escape this, the researcher will group the respondents strategically based on geographical location.

The finances to conduct this research may also prove to be a limitation. The researcher shall source funding by cutting down on some other activities that may consume money unnecessarily.

1.9 Delimitation of the study

The delimitations of this study are that the study is conducted within the borders of Zimbabwe and will focus on the three main political parties that formed the government of national Unity. The parties are ZANU-PF, MDC-T and MDC. These formations being led by His Excellency President Robert Mugabe, Morgan Tsvangirai and Professor Arthur Mutambara respectively. The delimitations of this study are on the leadership styles of the parties involved and how they managed to co-operate and be progressive. This blend of leadership styles is an area of interest to the researcher.

1.10 Definition of Terms

1.10.1 Coalition Government

According to Finley (2012), "a coalition government consists of two or more parties who must compromise on rinciples and share a mandate. This mostly occurs due to a single party unable to gain a majority of seats in Parliament. Coalitions are mostly formed through elections but coalition governments can also occur in times of national difficulty".

1.10.2 Government of National Unity

A Government of National Unity (GNU) is an institutional model government that is formed by two or more political foes in order to resolve a political impasse by sharing power. It is born out of circumstances in which the legitimacy of a party in office is

severely weakened and the party is incapacitated to govern the country alone. Muguti et al (2000).

1.10.3 Leadership

John Maxwell sums up his definition of leadership as "leadership is influence - nothing more, nothing less." However Fairholm and Fairholm (2009) state that leadership is not merely ensuring rules and procedures are efficiently carried out. Surely it includes productivity goals, but it is more than that. Fundamentally, it deals with people in relationships.

1.10.4 Structure of the study

The structure of the study begins with the Research Topic which will be followed by the introduction. In this section comes the background to the GNU in Zimbabwe. The Statement of the Problem follows the background. Purpose of the Study, Research Objectives, Research Questions and Assumptions follow respectively. Delimitation of the study is followed by limitations, Structure of the study.

Chapter 2

Literature review

2.0 Introduction

This section seeks to review related literature on Coalition Governments in general with a keen focus on the African context. Coalition governments are a rising phenomenon with a cross wide section of literature. According to Tuckman (1978) literature review reveals investigations similar to your own and can show how other researchers have handled the same situation. Literature review allows necessary orientation of the study that will minimize duplication of effort and reduces trial and error. It is key to note that Coalition Government and Government of National Unity will be used inter-changeably in the review and research.

2.1 State and Politics

A state is "the organized aggregate of relatively permanent institutions of governance" (Chazin et al, 1999). A state is a political organization with four elements, a population, a fixed territory, government and sovereignty. The state is a product of society at a certain stage of development; it is the admission that this society has become entangled in an insoluble contradiction with itself, that it is cleft into irreconcilable antagonisms which it is powerless to dispel. But in order that these antagonisms, classes with conflicting economic interests, might not consume themselves and society in sterile

struggle, a power seemingly standing above society became necessary for the purpose of moderating the conflict, of keeping it within the bounds of "order"; and this power, arisen out of society but placing itself above it, and increasingly alienating itself from it, is the state." (Engels1884).

2.2 Human Rights Violations

Human rights are international norms that help to protect all people everywhere from severe political, legal, and social abuses. Human rights are rights inherent to all human beings, whatever our nationality, place of residence, sex, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, language, or any other status.

Zimbabwe is a country where the issue of human rights evokes contentious debate. The gradual deterioration in the rule of law in the country since the attainment of independence in 1980 has raised questions on the fundamental principles of policing and human rights, (Hatchard 1993). However it has to be appreciated that Zimbabwe inherited a system that was highly characterized by Human Rights violations from the colonial period. Ian Smiths regime committed gross Human Rights violations against the balck majority. Freedoms were denied, state sponsored murders were high, torture and many other rights such as voting rights were denied. Understanding this past will allow

for a better analysis of the current trend of human rights violations that Africa experiences today.

Makwerere et al (2012, Zimbabwe has seen a gradual shrinking of the political space since 1980. What is of interest is the complicity of the police in that development. The Zimbabwe Republic Police has gained notoriety over the hounding of opposition politicians and other people or organizations with divergent ideas from those of government. Zimbabwe has seen to be multi-party democracy but the playing ground has not been equal. Access to media has also been denied to opposition. One single expectation of Government is security and protection of human rights. Citizens should have equal opportunities and equal freedoms within a nation.

2.3 Conceptual Framework

This research will be based on coalitions as a concept. The concept of coalition politics or coalition government seems to have arrived at a settled meaning. The term has come to refer to what Altman (2000) defines as:

Temporal combination of groups or individuals formed to pursue specific objectives through joint action. Specifically it is a set of parliamentary political parties that agree to pursue a common goal or a common set of goals; pool their resources together in pursuit of this goal; communicate and form building commitments concerning their goals; (and) agree on distribution of pay-offs to be received on obtaining their goal.

2.4 Interrogation of Concept

It is a concept that has both negatives and positives. Bachrach and Baratz (1962), notes that in a power struggle there will be one dominant party. There is no equality in a coalition as the concept assumes. There is always a prevalent party. The concept assumes that parties will cooperate in harmony and that there will be pay offs but pay offs are not always certain. This concept neglects the aspect of the electorate. It to a certain extend reverses the will of the people, as they seek to elect one party. However it is good solution to settling disputes. It also promotes elements of unity and tolerance.

2.5 Understanding Coalition Governments

The term "government of national unity" is a term used to refer to a case in which all the major political parties in a country are part of the governing coalition. GNUs are a fragile, acrimonious, usually transitional arrangement with a high risk of disintegrating at the slightest opportunity and further degenerating into conflict, Mapuva (2010). This type of government occurs in parliamentary systems. Coalition governments, as the term is used in this paper, are defined by "the collection of parties which between them make up the cabinet" (Laver & Budge, 1992)

Coalition Venn Diagram
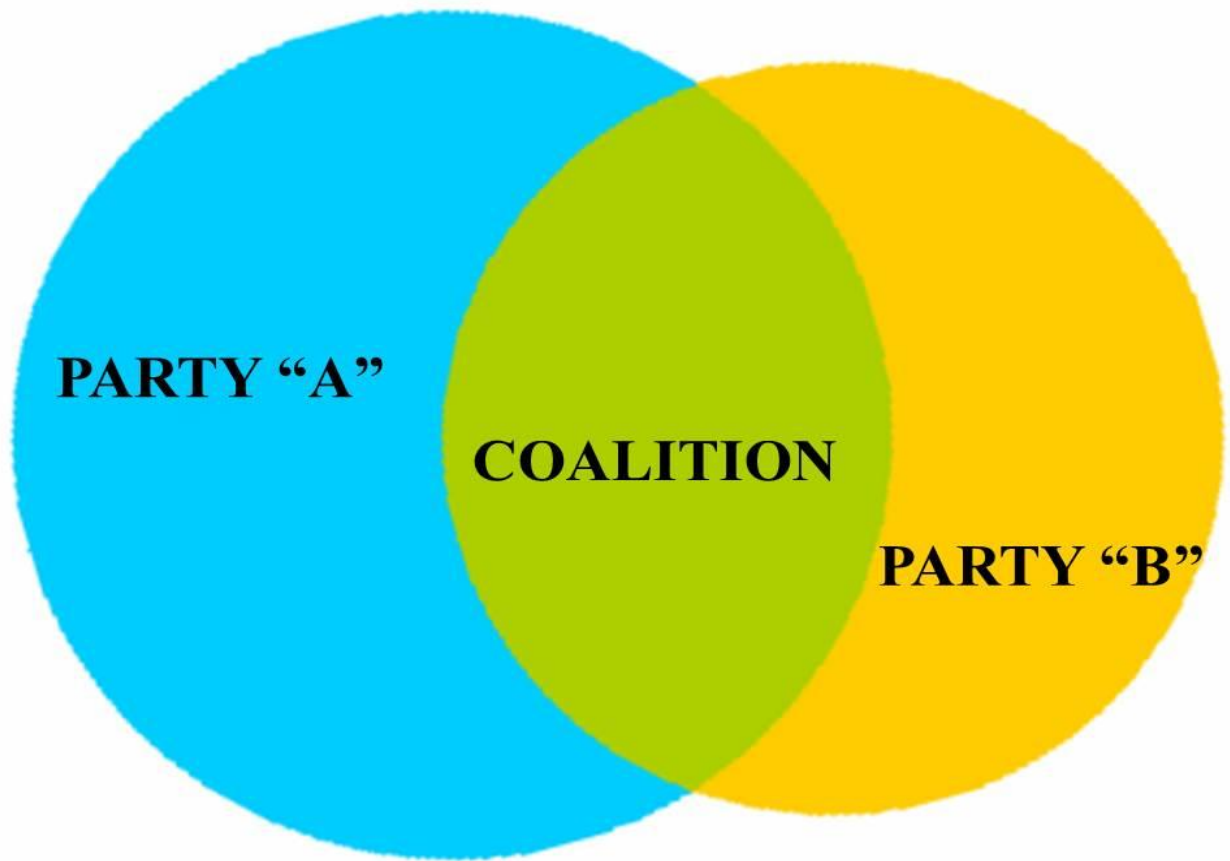
Fig 1

The diagram above depicts a simple coalition of two parties. It can be noted from the diagram that Party A is larger than Party B, by this it is clear Party A enjoys more benefits. Coalitions are never present a fair platform for both parties. Usually the party which was ruling prior to the coalition will have an upper hand.

Coalition governments have existed for many years and they have served as temporary solutions to crisis. The former Prime Minister of Zimbabwe Morgan Tsvangirai has been quoted several times stating that a GNU is a marriage of convenience. Coalition governments have also been used as a measure to achieve common goals when parties differ. Gamsan (1961:374), "coalitions are temporary, means oriented, alliances among individuals or groups which differ in goals". Temporary combination of groups or individuals formed to pursue specific objectives through joint action. Specifically it is a set of parliamentary political parties that agree to pursue a common goal or a set of common goals; pool their resources together in pursuit of this goal; communicate and form building commitments concerning their goals;(and) agree on the distribution of pay-offs to be received on obtaining their goal (Altman 2000).

However the parties involved in coalitions tend to be motivated by personal goals. Harare Residents Trust director Precious Shumba said: "Coalition governments are good for ending direct conflict. They have however proved to be very expensive to the masses. In the current set-up politicians make decisions and release statements like they are speaking on behalf of the nation when they are actually serving their interests."

Sridharan (2012) says that "the more the number of parties and the less their ideological connectedness, the less stable the coalition. By type of coalition, single-party majority governments are more durable than minority and/or coalition governments on average (and/or since coalition governments can be minority governments too)."

It has also been noted that GNUs are seen as a transitional measure, a vehicle to reduce tension and to create the space to drive durable peace and sustainable change (Eanglemore, 2013). It is this aspect of being transitional that makes the union tricky although they have been successful in dealing with conflict in the past.

Coalition governments since the 90s are becoming a common feature where disputes arise in Africa. It is common knowledge that GNUs have been established in various countries on the African continent in recent decades, from South Africa and Liberia in the nineties to more recently Kenya and Zimbabwe (Eaglestone, 2013).

Habermann (2003) attributes the success of coalition formation to four conditions:

(i) Political leaders of the coalition partners must be able and willing to work together in the spirit of trust:

> They must be able to rely on each other and show mutual respect – both in their personal contacts and in public pronouncements about each other.
> Every coalition needs a personal basis of trust among the key political leaders. Their personal closest aides must help to create this atmosphere.

(ii) Agreements on government programmes must be pursued as part of a coalition agreement.

(iii) The coalition should be as concise as possible and as detailed as necessary and when parties form a coalition for the first time, they should lay down comprehensive and detailed policies for all spheres.

(iv) Every coalition agreement should contain a provision stating that the coalition parties will form a coalition committee whose duty is to deliberate on important issues needing coalition consensus.

In line with the fourth condition, Habermann points out that the committee is not above government or parliament. It makes political decisions, which are taken to government or parliament.

2.6 Coalition Governments Formation

Karume (2003) writes: Coalition building is a process of organizing parties collectively in pursuit of a common goal. It entails key elements and actions, that is, pooling of resources in pursuit of this goal, communication about the goal, forming building commitments concerning this goal and an agreement on the distribution arrangement of the product/booty that may result from achieving this goal. The action of such political coalitions consists mainly of individual legislators and political parties seeking purposely/ explicitly to control the executive.

Firstly it has to be understood that coalitions are not a normal arrangement and that they usually arise in times of conflict or disagreements between two or more parties. The causes of coalitions are wide ranging. Kapa (2007) says that, to be sure, coalition formation is a process that has both costs and benefits. In this process those involved make rational calculations and weigh the costs and benefits. If the benefits outweigh the costs, then they start the process.

