THE ROLE OF THE TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP INSTITUTION IN THE DEMOCRATISATION PROCESS IN ZIMBABWE: A CASE STUDY OF GOROMONZI DISTRICT TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP

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ABSTRACT

This study was undertaken to examine and get an in-depth understanding on the role of traditional leadership institution in the political and economic development process of Zimbabwe. The study was conducted in Gorormonzi South District targeting traditional leaders. The sample size for the study was 37 participants made up of the District Administrator, one Paramount Chief, two Headmen, 10 Village Heads, two Ward Councilors, one Member of Parliament, 5 Church leaders and one focus group discussions of 16 people each made up of village elders, church members and village heads. The focus group discussion was disaggregated as 8 (50%) men and 8 (50%) women. An open ended discussion guide with research question themes was used for interviews with key informant and for the focus group discussion. The primary data collection was supported by secondary data reviews were undertaken to provide more information on the subject. The study showed that the institution of traditional leaders has played an important role prior to independence and continues to play an important role in the politics and economic development process of Zimbabwe post independence. The study recommends that the government should invest more in the traditional leadership institution given the important roles that it play and to ensure fairness in the delivery of justice, maintenance of peace and ensuring good governance and improve on their leadership skills and quality. The research further recommends that further study be undertaken on how the institution of traditional leadership can be capacitated to act independently and guarantee security for all their subjects to participate in the politics and economic development projects of their choices.

DECLARATION

This Dissertation is my original work except where sources have been acknowledged. The work has never been submitted, nor will it ever be, to another University in the awarding of a degree.

STUDENT …………………………………   **DATE** …………………………..

Signature

SUPERVISOR …………………………………   **DATE**……………………………

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

DEDICATION

This research is dedicated to my wife and my four daughters Tendai, Vimbainashe,

Kudzaiishe and Tawananyasha.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

The aim of this study was to examine and discuss the role, and influence of the institution of the traditional leadership in the politics and development of Zimbabwe. Traditional leadership has been an important institution of the pre-colonial period in the African continent and continues to play an important role in modern day politics. Cele (2011) observed that the basis of legitimacy of traditional leadership was therefore the traditions, which includes the whole range of inherited cultures and way of life; a people's history; moral and social values and the traditional institutions, which have survived over years. In many African countries traditional leaders play a pre-eminent role as mediators of violent conflicts (Logan, 2008). However, variations exist in the status and importance of the traditional leaders from one region to another within the same country or from country to another depending on the tribes involved in the practices. Over time the institution of traditional leadership has gone through many cosmetic changes in its procedures, rules of appointment, roles and functions, jurisdictions and powers (Cele, 2011). Some of these changes resulted from the natural evolution of the institution over the years and others were as a result of manipulations and interference by first colonial masters and presently the new African political leaders manipulate this important institution to serve their desires of consolidating power and influence.

1.2 Background of the Study

Soon after attaining independence in Zimbabwe, the new government tried to dismantle the inherited legal dualism to create a single political unified non-tribal nation (Mijiga, 1998). In 1981, the Zimbabwe Customary Law and Primary Courts Act stripped the chiefs of judicial functions leaving them explicitly as symbolic figureheads (Mijiga, 1998). Additionally, Matyszak, (2010) believes that the position of Chiefs in Zimbabwe had been significantly compromised by the post-independence government, which stripped them of most of their powers in 1982, thus leaving them with only three functions of a customary nature. An outcry from the traditional leaders ensued demanding the reverse of the past pattern of cultural hegemony. In Zimbabwe the traditional leadership was co-opted by the colonial powers to help them govern the reserved lands or communal areas as they are known today. In 1993, Zimbabwe drafted a Cultural Policy that specified the government's acknowledgement of the need to strengthen the institution of traditional leaders with regard to its economic, social, religious and political status. The current constitution of Zimbabwe recognizes the institution of traditional leaders and provides for the establishment of the Council of Chiefs to represent traditional communities (Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment (No. 20); ACT 2013; Chapter 15). The Constitution of Zimbabwe provides that Chiefs can be nominated and elected by other Chiefs to serve on the National and Provincial Chiefs' Councils both of which are very influential bodies (Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment (No. 20) ACT 2013).

The role of traditional leadership in Zimbabwe gained more prominence after 1999, the period which was characterized by the birth of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), which has been a strongest opposition party in the history of Zimbabwe post independence. Matyszak, (2010) noted that in February, 2000 ZANU PF experienced its first defeat through a nationwide referendum on a new constitution and this precipitated a political crisis in the country, which has continued to the present. It was believed that the rural support base, which the party had relied on for years, had withdrawn its support for the party. As a result ZANU PF adopted a strategy where it encouraged Chiefs to exercise the extensive powers over rural communities that had been restored to them through the an actment of the Traditional Leaders Act. Chiefs were threatened with removal from their positions or discontinuance of state allowances if those under their jurisdiction voted against the then ruling party (Matyszak, 2010). Compliant chiefs thus used their powers to evict people from opposition parties from their villages, prevented opposition political parties from campaigning and also controlled food aid in their jurisdiction, distribution of food aid was done on partisan basis.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Since the advent of opposition politics in Zimbabwe in 1999, there has been evidence of traditional leaders playing an active role in the politics and economic development processes in Zimbabwe. The purpose of the study was to assess the role, influence and contributions of traditional leadership to the democratization process in Zimbabwe.

1.4 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study was to explore and examine the role and contributions of traditional leaders in the democratization process of Zimbabwe, through obtaining of information from key participants in their respective traditional power systems. The study also sought to gain an in-depth understanding of the extent of traditional leadership's influence in the politics and development of Zimbabwe and their relationship with government. Explore how this institution of traditional leadership could contribute positively to a peaceful environment all the time. Through the study the researcher drew expertise, field experience and clearer understanding of the roles and functions of the traditional leadership institution, identified the needs, gaps and made recommendations for further research in the area and strengthening of this institution.

1.5 Significance of the Study

The study added to the body of knowledge, through the review of theory and practice of the subject under study. The study was important as it sought to provide political leaders, academics, civic society and other stakeholders with deeper insights on the roles and influence of traditional leaders in the politics and development debate in Zimbabwe. The researcher also gained in-depth understanding on the roles and functions of traditional leaders in Zimbabwe.

1.6 Assumptions

The study was conducted based on three assumptions for its successful conduct:

(i) The study assumed that traditional leaders were in constant contact with their subjects and political leaders.

(ii) The study assumed that a friendly political environment would continue to prevail right throughout the duration of the study to allow for free movement and interactions with the local population across the study area.

(iii) Communities would be open about their situations and the circumstances they found themselves in.

1.7 Research Objectives

The objectives of the study were to:

1. Critically assess the role and influence of traditional leadership in the politics and development process of Zimbabwe.

2. Examine the influence of government on the roles and functions of traditional leaders.

3. Explore ways in which traditional leaders could contribute to a peaceful political and development process.

4. Make policy recommendations for the improvement of the traditional leadership institution.

1.8 Research Questions

The study sought to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the roles of traditional leaders in the politics and development process of Zimbabwe?

2. What role does government play in the traditional leadership institution?

3. What role can traditional leaders play to ensure that there is peace among different political players and their supporters during election campaigns?

4. What can be done to improve the roles and functions of traditional leaders in Zimbabwe?

1.9 Delimitation of the Study

The delimitation of research was on the roles and functions of traditional leaders in the politics and development of Zimbabwe since the period 2000 to 2013, with particular focus on Goromonzi district, of Mashonaland East Province. This study also examined the influence of traditional leaders during election periods and their impact to the election outcome. The study concentrated on three wards, interviewed 3 councilors, 10 kraal heads, two chiefs and one district administrator. The study was not able to cover all the 58 districts in Zimbabwe due to time and resource constraints.

1.10 Limitations of the Study

One of the limitations of the study was that the sample size that was adopted for the study was very small, such that its findings could not be generalized to the population. However, this limitation was minimized by the identification process of participants to the study, which sought to get representation from all key traditional structures, genders and also solicited views from other members of the community

who were none traditional leaders, but were either elders or religious leaders in the target community. Time for conducting individual field visits was constraint as the study had to be conducted within a short space of time, however to minimize this constraint the study took advantage of the days when the chiefs were having their routine judicial sessions (Dare in Shona) which are normally attended by almost village heads, elders and councillors to some extent. The issue of the role of traditional leadership in Zimbabwe has been shrouded with a lot of political controversies getting respondents to volunteer information and speaking to some of the key informants was a challenge. However, the introduction letter from the Institute of Peace, Leadership and Governance of Africa University, helped to allay any fears related to the purpose of the study as it confirmed the confidentiality and that the purpose was purely academic in nature.

1.11 Definition of Concepts

In the context of this study the following terms were defined as:

(i) *Traditional Leadership:* is an institution that is defined by customs and traditions inherited through ancestry that leads a community in a specific area appointed in accordance with the traditions has authority to rule over people through customary law or an order from government to exercise traditional authority over a tribe (Dlungwana, 2002).

(ii) *Traditional leader*: a tribal leader or individual occupying communal political leadership position sanctified by cultural norms and values

and enjoying the legitimacy of particular communities to direct their affairs.

(iii) *Democratization:* is the opening up of space for participation by citizens in their national politics, social and economic development process.

(iv) *Communal Land*: means land described as such under the Communal Land Act [Chapter 20:04];

(v) *Community:* means a community of persons who, according to customary law, fall under the jurisdiction of a chief *(Traditional Leaders Act [Chapter 29:17])*

(vi) *Cultural Security:* The need for recognition of one's language, traditions, religion, cultural values, ideas and concepts.

(vii) *Freedom:* The condition of having no physical, political, or civil restraints, capacity to exercise choice in all aspects of life.

(viii) *Participation:* The ability to take part in and influence civil society activities, political and development processes.

1.12 Chapter Summary

Chapter One introduced the study and its background. The background highlighted the setting of the research, the importance of the traditional leadership institution from the ancient times through out the history and development of the African communities and peoples. The purpose of the study was clarified including the specific objectives based on the issues that rose from the background of the study. This chapter also presented the problem statement of the study, where traditional

leaders were seen to be playing an active role in the politics and development of the communities, since the birth of multiparty politics in Zimbabwe. Chapter Two focussed on literature review, Chapter Three presented the research methodology that was adopted by the study for data collection. Chapter Four presented the analysis of the findings of the study, discussion of the results and Chapter Five provided the conclusions and recommendations made based on the study.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter covers issues related to the role of chiefs and other traditional leaders in Zimbabwe. In the context of Zimbabwe the role of traditional leaders is to regulate and control relationships and social behaviour within a traditional community (Dlungwana, 2002). Chaponda (1995) observed that traditional leaders play a vital role in traditional communities just as elected representatives play a vital role in a democratic dispensation. The authority of traditional leaders is derived from relevant government Acts and tradition and this authority is exercised in consultation with senior advisers of that community without being regulated by legislation. Traditional Chiefs are not voted into power, but inherit their authority from birth and these leaders exercise their functions through the assistance of various advisors, headmen and village heads (Sabhuku, the holders of registration books).

Traditional leaders or authorities are social leaders and systems rather than actual government institutions (Dlungwana, 2002). Khunou (2011) observed that traditional leadership was based on governance of the people where a traditional leader was accountable to his people. Logan (2008) noted that the role of traditional leaders in modern day democracies is complex and multifaceted in the sense that they are expected to perform their traditional functions and at the same time expected to balance out with their political role in development. However, in countries where the functions and duties of elected representatives and traditional leaders have not been harmonized the conflict and overlap of their activities have been extremely detrimental to the local communities development (Chaponda, 1995). To address this

problem, the governments of Zimbabwe and Ghana have opted for the harmonization of the roles of traditional leaders and elected representatives.