Coalitions may be formed prior to elections or post elections. When coalitions are formed prior to elections, it is usually by two or more parties in an attempt to gain majority over one dominant party. When coalitions form post elections it is due to a dispute over the electoral process.

The formation of coalitions before or after elections, whether in presidential, parliamentary or 'mixed systems', is usually a manifestation of the absence of a dominant party capable of controlling the majority in a legislative assembly. Therefore, political parties enter into alliances before an election in the hope that in so doing they will stand a better chance of winning an election and subsequently constituting a working majority in parliament. (Oyugi 2006).

Bandyopadhyay and Oak (2006) analyze what kind of governments will form in a parliamentary democracy where no single party has an absolute majority of seats. This scenario is of interest since in many parliamentary democracies it is unusual for a single party to control more than half the seats in parliament. In a study of 313 elections in 11

democracies in Europe from 1945-1997, (see Diermeier and Merlo (2004) it was found that only 20 of the elections returned a single party with more than half the seats in parliament.Hence, coalition governments naturally emerge.

Oyugi (2006) writes: If coalition-making involves a process which leads to the sharing of power as well as the material benefits that go with it, then coalition formation is a process which normally occurs only because neither or none of the co-operating parties can manage to win an election and govern on its own. It is therefore a necessary evil – an evil in the sense that normally no party ever coalesces except in circumstances in which not to do so would deprive it of the chance to exercise power.

Failure to abide by or accept political pluralism has often led to refusal by longstanding political parties to provide a level playing field for other political players. In such cases, elections have been a smokescreen to hoodwink the international community into believing that democratic institutions are in place. Such disguise has led to the conduct of flawed electoral processes and disputed electoral results which have culminated from this lack of political will to dispense democratic practice. This how most GNUs were born (Mapuva 2010).

Coalitions are usually formed after a disputed electoral process where there is no clear winner or an electoral process that is marred by violence. Budge and Keman (1999) concur that, generally, this arrangement is reached when the ruling party‟s confidence

and legitimacy are severely weakened, even though it remains strong enough to exercise control over the most important institutions.

Political parties also form coalitions not exclusively to seek power, but to influence public policy. Formal models of coalition formation tend to assume that political parties coalesce to obtain either office-related payoffs (Riker 1962; Baron 1989), or ideological, policy payoffs (Schofield 1986; Austen-Smith and Banks 1990; Baron 1993). While most practitioners in the field agree that both types of payoffs are crucial in the process of coalition formation. Thus, when they are aware that they do not stand a chance of winning elections, politicians form coalitions to at least be in parliament so that they can influence policy-making in their favour (Van Deth 2005:234).

In states with ethnic tensions the ruling party often shows an ethnic preference, excluding those of a different ethnicity from access to power and resources, which reinforces social cleavages (Suttner and Marti, 2006). Ethnic tensions and conflicts have been a cause for the formation of coalition governments. Oyugi (2006) states that, "In ethnically stratified societies coalitions of parties usually end up being coalitions of ethnic, religious, or racial groups. Where party formation is influenced by class-based ideology, as is the case in some Latin American countries and Europe, the line of polarisation is usually between the left and the right. However, how coalitions are formed both before and after elections remains a contested issue."

Kapa (2007) says that, political parties enter into coalition agreements for purposes of resolving political conflicts and contributing to the process of nation-building. This is common in countries characterized by ethnic, racial, and religious divisions. This has been the case in South Africa following the demise of the Apartheid system and in Mauritius since independence.

Armed conflicts have been a cause for coalitions on the African continent. Almost all previous power-sharing agreements in Africa have followed armed conflicts as was the case in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi, and Sudan, (Mapuva 2010). These conflicts have not always been of high political weight but have led to mediation leading to a coalition. The conflicts have been resource based conflicts and ethnic conflicts.

The coalition which was facilitated in Zimbabwe was of three political parties which had won parliamentary seats. This coalition was a result of a disputed electoral process. Power sharing is taken here as merely one variety of political inclusion, understood as a purposeful distribution of government posts among the most powerful political parties or groups (Spears 2000). Power sharing thus distributes rights to make decisions according to formally defined procedures (Rothschild and Roeder 2005).

Power Sharing in Zimbabwe
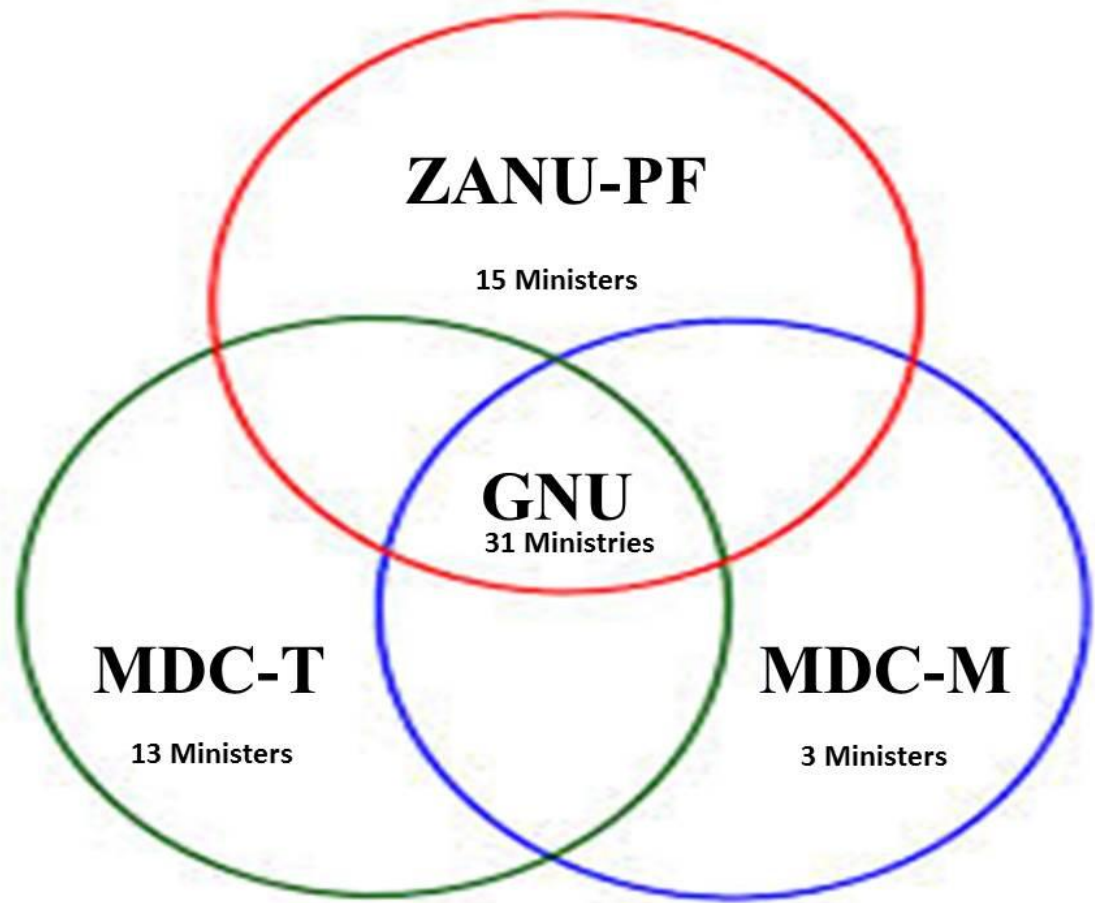
Fig 2.

The arrangement in Zimbabwe saw the sharing of the 31 ministries between the three parties. The party of the incumbent president kept a larger stake of ministries.

2.7 GNUs and Democracy

Democracy may be a word familiar to most, but it is a concept still misunderstood and misused at a time when dictators, single-party regimes, and military coup leaders alike assert popular support by claiming the mantle of democracy (US Department of State). Democracy, which derives from the Greek word "demos," or "people," is defined, basically, as government in which the supreme power is vested in the people.

Hamill (The Guardian, July 3, 2008) has portrayed GNUs as a formation "a straightforward denial of the popular will".

GNUs seem to becoming a tool by which leaders use to hold onto power in the face of electoral defeat. Elections are a major tenant of democracy, the democratization process in Africa saw the move from one party sates to a situation of pluralism with evidence of a multi-party environment. However these parties have not always been accorded enough room to exercise freely, the playing ground in Africa has remained in favour of the ruling parties. Africa has seen that a political party can lose an election and proceed to rule the country; this may seem to be the idea behind the increased trends of GNUs on the continent. This has seen African states where incumbent presidents disregard the will of the people and opt for a GNU, if chances of winning are slim, especially given that those who have lost. Mapuva 2011 states notes that, "There has been a recent trend in Africa where disputed electoral results are settled through the institution of Government of National Unity (GNU) formations, mostly popularized by incumbent political leaders who are reluctant to accept electoral defeat. This has led to situations where political

opponents are forced to co-exist in government while at the same time creating apathy and despondency among the electorate who feel short changed by the total disregard for their will and the imposition of leaders who should have existed from the leadership positions in government through electoral defeat. Mapuva was showing how this trend of GNUs could be undermining democracy. Mapuva (2011) argues that GNU formations are a way of defrauding the electorate of victory because ideally an election seeks to choose a leader and not a consortium of leaders who would eventually share power. LeVan (2011) states that, political inclusion threatens to displace political competition through post-election pacts. Such agreements allow stubborn incumbents or electoral losers to negotiate their way to power, and they bestow external legitimacy on elite bargains that drive a wedge between politicians and citizens. Not only does this undermine whatever steps these countries may be taking toward democracy, it also has important economic consequences.

2.8 Coalition Governments in Africa

According to Hobolt and Karp (2010), Data collected across 479 governments in 17 West European countries over a sixty year period indicate that are the norm. There is a growing trend in the last twenty years for executive power to be shared between two or more parties. After Somalia established a Transitional Government in 2004, the United States called it "an important step toward the reestablishment of stability and effective,

inclusive governance." (LeVan 2011). However Africa has manipulated the concept of inclusive governments to retain power after flawed elections.

Africa has been a continent characterized by one party states and long serving leaders. Coalition governments have been prevalent in many African countries in recent years. What have been characteristics of these GNUs is that they have been a result of concessions after flawed electoral processes where no clear winner was recorded or as reprieve for conflict. Power sharing agreements have been widely used in Africa as paths out of civil war. Levan (2011).

Africa has seen two generations of coalitions. The first generation was coalitions for means of transferring power from the colonial powers to majority rule. This was a post conflict period that had to be handled carefully as the political environment was still very fragile and volatile. These coalitions showed a sign of unity to the civilians so as to reduce risk of the conflict re-emerging. The coalitions ensured smooth transfer of power and were mainly implemented in former British colonies. This was a measure to stabilize the political environment and reduce tension. The period following independence was characterised by the establishment of especially strong governments with a 'one party state' orientation (Boahen & Ade-Ajayi, 1986). Muguti et al (2010) During the 1970s, most African governments moved towards total authoritarianism which was soon replaced by multi-party democracy in the 1990s. The wave of multi-party democracy that engulfed the entire continent was largely propelled by the

international western capital that came with Structural adjustment Programmes. Structural adjustment Programmes were conditional loans that were given to Africa by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. The basic conditions were that African States adhere to the principles of good governance and to cut down on government expenditure.

The second generation of coalitions came about when the first generation leaders would not relinquish power. This was in the period when Africa was shifting from the one party state system and was adopting the multi-party system in the 1990s. Oygi (2006) states that By first-generation coalitions, we mean those coalitions which came into being either on the eve of independence or immediately after independence. Those which occurred after the resurrection of multi-partyism from the early 1990s will therefore be referred to as second-generation coalitions. True enough, the second-generation coalitions or alliances (which are the focus of this paper) have not been only a pervasive phenomenon in recent years but also one which has been instrumental, but of course to varying degree, in ousting different types of dictatorships and one-party systems in Africa states Kapa (2007).

First generation leaders faced a challenge from the phases of democratization which presented a threat to their grip on power. These leaders had maintained a strong grip on power and controlled all state operations. The structures of sate had been personalized against the peoples wish. Years of political dominance often leads to the development of

legislation and systems that advantage the ruling party (Eaglemore, 2013). The prevailing practice in much of post-colonial Africa has been dominated by rulers inclined to share power only with a very small coterie of collaborators (Beetham 1994:49).

(Omollo 2002: 11-34) Although the colonial regime had been for the most part oppressive, Kenya attained independence under a fairly democratic system. However, the new government soon set in motion a series of constitutional amendments that had weakened the existing checks and balances leading to the emergence of an "imperial presidency". By 1991, Kenya's post-independent constitution had been amended more than 32 times (Republic of Kenya 2008b: 28). As in the case of Kenya this was the case in many African states, the leaders would use the constitution to oppress the people and to cling on to power. This would then frustrate the people hence in culmination of political opposition. In recent times coalition governments that are formed in Africa have had the task of reviewing the constitution and drafting a new all-inclusive constitution.

2.9 GNU in Kenya

Kenya is one such case that experienced post electoral conflict as the ruling party refused to relinquish power. Mwai Kibaki conducted a flawed election that sparked a lot of suspicion the world over. This flawed election is the one that necessitated talks

between the parties involved. Mwere (2013) The culmination of this arrangement was brought together by the National Accord and Reconciliation Act 2008, a forced marriage between two leading rivals in the 2007 general elections- PNU and ODM after the presidential elections was seriously disputed. On 30 December 2007, violence broke out in several parts of the country following the announcement of the results of the presidential elections.

According to DFID, The pattern of election violence following the 2007 elections occurred in three discernable waves. First, there was spontaneous looting by youths in the slums of Nairobi and Kisumu of government buildings and of the shops and houses of Kikuyu families and Party of National Unity (PNU) supporters after the announcement of the election results. Second, violence organised in part before the election by opposition and tribal leaders as a response in the event of Kibaki's winning the election. Third, reprisal attacks, organised by government supporters and Kikuyu militias that mainly targeted migrant workers thought to be opposition supporters in parts of the Rift Valley Province, Central Province, and Nairobi slums. The police also were responsible for much of the violence, either by using excessive force to deal with protesters or choosing not to prevent violence.

This electoral process which was leaning in favour of the opposition saw the country erupt into turmoil with more than 1000 people losing their lives. Mapuva (2010) In Kenya, more than 1,000 people lost their lives with many being displaced. This forced

Mwai Kibaki and Odinga Oginga to cobble up a GNU to prevent the country from degenerating into further turmoil. The conflict in Kenya had come from years of oppression and dominion by the leadership of the country.

According to the The Star (2 March 2013) More than 1300 lives had been lost and 600,000 huddled to the internally displaced camps. Property worth millions was also destroyed. This chaotic environment saw the international community intervene in a bid to end the violence. The battling parties were supporters of the political parties and the security forces who claimed to have been battling to curb the situation. With the international community involved the leaders of the two major parties were brought to the table for talks. Former UN chief Kofi Annan led the panel of Eminent African Personalities of former Tanzania President William Mukapa and Graca Machel, the former South African first lady brought the warring factions to a negotiating table. The deal was reached at in Harambee in February 2008. However conflict was the order of the day in the GNU as the parties disputed over the 50-50 power sharing ratio that had been set. Kibakis party continued to hold an upper hand in the deal which limited Odingas power.

Constitutional amendments had been used as a tool for oppression, corruption and power. It has been argued that this series of fundamental constitutional amendments has helped to breed a culture of impunity, which was already apparent in the electoral violence of the 1990s and ultimately gave way to 2007-2008 post-election violence

(Republic of Kenya 2008b: 24-36). The December 2007 elections were held in doubt as the Kenyan people had seen no change in the constitution. Conflict and disgruntlement had already crept into the electorate. (Daily Nation, 30 May 2007: 59) states that "In the run-up to the December 2007 elections, the renewed fear that the incumbent government had an electoral advantage prompted demands for "minimum constitutional reforms" by the civil society and the opposition. These demands were, once again, scuttled by the Kibaki administration under the pretext that they were aimed at delaying comprehensive constitutional review efforts by the government".

The conflict in Kenya was more than political; it had elements of ethnicity that eventually erupted. The 2007 elections were just a trigger for already existing ethnic tensions. Kenya is a nation with 42 ethnic groups, ethnicity when politicised, is another central feature of conflict. In the run-up to the general elections 2007 negative ethnicity and incitement was used frequently to mobilise voters. During the post-election violence, this turned into ethnic violence. Ethnicity is a conflict factor particularly in regions where communities are threatened by other communities, where few indigenous people obtain absolute power and use this power to deprive other ethnic groups. This has led to ethnic tension and in times of conflict, such as during election periods when minorities stand for political posts, violence can be turned against the outsiders. DFID says that, In Kenya, as on the rest of the continent, voting is largely determined by ethnicity, kinship and neighbourhood, and political parties are organised along ethnic lines. In the rural areas, where all three tend to coincide, the result is that voting at the

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polling station level generally will be in favour of one particular candidate, with the decision effectively a collective one, often enforced by violence. Only in the major urban areas is the coincidence of family and neighbourhood broken.

It is very evident that in Africa, the political parties which have emerged following the resurrection of multipartyism are, by and large, ethno-regional parties in consideration of their structure of membership (Horowitz 1985). Oyugi (2006) sites that; the current situation in Kenya provides a good illustration of what happens to a coalition government formed by components which are basically ethnic parties. With the elections won, and the process of government formation started, the politics of exclusion at once surfaced. Instead of key alliance leaders being involved in the formation of the government, an informal group associated with one of the coalition parties, the Democratic Party (DP), at once engaged in conspiratorial decision-making by shutting out other partners in the allocation of ministerial positions and key positions in the civil service.

2.10 Collaborative Leadership

Governments of National Unity are a case of collaborative leadership. Governance in coalitions requires collaborative leadership were leaders are seeking to meet common goals as they are all captains of the same ship and the destination is common. Miller and Miller (2006) defines collaboration as an advanced form of an "interagency linkage," the

traits of which include shared vision and goals, well-developed and formalized roles for participants, sharing of power and decision-making, and joint assumption of risks and resources.

Mattesich et.al (2001) defines collaboration as, mutually beneficial and well-defined relationship entered into by two or more organizations. The relationship includes a commitment to mutual relationships and goals; a jointly developed structure and shared responsibility; mutual authority and accountability for success; and sharing of resources and rewards.

(Miller and Miller 2006), Chrislip and Larson (1994) focused on what principles were most often used by collaborative leaders. They found that collaborative leaders are decidedly visionary, but this vision is focused on how people can work together constructively, rather than about a particular vision or solution for a specific issue. He noted that collaborative leaders define their roles and practices differently than tactical and positional leaders do (traditional leadership).

Chrislip and Larson lay out several principles of collaborative leadership (1994, p. 138-146)

1. Inspire commitment and action. Power and influence help, but they are not the distinguishing features of collaborative leaders. The distinguishing feature is that these leaders initiate a process that brings people together when nothing else is

working. They are action oriented, but the action involves convincing people that something can be done, not telling them what to do nor doing the work for them.

2. Lead as peer problem solver. Collaborative leaders help groups create visions and solve problems. They do not solve the problems for the group or engage in command and control behavior.

3. Build broad-based involvement. Collaborative leaders take responsibility for the diversity of the group and make a conscious and disciplined effort to identify and bring together all the relevant stakeholders.

4. Sustain hope and participation. Collaborative leaders convince participants that each person is valued, help set incremental and achievable goals, and encourage celebrations along the way.

5. Servant Leadership. Collaborative leaders are servants of the group, helping stakeholders do their work and looking out to make sure those others' needs are met and that they grow as persons.

6. Leadership as a process. Motivation and inspiration happen through the belief in the credibility of the collaborative process and good working relationships with many people.

Webster defines a coalition as a temporary alliance of distinct parties, persons, or states for joint action. Since no one can be as effective on their own as with others, coalitions offer strength in numbers, added credibility, networking and partnerships, media attention and increased access to policy makers. Public opinion is what drives

government and therefore broad support through a coalition is one avenue that can effect change. (Masondo 2001).

Masondo (2001) states that A natural outcome of effective leadership development is coalition building to move systemic changes forward. Often this movement or group that comes together begins with passion and energy but just as often it comes from anger and frustration. Whatever the reason, the coalition must be organized with foresight and planning instead of multiple forces addressing various issues in an unorganized manner. Fragmented efforts only frustrate coalition members and policy makers. This can be the case of most African GNUs, which have the parties involved seeking personal goals and agendas. This lack of synchronization may cripple this union. Wolf (1986) says that coalition leadership requires attention to basic organizational functions- communication, clarity of roles and decision making. In this case the state serves as the organization and Wolffs view still applies accordingly.

2.11 Leadership Challenges in Coalitions

Coalitions have posed conflict of interest within this arrangement, as all parties involved hold their own leadership style and approach that they believe in. The parties will not step down from their beliefs or individual goals because they are in this arrangement. Hague et al. (1998:131), "political parties are permanent organizations which contest elections, usually because they seek to occupy decisive positions of authority within a state". The leaders will not compromise on their ultimate goal, hence posing a challenge

to this concept. During a crucial Presidential election campaign both main candidates have presented their visions and policies to create a democratic, sovereign, modern and peaceful. However the instability of coalition governments arises in situations where the coalition parties are not close to one another ideologically and therefore find themselves disagreeing over the implementation of policies.

Oyugi (2006), some evidence is available to suggest that one of the major sources of friction within coalition governments in Africa is the manner in which agreements have been disregarded soon after a coalition government has been formed. These agreements usually relate to the mode of power-sharing as well as the sharing out of the pay-off benefits associated with being in power.

One major challenge to GNUs is the conditions under which the union is arrived at. It is arrived at after a battle and conflict hence the parties involved still hold ill feelings towards each other. This situation causes elements of non-cooperation to other parties agendas, as parties feel it will give political mileage to the other party. The coalition will be reduced in efficiency as the parties at times are antagonistic to each other. A clash of personalities by the leaders may also lead to challenges in the arrangement. This arrangement is very fragile and the smallest of statements could break the union. Rwanda provides an example of failure, where in the absence of common interests in the 1993 transition, power sharing collapsed and descended into violence (Traniello 2008)

African leaders tend to display an attitude of contempt and disregard for the people, even as they claim to govern in the name of the masses. Oyugi (2006), this blatant disregard of the pre-electoral agreement is partly explainable in terms of the nature of the inherited constitution. This gives the president unshared executive authority, which means that he can make executive decisions without having to consult anybody.

2.12 Review of Literature

The main focus is on the reasons why coalitions form and how they are formed. Although writers like Karume and Oygi largely agree on the issue that these are not normal situations, Kapa argues that coalitions can be normal situation in a parliamentary democracy where parties wish to garner up a majority in parliament. While large scale research studies are sparse on the nexus between leadership and coalition governments, this study also seeks to fill that gap and to determine the linkage. A view of existing literature identifies that there is a leadership crisis in Africa but t does not link it to formation of coalition governments. Miller and Karume agree with most writers that coalition governments engage to achieve certain goals, but do not factor in their writings that not all the goals will be achieved.

2.13 Conclusion

It can be concluded that coalition formations are a necessary evil. Coalition governments are an evil in that they undermine the process of democracy and in that they disregard the wishes of the people. However they are beneficial in serving as a reprieve for conflict, civil strife and ethnic tensions. Coalition governments for many years have been a savior in times of conflict and were parties fail to agree. However most scholars seem to agree on the aspect of coalitions as positives but not looking at the threat they pose to democracy. They create a situation of mixed democracy. The research seeks to identify some of the lacking areas in terms of literature in interrogating the coalition phenomenon.

Chapter 3

Research Methodology

3.0   Introduction

This chapter describes how the research will be carried out. The Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English lays down the meaning of research as "a careful investigation or inquiry especially through search for new facts in any branch of knowledge." The chapter looks at the various aspects under which the research was conducted.

3.1 Research Design

For this research a qualitative approach was used. Qualitative research is loosely defined as a category of research which elicits verbal or visual data, in the form of descriptive methods like field notes ,recordings or other transcriptions from audio and video tapes, written records, pictures or films as argued by Johnson and Christensen (2007). A qualitative approach allowed the researcher to interpret meaning that at times quantitative research would not be able to do. Qualitative research allowed for creation of hypothesis. Qualitative approach allowed for deeper understanding of things that cannot be identified at glance. The research elements that the researcher used are interview and questionnaires.

A basic interpretive qualitative study was used along with a phenomenological study. A basic interpretive study allowed the researcher to make meaning of a situation or phenomenon. Analysis was be of patterns or common themes and the outcome is a rich descriptive account that makes reference to the literature that helped frame the study.

A phenomenological study aims to find the essence or structure of an experience by explaining how complex meanings are built out of simple units of inner experience. The goal of qualitative phenomenological research is to describe a "lived experience" of a phenomenon. A phenomenological study describes the meaning of several individuals of their lived experience. The individuals were a mix of some of the different people that were part of the arrangement in Zimbabwe. These included party officials from the three parties that made up the formation. Their experiences are key in that they were directly involved in the functioning and the business of the GNU in Zimbabwe. Their experiences gave rich information for this research.