According to Logan (2008) there is a growing debate going on between what he terms the "traditionalists" and the "modernists" where the earlier regarded African traditional chiefs and elders as the true representatives of their people, accessible, respected, and legitimate and maintains that their role still essential in the politics of the African continent. Whilst on the other hand the "modernists" view the role of the traditional chiefs and elders as chauvinistic, gerotocratic, authoritarian and increasingly irrelevant form of rule that is antithetical to democracy (Logan, 2008). Traditional leadership institution succession especially that of Chieftainship in Africa has been controversial, sensitive and at times dangerous, especially between rival families where there is no clear line of succession. Generally in Zimbabwe, the eldest son succeeds his father and if there are no sons, the chieftainship moves to the uncles' family as next in the lineage of inheritance of the throne.

2.1 Theoretical/Conceptual Framework

According to Terchek & Conte, (2001) democratic theories share the view that each member of the political community carries elementary rational capacities that are sufficient to judge the conduct of the government. However, it is important to note that there is no single theory of democracy, but only theories. Walker (1966) considers democracy as a method of making decisions which ensures efficiency in the administration and policy making and this requires some measure of responsiveness to popular opinion on the part of the ruling elites.   Under this

framework the average citizen has some measure of effective political power, even though he does not initiate policy because of his right to vote in a regular election schedule. Therefore the political leaders in an effort to gunner support for the polls are persuaded to shape the public policy to fit the citizens' desires (Walker 1966).

Democratization is the process by which, *"people power is institutionalized through granting civic freedoms that entitle people to govern their lives, allowing them to follow their personal preferences in governing their private lives and to make their political preferences count in governing public life",* (Welzel, 2008). Therefore democracy is anchored in social conditions in, which resources of power are widely distributed among the population so that central authority cannot access these resources without their beholders consent.

The advent of democratic governance is taking a very interesting form in Africa. Many African governments are adopting regimes that combine modern democratic parliaments with historical tribal structures. Traditional leadership institutions back the in the historical time has been chosen through hereditary appointments and has found place in many state governments in their transition to democracy (Sharma, 2003). This has been evident in countries like Ghana which returned to multiparty elections, where they have experienced a change in power and in Botswana where traditional leaders have always played a role in the operations of the country (Sharma, 2003). Traditional leaders or chiefs have filled in very important roles in transitioning democracies around Africa. The institution of traditional leaders has served local administration roles, particularly in maintaining the rule of law (Mazo,

2005). Traditional leaders have also played important roles in promoting roles citizen engagement in the decision making processes of the state and in the enhancement of the civil liberties of their community members. Mazo (2005) observed that through these roles traditional leaders play an important part, during the period of the state's transition to democracy and they should be permitted and welcome to maintain their position as traditional leaders.

2.2 Democratization Theories

Democratization Theories form the basis of participation, freedoms, cultural security and deal with other human security issues, which are critical to this study. Democratization or transition towards democracy can be defined as a state moving from autocratic rule to democracy which is characterized by high levels of civil liberties, political equality, participation by all citizens and one that has regular free and fair elections (Mazo, 2005). Rustow (1970), contend that although transitioning countries may not have had an election on the horizon, but would have accepted the democratic values and there might be an election on the horizon. In most cases the transitioning phase includes growth and strengthening of a civil society, an acceptance of democratic values, and the presence of a basic government with some level of administration, citizenship and participatory democracy and basic level of liberties (Rustow, 1970). As the study explores the theoretical framework it would seek to link the roles and functions of the traditional leadership to the democratic principles as they relate to the development of the African continent and Zimbabwe in particular.

2.2.1 What is democracy?

The word democracy is a term that comes from Greek and it is made up of two other words demos, which is people and *kratein* which means to govern or rule (Becker & Raveloson; 2008). Democracy can then be literally translated by the following terms: "*Government of the People or Government of the Majority*". Democracy as a State form is to be distinguished from monarchy, aristocracy and dictatorship. Becker & Raveloson (2008) quoting Abraham Lincoln who defined democracy as "*the government of the people, by the people and for the people*". In other words a government comes from the people and it is exercised by the people and for the people's own interests and benefits.

Becker & Raveloson (2008) argue that democracy is about the protection of freedoms from a government which favours rulers and their friends at the expense of the rest of the citizens. Some scholars view democracy as a system that reflects the interests of citizens and remain responsive to the concerns of organized groups. Terchek & Conte, (2001) contend that despite the efforts being made to achieve democracy there are always obstacles to achieving a full democratic citizenship coming not only from the state, but these obstacles are also located throughout the society in such ways that diminish the egalitarian principle of democratic politics and these needs to be restricted. To fulfil these aspirations citizens should have the freedoms in several important respects like the freedoms of speech, assembly, choice and conscience.

Welzel (2008), through the review of the accounts of democracy in the works of twentieth-century theorists such as Joseph Schumpeter, who in his work *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy* defined "democracy" as *"the institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote"*. (Terchek & Conte, (2001) conquers with the views of Schumpeter and Welzel that democracy in its literal meaning is, 'government by the people' Democracy provides broad commitment to the rule of the majority, which involves a set of contentious debates concerning the proper function and scope of power distribution, equality, freedom, justice and interests.

Morlino, (2002) spoke of the quality of good democracy as one that presents a stable institutional structure that realizes the liberty and equality of citizens through the legitimate and correct functioning of its institutions and mechanisms. Democratization is possible where there is a stable institutional structure that realizes the liberty and equality of citizens through the legitimate and correct functioning of its institutions and mechanisms. According to Morlino (2002) these institutions need to have the followings attributes: (i) the full backing of civil society and pursue the values of democratic regime; (ii) pursue good democratic principles in which citizens, associations and communities enjoy at least a moderate level of liberty and equality and (iii) where the citizens have the power to check and evaluate whether the government pursues the objectives of liberty and equality according to the rule of law. The conditions should allow citizens to monitor the efficacy of the application of the laws in force, the efficacy of the decisions made by the government and the

political responsibility and accountability of the elected officials in relation to the demands expressed by the civil society.

It is important to note that in any democratic state there is always an opposition that exists parallel with the government. This view is supported by the views of the 18th and 19th century scholars like John Locke (1632-1704), whose work was characterized by his opposition to authoritarianism. The presence of the opposition guarantees the exchange of views that are normally characterized by useful controversies (Becker & Raveloson, 2008). During elections at the different levels of the state organs for example in Zimbabwe, rural district councils, urban councils, parliamentarian, senatorial and presidential, there would be many opposition parties that confront the ruling party in power. In a way or in principle the opposition controls the government as it constitutes the beacon for the government and assumes the role of a referee in governance and service delivery issues.

2.3 Key Elements of States Organized Under Democratic Principles

Observation of human rights is one of the key elements of a democratic system because the development and evolution of these rights are only possible when humans live in a democracy. It is important to note that in a democratic system the population itself can draw up laws that rule and publicly control the three powers that are; the legislature, executive and the judiciary. It is essential therefore in any democratic system to establish a clear separation of powers, so that the judiciary is autonomous and independent from the executive and legislature. According to the

observations made by Becker & Raveloson (2008) good democracies should observe and guarantee the followings to their citizens:

♦ Individual Personality Rights which constitute the core of human rights, as these include the right to life and right to free personality development. This means the human being can be protected from attacks and manifestations of violence aimed at his/her person and preserve his/her integrity and human dignity.

♦ Political and Civil Rights so as to ensure that each citizen can participate without any restrictions to the political life of his/her community. This means citizens would not fear any non justified sanction. Some of the important rights in this category include freedom of speech, freedom of the press and freedom to hold meetings and to set up associations.

♦ Social and Economic Rights that guarantee minimum living wage for the survival of a human being must be guaranteed by the state. These include among other rights the right to education because it is important to ensure that every citizen benefits from training not be deprived of resources or left to starve.

2.4 Conduct of Democratic Elections

Elections constitute one of the most important pillars of democracy. Becker & Raveloson (2008) notes that democratic elections must be able to fulfill some of these requirements or expectations:

♦ Democratic elections will be regarded as free when citizens have the right to choose from several candidates or parties that can run for elections without

any restrictions. Citizens must also be free to decide whether they want to use their right to vote or abstain from doing so, if they prefer without being coerced.

♦ Democratic elections are considered equitable when each citizen who can use his /her right to vote has at his/her disposal a vote and when neither his/her origin nor his/her sex, language, incomes or possessions, job or social stratus/class, sexual identity, training, religion or political convictions have an influence of whatever kind on the assessment of the value of his/her vote.

♦ Democratic elections should guarantee confidentiality that is to say there should be no way of knowing which political party an individual citizen would have voted for. These should be ideally secret where each citizen should be able to put his/her ballot into the ballot box without having been either watched over or influenced, but in the confidence or secrecy of the polling booth. (Becker & Raveloson, 2008)

♦ Democratic elections should therefore be public and transparent in nature and this should guarantee citizens the right to attend the counting of the votes when ballot boxes are opened. Citizens should be able to follow the whole process of the passage of constituents' votes.

In democratic systems, governments are defined by timeframes and people have the right to remove or retain them in office. The electorate's votes should be final and this means that the election results should be accepted and enforced and should be accepted as legitimate when finally made public.

2.5 Brief Historical Overview of the Traditional Leadership Institution

The institution of traditional leadership has been in existence in the whole continent of Africa from the time immemorial. Traditional leadership has been the basis of local government in most Africa throughout history (Rugege, 2009). Freddie, (2011) contend that the African people knew no other form of government, except the institution of traditional leadership. The African traditional style of government was different from the western governments. Freddie (2011) noted one interesting notion that contrary to a popular belief that was spread through the literature of colonialists, the African traditional leaders' power was never in the past absolute as it was painted. Customary law regarded by the members of the traditional community as binding on both a traditional leader and the people alike (Khunou, 2011). It was within this context that a traditional authority was vested with powers to enforce obedience of the traditional values and customs of a traditional community. It was the traditional leader who passed the laws, judged with the consent of his traditional council and took action through the members of the traditional community.

Any traditional leader who attempted to impose dictatorial leadership on his people would actually face a revolt or secession (Khunou, 2011). If people were dissatisfied with the leadership they could dessert him for another, arrange for his death or overthrow him through a civil war (Rugege, 2009). There was a common saying both in the Ndebele and Shona culture *"nkosi inkosi kabathu" "mambo ndimambo nevanhu"* which literally means that a chief is a chief because of the support or loyalty he gets from his people. Rugege (2009) agrees with this view that the traditional institution was a form of democracy where in some cases decision making

was participatory through the general assemblies of all adult men on important matters affecting the community. This view is supported in works of Locke (1632-1704) in one of his famous works *The Second Treatise of Government* in which he argues that sovereignty resides in the people and explains the nature of government in terms of the natural rights and the social contract. It has been observed over years that the institution of traditional leadership has the potential of developing and changing with the times.

According to Khunou (2011), in the pre-colonial era, traditional leaders were very important institutions which gave effect to traditional life and played an essential role in the day to day administration of their areas and lives of traditional people. Rugege (2009) records that in pre-colonial Africa, African societies were ruled by kings supported by a hierarchy of chiefs and councilors or advisors, who were either their close relatives or selected from their communities.

Butler (2005) noted that in the institution of traditional leadership authority was critically dependent on legitimacy although it was not the only basis of authority. It might be said in general that the more the exercise of authority has legitimacy, the less coercive it needs to be. The relationship between a traditional leader and his community was very important. The normal functioning of the traditional community was the responsibility of the traditional authority (Khunou, 2011). Bulter (2005) observed that chiefly power was premised on the dominant lineage within a clan and traditional communities or chiefdoms were comprised of people from a number of clans with a degree of power vested in the dominant lineage of the strongest clan.