A case study approach was used as a research strategy. The case study is relevant because it focuses on a phenomenon and how it fits into its wider context in a particular period and institution (Krathwohl 1993). The case is of the Zimbabwean situation and of how it fits into the larger Africa with this phenomenon of coalition governments which seems to be emerging.

The research was conducted in both English and vernacular language (Shona). Some respondents were most comfortable responding in their mother tongue hence vernacular allowed them to best express themselves. Respondents were free to select which language they wish to be interviewed with.

3.2 Target Population

Pratt and Loizos (1992) define population as people of the universe on whom findings of a study are generalized. The target population comprised of two councilors, three members of parliament, one senator, the former Deputy Prime Minister (Prof A.G.O Mutambara), two former mayors and one current mayor, one former ambassador to Nigeria, three members from three different civil society organisations, five graduate students of governance and thirty four undergraduate students of social sciences and commercial studies. The Graduate students were drawn up from I. P.l.G, the undergraduate students were drawn up from Africa University, and Chinhoyi University of Technology, Faculty of Comercial Studies. These respondents were all stakeholders in the GNU in Zimbabwe and gave responses from a more informed position. 40% of the respondents in the questionnaires were females. All members of the target population were over the age of 18 years and were all resident in Zimbabwe. Eight of the respondents were non Zimbabwean and were from countries that have had this arrangement of GNU. Two were from Kenya and Liberia and were in Zimbabwe during the period of the GNU. Two non-Zimbabweans interviewed for the purposes of

establishing if the situation that was in Zimbabwe can be related to other African countries that have had similar arrangements.

3.3 Sampling Procedure

A sample is a finite part of a statistical population whose properties are studied to gain information about the whole (Webster, 1985). When dealing with people, it can be defined as a set of respondents (people) selected from a larger population for the purpose of a survey.

A population is a group of individuals' persons, objects, or items from which samples are taken for measurement.

Pratt and Loizos (1992) say that sampling is a process of selecting a number of individuals for study in such a way that the individuals represent a large group from which they are selected. It is concerned with the selection of a subset of individuals from within a population to estimate characteristics of the whole population.

For this research purposive sampling technique was used. Purposive sampling techniques have also been referred to as nonprobability sampling or purposeful sampling or ''qualitative sampling.'' As noted above, purposive sampling techniques involve

selecting certain units or cases ''based on a specific purpose rather than randomly'' (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003)

It is a nonrandom technique that does not need underlying theories or a set number of informants. Simply put, the researcher decides what needs to be known and sets out to find people who can and are willing to provide the information by virtue of knowledge or experience (Bernard 2002, Lewis & Sheppard 2006).

3.4 Data Collection Methods

For this research the researcher used in-depth interviews. Questionnaires, Document Analysis (Newspapers and Magazines) were also used as methods to collect data. Questionnaires assisted in collecting data from the students because the number was too large to interview due to time constraints on the part of the researcher and the individuals themselves. Document analysis was also useful as the GNU in Zimbabwe was highly documented and there are many newspaper articles that relate to this scenario. These documents further informed the research.

The researcher carried out the research in two cities and one town, Harare and Mutare and Chinhoyi. Harare is the capital city of Zimbabwe and Mutare is an Eastern border city Chinhoyi is a town in Mashonaland. Harare was convenient because that is where

party headquarters are situated and that is where the government sits. Harare stands as the representative city of Zimbabwe and in doing a research on Zimbabwe this is a relevant site. Mutare was selected for the purposes that it has usually been assumed as an opposition stronghold due to previous voting patterns released by the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission and as politically conscious city, it would assist the researcher in obtaining views that vary in opinion. The respondents were drawn up from these two cities and one town. The government officials were interviewed in short 15 minute interviews. The questionnaires were given to the undergraduate and graduate students. Graduate students of governance were selected for the purpose of obtaining views of persons studying this field of governance and leadership, this will allow for more academic responses which the researcher assumes will not be emotionally charged.

3.5 Data Collection Tools

3.5.1 Interview

An interview is a conversation between two people (the interviewer and the interviewee) where questions are asked by the interviewer to obtain information from the interviewee. The qualitative research interview seeks to derive the meanings of central themes in the life would be subjects. The main task in interviewing is to understand the meaning of selected issues from the interviewees. One of its advantages is that it is flexible and because of this, the wording of certain questions may be changed to suite the circumstances in order to probe further. The flexibility also allows clarification of vague

statements for the benefit of both the interviewer and the interviewee. The method allowed the researcher greater control over most situations especially with regards to the place where the interview was held as well as the time the interview was conducted.

The researcher interviewed, The Former Deputy Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, Two Former Mayors of Mutare one sitting mayor, Three members of Parliament, Two Councilors, One former ambassador, one senator and one representative from three civil society organisations.

3.5.2 Questionnaire

According to Woods (2006), Questionnaires are not among the most prominent methods in qualitative research, because they commonly require subjects to respond to a stimulus, and thus they are not acting naturally. However, they have their uses, especially as a means of collecting information from a wider sample than can be reached by personal interview. Though the information is necessarily more limited, it can still be very useful. For example, where certain clearly defined facts or opinions have been identified by more qualitative methods, a questionnaire can explore how generally these apply, if that is a matter of interest.

A questionnaire is a research instrument consisting of a series of questions and other prompts for the purpose of gathering information from respondents. They will be used for the purpose of drawing out specific information from the respondents.

The researcher issued the questionnaires to fifty respondents, ten of which were non-Zimbabwean (Kenya, South Sudan, DRC, Malawi and Liberia) and most are from countries that has experienced a coalition government. The non-Zimbabweans were relevant in giving there lived experiences and linking the situation in Zimbabwe to that in their home country. This was a means of attempting to get a common pattern of this aspect of coalition governments.

3.5.3 Ethical considerations

The research was guided by the principle of volunteerism and confidentiality in that participation was voluntary and confidential if respondents were not comfortable. No participants were coerced to participate and any information collected was not linked to the respondent. The respondents were notified of freedom to withdraw at any point they felt uncomfortable.

The responses given were presented in anonymity in order to avoid these responses being traced to particular subjects. No name or identification was required from students and from civil society organization representatives.

Some other ethical considerations that were taken during this study were approval for conducting research, informed consent, honesty, accountability and access to results.

The researcher seeked for approval to carry out this research and collection of data from the Institute of Peace Leadership and Governance (I.P.L.G). The researcher will also got approval from organizational management from the different organisations to interview their representatives.

3.5.4 Data Analysis

Thematic analysis is a qualitative analytic method for: 'identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It minimally organises and describes your data set in (rich) detail. (Braun and Clarke, 2006). The researcher reviewed the data, made notes and sorted it into categories. Styled as a data analytic strategy, it helped the researcher move the analysis from a broad reading of the data towards discovering patterns and developing themes. From the interviews that the researcher conducted for the sake of researching the aspect of coalition governments, ideas emerged that were better understood under the control of a thematic analysis. Thematic analysis focuses on identifiable themes and patterns of how coalitions may come to formation due to behavior of leadership or due to socio-political environment.

From the interviews and questionnaires patterns of experiences were listed. This came from direct quotes or common ideas. The next step to a thematic analysis is to identify all data that relate to the already classified patterns relating to coalition governments.

The next step to a thematic analysis is to combine and catalogue related patterns into sub-themes. Themes are defined as units derived from patterns such as "conversation topics, vocabulary, recurring activities, meanings, feelings, or folk sayings and proverbs" (Taylor & Bogdan, 1989, p.131). Themes are identified by "bringing together components or fragments of ideas or experiences, which often are meaningless when viewed alone" (Leininger, 1985, p. 60). Themes that emerge from the informants' stories are pieced together to form a comprehensive picture of their collective experience. The coherence of ideas rests with the analyst who has rigorously studied how different ideas or components fit together in a meaningful way when linked together" (Leininger, 1985). Constas (1992) reiterates this point and states that the "interpretative approach should be considered as a distinct point of origination" (Aronson 1994).

Finally the researcher will build a valid argument for choosing the themes. This is done by reading the related literature. By referring back to the literature, the interviewer gains information that allows him to make inferences from the interview. Once the themes have been collected and the literature has been studied, the researcher is ready to formulate theme statements to develop a story line. When the literature is interwoven with the findings, the story that the interviewer constructs is one that stands with merit. A developed story line helps the reader to comprehend the process, understanding, and motivation of the interviewer. (Aronson 1994).

Chapter 4

Data Analysis and Presentation

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents findings from members of government during the formation of the GNU, current government officials, former government officials before the GNU, general public, graduate and undergraduate students. These groups formed the population of the study. The data collected is interpreted qualitatively. This chapter determines the feasibility of coalition governments in Africa. Also discussed are the various leadership challenges that Africa faces. The findings discussed highlight how coalition governments have transformed Africa's political landscape, what has been the cause of these cases and how they affect democracy. This chapter therefore presents the research findings, data analysis and interpretation.

4.1 Background of Respondents

The aim of the research was get an inside view of the coalition arrangement and also to get understanding from those who feel the impact of this arrangement. Government officials are the best respondents from the inside. Data was collected from councilors, mayors, members of parliament, one ambassador and deputy prime minister. The other group of respondents comprised of civil society organizations and university students. Respondents were drawn from Mutare, Harare and Chinhoyi so as to cover the impact of the coalition government and the views from a small city, big city and a busy town.

4.2 Response Rate

Out of the 18 scheduled interviews only 14 were possible. Some of the intended interviews did not take place due to the busy nature of the individuals. Out of the 50 questionnaires that were distributed at targeted sections of the population only 39 were returned. This however did not have a significant impact on the study, as the data collected presented was adequate to carry out the research.

4.3 Data Presentation

4.3.1 Construction of Concepts

The respondents understand the concept of coalition based on their involvement in such an arrangement and the situation that was in Zimbabwe. Their responses on this concept were informed by experience. The roles they played in the coalition government allowed for quality data to be extracted. The students had a good understanding of coalition governments due to the media attention that was given to the arrangement. Zimbabwean student's responses showed clear understanding of what a government of national unity was. Some could not quite define it but were able to give a relevant explanation by example. All the respondents were clear on the fact that a coalition government is a government were two or more political parties come together in unity in order to form one inclusive government. The reasons for this union were to settle disputes and resolve conflict. Very few Zimbabwean students were familiar of any other African country that

had experienced a coalition government. This showed ignorance to African affairs and continental issues. With this rising phenomenon and growing literature coupled with wide media attention graduate and undergraduate students should be knowledgeable about disputes that have led to coalition governments on the continent.

4.3.2 Factors Leading to Formation of the GNU

Coalition governments usually arise from disputed elections or political stalemates, this was an aspect well grasped by the respondents. On the African continent most coalitions have risen from flawed electoral processes which lacked transparency and were contested. In the Zimbabwean case the most popular cause was of a flawed electoral process which was contested by the opposition. The claim was that ZANU PF had lost the election and hence manipulated the result to favour a presidential run off. Most government officials from the involved parties were agreeable to the fact that the 2008 elections were disputed and that this was the underlying cause for the formation of this arrangement. However the views of these officials differed on the reasons of the dispute.

Graph Showing Views on the Factors Leading To Formation of the GNU in Zimbabwe
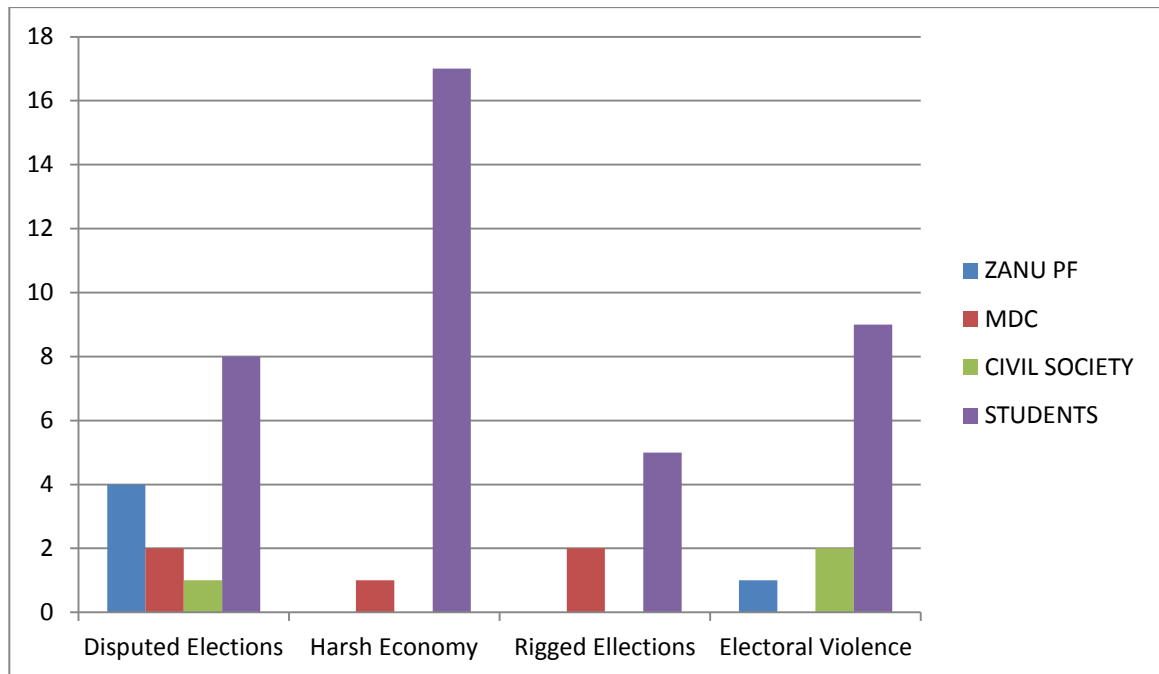
Table 1

The table above shows the views of the respondents and what factors they believe contributed to the formation of the GNU in Zimbabwe. From this graph it can be noted that students view the economy as a pushing factor that nessitates for a GNU. However from the graph it can be noted that all groups noted that disputed elections were the cause.

MDC officials claim that ZANU PF had lost and had acquired the required majority to win the election. They were of the view that the Zimbabwe Electoral commission was partisan and had manipulated the vote to favour a run off between President Robert Mugabe and Morgan Tsvangirai. MDC believe that there was gross rigging of elections

as they claimed results were withheld for a lengthy period after vote counting was completed and this raised suspicion over the independence of the Electoral Commission. In the past the operations of the Zimbabwe Electoral commission have been questionable and their alleged allegiance to the ruling party, ZANU PF. This lack of transparency on the part of the electoral commission may have been a cause for the dispute resulting in the need for intervention by the international community. According to one MDC senator ZANU PF was pressured by the African Union and Southern African Development Committee to engage in talks after resorting to violence after losing the election in 2008. MDC were forced into talks by the violence and inability to take power even after winning the election. MDC withdrew from the second round of elections siting violence on its supporters. Conflict can be a cause for coalition formation. This has been the case in many African countries civil unrest has forced rebel leaders and the government to engage in talks as was the case in Sudan.

ZANU PF officials were agreeable to the fact that MDC had won the first round of elections but had not managed to gunner the required majority for an outright win, hence this situation called for a presidential run off. They claimed the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission was an independent body with operations not influenced by any political party. One official claimed that ZANU PF had regrouped and were stronger to stand in the second round which forced MDC to withdraw as the MDC wished to pass off the first round results as an outright win. However some ZANU PF officials were agreeable to the fact that there was violence but they were of the view that the violence was not

one sided as there were cases of MDC supporters beating up ZANU PF supporters and vice versa. They claimed the party had no hand in the violence but supporters of both parties acted out of their own will. It was out of national interest that ZANU PF agreed to engage in power sharing talks. Some officials from ZANU PF also attributed foreign influence on the internal affairs of the nation as a factor that led to the formation of the GNU. Foreign influence on the African continent has always existed and has been the cause of some of the conflicts on the continent. The battle ground for the cold war was on the continent of Africa, and the existence of foreign influence continues.

MDC M officials noted that inconclusive elections and allegations of election irregularities were the ones that forced power sharing talks. The electoral process was not transparent and observers were not satisfied with the manner in which the electoral process was conducted. The report from observers and appeal from the other parties siting irregularities forced the parties to discredit the election and engage in talks that led to the GNU.

Civil society organisations attributed the formation of the GNU to a disputed election and violence during the run off. The mail focus was on the violence; the suggestion was that if the election was contested and there had been no violence the talks would not have been necessitated. The view was that the violence was a pushing factor for the talks

between the players involved. The GNU was an arrangement to curb the violence that followed the 2008 elections and the period leading up to the run off.

From the graduate and undergraduate students the key Responses were of the view that a harsh economic environment had facilitated for talks. Some responses were of contested election results. With this the factors that led to the formation of the GNU are that the 2008 elections were not credible and were contested. It was in national interest for the political players involved to come together and form an inclusive government. The GNU formation in Zimbabwe was pushed by a number of factors. The harsh economic environment, the politically motivated violence and the disputed electoral process were part of the host of factors that led to the formation of a coalition government in Zimbabwe. One graduate student felt the economic deterioration of Zimbabwe was the major pushing factor for the GNU to be facilitated, unlike in Kenya were the violence was the pushing factor.

4.3.3 Functions of the GNU

The functions of a GNU vary and its mandate differs depending on the situation under which it was formed. However the core of the functions does not differ much. The GNU in Zimbabwe was a product of the Global Political Agreement and hence it was guided by this.

Most civil society organisations were of the view that the main function of the GNU was to restore peace and stability in the country and create a safe and secure environment. Civil society organisations stated that peace had to be restored before economic progress could be made.

Some key MDC officials mentioned the core functions of the GNU were to restore normality and prepare for free and credible elections. MDC stated that another function of the GNU was to restore investor confidence, as this was the only way for the economy to recover. A safe and secure environment which enjoys political harmony will restore investor confidence. The GNU was supposed to prioritise national interests, build peace, restore relationships and revamp the economy.

A key MDC M official was of the view that the functions of the GNU were to foster inclusivity of all three parties and cooperation. The government roles and programmes were to be shared among them.

ZANU PF officials in government were of the view that the GNU was a caretaker Situation as a temporary measure before another round of election. The key function of the GNU was to create necessary conditions for elections to take place. Another function that was noted was that of coming up with policies agreeable to all parties. The

constitution formulation was a another key function of the GNU according to ZANU PF officials.

All respondents were of the view that one of the functions of the GNU was to restore normality in the nation. Graduate and undergraduate students were all agreeable on restoration of peace and economic restoration as the core functions of the GNU. They believed peace was most vital area to be addressed in Zimbabwe.

4.3.4 Causes for recurrence of GNUs in Africa

Officials from ZANU PF felt GNUs were becoming a recurrent feature in Africa because the electorate seem to be more educated on national issues and preferences vary therefore creating a balanced situation. No one party can satisfy the electorate. Another view was that Africa is moving from a liberation position to an agenda of economic development so this shift in position could cause political deadlocks. Others were of the view that Africa is conflict prone and coalition governments are used to resolve conflict. In many nations coalition governments have been used as a conflict intervention strategy. Conflicts have been on the increase on the African continent in recent years. Unity governments work best when countries are in a state of war or emergency. One official from ZANU PF felt the conflicts arise from the capitalist mode of developing which breaks up monoliths. Interest groups form aided by corporate capitalism and jostle for power.

MDC officials attributed the recurrent pattern of GNUs in Africa to long standing leaders who do not want to let go of power for fear of trial in the ICC for gross human rights violations. They also noted the lack of transparent elections and rigged elections which are contested. Many GNUs on the continent have manifested themselves on the wake of dictators who cling on to power through manipulation of electoral processes. Sudan was a case of a leader who did not want to give up power. Another view was that Africa had a culture of authoritarianism, millitarisation of state institutions, clientelism, patronage networks which sustain dictatorships and that the African Union was weak in addressing this.

MDC M felt the recurrent pattern of GNUs in Africa was due to continuous flawed elections on the continent. Inconclusive elections and electoral irregularities were a cause of political disputes which have led to the formation of coalition governments.

Civil Society organisations stated that disputed elections and political stalemates were the cause of the recurrent GNUs on the continent. Graduate and undergraduate students were also of the same view; however some felt Africa was getting into a culture of contesting any election even after observers have declared the process credible. According to one graduate student no one wishes to lose and hence contest any result that is not in their favour.

4.3.5 Gains of the GNU (Zimbabwe

Graph Showing Respondents Views On the Gains of the GNU in Zimbabwe
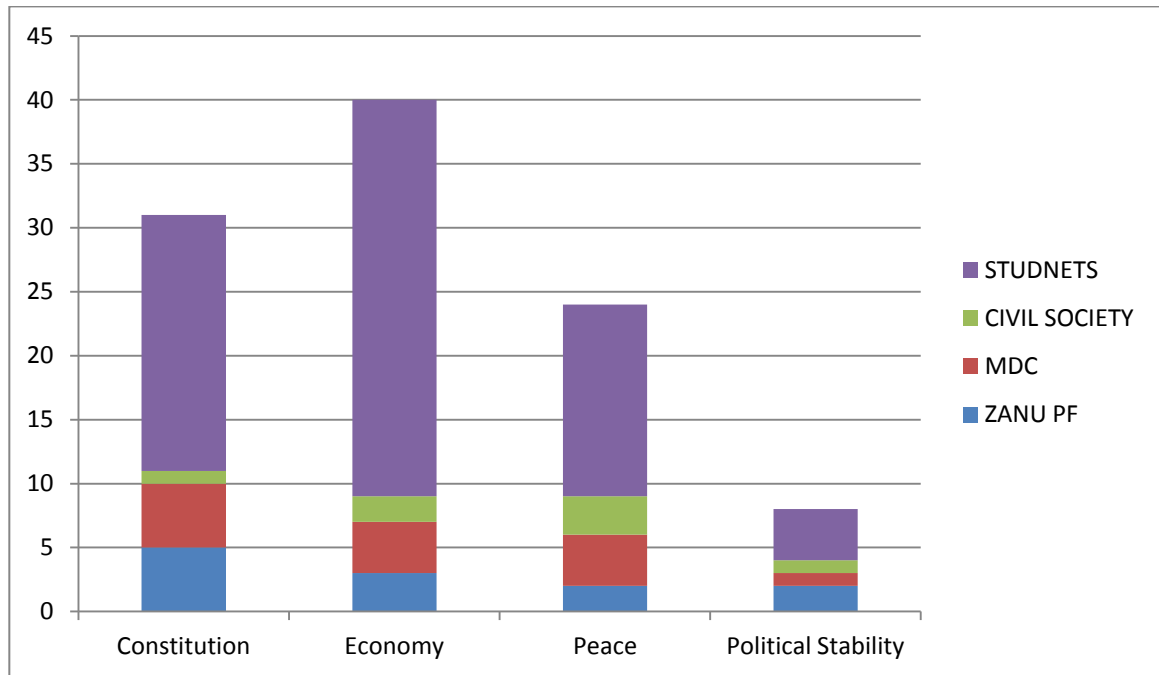
Table 2

The table above shows that all MDC and ZANU PF officials viewed the constitution as a key gain of the coalition government. All members of the MDC and ZANU PF mentioned the constitution. The respondents were not limited to one response therefore some respondents mentioned all four categories shown above as gains. Most students felt the economy was the major gain that the GNU brought about.

All respondents were agreeable to the aspect of the constitution being the major gain of the formation. Zimbabwe since gaining independence in 1980 had been guided by the Lanchester House agreement of 1979 and this was a transitional document. A document

that reflected the views of all Zimbabweans and that was relevant to the current situation was long overdue felt most respondents. During the tenure of the GNU was the most ideal time to draft a constitution for Zimbabwe as this would be an all-inclusive document.

MDC M felt the GNU was successful in transforming the Zimbabwean situation. The major gains according to MDC M were the political instability which saw players from opposing political parties working together. The GNU also managed to stabilize the harsh economic environment that Zimbabwe faced before the arrangement. According to one MDC M official the GNU in Zimbabwe managed to prove that opposing groups can work together; however with limited results.

Before the formation of the GNU Zimbabwe face a harsh hyper inflationary economic environment, that left shops empty, shut down industry and increase in unemployment. MDC officials highlighted the economic stability and multi-currency system as a key gain of the arrangement. According to one MDC official the country was on the verge of being a failed state but the GNU managed to recover the economy and normalize the situation. Schools had been reduced to social centers with teachers not attending classes and not enough resources in the schools. Hospitals were death zones with no medication and other medical services. The GNU managed to address these social services according to one MDC official.

Officials from ZANU PF felt another key gain of the GNU was of peace restoration and political tolerance which ensured free and fair elections in July 2013. Zimbabwe had been a one a party state with minimal opposition until the late 1990s, the emergence of strong opposition parties was a shaky period for Zimbabwe. The GNU created a space for political tolerance and acceptance of alternative views. One ZANU PF official felt the GNU was a necessary tool for national healing with a constitution making process being key in the national healing. ZANU PF also felt the GNU managed to pave way for a free and fair election and that was one of the unions' greatest achievements. Institutions such as JOMIC were key achievements as they assisted in national healing and addressing the peace factor.