Chiefs chaired the councils which regulated the tribe and they extracted tribute from their subjects. Chiefs' authority was exercised in the name of the subjects and in consultation with a tribal council of elders, the extent of authority and their authority and scope of their powers expressed the extent to which authority was given to them through the council by the subjects

2.6 Traditional Leadership Institution and Political Changes

2.6.1 Can traditional leaders be really apolitical?

The institution of traditional leadership was a political and administrative centre for governance for traditional communities during the pre-colonial era (Khunou, 2011). These institutions operated and functioned according to applicable customs, traditions and customary laws. Rugege (2009) agrees with Khunou that the institution of traditional leadership served as political, military, spiritual, and cultural and were regarded as custodians of the values of society. Traditional leaders were responsible for the defense of their people against external aggression and for keeping order in their communities as they inspired unity among their people.

2.6.2   Traditional Leadership Institution and Colonial Era

During the struggle for decolonization of Africa, particularly in Southern Africa, there was an emergent view that chiefs were collaborators with colonial regimes and therefore inimical not only to the liberation struggle, but also to socioeconomic development in their various kingdoms, chiefdoms or communities (Butler, 2005). The forces of imperialism and colonialism interfered and the institution of traditional

leadership was vulgarized (Freddie, 2011). With the advent of colonialism the most important powers of the traditional leaders were taken over by the colonial state and later by the modern governments to further their political ambitions.

Traditional leaders were regarded as embodiments of the rich cultural heritage and wisdom gained through social experience. The subjects regarded their traditional leaders as armour bearers of peace, cultural preservation and symbols of social cohesion whose providence was worthy of acknowledgement. In colonial Rhodesia traditional leadership were critical opinion makers for the masses and strategic advisors of both the colonial administrators and freedom fighters (Rambe & Mawere, 2012). During the liberation war in the present day Zimbabwe Beall and Ngonyama (2009) observed that Ian Smith's Rhodesian Front sought the support and cooperation of the chiefs in a bid to combat the national guerrillas, which was an assumption based on a long history of collusion with colonial administrators.

Freddie, (2011) observed that the colonial arrangement weakened the role of the traditional leaders and institutions in governing the African traditional communities. It is important to note that the day to day running of the affairs of the traditional communities was left to traditional leaders as agents of the colonial rulers. These traditional leaders were no longer accountable to their communities, to the colonial rulers prior to independence or sitting governments after independence. In was observed that in South Africa successive colonial and apartheid governments passed various laws to control the institution of traditional leadership.

Freddie, (2011) noted that on the 11th February 1990, when Nelson Mandela was released from Victor Vester Prison near Cape Town political activities in South Africa intensified and accelerated the black led struggle against apartheid. Traditional leaders also began to play a crucial and positive role in the mass led struggle. The rural masses were mobilized and sensitized more than ever before in the history of South Africa. After his release Mandela declared to the people of South Africa and more so to his ANC colleagues that "*I stand before you not as a prophet, but as a humble servant of you, the people. Your tireless and heroic sacrifices have made it possible for me to be here today. I therefore place the remaining years of my life in your hands*" (Freddie, 2011). This speech was meant to unify the people of South Africa in their struggle against apartheid.

2.6.3 Traditional Leadership Institution Post Independence

Nyamnjoh (2002) observed that in Cameroon since the introduction of multiparty politics, chiefs have successfully made it to the forefront of national politics, sometimes in competition with other chiefs and chiefdoms. Some of these traditional leaders have openly and actively supported the ruling Cameroon Peoples' Democratic Movement and many chiefs in the grassroots of Cameroon have mobilized themselves under various lobbies to demand more recognition and resources from government (Nyamnjoh, 2002). The government of Zimbabwe has always been cognizant of the position of chiefs and traditional leaders, there has been a sudden surge in interest in the status of traditional authorities, including attempts to restore the power and other ceremonial function of customary leaders (Mungwini, 2007).

Fokwang (2005) noted that in Mozambique FRELIMO accused the chiefs of having facilitated colonialism through taxation, labour conscription, policing and of having benefitted enormously from it and accumulated power for themselves. It was against this background that FRELIMO's victory against the Portuguese was also interpreted as a victory against chiefs (*autoridades gentilicas*). As a result chiefs were systematically excluded from positions of responsibility in the post colonial era and replaced with dynamising groups (West & Kloeck-Jenson, 1999). Mungwini (2007) noted that the recent developments in Zimbabwe, which were traceable to the "fast track" land reform movement which started in 2000, has witnessed an unprecedented focus on traditional leadership institutions and their role as the guardians of tradition and custodians of the land. This move by government was a follow up to the dismal performance by the ZANU PF government the 2000 Constitutional Referendum which sent electric waves in the organ of the party. From this point traditional leaders were identified as important agents of development by the government and since that period have been called on to partner government in the issues of development, especially in the rural areas where they have dominion (Mungwini, 2007).

In Tanzania also chieftainship was abolished under Julius Nyerere's *ujamaa* policy which perceived and presented chiefs as obstacles to the modernization, based on his contradictory project of socialism with an African face (Fokwang, 2005).

This drive or renewed focus on traditional leaders has seen their empowerment and revitalization of their almost defunct roles as well as other traditional practices that had remained forgotten since independence (Mungwini 2007). Some scholars argue

that this move by government was meant for its political survival more than anything else and in this process the whole institution of traditional leadership was rejuvenated.

Mungwini (2007) noted that over the years a number of steps have been taken to improve the status of traditional leaders judicially, materially and politically. A number of traditional leaders who were stripped off, of their positions as chiefs during the colonial period and were being restored to their thrones by the ZANU PF government. More and more chiefs were being installed by the ZANU PF government. Besides being on the government payroll, positive discrimination has been used in giving these traditional leaders farms acquired during the recent land tenure changes, vehicles and electricity supplies at their homesteads through the then defunct Ministry of Rural and Social Amenities standard homes were being constructed for the chiefs on the basis of restoring their traditional status. Mungwini (2007) argues that there has been a conscious and deliberate government policy to transform chiefs to empower them to make them a strong arm of the government and even adjunct of the ruling ZANU PF government.

The renewal and rejuvenation of this traditional leadership institution also meant much in terms of the power relations obtaining in the rural areas. Since the traditional leaders were given their power back a number of them have instituted several changes in the areas of dominion that they believe are reflective of what used to obtain before the transformation brought about by colonialism. Some of the traditional leaders have become so overzealous in the exercise of their power and

because this power has been openly been by the government, a number of them are coming up with various initiatives ranging from rules of governance to codes of conduct for their subjects, some of which may be in contravention of the national constitution itself (Mungwini, 2007). A good example being the controversial virginity test introduced by Chief Makoni for girls in an effort to curb the spread of HIV and AIDS in his area of jurisdiction. While the government may be surely against some of the reforms by the traditional leaders, they go uncensored because the government seems prepared for the trade-off as long as the traditional leaders continue to play an important role in the political survival of the ruling party.

2.6.4   Traditional leadership Institution and Political Economy

Bulter (2005) notes that the chiefly power was a dynamic outcome of social processes at a local level and the traditional leader was looked upon as the guarantor of tribal harmony by playing a key role in the conflict resolution, economic viability of homesteads through managing the allocation of the land rights and land-use rights to households and social and cultural coherence and continuity of the observance of social and ritual aspects of the tribal life. Rugege (2009) agrees with the Bulter when he noted that the traditional leaders used to look after the welfare of their people by providing them with land for their subsistence needs through agriculture and grazing for livestock. The fact that the chiefs are the custodian of land in many parts of Africa means they continue to play crucial roles in the socio-economic development of their chiefdoms, kingdoms or communities (Fokwang 2005). Fisiy (1995) argues that in order to understand chiefs' role properly, it is important to examine the relationship between their control over people and over resources, the most important

of which is land. He further argues that for most rural people, the control and management of the land is at the heart of control over people.

Traditional authorities therefore came to occupy a very ambiguous position in the lives and minds of many black South Africans, while on the other hand they stand accused as collaborators in an oppressive system and co-opted partners in the implementation of apartheid in South Africa (Butler, 2005). Traditional leaders also provided for orphans within their communities through such initiatives like "*Zunde raMambo* or *Isiphala seNkosi*" in Zimbabwe. However, it is important to note that even in pre-colonial times not all traditional leaders were benevolent, generous and caring towards their people as some were autocratic and very oppressive (Rugege 2009). On the other hand they mediated and guaranteed access to a range of entitlements denied to blacks elsewhere like relatively secure tenure and a degree of continuity in an African cultural system. Many chiefs have played important roles in attracting state-sponsored development to their communities (Butler, 2005). Kyed & Burr (2006) observed that many Malawians communities look to their chiefs as the most important leaders in their community, approaching them for help in many aspects of their daily lives.

Fokwang, (2005) noted that many of these traditional leaders whilst they claim to represent Tradition, but at the same time the state uses them to further modern development projects and pursue their own agendas. In some cases a good number of chiefs remain unpopular with their subjects, like in the North West Province, because of their involvement in party politics on the side of the ruling party and their subjects

might be active in opposition politics, like the Social Democratic Front (SDF) (Fokwang, 2005). In some cases some chiefs have play played important roles in attracting state-sponsored development in their respective areas or introduced customary legislation that has earned them some measures of legitimacy.

In the previous years the traditional leadership functions were to some extent usurped by Village Development Committees VIDCOs and Ward Development Committees (WADCOs). These functions were restored back to their pre-colonial owners. Mungwini (2007) observed that it was ironically to note that the same government that had no faith in the traditional leadership institution when it got into power, now paused as champions for positive change that has suddenly reinvested its faith in these leaders. The question that most people have asked is why this sudden interest in traditional leadership? While there is still a lot of speculation going around, one thing that has now become almost clear and uncontested is that all this change of heart by the ZANU PF government was for its own political survival after the wind of change blew over the country through the formation of Movement for the Democratic Change (MDC) in 1999. To be able to control the rural electorate in the face of serious opposition the government required focal persons that were respected individuals in society who were capable of influencing events in their communities and the only people who could assist in that endeavor were the traditional leaders because of their direct control of the rural populace. Due to both materially and politically support that the ruling ZANU PF government has been given them, most traditional leaders have unquestionably become partisan to the extent that some of

them threaten their subjects suspected of belonging to the opposition with expulsion from their areas of jurisdiction.

Rambe & Mawere (2012) noted that traditional leadership that is kraal heads, headmen and chiefs in ancient times had significant social and symbolic values in Africa. Their roles included being custodians of traditional customs, values and practices as adjudicators of traditional and social disputes such as fights, divorces, witchcraft accusations and land disputes. Although some cooperated some chose to work with Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) with positive outcomes. Kazembe (2009) supports this view by emphasizing that during the liberation struggle, traditional leaders perform a significant role through their cooperation with the spirit mediums who were critical advisors of freedom fighters in the war of liberation. Traditional leaders were also modeled as custodians of traditional religions that boosted cultural identity and pride in the face of competing religions like Christianity which was associated with the ruling minority. Rambe & Mawere (2012) noted that traditional authority was conceived as a paragon of accumulated wisdom that traversed the test of times and in consequence and embodiment of rational decision making and public opinion for the majority of subjects.

Mungwini (2007) argue that the current policy by the Zimbabwean government to strengthen traditional leadership and their attendant institutions reflects a particularistic position that the development in Africa requires a successful

restoration of traditional African cultural institutions and references together with the requisite philosophical thinking.

2.7 Traditional Leaders Act of 1998

According to the Traditional Leaders Act of 1998 traditional leaders are obliged to follow the law and meet their statutory obligations. Section 45 of the Traditional Leaders Act of 1998 states that in carrying out their duties traditional leaders must not be *'influenced by any considerations of race, tribe, place of origin, creed, gender or political affiliation''*. The Act also speaks to three main structures of the traditional leadership institution that is the Chief, Headman and the Village Head or Kraal Head.

(i)   Chief:

As prescribed in Section 5(t) of the Act, a chief shall be responsible for assisting drought and famine relief agencies in coordinating relief and related matter in his area under the direction of the district administrator or the rural district council as the case may be.

(ii)   Headman

Prescribed in Section 9 (b) of the Act, it requires the headman to report to the police as soon as is reasonably practicable: (i) the commission of any crime in his/her area and (ii) the presence of a corpse of any person who died suddenly or was found dead or is suspected of having died violently or otherwise than in a natural way; and (iii)

the suspicious disappearance of any person. Subsection (e) requires the headman to report all criminal acts.

(iii)   Village Head/Kraal Head

As prescribed in terms of Section 12 (1) of the Traditional Leaders Act of 1998, the duty of the village head is to: assist by all means in his power, in apprehending and securing offenders against the law and generally to ensure observance of the law by all inhabitants and immediately to report any contravention of the law to the police.

It is important to note that under the Global Political Agreement (GPA) of September 2008 the institution of traditional leadership was also revisited as stakeholders to this process felt that this institution was important in the democratization process of Zimbabwe. They sought to reword the role of traditional leaders as stated in the document: "*Recognizing and acknowledging that traditional leaders are community leaders with equal responsibilities and obligations to all members of their communities regardless of age, gender, ethnicity, race, religion and political affiliation, the Parties hereby agree to: (i) commit themselves to ensuring the political neutrality of traditional leaders and (ii) call upon traditional leaders not to engage in partisan political activities at national level as well as in their communities*". However this was just a wish as traditional leaders continued to play partisan politics in the preparation to the run up to the harmonized elections of July 2013. Therefore the questions still remains can traditional leaders be truly apolitically given the history of the struggles for independence from colonial rule and their participation at various levels in the politics. Given this reality on the ground,

the questions remains how can the traditional leadership institution contribute to a peaceful political and economic development in Zimbabwe.

2.8 The Constitutional Position of Traditional Leadership in Zimbabwe

The Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment (N0. 20) of 2013 provides for the role of Traditional Leaders in the development of the country, under Chapter 15. The traditional leader as defined by the constitution has the role to perform the cultural, customary and traditional functions of a Chief, head person or village head as the case may be for his or her community.

2.8.1 Principles to be observed by Traditional Leaders

According to the constitution of Zimbabwe traditional leadership institution is empowered to:

(i)   act in accordance with this Constitution and the laws of Zimbabwe;

(ii)   observe the customs pertaining to traditional leadership and exercise their functions for the purposes for which the institution of traditional leadership is recognized by the constitution and;

(iii)   treat all persons within their areas equally and fairly.

Traditional leaders are not expected to:

(i)   be members of any political party or in any way participate in partisan politics;

(ii)   act in a partisan manner;

(iii)   further the interests of any political party or cause or;

(iv)   violate the fundamental rights and freedoms of any person.

2.8.2 Functions of Traditional Leaders

As outlined in the constitution the traditional leaders are expected to undertake the following functions:

(i)   to promote and uphold the cultural values of their communities and in particular , to promote sound family values;

(ii)   to take measures to preserve the culture, traditions , history and heritage of their communities, including sacred shrines;

(iii) to facilitate development

(iv)   in accordance with an Act of Parliament , to administer Communal Land and to protect the environment;

(v)   to resolve disputes amongst people in their communities in accordance with customary law; and

2.9 Traditional Leadership and Gender

It is important to note that Zimbabwe is transcending the gender imbalance in the traditional leadership set-up that many African countries are still grappling with, by installing female chiefs *(http://www.africangn.net/fs-38.htm)*. Girls were overlooked, as it was considered taboo for a woman to preside over men. However, this perception seems to have changed in some parts of the country as more women have been installed as traditional leaders. Zimbabwe has 6 substantive female chiefs, three of them from Matabeleland and two from Mashonaland East Province. There are Chief Sinqobile Mabhena of Umzingwane, Chief Ketso Mathe of Gwanda and Chief

Nonhlanhla Sibanda of Insiza, all from Matabeleland South Province (*http://www.africangn.net/fs-38.htm*). In Mashonaland region, there are two female chiefs, Charehwa and Chimukoko, both of Mutoko district.

In Zimbabwe generally, under the customs and traditional practices that have been in existence over a very long period, it has been the eldest son who succeeds his father upon his death. If the late chief did not have sons, the chieftainship was moved to the families of the young brothers or uncles. The girl child was not considered for the family inheritance and more so to ascend unto the traditional leadership role as this was considered taboo women to rule and preside over men. It is important to note that due the political developments this stance, is slowly changing in some parts of the country as evidenced by some few women who have been so far been installed as chiefs. The introduction of new legislation permitting access to land by women as observed in the case of Chief Tshivhase in South Africa could be appreciated in the light of women empowerment by traditional leadership institution (Fokwang 2005).

On other hand gender activists feel that their lobbying and advocacy efforts for equality between men and women political and traditional institutions are slowly bearing fruits as more women are seen to be actively participating. Society is slowly breaking away from the past and women being regarded in the same manner as men which are a positive development. It can be noted that whilst women have managed to break the glass ceiling in politics and business spheres, however the African traditional leadership systems were still entrenched in the belief that women should not rule over men. However, it must be noted that the installation of female chiefs, so

far in Zimbabwe, signifies that the community is slowly accepting and acknowledging that women are as good as men and have the leadership skills to preside and develop their areas of jurisdiction. The installation of female chiefs has not only broken new grounds for women, but has also changed the succession system and now the eldest child irrespective of his or her gender can ascend his or father's thrown upon his death.

2.10 Chapter Summary

The role of traditional leaders in communities is quite varied and they fulfill many purposes that are essential to communities' operation, function and survival. Chieftaincy in Africa has demonstrated remarkable resilience in the face of dramatic social transformations ranging from pre-colonial era, colonial period and post independence era. There is no doubt whatsoever, based on the literature that has been interrogated, that despite its contradictions, the institution of traditional leadership will continue to make meaning to many ordinary Africans in so far as it relates to the social experiences, history and how far it serves their social needs. The importance of the institution of traditional leadership cannot be overemphasized and they continue to contribute the politics and economic development of not only Zimbabwe, but in other African countries as well. However, it has been noted from the literature reviewed that this institution cannot be separated from politics, but remains a political animal, although expected to treat all its subjects fairly. Based on the literature reviewed it is can be concluded that, the traditional leadership institution is both a political and economic development institution and cannot be separated from the political activities of their subjects as provided by the Constitution of Zimbabwe

through Amendment (No. 20) of 2013, where they the constitution expects them to be apolitical. The traditional leadership through out history and the African continent ahs evolved through political and economic power.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

Research is a systematic process of collecting and analyzing information to increase an understanding about a phenomenon, theme, subject or research issue. This chapter covers the research methodology that was applied in the study and covers the research design, methods of data collection, population and sampling procedures. The chapter also describes how data were collected, presented and analyzed**.**

3.1 Research Design

The study adopted mainly a qualitative research design being a case study of Goromonzi District. The research design encompasses several approaches to research that are in some aspects, quite different from one another. The common qualitative research designs include case study, ethnography and grounded theory study. The method is used to gain insight into the underlying issues surrounding a research problem by gathering non-statistical feedback and opinions rooted in people's feelings, attitudes, motivations, values and perceptions often from small samples, sometimes referred to as soft data. The case study method was selected because this facilitated the researcher to appreciate and understand more complex issues and in the process add strength or value to what was already known about the subject through previous studies.

The strength of qualitative research is in its ability to provide complex textual descriptions of people's experiences in a given research issue, without depending on numerical measurements. Qualitative research focuses on discovering true inner

meanings and new insights about a subject under study. It provides the human side of an issue that is often contradictory behaviours, beliefs, opinions, emotions and relationships of individuals since this study was on the role of traditional leadership in the politics and economic development of Zimbabwe and design was considered best fit for the task. The qualitative method was also chosen because it is also effective in identifying and dealing with intangible factors, such social norms, socioeconomic status, gender roles, ethnicity and religion, whose role in the research issue may not be readily apparent. It is argued that when used alongside quantitative research methods, qualitative research can help to interpret and better understand the complex reality of a given situation and the implications of quantitative data. Qualitative research is less structured than most quantitative approaches. Often qualitative research provides richer information than quantitative approaches.

One of the strengths of qualitative research method is that it does not rely on self response questionnaires containing structured response formats, but is more researcher dependent in that he/she must extract meaning from unstructured responses, such as text from a recorded interview or a collage representing the meaning of some experience.

Qualitative research questions use neutral exploratory language and avoid providing any expected direction to the study participant. One advantage of qualitative methods in exploratory research is the use of open-ended questions and probing gives participants the opportunity to respond in their own words, rather than forcing them

to choose from fixed responses, as quantitative methods do. Open-ended questions have the ability to evoke responses that are:

♦ meaningful and culturally salient to the participant

♦ unanticipated by the researcher

♦ rich and explanatory in nature

Another advantage of qualitative method is that it allows the researcher the flexibility to probe initial participant responses that is, to ask why or how. The researcher listened carefully to what participants said engaged with them according to their individual personalities and styles, and used probes to encourage them to elaborate on their answers.

3.2 Population and Sample Purposive sample

The population of the study was made up of traditional leaders, in Goromonzi South District of Mashonaland East Province. The sample also included one chief, two headmen, one district administrator, one Member of Parliament, 10 village heads, two ward councilors, 5 church leaders and one focus group discussion of 16 people in the catchment area. Purposeful sampling was adopted for identifying participants because of the uniqueness of their positions to the area of study. This type of sampling is non-probability in which the participants to the study were selected on the basis of the researcher's judgment about who could be most useful or representative.

This is commonly used in qualitative research as it involves selecting participants to the study according to the needs of the study. This methodology allowed the

researcher to choose participants who could contribute rich information that could enrich the study. The selection criteria for inclusion were traditional leaders who could articulate their experiences as it related to the theme of the study. In this sampling methodology the researcher or investigator relied mainly on his or her expert judgment to select participants that were representative or typical of the population. The strategy adopted by this approach being finding important sources of variations in the population and then selecting a sample that reflects this variation as it is true that not every member in the community under study had the required information, for example the history of that particular community, the sample has to be purposive. The respondents were selected based on their knowledge of the research subject and also on the positions they held in the study community understudy.

3.3 Research Instruments

The three most common qualitative methods used for data collection are participant observation, in-depth interviews and focus group discussions and these were adopted for the study. However, data gathering methods employed in qualitative research design are quite varied and include key informant interviews, direct observations and other systematic data collection techniques.

3.4 Participant Observation

This method was considered appropriate for collecting data on naturally occurring behaviours of participants in their usual contexts. This was also adopted when the researcher joined one of the Chief's council sessions (dare) with his council of elders

and village heads. The researcher just set in the audience listening and observing the deliberations without actively participating in the process.

3.5 Focus Group Discussions

After the observation of the Chief's session the researcher organized the village heads, and the Chief's counselors and elders of the community for interviews in small groups to discuss the themes of the study. A big focus group discussion was then organized made of community elders, church leaders and some village heads. The group was made up of 8 men and 8 women deliberately selected to balance the gender. This was an effective way of soliciting for data on the cultural norms of a group and in generating broad overviews of issues of concern especially to cultural groups or subgroups represented.