Responses from students were wide ranging, with a number holding the belief that corruption had been greatly reduced. Most students emphasized the re stocking shops and the little economic stability that was enjoyed during the GNU. Shops had been empty and Zimbabweans had been forced to acquire basic commodities from neighbouring countries, this was not an ideal situation according to one student. Civil society felt the peace was the biggest gain and that economy and social services success are only then possible in an environment where peace is prevalent.

4.3.6 Challenges of the GNU

The GNU was not without challenges. It was a marriage of political foes and hence challenges were inevitable. Resistance could not always be avoided. The GPA through stated that the GNU was to create a genuine, viable, permanent, sustainable and nationally acceptable solution to the Zimbabwe situation. Sponsored and guaranteed by the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the African Union (AU) as an "African Solution to an African Problem". MDC officials felt that one major challenge was lack of consultation, unilateral decisions and appointments of key government posts. They also noted that SADC and AU did not have enough muscle to force ZANU PF to implement GPA. Lack of political will from ZANU PF was also a challenge according to MDC officials. The security sector was not reformed, as it did not want to recognize MDC leadership. ZANU PF did not want to share power and MDC could not leverage its presence to enforce reforms. MDC felt a great lack of commitment to the arrangement on the part of ZANU PF. One official from MDC felt the MDC should not have participated in the GNU where the president had the powers.

One major challenge according to ZANU PF officials was the failure of the GNU to remove sanctions. ZANU PF felt there endeavors to get the sanctions on Zimbabwe lifted were continuously undermined by MDC as the MDC had called for sanctions before the arrangement and hence wanted them to stay. Another challenge noted by the ZANU PF officials was of parties seeking to create separate relationships with outsiders

for their own support. External hands remained visible in the business of the GNU, notably the United Kingdom was part and parcel of the arrangement as some of the decisions arrived at were not for the best interest of Zimbabwe but of the UK. ZANU PF felt the GNU was a very fragile union and by so the ground had to be treaded on very cautiously which then became a challenge on the part of efficiency of the union. Parties were grand standing their political agendas more than national issues. Unity of purpose was lacking and this proved to be a major challenge.

MDC M sited policy inconsistency and discordant voices as key challenges to the coalition arrangement. They noted that formulation of policy was a strenuous task due to difference in party positions and beliefs, so policy making process proved to be lengthy than usual, reducing efficiency by the arrangement in decision making. MDC M also noted economic sanctions as a challenge to the operations of the coalition government. Sanctions proved to be a limiting factor and decisions at times had to be made factoring in the sanctions that the nation found itself under.

Civil society organisations felt the major challenge of the GNU was failure to reform the security sector due to lack of congruency of the parties. One organization noted that the security sector was used to oppress and frustrate the MDC factions in the union and hence the resistance by ZANU PF to reform this sector. Graduate and undergraduate students felt mistrust was a major challenge to the unity government and that this would

hinder the success of the government as it becomes a game of hide and seek. Disagreements were too many on several issues and that is why some aspects of government were never transformed successfully.

4.3.7 Relations in the Union

ZANU PF officials felt the relations in the union were always questionable as there was no trust between the parties. There was conflict of interest and members were always conscious as to what to support. This was notable even in parliament; individuals were forced to go against their beliefs and opinions in a bid to satisfy party lines. However one ZANU PF official felt the relations were cordial but speculation and suspicion were always rife. MDC felt security force was not neutral and ZANU PF felt MDC was an agent of the West and they were fostering a regime change agenda. These suspicions formed the basis of the relations and hence it was tricky union filled with mistrust. Divisions were always evident in the House of Assembly on policy.

According to one MDC senator, the GNU was a Love Hate relationship, cooperation in matters of the economy, adversity in matters of security sector reform, keeping up appearances in matters of the constitution and strategic deception in matters of the elections. Conflict of interest was the order of the day. One MDC official stated that relations were never going to be easy to construct smoothly however in the beginning the union enjoyed some elements of a good relationship, but as parties continued to

default on the GPA the relations began to change. Towards elections the relations between parties had become sour and it was more of a battle in a marriage, none could leave but conflict was rife. Conflict of interest was the order of the day, particularly on the constitution as ZANU PF did not want a new constitution but it had to participate. On the other hand MDC needed the sanctions as a quid pro quo against ZANU PF but had to campaign for their removal.

MDC M felt the relations in the union were difficult but doable; the players involved had to co-exist so means of relating to each other progressively were always arrived at. The relations at the beginning of the arrangement were filled with suspicion and were hostile but improved with time. The nature of the relations often made policy implementation slow.

Civil society organisations felt the relations were only for convenience and hence the relations were sour. They noted that there was conflict of interest as MDC wanted sanctions to stay and ZANU PF were calling for the removal of sanctions. Graduate and undergraduate student felt the parties had personal interests at heart and Not the interests of the people, which in turn caused bad relations and conflict among themselves in the union. All respondents were agreeable to the issue that the relations were bitter between the parties in the union but a face had to be put as there was no other way to move forward but to work together. However despite the face they put on, parties had hidden agendas and party positions. Parties had the intention that they emerged tops

from the process, this is what caused friction and disagreements on policy formulation and decision making. The distribution of ministries was a hectic process as parties wanted to use these allocated ministries as a power struggle and not for the interest of the nation.

4.3.8 Feasibility

Most ZANU PF officials were officials noted that the trend the world over is that you hardly find an absolute winner in many cases therefore coalitions are feasible and are here to stay. Coalition governments had managed to curb so many conflicts, political deadlocks and dispute the continent over and the world over; hence they are a feasible approach. One ZANU PF official stated that coalition governments are not an ideal government but for transition purposes or as a conflict intervention model they are very feasible and are the best way to resolve such crisis. It is not an advisable situation but in certain situations it is most ideal, hence it should not be a permanent model. GNUs have contained many volatile situations and have helped with national healing and calming tempers for many years and it has been successful at this. Its feasibility lies only in times of crisis. Coalitions work best in times of disagreement and conflict; hence they are not a normal arrangement but are a feasible model at their intended goals.

MDC were of the view that coalitions as a product of the constitution will work for Africa. BUT GNUs that retain losers in government are not contributory to

democritisation. GNUs are feasible if implemented carefully and a well-crafted mandate is designed with clarity of roles and assignments. The GNU managed to transform the Zimbabwean situation that prevailed from 2000 to 2008 so it proved to be a success in this regard.

MDC M felt the coalition government approach was feasible in its intended goals but must not be encouraged as it is not an a ideal situation of governance. The GNU in Zimbabwe managed to address key socio economic and political challenges that Zimbabwe faced and hence it is feasible but at completion of its targets it must be dissolved and a normal system of governance must return.

Civil society organisations were of the view that coalition governments were a feasible approach as a conflict intervention strategy. While one representative from another organization felt it was not a feasible model as it inculcates a culture of resisting electoral defeats, in the view of engaging in power sharing deals that will allow losers to retain power to regroup and push out the other parties involved. Most students also felt it was not a feasible model, with a few in support of the model due to the fruits it yielded for Zimbabwe and Kenya in recent times.

4.3.9 Impact on Democracy and Good Governance

Democracy is a form of government in which the supreme power is vested in the people and exercised directly by them or by their elected agents under a free electoral system. In this event an outright winner should emerge from this electoral system. Members from ZANU PF felt GNUs undermined democracy as they were of the view that a political party should win and rule a country according to its manifesto. They were of the View that the electorate seeks to elect one party and not two. ZANU PF felt Zimbabwe should never have to go into another coalition government. Coalitions compromise decisions and reduce efficiency as there should be consensus, this at times undermine the will of the majority.

MDC also felt that GNUs do not entirely reflect the will of the people and hence democracy Is compromised. However they felt it was a necessary evil to avoid violence. MDC felt elections, which are key tenant of democracy should be held constitutionally with international observers present. They also felt no zero sum but positive sum electoral outcomes so as to satisfy a segment of democracy. Democracy is a lot more than credible elections, but rule of law, observation of human rights and absence of corruption. They felt coalition governments that arise from electoral disputes undermine democracy as the will of the people has been compromised. Democracy is greatly being undermined by this strategy of coalition governments. Dictators are losing elections forcing a coalition scenario to cling onto power.

MDC M was of the view that GNUs may be contributory to democracy as they allow for creation of conditions for freeness and fairness of elections. However they felt that losers must accept outcomes and winners being graceful in victory.

Graduate and undergraduate students were divided in their views however most of them felt GNUs strengthened democracy in that they were an all-inclusive arrangement which catered for everyone. They noted that the minority still needs to have their views heard as every individual matters and is important; hence coalition governments cater for both the majority and the minority. The views of members of a losing party after elections should not be thrown away hence a coalition government would be an ideal scenario for complete representation. Civil society organisations were of the view that a winner should prevail after elections and not power sharing negotiations. They felt the recurrence of these coalition governments across the continent were a clear indication of lack of democracy. Were nations claiming to be democratic on the basis of multi-party environments and electoral process but they do not recognize the results of the elections.

4.3.10 African Leadership

African leadership has seen decades of corrupt regimes and lack of transparency. The MDC felt Africa still has a long way to go in terms of leadership. They believe that after this generation of liberation war fighters, who hold a millitarian ideology, will be the

turn of African leadership. Statesmen personalize the nation and this is the genesis of corruption and dictatorship.

ZANU PF officials felt that the European countries and former colonisers were the problem to African leadership. Their continued interference into the affairs of sovereign states was challenge and a cause for crisis on the continent of Africa. The West have continued to paint an image of poor leadership on the continent by enforcing Eurocentric models of leadership that are alien to Africa and then sponsor pressure groups and opposition parties. ZANU PF officials noted that leadership of African states was for African and problems and the leadership crisis that the continent faces was a product of external interference. Western imperialism was a challenge to the leadership in Africa. The aim of the African leaders is to enable the people to have full ownership of their resources.

Most graduate and undergraduate students were of the view that African leadership is charatcterised by dictatorship. A challenge that was noted by graduate students was leaders failing to implement clear succession plans. Civil society noted that African leaders are authoritarian and corrupt. Most respondents highlighted the corruption aspect. One representative of a civil society organization felt that African leadership was poor and still had a long way to go.

Graduate and undergraduate students noted that one major challenge was of leaders staying in power for long periods and of personalising the nation. Another challenge noted was lack of leadership skills due to appointment by liberation credentials. Military background was noted as a major challenge. Corruption was the major challenge to African leadership according to Civil Society Organisations. The culture of corruption had been allowed to creep into all structures of the government, from local levels to national levels. The general view was that leadership in Africa was poor; this may be due to uneducated leaders or greedy leaders.

4.4 Data Analysis

4.4.1 Applicability of the Diermeirier Model

The Diermeirier model is a structural bargaining model of government formation in parliamentary democracies. The defining feature of parliamentary democracies is the fact that the executive derives its mandate from and is politically responsible to the legislature.

This implies that who forms the government is not determined by an election alone, but is the outcome of a bargaining process among the parties represented in the parliament. From the data collected the researcher discovered the relevance of this model as it is limited to a three party coalition. In the Zimbabwean case the three parties involved were ZANU PF, MDC T and MDC M. The parties that form the government should

hold seats in parliament and this is the basis for their inclusion. The model is largely based on bargaining in the government. The researcher noted that key officials from ZANU PF mentioned the aspect of bargaining in parliament were individuals would vote according to party position and not individual opinion. This would then go to show that the surplus party would usually have an advantage when it comes to policy formulation. However MDC T noted that there were unilateral decisions that were made by the executive and key appointments that were not consensus driven. This by passed the element of bargaining. Another situation were the GNU in Zimbabwe was caught up in bargaining was ion the sharing of ministries.

The Lupia Storm Model is also based on bargaining within the government. Just like the Diermeirer Melo model it is a 3 party model. Attributed to a party's size are also the result of various other factors, such as its electoral prospects or the policy and office-driven gains from trade that it can offer potential coalition partners. So while a political party's size and bargaining power can be positively correlated, it identifies a wide range of circumstances under which they are not. The researcher saw this as one of the cases that saw the surplus party at times not managing to sway decisions in their favour and minority party decisions emerging. The researcher also noted that the students had noted that the parties involved were keen on satisfying personal interests and not national interests. It was also at times a fight of egos. These models assert that premise raised by the students, as policy formulation was based on what gains they offer office bearers and then gains to the nation were secondary when bargaining among the parties.

The relations involved were based on parties gaining political millage over others. From the interviews conducted the researcher noted that the parties involved did not like the situation they were in but had no option but to co-exist and work together. This however did not change ill feelings towards each other. From the responses it is clear that the relations were only cordial in matters that did not jeopardise power dynamics. There were high levels of mistrust and speculation in the union.

4.4.2 Perception of Problem; views on causes of disputed elections

Respondents revealed that the main cause of coalition governments was disputed elections. All respondents were agreeable to this premise however the responses on the causes of the disputes differed. The interviews revealed that members from a particular party all had similar views; however civil society organisations and students all had different views. Some respondents felt that the dispute arose from losers not wanting to accept defeat and would contest any result that is not in their favour.

From the data collected the researcher discovered that the cause of disputes was of lack of transparency in the electoral process which caused contesting parties, observer missions and civil society to raise alarm on the process. Responses linked the dispute to flawed electoral elections. Students also noted that lack of transparency was the major cause of most post electoral conflicts in Africa and that it was not a case of Zimbabwe alone. Evidence on the ground suggests gross irregularities of the electoral process while

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others accuse the ruling party of vote rigging and this was cause for contestation. Respondents were of the suggestion that the electoral commission executive must not be appointed by the president alone. The respondents also felt the security sector should reform as they are also used as tools of intimidation during the electoral process. The researcher noted that respondents were not only concerned with vote rigging but also aspects of intimidation and laws like the Public Order Security Act which is highly effected during elections.

4.4.3 Understanding the Reasons Why Politicians Opt For Coalition Governments

The researcher tried to understand why coalition governments are becoming recurrent in Africa and why this is the situation politicians always opt to undertake. Respondents revealed that contested elections and political deadlocks arising from electoral processes that lacked transparency were the main cause of coalition governments in Africa. A group of respondents were of the view that contestation arising from losers not wanting to accept defeat and they were cases of sore losers. Some respondents felt that conflict and violence was the main cause for engaging in coalition governments as a means of restoring peace and calming the tensions. From the responses collected the researcher discovered that most respondents mentioned the aspect of disputed elections. Elections in many African countries have then led to violence. So the researcher noted that it was the dispute in elections that leads to this scenario.

Coalition governments are an effective vehicle for transition. They manage to curb crisis and settle tensions. According to the interviews conducted and the questionnaires respondents were agreeable that the GNU in Zimbabwe was successful in transforming the Zimbabwean situation. It managed to stop the violence and passively through the constitution making process served as a nation healing tool. Formation of institutions such as JOMIC also assisted in its operations in nation healing after the violence outbreak. The GNU managed to foster an environment of unity and nation building. According to respondents the constitution was a major gain of the GNU. Most respondents hailed the GNU in managing to restore the economy to normalcy and create a stable economic environment.

Politicians opt for coalition governments because they manage to address key problems and disputes in a peaceful manner. The other alternative to solving political stalemates is war. Coalition governments are a rationale solution to disputes and this will with time continue to gain momentum removing wars as solution to disputes.

4.4.4 Understanding the Intentions and Expectations of the Players Involved

The researcher attempted to understand the intentions and expectations of the players involved from the interviews undertaken. From the data collected it can be noted that the intentions of the players involved was to create an environment for free and fair elections to be held. However all players were very tactful as to keeping their party lines

and not compromising the standing of their party. The intentions on party lines were greatly to regroup politically as parties so as to stand a renewed chance in the July 2013 election. However after the July 2013 elections which the MDC T again claimed were rigged poses questions as to how they claim the GNU was a success but could not meet it key goal of securing a free and fair election. The intentions of the players were however loosely personal. The researcher noted from the interviews that some individuals were power seeking and some were self-actualizing.

The expectations of the players involved were wide ranging and some high. The players involved expected the union to resolve all of Zimbabwe's problems. One of the problems that the players expected to be resolved was the removal of sanctions. The players also expected to restore investor confidence which to a greater degree they managed during the course of the arrangement. Some respondents were expecting a very rough union but it did not prove to be so. The union had its ups and downs but they managed to maintain a fairly peaceful union.

4.4.5 Overview of the GNU; emphasis on success of the socio economic and political environment

In the overview of the GNU in Zimbabwe the Functionalist Perspective emerged. According to the functionalist perspective of sociology, each aspect of society is interdependent and contributes to society's stability and functioning as a whole. The three interdependent aspects are the social aspect, the economic aspect and the political

aspect. The economy cannot thrive in a politically unstable environment as investors withdraw. The social aspect cannot be satisfied in an economically unstable environment, as basic necessities like housing and health care cannot be met. When the social aspect is not met it becomes very difficult to have an economically stable environment.

Most respondents were of the view that the GNU was successful in restoring economic normalcy and stability. Most students attributed the restocking of shelves in shops and availability of basic commodities to economic stability. The economy was by far the GNUs most remarkable success. Zimbabwe had plunged into economic hardships and these seemed impossible to recover from. Some responses praised the multi-currency system as a key economic achievement by the GNU.

The researcher noted that from the responses given social aspects that were restored by the GNU were not only relationships and unity. Startup of organisations such as JOMIC and COPAC assisted in uniting people and mending broken relationships. Healthcare was greatly improved and medication was now available in hospitals. The education system was revived, thousands of teachers had fled the country and thousands more had stopped attending classes which were also facing a lack of books and stationary.

From the interviews and questionnaires the researcher found out that political tolerance was a brought about by the GNU, political parties learnt to co-exist and removal of the one party mentality was visible. Students felt that the parties were able to accommodate each other positively.

Despite the relative success of the GNU, the researcher gathered a feeling of relief from the respondents that the GNUs time had come to an end. However noted that the economy was already deteriorating and had a feeling that Zimbabwe was heading back to the period before the institutionalization of the GNU. The relative overview is that the GNU was a successful vehicle for transforming Zimbabwe's Socio economic and political environment.

4.4.6 Analysis of the GPA

The GPA was effective in promoting political tolerance; it united political rivals and saw them work together despite their differences. However it had some shortfalls in line with its 25 articles.

The articles that were mainly breached according to Sokwanele 2013 in Zimbabwe Inclusive Government Watch were

1. **ARTICLE XI** : RULE OF LAW, RESPECT FOR THE CONSTITUTION AND OTHER LAWS

2. **ARTICLE VII** : PROMOTION OF EQUALITY, NATIONAL HEALING, COHESION AND UNITY

3. **ARTICLE XIII** : STATE ORGANS AND INSTITUTIONS

4. **ARTICLE XVIII** : SECURITY OF PERSONS AND PREVENTION OF VIOLENCE

5. **ARTICLE II**: DECLARATION OF COMMITMENT

6. **ARTICLE X** : FREE POLITICAL ACTIVITY

7. **ARTICLE V**: LAND QUESTION

8. **ARTICLE III** : RESTORATION OF ECONOMIC STABILITY AND GROWTH

9. **ARTICLE XII** : FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY AND ASSOCIATION

10. **ARTICLE VIII** : RESPECT FOR NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND EVENTS

However the researcher is of the view that there was a marked improvement in these situations during the GNU than before. The GPA was a guideline for areas that were critical and needed to be addressed. The GPA managed to restore economic sanity, political tolerance and social calm. It GNU managed to set the ball rolling for some of the articles. Mutisi (2011) Furthermore, the GNU has also attempted to address the governance and democracy deficit by establishing independent and transparent

commissions like the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC), the Zimbabwe Media Commission (ZMC) and the Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission (ZHRC) whose membership is open to independent persons with expertise in the selected areas. The commisionor posts are now elected for in parliament. It is the researcher view that the GNU made considerable efforts in achieving the guidelines of the GPA.

4.4.7 Researchers Views on Data

From the data collected, the concept of coalitions requires a lot of energy and commitment from the initial stages. The mediators should be neutral as this was an aspect that was frequently raised. Some respondents noted that the facilitators were not neutral and were pushing for a better deal for ZANU PF. However I feel the mediation team was well selected and acted professionally to reach an agreement between the political parties. Transitions are difficult but not impossible. Any government that wants to change the course of history needs to make difficult political choices and work hard at implementing them. Such was the decision made by MDC to partake in a coalition arrangement. The duties of the mediators are not simple as they have to come up with a situation that works for all and getting the parties to be agreeable even when it hurts. In such scenarios a full deal can never be offered to any party but it is a compromised package. The researcher was of the view that MDC wanted a complete package hence claims that the mediators were not neutral.

Part of the duties of the GNU was to set in place a framework for free and fair elections at the end of the arrangement. The MDC claims that the President unilaterally declared the July 31 2013 date without consultation from his partners in the government. However the researcher feels the date was effected for all parties and the reasons MDC were not agreeable was because they had not taken the time they were in government to regroup and re strategise, while ZANU PF did so successfully. MDC suddenly figured they were out of time and hence wanted an extension. Free and credible elections were held on July 31 2013 and ZANU PF won by 61% majority. This election was again disputed but this time MDC had been given an opportunity to co facilitate the election hence it did not hold much weight. As much as respondents attributed several gains of the GNU in Zimbabwe and as they felt it was a good arrangement for the nation. Public opinion appears to be slowly turning against the idea of the coalitions. The concept of coalitions notes that parties come together in order to have combined efforts in achieving set goals. Having been quite entranced at the beginning by the notion of parties joining together in a cooperative effort, the public now seem to be becoming disillusioned. This is due to the fact that control is not equal hence the one in the driving seat will steer the boat in a direction that will bring them back to ultimate power. Such was the case in Zimbabwe. The situation that was before the arrangement is the one that still exists after the arrangement.

MDC seems to feel that the GNU manage to resolve the key cause of Zimbabwe's problems and hence the situation that prevailed leading up to 2008 will soon return. However since the end of the GNU, MDC has found itself in major crisis as there is continuous fragmentation, which may be a result of its involvement in the GNU. The members from the MDC enjoyed the power that they possessed during the union and this has resulted in power struggles within the party leading to its fragmentation. Its loss in the July 2013 elections has left some of its members doubting the capability of Morgan Tsvangirai to challenge Robert Mugabe and defeat him. However the researcher believes the fragmentation is a result of power hungry individuals within the party.

4.5 Conclusion

From the data presented, the GNU was a successful arrangement in Zimbabwe. It is feasible for Africa and has worked in many African countries to restore national normalcy and political stability. From the data presented the GNU holds considerable gains which make it a rational avenue. However its contribution to democracy is questionable despite being an all-inclusive arrangement. This belief is possibly wider than the study scope of GNUs and speaks to good governance tenants.

Chapter 5

5.0 Summary, Recommendations and Conclusion

This chapter summarises the process of data collection and key findings before it gives the recommendations. The summary of the research draws from the literature review and data collection process. The recommendations given are for policy makers, government official and electoral commissions and civil society organisations. The chapter ends with the conclusion which rounds up the chapter.

5.1 Summary of Research Process

The researcher sought to identify the causes of the continuous recurrence of coalition governments in Africa, the feasibility of these governments and the nature of leadership in Africa. On establishing these principles the researcher sought to examine the gains and challenges of coalition governments, the nature of the relations within the arrangement and the relation of coalition governments to democracy. To establish a foundation for the study, literature around coalitions and leadership were examined to set the base of the enquiry.

Coalition governments were analysed from the coalition concept. The concept focuses on parties coming together to achieve a certain goal or a set of goals. This theory helped

to come up with a set of principles that could be used to assess empirical data. To this effect, coalition governments were examined to see whether it reflects the basic premises of the coalition concept such as being a multi-party parliamentary system and that parties represented in parliament pool their resources together to achieve a set of goals. Coalition governments were assessed through these factors to find the causes of its recurrence and the gains and challenges of such arrangements.

The researcher came up with a set of data instruments that would find out whether the above basic premises of the coalition concept are reflected in the Zimbabwean case and in similar cases of coaltion governments that have been evidenced on the continent of Africa. The researcher principally used a qualitative approach given that the desire was to establish the causes for the recurrence of coalition governments in Africa and their feasibility through assessing the views of members of the coalition and other groups not involved. The Data collection was done over 2 weeks in Harare, Mutare and Chinhoyi. The researcher collected responses from 50 respondents from 7 different countries. The respondents were drawn from Chinhoyi University of Technology from the Business Faculty so as to get an economic perspective from future business leaders. Other respondents were drawn from Africa University from the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences and Student Representative Council. Graduate students were drawn up from the institute of peace leadership and governance. Responses from key informants such as former Deputy Prime Minister, former ambassador, the involved parties chief

whips and ministers in the cabinet of Zimbabwe and civil society organisations were also used in collaboration with student perspective.

A number of challenges were faced during the research and these include setting appointments with busy members of government over the period from which the research letter was handed out. Another challenge was travelling between the two cities and one town from which data was collected.