3.6 In-depth Interviews

Key informant interviews were also adopted for the study as these were considered much of a dialogue between the interviewer and the informants. These were targeted to the District Administrator, Member of Parliament, Chiefs, Headmen, Councillors and some village heads. Open-ended questions were adopted and the interviewer made an active effort to build rapport with the informants before the interviews to create a conducive environment or atmosphere for the discussions. The interviewer used a guide with themes to be discussed, but was not obliged to follow the order of the themes. This allowed the interviewer the flexibility and ability to explore the relevant topics and as the informants brought them up during discussions. This

allowed the researcher to interview the informant many times to discuss certain issues in-depth.

3.7 Data Collection Procedure

Primary data was collected from the study participants in the target study area, using the three main methods discussed above and open-ended questions were used. The study used field notes, audio recordings and transcripts for collecting data for the research. Secondary data sources were also consulted in the process through review of literature on the subject of study. The field study was conducted during the month of March 2014, in Goromonzi district after appointments and consent for participation in the study were sought from the target participants after the explanation of the purpose and benefits of the study to their community.

3.8 Data Analysis Procedure

Data management and analysis were designed to preserve as much of the participants' conversations as possible and to permit on going analysis. During the interviews or observations, the data collected was written down in notebooks as raw field notes from key informant interviews, direct observation and case narratives. These field notes were further expanded into sentences at the end of everyday's field-work to add more meaning to them. The data collected was then analyzed to give meaning to it and deduce information that could be used in decision making by both traditional leaders and other key stakeholders in this sector of the society and possible for further theory development in traditional leadership theories and functions.

3.9 Ethical Considerations

As the study involved collecting data from people, about people and their systems, there was need for the researcher to protect participants by developing trust with them and ensuring that they were protected from any form of harm. This included promotion of the integrity of the research, through guarding against misconduct or any improper use of the information provided through this study that could be considered to misrepresent the institutions they represented. The researcher had the obligation to respect the rights, needs, values and desires of the participant to the study. The study solicited sensitive and deep answers to questions thus extracting meaning from statements and opinions. To ensure the protection of participant's rights the followings were undertaken by the researcher:

(i)   Participants were advised verbally that their participation in the study was voluntary and they could either choose not to participate at any stage of the study without any penalty.

(ii)   They were also advised verbally that any time during the study or interviews they were free to decline to respond to any question or any part of it being put across to them.

(iii)   The research objectives of the study were also shared with the participants for their appreciation of the research.

(iv)   Verbal consent was obtained from the participants for their participation into the study.

(v)   Participants were given assurance that the data collected through this study were for the purpose of the research only and nothing else and would remain confidential.

(vi) Participants were assured that their identification would remain anonymous.

(vii) Transcriptions and interpretations of the data were made available to the participants just to ensure that what was captured was a true reflection of their views.

3.10 Chapter Summary

Chapter Three discussed the research design, sampling procedure and the instruments used to collect the data. Data analysis and ethical considerations were also dealt with in this chapter. This chapter detailed the steps that were taken to ensure that the collected data remained relevant and meaningful to the research topic. The research objectives and questions had to be answered through the data collected using the design adopted for the study. Chapter Four discusses the findings and gives meaning to the data collected through the research.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION, INTERPRETATION AND ANALYSIS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the research conducted on The Role of Traditional Leadership Institution as it influences and impacts the democratization process in Zimbabwe. The study focused on Goromonzi district, which is located 34 km east of Harare the capital city of Zimbabwe. Goromonzi district is located in Mashonaland East Province. Goromonzi district has an estimated population of 223,879 disaggregated as 113,506 (51%) females and 110,373 (49%) males (Census Report 2012). The district has a total of 25 administrative wards and 320 villages. The traditional leadership institution in Goromonzi district is known as the Chinamhora Chieftaincy. Goromonzi district has a total of three paramount chiefs, namely Chinamhora, Rusike and Chikwaka. The district has a total of 7 Headmen working with the three paramount chiefs and among these traditional leaders there are no female headmen or female chiefs. Goromonzi has a total of 320 village heads and out of these 7 (2%) are females, leaving the institution more patriarchal in nature.

The sample size used for the study was 37 participants. The sample consisted of the District Administrator, one Paramount Chief, two Headmen, 10 Village Heads, two Ward Councilors, one Member of Parliament, 5 Church leaders and one focus group discussions of 16 people each made up of village elders and church members and village heads. The focus group discussion was disaggregated as 8 (50%) men and 8 (50%) women. However, the researcher was not able to meet the Member of

Parliament of the area who was reported to be in meetings most of the time when effort was made to place an appointment and out of the country on government business as she is also a Deputy Minister of Transport. However, the researcher managed to speak to her constituent secretary on the matters relating to the constituent and relationships with traditional leaders. Data collection was done over a period of two weeks.

It should be noted that findings and conclusions drawn from this study cannot be used to make generalized statements because of the population size and methodology used to select participants into the study. The sampling system which was adopted with the objective of it providing valuable information and better insights into the traditional leadership institution and its roles and functions as they relate to the democratization process in Zimbabwe.

The thematic analysis methodology was adopted for analyzing the collected data as it enabled the researcher to organize the data into themes or patterns that were distinct. This was adopted because the approach enables the researcher to organize and describe the data set rich or detail. The process involved familiarization of the data through review, reading and listening to the transcription recorded during the fieldwork. The data was then coded into themes for further analysis and interpretation. The diagram below summarizes the main themes that were formed out of the data obtained through the research.
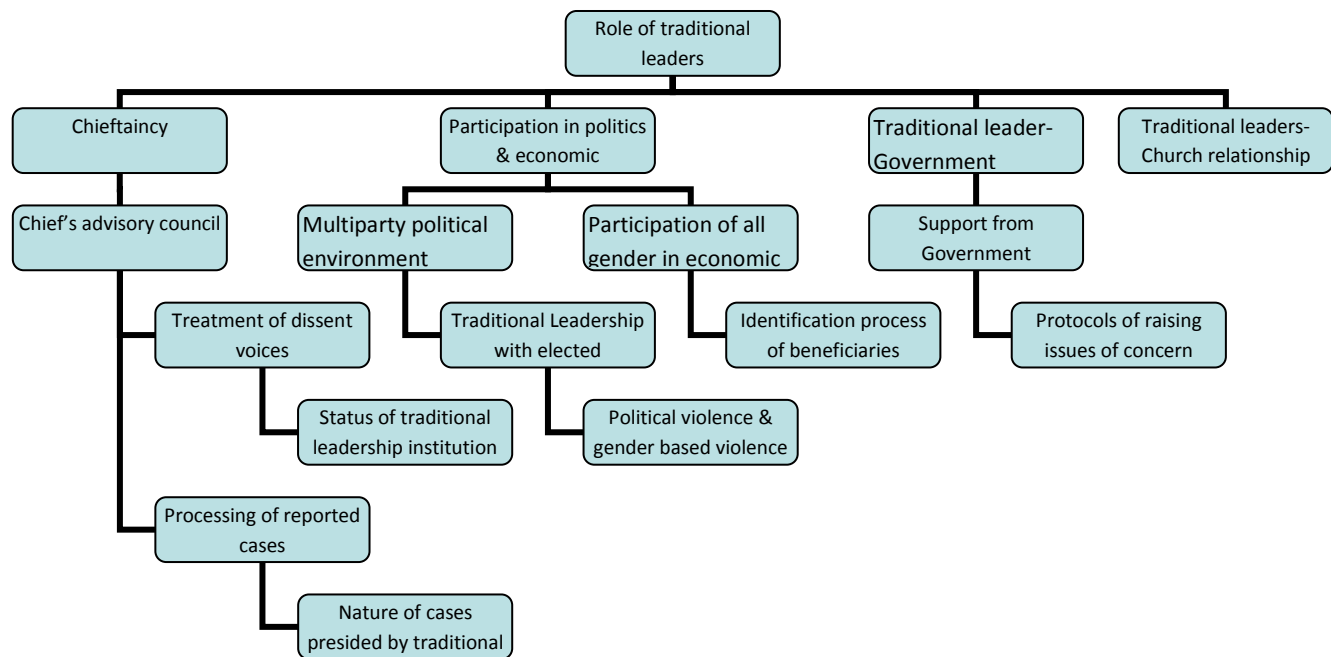
Figure 1: Main Themes Formed From the Data Collected

4.1 Role of Traditional Leaders

The study established that one of the main roles of the traditional leaders was presiding over the communities and maintenance of peace and order within their communities. This view is supported by Mazo (2005) who indicated that the institution of traditional leaders has served local administration roles; particularly in maintaining the rule of law. Chief Rusike said " *Rimwe basa redu isu madzimambo tinoshanda nekatsuru yedu tinoibatsira kuunganidza mari dzemitero kubva kuvagari vomunharaunda tichishanda namasabhuku edu".* Literally put, one of the roles of traditional leaders also included working with the local authorities (Rural District Councils) helping them collect revenues at household level through taxes that are charged for the development of community projects like borehole maintenance and dipping fees. Traditional leaders also control land in communal areas and allocate it

for use by their subjects for both crops cultivation and grazing livestock, which are part of the economic activities. These roles discussed above are supported by Khonou (2011) who noted that even pre-colonial era traditional leaders were very important institutions, which gave effect to traditional life and played an essential role in the day to day administration of their areas and lives of the traditional people.

The Chief was also responsible for implementing the Zunde raMambo concept of co-operative of food production model to cater for the less privileged members of their communities. The underprivileged members of the society include widows, orphans, the mental challenged and elderly members of the community. On further inquiry on how they were managing the labour for this initiative the Chief replied that *"The village heads contribute labour which work in the Zunde on a rotational basis and these should not be part of the targeted beneficiary households"*. The DA echoed that *"Government has been supporting the Chiefs with inputs for the Zunde raMambo initiative"*. However the study established that one of the shortcomings of this initiative has been government's failure to monitor the utilization of the inputs to ensure that there were put to good use and used for their intended purpose, thus according to some participants from the focused group discussions. Mrs. Darangwa who participated in the study claimed that *"Some of these inputs have been used for the benefit of the chiefs and their immediate families disadvantaging the vulnerable subjects in contradiction with government effort the programme. In some cases these have been sold on the market"*. The study established that part of the Chief's field was being used for the Zunde initiative and thus why the community was not very sure on the utilization of the inputs intended for the project as no one could dare to

ask leadership given the power dynamics in the community. The study noted that these perceptions from the community members raise a lot of issues on the checks and balances that are considered necessary for efficient delivery of services.

On the participation of community members on government funded projects the study established that the selection process was done by village heads although from the Ministry of Local Government level there were claims that the selection process was done by civil servants and traditional leaders were just witnesses of the process. This was contradictory to the position presented by the DA as the civil servants were the ones who receive and review the list submitted by village heads. Given the inconsistence in the selection process, makes claims by members of the opposition political party difficult to refute on favouritism concerning government assistance being channelled towards members of one political party if traditional leaders are handling the selection process alone.

The study established that the Headmen were chairing ward development committees (WARDCO) within their areas. It was during these meetings that messages about peaceful coexistence were disseminated and leaders encouraged to discourage their subjects from engaging in political and gender based violence in their areas. Headman Gata said his main message has been *"elections have come and they will go, but we residents of this area would remain permanent in our areas, so let us respect each other during this elections period".* The traditional leaders strongly believed that the message of peace was well received by the community and thus was they enjoyed peace in 2013 elections. Traditional leaders encouraged their subject to

maintain a peaceful environment to allow the various political candidates to market their party manifestos.