5.2 Summary of key findings

The responses from the responses are all agreeable to that the cause of the GNU was due to a disputed electoral process. The causes of the dispute were that the process lacked transparency and irregularities were cited by observer missions and contesting parties. Responses from respondents from 7 different countries show that there is a culture of manipulating electoral processes across the continent of Africa. The responses show that this case was not only unique to Zimbabwe but it is a trend in Africa.

A flawed electoral process leading to a political dispute was the most popular issue that the respondents raised. There is lack of transparency in electoral commissions in Africa and they do not work entirely in independence from other interested parties in the elections. In almost all the cases the Electoral commissions have been linked to the ruling party as key appointments are made by the president. It is because of this that for

many years there has been alarm after elections about manipulation of the process. Respondents expressed concern about liberisation of electoral commissions and having constitutions that limit presidential terms. Most respondents felt security sector reforms were a necessary step to undertake in order to reduce conflict. African leaders have held a strong grip on the security sector due to their liberation struggle background.

Another significant finding is the rationale for a party which believes it has won goes agrees to a power sharing agreement. The responses collected show that the reason is for national harmony and peace for the nation. Coalition governments are a peaceful alternative to war.

The regional institutions that are responsible for monitoring and intervening in times of dispute are headed by peers of long serving leaders who manipulate the political space. Coalition governments have proven to be effective engines for economic growth. They restore investor confidence and with an increase of investment jobs are created and the economy is stabilized. Most respondents felt that coalition governments in Africa have been highly successful and beneficial to the socio economic landscape. The most popular response was the ability of a coalition government to transform an economy that was as tragic as Zimbabwe's economy.

5.3 Recommendations

The researcher recommends that the regional institutions are allocated effective overseers and that they do not work in isolation. This will enable more transparent operations that do not show bias towards any parties. Institutions like SADC should have monitoring organisations that audit their decisions and has power to influence their activities. Liberalisation of Electoral commissions is a key element that needs to be addressed. With a very transparent electoral commission, post-election disputes will be greatly minismised. Speculation of vote rigging will be very difficult to raise as there has been transparency from the electoral commission. Key appointments of the electoral commission should not be done by the president but should be done by a constitutional clause which distances appointments based on party lines but on elements of neutrality. All active political parties should be given the space to take part in the appointment and the electoral commission should be reflective of political parties that have seats in parliament.

The researcher recommends that elections should be held periodically and that observers both regional and international be granted full coverage of the process as a means of enforcing the principle of transparency. Elections are a major tenant of democracy and hence should be clear so as to reduce chances of disputes.

The security sector has been used to oppress members of the public before and after elections and to intimidate them so as not to voice their dissatisfaction with the electoral process. A complete reform of the security sector is required. The security sector must be divorced from allegiance to any party but must be an arm of government. The researcher recommends that longer periods for political reforms must be undertaken.

The researcher recommends that effective institutions be put in place that can set checks and balances on the leadership. This has been one of the causes of misunderstandings that have led to the formation of coalition governments. African leaders hold the face of father figures and hence become difficult to remove even constitutionally. They cling onto power due to the contribution they have made to the nation. All governments should sign into a regional institution that holds charters that the countries leadership can and will be monitored by these independent institutions. Africa needs an overhaul of leadership.

The researcher recommends that civil society organisations be granted more operating space before and after elections with allowance of international observers to monitor the elections. This will reduce the elements of suspicion and raise the transparency of the process. However the international interference should be limited to observing and not beyond the bounds of set observer guidelines. Extra influence from external players may further cause disputes. An active platform for dialogue and liberal laws in terms of party

activity space must be created within African countries. A culture of tolerance must be cultivated into African politics in order to shift from the view of liberation struggle to development oriented agendas. This may be done by allowing dialogue and forums for political discussions which will allow for political tolerance and different views should be acceptable to all.

In the case of a political stalemate, the researcher recommends that mediators be chosen by the regional block from which the country belongs. The mediators should remain nonpartisan and neutral. The mediator should have sound knowledge of the history of the nation and the conflicting parties. This will allow avoidance of treading on sensitive ground which could break down the talks or reflect bias to any party. The negotiations should be done outside the country and on neutral ground so as to avoid any element of bias which could unsettle any group.

The researcher recommends that political parties seek to work cooperatively and not to create a dysfunctional arrangement. The researcher sees a coalition government as vehicle with two steering wheels. If each party steers in their own direction, the vehicle will go around in circles and eventually crush, very little will be accomplished. Political parties should relax party agendas and advance the agenda of the coalition government even when it hurts. When politicians fight with one another, it is people who suffer.

5.4 Conclusion

Coalition governments contribute to nation building and inculcate a feeling of togetherness. This is key in promoting peace in the nation and mending broken relationships.

Coalition governments are transitional arrangements and are effective in addressing crisis. They are successful mechanisms for economic recovery and conflict intervention. Coalition governments work best in times of crisis and difficulty but however should not be a permanent arrangement. They should solely be used as a transitional system that seeks to achieve intended goals. The arrangement may seem practical as a permanent feature of governance but with time relations and operations within the union will start to explode as this is a volatile and unstable arrangement.

African leadership still has strong traces of liberation struggles that influence their operations and this should not be. Liberation struggle are a rich part of African politics and should forever be cherished but should not be the determinant of who enters into government.

This research showed strengths, weaknesses and opportunities surrounding coalition governments. It was also revealed that coalition governments fit into the wider discourse

of good governance and that states need to improve on elements of transparency and accountability as this is the only way to reduce disputes that lead to conflict and the need for political intervention.

The researcher believes that coalitions are an effective mechanism from the view of the concept of coalitions. The GNU in Zimbabwe was tasked with aspects like economic recovery, elimination of violence, preparation of free and fair elections in 2013, constitution formulation, and reforms in the security sector. All these were achieved except security sector reform. It is from this view that the researcher deems coalition governments effective. According to the NewsDay (2013), Zimbabwe's economy achieved a real Gross Domestic Product growth of 10,6% in the four years since 2009 when the inclusive government became operational following the signing of the Global Political Agreement.

According to the Human Rights forum 2008 cumulative totals between January 2008 and December 2008 from the victims were recorded by the Human Rights Forum were 6 politically motivated rape cases, 107 murders, 137 abductions 1913 cases of assault, 19 cases of disappearances, 629 of displacements and 2532 violations of freedoms of association and expression. According to Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (2013), between 2009 and 2013 more than 450 cases were filed against human rights abuse perpetrators in their individual and official capacities. This was a remarkable reduction

in cases of violence and a move towards peace. These statistics show the success of the GNU in transforming the economy and in stabilizing peace in the country. In Kenya the coalition government again managed to stop the conflict and prepare for an election that saw one party emerge victorious.

There is an indirect link between coalition governments and leadership. Countries that have experienced one party rules, millitarian rule and authoritarian rule have often resulted in coalition governments across the continent. When a leader stays in power for too long, transparency tends to be compromised. From the research the researcher gathered that the primary factor that caused the problems in Zimbabwe was leadership, and these problems are what led to disputes and for a coalition arrangement.

Interview Guide (English)

1. What factors contributed to the formation of this GNU?

2. What is the rationale of forming such an arrangement?

3. How do you understand the functions of a GNU?

4. In your opinion, why do you think GNUs are becoming a recurrent feature in Africa?

5. Do you think the GNU in Zimbabwe was in line with its mandate?

6. How successful was the GNU is transforming the Zimbabwean situation?

7. What where the challenges faced by this arrangement (external and internal)?

8. How where the relations within the union?

9. Was there conflict of interest by parties involved and how did this affect the arrangement?

10. Do you think this aspect of coalition governments is feasible for Africa?

11. In your opinion, was the coalition government an effective mechanism for addressing Zimbabwe's political and social-economic challenges?

12. What is your overall assessment of the impact of this coalition government on Zimbabwean politics?

13. In your opinion how do you think the effectiveness of coalition governments and democracy in Zimbabwe and in Africa can be improved?

Thank you for your cooperation.

Tafadzwa D. Munjoma

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Interview Guide (Shona)

1. Ndezvipi zvinhu zvaka konzeresa nhau ye GNU?

2. Kuwirirana kwefungwa yeGNU kwakabuda panhau ipi?

3. Munzwisisa sei nhau yema GNU?

4. Munofunga kuti GNU yemu Zimbabwe yakafamba mugwara yaro here?

5. GNU iyi yakabudirira here mukugadzirisa pfumvu yemuZimbabwe?

6. Matimbudziko api akasangana nehurongwa uhwu?

7. Magariro emuchirongwa ichi aiwe akamira zvakadini?

8. Paiwe nekupesana kwepfungwa here muchirongwa ichi?

9. Munofunga here kuti chirongwa che GNU chinga batsira Africa?

10. Nekufungwa kwenyu, munofunga here kuti GNU yakawe nzira yakakodzera yeku gadzirisa nya dzehutongrwe wenyika, dzemagariro ewanhu, nedze upfumi wenyika?

11. Mumawonere enyu, munowona sei kupfunza kwe GNU munyaya dzematongerwe enyika yeZimbabwe

12. Mumafungiro enyo, munofunga here kuti maGNU ano simbisa democracy mu Africa?

13. Ndezvipi zvipi zvingaitwa kugadzirisa nyaya dzematongerwe enyika muAfrica?

14. Munofunga kuti kubudirira kwemaGNU neDemocracy muZimbabwe nemuAfrica kunga wedzerwa sei?

Mazvita

Tafadzwa D. Munjoma

0777088888

munjomataf@gmail.com

Interview Consent Form

Consent for Participation in Research Interview

I …………………………………………………………………………………..

Volunteer to participate in a research project conducted by Tafadzwa Dainton Munjoma a student at the Institute of Peace Leadership and Governance (I.P.L.G) at Africa University. The research is being conducted as partial fulfillment for the requirements of the Masters in Peace and Governance programme. I understand that the research topic which the researcher wishes to gather information about is Coalitions and Leadership Challenges in Africa: A Case of the 2009—2013 Government of National Unity in Zimbabwe. I will be one of the respondents being interviewed for this research. My participation in this research is voluntary. I understand that I will not be paid for my participation. I understand that I may withdraw and discontinue participation at any time without penalty. I am participating in this research in that my responses will be used for academic purposes ONLY.

I have been given a copy of this consent form.

Signature: …………………………………………………

Date: …………………………………………………

Contacts

Tafadzwa D Munjoma

munjomataf@gmail.com

077708888

Questionnaire

My name is Tafadzwa Munjoma, I am a final year Masters in Peace and Governance student. Africa University students in the Masters of Peace and Governance Studies ate expected to conduct a research and submit a dissertation, as part of the graduation requirements. Therefore, I am conducting a research on the issue coalition governments with a focus on the Zimbabwe Government of National Unity (2009-2013)

Thank you for participating in this survey. You are free to withdraw at any point. The first section will collect some background information about you; however do not write your name or identification particulars. The second section will ask basic questions about Governments of National Unity and the third section will ask you about the GNU in Zimbabwe. I look forward to reading your opinions and hope that you enjoy this experience.

Personal Information

☐ Male   ☐ Female

Age Group

18-21 ……….   22-26 ……….   27-30………..   31-35…………   35 and above…………

Nationality………………………………………………………………………………………
……….

Government of National Unity and Leadership

1. What do you understand by GNU?

   ………………………………………………………………………………………
   …………

2. Do you know any country in Africa other than Zimbabwe that had a GNU and name it?

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    …………

3. What is the cause of such a government?

    …………………………………………………………………………………………
    …………

4. What challenges do you think Africa is facing in terms of leadership?

    …………………………………………………………………………………………
    …………
5. What is your view of African leadership?

    …………………………………………………………………………………………
    …………

<u>Government of National Unity in Zimbabwe</u>

1. What year did Zimbabwe engage in a GNU?

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2. What factors do you think contributed to the formation of this GNU?

    …………………………………………………………………………………………
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3. How many parties were involved and can you name them?

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   …………

4. Did you vote in 2008 (if Zimbabwean)?

   ………………………………………………………………………………………………………
   …………

5. Do you feel shortchanged by the aspect of GNU after elections and why?

   ………………………………………………………………………………………………………
   …………

6. Was the GNU a good arrangement for Zimbabwe?

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   …………

7. Was the GNU in Zimbabwe a success or it was a failure?

   ………………………………………………………………………………………………………
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8. What key issues do you think the GNU in Zimbabwe managed to address?

   ………………………………………………………………………………………………………
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9. Do you think GNUs are a good solution to crisis?

   ………………………………………………………………………………………………………
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10. Do you think the leaders had the people at heart or personal interests?

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11. In your opinion, do coalition governments strengthen democracy in Africa?

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12. What would you recommend as means of addressing political challenges in

Africa?

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13. Do you have any extra views that you may wish to share?

………………………………………………………………………………………………
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Thank You

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