The study also established that traditional leaders especially from the village level through headmen to the Chief apart from the leadership role of their communities also preside over minor domestic cases that occur in their areas of jurisdiction. They are also expected to arrest or report any criminal activities that take place in their areas to the Zimbabwe Republic Police. In all situations the traditional leaders have been empowered by the law to either report or arrest all criminal elements within their areas and hand them over to the Zimbabwe Republic Police for prosecution. This view supports Khunou (2011) who noted traditional leaders had an administrative role thus maintaining peace and order in their areas. Village Heads were allowed to preside over minor domestic cases, which included domestic disputes like disputes over field boundaries, marriages disputes, credit settling and grazing of crops by animals in an effort to foster peace among the subjects and encourage co-existence among members of the community. Village head Gwenzi said *"If no agreement is reached in these cases or disputes handled at these lower levels we then scaled up to the Headman and if still no solution be found this will be scaled up to the Chief to preside over it"*. On further probing with the Chief it was learnt that if subjects were not satisfied with the judgment passed by his council , the case could be further scaled up to the magistrate's court. The study however, established that traditional leaders are discouraged from presiding of over any criminal cases or domestic violence cases that involve injury of persons as these should automatically be reported to the police for prosecution.

The study established that after every 6 months the Headmen and Chiefs were required to submit reports of their activities and cases that they would have presided over to the Resident Magistrate based at Goromonzi Growth Point. This confirms the fact that government is also using these traditional leadership structures to help it in the administration and maintenance of law and order in the communal areas. Khonou (2011) also notes this critical administrative role performed by traditional leaders in their respective areas.

The study also established that the traditional leaders were the custodians of traditional values and customs. Rambe and Mawere (2012) agrees with the view and role of the traditional leaders when they noted "*their roles included being custodian of traditional customs, values and practices as adjudicators of traditional and social disputes such as fights, divorces, witchcraft and land disputes*". However, in Headman Dudzu's area it was noted that because his religious beliefs in his area does not practice rituals like "*mukwerere" the rain* making rituals, but believes in the power of prayer and provisions of the Almighty God, which is a deviation from the practice by most traditional leaders. The traditional leaders are also responsible for the conservation of the environment, by ensuring that their subjects abide by the guidelines provided on the utilization of certain natural resources, like wetlands, conservation of forests and woodlands.

4.1.1 Participation in the Political Economy

Chiefs chair the community share ownership trust schemes (CSOT) in their areas, which are supposed to spearhead economic development in their respective areas. The community share ownership trust schemes have brought communities and their leadership in constant consultations on the utilization of these funds expected from companies doing business in their areas. Politicians and traditional leaders work together in spearheading these development initiatives, however traditional leaders expressed fears that this initiative was going to be hijacked by politicians and some members of the community who participated in the start felt the initiative was partisan as it was initiated by government and it was difficult to embrace it as a national program. The district hosts Lafarge Cement manufacturing company and the study established that the CSOT account for the district had received $1,000,000 which was then shared among the tree paramount chiefs equally to pursue development projects in their respective areas. According to Chief Rusike a total of $27,000 was not distributed, but left to maintain and meet other administrative expenses for the globally account for the district. This meant that each constituent received $324,333 for economic development projects in their respective areas.

4.1.2 Participation of women, men, boys and girls in economic development projects

On the participation of women, men, boys and girls in economic development projects the study established that the village heads had the mandate of identifying such individuals and recommending them to officials from the technical ministry for review and adoption. In most cases the lists submitted by these village heads were final and in rare cases were these returned for amendments or contested by the civil

servants. This position was somehow different from the one presented by the DA who indicated that the selection process was done by civil servants with the verification of village heads, but the reverse was the correct position on the ground.

On identification of beneficiaries of economic development projects at village level, is done by the village committee in liaison with the Line Technical Ministry involved in that particular project. However, on the selection criteria some of the participants argued that it was a transparent process which was done at a village meeting, but some also argued that even under such forums political differences were evident as some of the deserving members of the community were left out in some cases not because they were involved in opposition political activities, but because of their children who might be working in urban centres and suspected to be supporting the opposition political party. One emotionally charged widow Mrs. Gurupira said "*Unongoona usina kunyorwa naSabhuku uka zobvunza unonzwa konzi imi hatina kukunyorai nokuti muna vana vanosevenza*" (One would only discover that the village head has omitted his or her name and upon inquiry you will be told that you have children working in town and yet many able bodied people who don't deserve to be on the register will be included on the list with working family members also in the urban areas). It can be concluded that given the reality on the ground that the selection process remains open to abuse in cases where village heads are active in party politics and they can use this to whip their subjects into line with their political ideology.

4.1.2 Institution of Traditional Leadership Neutrality

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On the perception of the institution of traditional leadership some of the participants ranging village elders to members of the churches that took part of the study felt that it was not neutral and was very active in party political activities which is in contradiction to the Traditional Leaders Act which experts them to be neutral. However, in principle thus what the Act aspires, but in reality the situation on the ground is very different. On the ground there are no mechanisms to do the checks and balances on the operations of this institution. It becomes more active during elections times when politicians shower the traditional leaders with presents in order to gain support of their subjects.

On the issue of traditional leaders participation in politics the District Administrator, highlighted that based on the Traditional Leaders ACT, traditional leaders are not supposed to be activity in politics, but were however supposed to work and support the developments efforts of the sitting government. However, in practice the District Administrator acknowledged that some traditional leaders have found themselves aligned to certain political parties in anticipation of the perceived benefits. The current constitution discourages aspiring politicians to encourage violence among their supporters and any candidate whose supporters would be found engaged in violence would be barred from contesting in the election. Some of the key informants felt that this could have been one of the contributory factors to the peaceful environment that was experienced during the 2013 harmonized elections.

However some of the participants felt that the partisan approach of some traditional leaders compromises their delivery of their primary roles such as protection of all

their subjects and are expected to maintain and exercise good leadership and governance roles for the diversity of its subjects. Others argued that traditional leaders cannot be isolated from the politics of their subjects, since pre-colonial era they fought for the freedom of their people. The view is supported by Khunou (2011) who noted that the traditional leadership institution was a political and administrative centre for governance for traditional communities during pre-colonial era. One of the participant Mr. Gwenzi retired teacher who took part in the study said *"Traditional Leaders must act as what is expected of them like civil servants who are expected to be apolitical in the delivery of their duties and are expected to serve any government that comes into power and whose participation in political activities remains part of their private life''*.

However, one woman Mrs. Wadyegora in the group noted that *"Madzimambo anofanirwa kubvumidzwa kuti vaite zvepolitics asi sarudzo dzavo ngadzive dzavo vega varege kutaurira vanhu bato rokuvhotera".* Literally translated her point was that chiefs should be allowed to have their political choices like any other citizen, but their choice should be confidential to themselves, so that it does not influence their subjects. This view of traditional leaders participation in political activities is supported by Logan (2008) who noted that the institution in the modern democracy is expected to balance traditional functions and with their political role in development. One church leader who participated in the focus group discussions observed that the government has taken chiefs away from their traditional space and placed them together with the ruling elites groups and this has made it easier for the politicians to manipulate and corrupt them all the time to their benefit.

4.1.3 Traditional Leadership Relations with Elected Representatives

The study observed that the traditional leaders were in constant contact with their elected representatives like the councilors, who were resident in their areas and they were working together well in pursuant of development projects. however, in some cases there have been conflicts between traditional leaders and elected leaders over control of projects and other community processes like the distribution of inputs and selection of beneficiaries where in some cases the traditional leaders resisted the use of government inputs or NGO projects to further political goals by politicians. However the study established that in most cases the relationships with communities by the representative members were only very strong during election campaigns and soon after elections periods. Thereafter they become out of touch with the electorate and only resurface towards the next general election.

The Headmen who participated in the study was concerned about some of the village heads who were taking instructions from the ward councilors, thus undermining his authority. He was accusing politicians of being corrupt. Some village heads made similar sentiments concerning their relationship with their ward councilor whom they felt was not giving them enough respect, instead was acting as if they were reporting to him. In one case sited during the discussion was a situation where the ward councilor had asked beneficiaries of the Presidential inputs scheme to pay $2 and 2 Rand per household to pay GMB employees who brought the inputs and also to pay for community security that was going to guard the inputs before distribution. The Headman was arguing that the community was not supposed to pay GMB

employees, because their employer the government had already catered for these people, there was. a heated debate, which, I observed, the Headman threatened to remove village heads that would continue to align with councilors or take instructions from the councilors, such unilateral decision by the Headman usually disadvantage the people.

4.2 Chinamhora Chieftaincy

The Chinamhora/Wadyegora chieftaincy has never been presided over by a female chief through out their known history, but with the current developments and changes in the social strata and gender roles the chiefs interviewed were optimistic that maybe in future a female chief will be installed. The Chiefs that participated in the study also agreed with the findings that the DA maintained the family trees for the royal families and consults with these families when a new chief is due for installation to get a consensus of the candidate.

The study also established that the girl child was not included in the family tree for consideration into future inheritance as she was considered as not part of the family, by virtue of the expectation of her going to marry into a different clan in the near future. However, the study also learnt that witchcraft was also used during the battle for the throne among the royal family members. It was also learnt during the study that when it is time for a royal family member to be installed as chief, if the candidate is not within the area the family makes an effort to locate him and if employed he will be asked to leave his job to come and lead the people in his community. For example the current Chief Rusike is a former war veteran and

soldier and was based in Gweru and when his turn approached to assume the throne he was approached by the community elders to leave his job and come and leave his community.

In some cases certain individuals of the royal families gainfully employed have been reported to have declined the offer. During the interviews with the current sitting headmen and Chiefs, they acknowledged that women were equally capable leaders and that they would not have any bad feelings if one was installed as a Paramount Chief or Headman as the institution does not work in isolation, but works in consultations with a team of selected counselors. So the female Chief would equally get support from the counselors that would have been selected to help her in her leadership role, however they pointed out that the quality of counselors to the proper functioning of the traditional leadership institution was critical. Headmen are appointed by Chiefs with the concurrence of the Ministry of Local Government. Village Heads are then selected by the Headmen to help in the administration of the area at village level. Each village head has a committee of six people who help him/her in the administration and dealing with issues rising from the village.
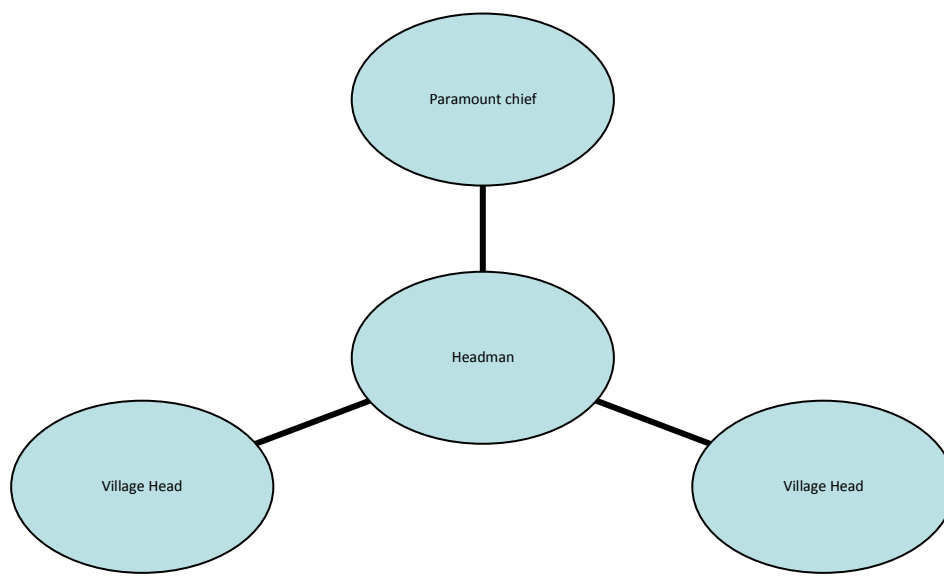
Figure 2: The structure of the Traditional Leadership Institution

The Chieftaincy in Goromonzi South comes from three main royal houses that are from Chivhiya, Nyemba and Nyabanga families. The current chief comes from the Nyabanga royal family. In this chieftaincy there has been no female chief that has presided over this people. However one church leader who participated in the study through a focus group discussion noted that due to the changes in the political environment, women have gained a lot of ground nationally, regionally and internationally and the institution of traditional leadership was not an exception to the winds of change that was blowing across the world. The role of women as key stakeholders in every development sphere was becoming more and more prominent.

4.2.1 Chief's Advisory Council

The council is fashioned on the Local Government Structure, which stipulates that the Chief or Headman should select three Village Heads, one woman and a chief's messenger commonly known as the "Chikonzi chaMambo". During the field study in Headman Dudzo's area it was established that he was presiding over cases with the

assistance of council (Dare) of counselors made up of both close two relatives and three village heads and one female member. This council was made up of 6 members and the Chief or Headman being the seventh who chairs it. The number of committee members was just a guide and the chair had the right to review the size and effectiveness of the structure and could either increase or decrease it. The selection of village heads into this council was based on the observation of each individual's participation during case trials. However, it was noted that in this council there was only one female who was responsible for receiving and recording transactions made by this council during processing of cases and fines that were levelled against offenders.

One inquiry on the composition of one woman in council, the researcher was told that she plays a critical in handling some of the domestic disputes cases as other women find it easier to confide in her than in men about the depth of some of their disputes. She would then expound them to this male dominated council about some of the confidential issues being discussed. On the functions of the council it was learnt, that the people assisting the Chief and Headman in presiding over issues have not been trained, on their roles and what is expected of them. Only the Paramount Chief and the Headmen were given the induction on how to preside over cases. These other members were selected based on their community standing as this was critical in earning respect from the other community members.

4.2.2 Presiding Over Reported Cases

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The study established that for one to report his/her case to the council for arbitration he/she one was required to pay $20 to activate the process. Chief's message will be then sent to deliver summons to the respondent, if locally he cycles to the person's home and if in the urban area he has to board transport to go and deliver the summons. The summons issued will be bearing the names of the complainant and the accused and the date of the hearing. Once that is done and the respondent avails him or herself and the case is then presided over and judgment passed over the issue. It was also learnt during the study that the traditional leadership institution was also infested with the corruption scourge among some of council members. In one case that involved a widow Mrs. Pfende whose three goats that were tied to shrubs during the day to prevent them from grazing other people's fields in the village during the summer season. The widow left her goats and went to the township to do some shopping of some basic household items and when she returned back all her goats were killed by a stray dog belonging to one businessman. The case was then reported to the council because the businessman was refusing to compensate the widow. On presiding over the case it was discovered that the businessman had bribed one of the Chief's counselors and the woman who had lost the three goats was been blamed for negligence, but the Chief overturned the ruling in favour of the women and the businessman was asked to compensate her for the loss. The corrupted counselor was removed from the council when it was discovered that he had received bribes from the businessman.

The study also noted that if the subjects were not happy with certain judgments made by the chief's council over their cases they had the privilege of appealing through the

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structures up to the Supreme Court. Their judgments were not absolute, but could be challenged by those who seek justice to be delivered fairly, however following proper procedures were required for pursuing this route.

4.2.3 Traditional Leadership- Church Relations

It was noted that the issues and activities of the traditional spirit mediums (mhondoro) were slowly dying out and the church was taking prominence in most of the traditional gatherings where all gatherings started with prayers and later traditional rituals were then performed. The chiefs acknowledged that churches were an important member or player in peace maintenance in the society, hence the traditional leaders were striving to maintain cordial working relations with these institutions. However, there was one point of departure in their relationship where the traditional leaders were accusing some of the churches' failure in observing some of the traditional rituals and values like "*chisi*" (sacred day) where all subjects were not expected to perform field work.

The church leaders who participated in the study through the focus group discussions felt that the church was a critical player in the maintenance of environmental peace, because the church's teachings were anchored on love, harmony, peace and good neighborhood. Reverend Nyakudya felt that the church was slowly influencing traditional leaders more and more. His argument was that when looking at the influence of the church to the traditional leadership institutions this could not be done in isolations of the institutions the churches were running which continued to influence the society by educating and producing future leaders. The example he

gave of an educated chief that was sited during the discussions was that of Chief Fortune Charumbira of Masvingo who was educated through church institutions. The study established through the discussions with church leaders and some community leaders that the general feeling was that their chiefs were being manipulated by politicians thus compromising their role and neutrality. One church elder Mr. Magwaza said "*Madzishe edu anoda kuchengetedzwa kubva ku'abusive' yemapoliticians*". Literally put "our chiefs need protection from the abuse of politicians".

Church leaders echoed that whilst the church enjoys working with the traditional leaders in an effort to support peace, the church finds it very difficult to work with politicians and would always seek to refrain from active politics. However, it was noted that in some cases politicians were becoming more and more canning as they were always busy researching about church gatherings and in most cases would come without being invited to pledge donations and make speeches. The example picked about this behaviour by one of the church elders was that of the former Masvingo Provincial Governor Josiah Hungwe who was always frequenting church gathering by the Apostolic Faith Mission in Zimbabwe at their mission farm. Politicians have been accused of hijacking church activities for their benefit. However church withdraws it participation in some of the peace efforts when it feels that its reputation will be turned into disrepute by politicians, but were very comfortable in working with traditional leaders. .

4.2 Government Role in the Functions of Traditional Leadership Institution

Government has been and continue to be a major play in the institution of traditional leadership since this regulated by an ACT of Parliament. It was considered to be incomplete discussion the findings of the study without talking about the relationship between government and the institution.

4.3.1 Local Government Relations with Traditional Leaders

The study established that government through the Ministry of Local Government and Urban Planning has a working relationship with the traditional leaders. The Ministry coordinates and supervises the traditional leaders through the implementation of the Traditional Leaders ACT. The Ministry of Local Government coordinates the selection and installation of new chiefs. The District Administrator's office maintains the family trees for the chieftaincy of the district and consults with the royal families involved before the installation just to get consensus, because the chieftaincy has been a hotly contested position within these families. In some cases the aspiring families have bewitched each other. In the history of the Chinamhora Chieftaincy, no female chief or headmen has been installed through out their history. However, on consultations during the study the current chiefs said it was possible to have a female chief being installed in future, because of the changes that are taking place in our society or country where women are pushing and lobbying for equal opportunities between both genders.

4.3.2 Government Support to Traditional Leaders

All the three Paramount Chiefs in the district were supported with vehicles and generators, by government to enable them to deliver their duties in their areas of jurisdiction. In addition to this support they also receive a monthly allowance and inputs on an annually basis under the Zunde raMambo programme, where they were supposed to grow food crops to cater for the less privileged members of their communities like orphans, disabled and the elderly. The study established that whilst government spoke of supporting chiefs through the input programme during current season government has failed to support chiefs for the production of the grain crops under this initiative. However, it was noted by the study that most of the assistance like vehicles and electricity only targeted paramount chiefs and headmen were just promised and were still waiting for their turn to come so that they could receive some of this assistance.

4.3.3 Protocols of Raising Issues of Concern with Government

It was learnt that in cases where the traditional leaders did not agree with certain policies made by government at National level they were expected to voice their grievances through the DA and Chiefs' Councils for lobbying government. The DA would then scale up the issues through the Provincial Administrator's Office to the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry and finally to the Minister of Local Government for decision. When the issue is scaled up through the Chiefs' Council, it is taken through for lobby by Chiefs who sit in the Senate and the traditional leaders felt that this was a much faster way than the bureaucratic process of following government ministry protocols.

4.3.4 Challenges Encountered in Dealing with Traditional Leaders

Most of the challenges that have been handled by the Ministry through the District Administrator pertained to issues of boundary disputes between chiefs. These have been resolved by using natural boundaries to resolve some of these disputes. When there was no solution to the disputes the conflict would then be scaled up to the Provincial Administrator for resolving and if a solution is not found it is then scaled up to the Minister of Local Government for resolving.

Some of the challenges that were highlighted during the study by both the office of the DA and some of the traditional leaders were some of the disputes which arose as a result of the sale of some communal lands by some traditional leaders to desperate home seekers which were in contradiction with the statutes of the land. However, the DA felt that the government needs to enforce the laws that deal with such traditional leaders, so that they cannot sell communal land as there was a gap in the implementation of these laws.

4.3 Maintenance of a Peaceful Environment

4.3.1 Political Violence

While elections are considered as one of the most important pillars of democracy and these should fulfill freedoms of citizens to make their political choices (Becker & Raveloson 2008). The study established that most of the political violence was perpetrated by youths in the communal areas and members of the community knew those that were involved. The reasons given for the youths' participation were poverty and unemployment as these were idle most of the times and find themselves

engaged in some of these antisocial behaviours in order to earn a leaving. By virtue of this disposure the youth become more vulnerable to abuse and manipulation by the politicians. One parent Mrs. Chuma said *"Vana vedu vanosaidzirwa sembwa kuti vaponde vamwe vavo nedzimwe hama munharaunda nevepolitics"* literally put means that our children are turned on each other like dogs by politicians for their own benefit. One village head sited poverty as the major driver of political violence as the poor youth could be manipulated by a simple thing like being given people by the politicians to go and commit acts of violence against his fellow community members. Mr. Magwaza argued that *"If these youths were not poor they would not be easily manipulated as what we observed in the current environment, where the youth would do anything in order to earn a meal".*

On the changes that have affected peoples' lives, the community was so much concerned with the changing behaviours of children who were no longer listening to advice from parents. They pointed out that there was too much freedom that was granted to children which restricted intervention by parents and these were leading them astray. One mother Mrs. Kwenda said *"If you try to discipline your own child tomorrow you will wake up at the police station being charged of child abuse".* One village head Mr. Makamure echoed that *"This lack of discipline by young people is what leads them into delinquency activities, which results in them being involved in political violence and other anti social activities".*

On probing further on how the village heads and village elders were dealing with political violence in their areas there were varied responses some saying they counsel

conflicting parties and encourage them to leave together harmoniously because elections are for a season as they come and go and residents of a particular area would remain put. Some felt that they were not given much room to deal with political violence as in most cases they are overtaken by politicians during electioneering periods. Quoting one of the village heads Mr. Gwetu who said "*When it comes to politics our hands are tied up, there is not much we can do to curb it except to watch in helplessness state seeing area going on fire*". However the group acknowledged that 2013 elections were generally peaceful, when compared to 2008 where there was a lot of bloodshed and households that were destroyed and burnt down. In their view 2013 was general peaceful and it was up to the politician to market him/herself and party policy to the electorate that won the day. It was noted during the study that incidences of political violence were seasonal and when elections have come and gone the environment was very peaceful. Given the above observations it is therefore important for the traditional leaders to come up with the strategies to deal with these cycles of political violence when they come in future.

4.3.2 Gender Based Violence

Gender based violence forms about 75% of the cases that are handled by traditional leaders, followed by some domestic disputes like boundaries 15%, transaction disputes and other minor cases contributing 10%. The traditional leaders play a major mediation role when cases of domestic violence are brought to their attention. On gender based violence the group felt that in their area it was on the decrease as a result of a lot of campaign by the Ministry of Gender officers and NGOs working in the area on domestic violence, like Msasa Legal Project, Justice for Children and

churches. These have taken advantage of meetings to create awareness among the public on the importance of arresting gender violence. On probing on the causes of gender based violence two major causes were highlighted financial problems within the family being top on the agenda, followed by extra marital relationships by men and women, extended families and village gossip (makuhwa).

However, discussions with Chief Rusike brought out a different view on gender based violence where he was criticizing Women and Human Rights organizations for escalating the rift between men and women, by the way they approach issues. He retorted by saying *"MaHuman rights aya ndeedu here muno mu Africa kana ndezve mhiri?"* He argued that the Human Rights which these organizations were promoting are they African Human Rights or these are promoting a Western agenda. Instead of mediating peace among families they bring more conflict, rift between families and he argued that there was more bias towards women and this approach of dealing with issues was just helping to fan conflict as men will be left with no options except to form defense walls. In essence through further probing it was learnt that the chief was not against the human rights, but wanted these to be in line with African traditional values, not in conflict with these values that have been passed from generation to generation over centuries by our ancestors.

4.3.3 Multiparty Political Environment

The District Administrator (DA) and the traditional leaders who participated in this study felt that Zimbabwe was general peaceful allowing its citizens to participate in the political and economic development process of their country. However, some

members of the community who participated in the study did not agree with this view by the DA and some of the Traditional leaders, because they felt that there was no freedom of association as people were not able to make their own choices of political parties to support without being reprimanded or face negative consequences as result of choices. Mr. Nduna argued that *"there was no freedom of choice to participate in the national politics and economic development process in the country as most of the times we acted out of fear of reprisals or being reminded of some of the atrocities committed in the areas"*.

It was established by the study that during the 2008 harmonized election during the first run up Goromonzi District was general peaceful and one of its constituencies fell to the opposition MDC party. However the second run up became violent and traditional leaders' were tied and could not influence their subjects to live peaceful and the process for mobilizing the people for the support of the president was taken by the security forces who were working secretly in some cases and this resulted in some disappearance of people who have never been seen again.

However, during the 2013 harmonized Presidential and House of Assembly elections seat that had fallen into the control of the MDC returned back to ZANU PF. During the interviews with the Chief in the area, on how they had managed a smooth transition from the MDC to ZANU PF without any of political violence said during the election periods they have been discouraging their subjects from engaging in political violence and encouraged them to resolve their differences peacefully. One of the chiefs said he held a meeting with his village heads to explain to them that

elections come and go, but themselves will remain in the community, therefore there was need for them live peacefully, because there were relatives and should allow for political differences and encouraged aspiring politicians to sell themselves without instigating violence or hate speech among their subjects. Sharma (2003) noted that the traditional leaders and chiefs have played important roles in the transitioning democracies around Africa and their role cannot be over emphasized.

On the freedoms of participation on political and economic development process in a multiparty democracy some of the participants felt that Zimbabwe was still far away in achieving these goals by the way every election becomes a blood bath. Mrs. Kupara noted that *"due to the nature of the Zimbabwean political landscape thus we have few women standing for political positions and most women are not prepared to kill or get involved in unethical acts in order to gain power"*. This scenario is contradictory to the views of democracy as discussed by Welzel (2008) who looked at democratization *"as the institutionalization of people power through granting of civic freedoms that entitle people to govern their private lives, through making their political preferences count in governing public life"*. These freedoms need to be guaranteed by the state so that its citizens are free to participate in political and economic development processes in the country. Becker and Raveloson (2008) agree with Welzel (2008) when they argued that democracy is about the protection of freedoms from government, which at times favours rulers and their friends at the expense of the rest of the citizens. Whilst the institution of traditional leadership is hereditary, it fits in the democratic theories in the sense that freedoms of citizens to participate in political ideologies of their choices and economic development process

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needs to be guaranteed and it is this institution which deals with citizens at grassroots levels. If government does not work with this institution to support its policies and development efforts it will fail like what happened to the Ujamahaa in Tanzania when politicians left out traditional leaders.

4.4 Chapter Summary

The traditional leadership institution has played an important role in the development and maintenance of customs and traditions in societies over years and their roles have not changed much as supported by the literature reviewed. Communities have looked to traditional leaders for protection and support over the years. The view is supported by Rugege (2009), who noted that traditional leadership institution has been the basis of local government in most of the African continent throughout history. However, their participation in the democratization process in Zimbabwe has been a mixed bag as at one time their power was taken away from them making them weak. It is important to note that governments in democratic systems are defined by timeframes and it is the people who have the power and right to remove or retain them in office. The role of traditional leadership institution in the democratization process of Zimbabwe has been vital, however there is need to ensure that the freedoms of participation in political and economic programmes are guaranteed by the rule of law. It is important that that the traditional leaders maintain peace and order in their communities and seek to consolidate a peaceful environment through working with institutions that promote peace like churches and other civil society organizations.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Summary

This study established that the institution of traditional leadership has a long history which dates back to pre-colonial, and post colonial period. Traditional leaders have continued to play an important role in the functions of traditional communities in the whole the African continent since time immemorial. Traditional leadership institution has continued to play an important role in the democratization process in Zimbabwe although their roles both pre-independence and post independence have been compromised by politicians. Prior to independence the colonial masters sought to neutralize the most powerful and influential chiefs by taking way some of their power, by further dividing the areas under their control. After independence the ZANU PF government at one time stripped the traditional leaders of their authority when they pursued the socialist ideology. After realizing that the traditional leaders, command support for the party's political survival and for supporting any policy development at grassroots level, the government then turned to them for the support and in the process enticed them by giving them gifts and money in return for their support like vehicles, generators, agricultural equipment and introduced salaries and allowances for chiefs, headmen and village heads. The study established that traditional leaders were a critical institution for the democratization process of Zimbabwe through their ensuring peace and active participation of the population at grassroots level. Through this study there were also gaps that were noted in this

institution which hinder the effective delivery of services, by the institution of traditional leaders. Recommendations are made through this study for possible adoption and improvement in the areas that gaps were identified and keep this important institution very relevant to the detects of modern democratic societies.

5.1 Conclusions

- Based on the findings of the study on the role of traditional leaders it can be concluded that traditional leaders continue to play a critical role in the political and economic development process of Zimbabwe. It was clear through this study that the traditional leadership institution still has a role to play in the governance and development of the areas under its jurisdiction.

- Traditional leaders continue to play their role of community leadership and being custodians of cultural heritage in the society and they drive a lot of respect from their subject for these roles.

- Government has relied on this institution to support its functions like maintenance of peace and ensuring the rule of law in the areas of their jurisdiction, through empowering of traditional leaders to report and where possible arrest any criminal activities taking place in their areas of jurisdiction.

- On the participation of citizens in both political and economic development activities, it can be concluded that although the traditional leaders had some hindsight they were not in full control of the process as this was taken over by politicians and civil servants.

♦ Based on the findings of the study it can be concluded that on the selection of beneficiaries to participate in economic projects was not very transparent and was subject to abuse by some traditional leaders who were partisan in their approaches.

♦ Based on the findings of the study it can be concluded that while the legislation provides for traditional leaders to be apolitical in the performance of their function, on the ground it was different as traditional leaders were more partisan in the delivery of their duties, thus leaving subjects with a different political ideology very vulnerable to both abuse and exposure to political violence without recourse.

♦ On the issue of multiparty political democratic environment and participation, the study concludes that freedoms of participation in the political activities of people's choice are still limited as there was not much freedom of association as people were reprimanded or stigmatized for their political choices.

♦ Security of members of the community or citizens was not guaranteed when it comes to political violence as some of the perpetrators of political violence were not prosecuted by the authorities.

♦ Based on the study it can be concluded that the church plays a critical role in working with the traditional leaders in the maintenance of environmental peace and harmony.

♦ Government was working with the institution of traditional leaders to deliver development projects and also to further the goals of the ruling party.

♦ On the relationship of traditional leaders and elected representatives it can be concluded that although the constitution provides for a harmonious working

relationship there was a lot of outcry and back stabbing from both sides as traditional leaders accused politicians of interfering with their roles in order to gain political mileage. Politicians accused traditional leaders of undermining their authority on the other side.

♦ On the issue of gender it can be concluded that the institution of traditional leadership is still patriarchal in nature as there were very few female chiefs that have been installed to preside over communities in the history of Zimbabwe. However, with the changes on the political front there was a possibility that in the near future a female chief could be installed.

♦ Based on the findings of the study it can be concluded that traditional leaders have a role of delivering justice to their people as they preside over cases and disputes that occur in their respective areas.

♦ Most of the cases that presided over by traditional leaders were of gender based violence in nature and other domestic disputes and less of criminal cases as most of these are referred for prosecution by the police and magistrates' courts.

♦ The study managed to contribute to the field of leadership through highlighting some of the challenges and obstacles to effective political and economic development. It is hoped that both the policy makers and traditional leadership institution will adopt some of the recommendations by this study aimed at improving the current functions of traditional leaders and participation of citizens in the democratization process of Zimbabwe.

5.2 Recommendations

♦ The study recommends that the government should invest more in traditional leadership institution given the important roles that it play and to ensure fairness in the delivery of justice, good governance and improve on their leadership skills and quality.

♦ It recommended that government should empower the institution of traditional leadership to deal with cases of both political and gender based violence in their respective areas and there should be no impunity allowed for people that commit or perpetrate political violence.

♦ Government should work with the traditional leaders to deal with cases of political violence and ensure freedoms of association and active participation in the politics and economic development process of the country. There is need to open more space for citizens and communities to participate in the political ideologies of their choices.

♦ It is recommended that there is need to continuously lobby and advocate for the transformation of the institution of traditional leadership to give equal opportunities to both male and female members of the royal households of presiding over their communities.

♦ Given the important role that the church plays in advocating and in the maintenance of peace, it is recommended that the traditional leadership institution be encouraged to work closely with the church to ensure peace prevails all the time.

♦ Based on the findings of the study it is recommended that government should initiate a dialogue between elected representatives and traditional leaders to

allow each group to find its space in the development process of Zimbabwe, where both clearly understand their roles in the development process. Otherwise continued conflict between the two institutions will continue to stifle the development process as the battle for the control of communities rage on.

♦ Finally, it is recommended that further research be undertaken to gain an in-depth understanding of how the institution of traditional leadership can be capacitated to act independently and guarantee security for all their subjects to participate in the politics and economic development projects of their choices, based on the harmonization of the new Constitution of Zimbabwe and the Traditional Leadership ACT.

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Appendix A Clearance Letter of Africa University

INSTITUTE OF PEACE LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE

AFRICA UNIVERSITY
(A United Methodist - Related Institution)

P.O. BOX 1320, MUTARE, ZIMBABWE - TEL.: (263-20) 66788/60075/60026/61611 - FAX: (263-20) 66788/61785 - E-MAIL: iplgsec@africau.ac.z

12 March 2014

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Re: **Permission to Undertake Research for Dissertation at Africa University**

Collen Shoko student registration number **129323** is a student at Africa University. He is enrolled in a degree program in Peace, Leadership and Governance and is currently conducting research for his project, which is required for completion of the program in June 2014. The research topic is **"The Role of Traditional Leadership in the Democratization Process of Zimbabwe: A Case of Goromonzi District "**. Collen is expected to undertake this research during the period January- April 2014 before the dissertation can be submitted to the Faculty in May 2014.

The student will share with you the results of this research after its approval by the Institute.

We thank you for your support and cooperation regarding this research.

Yours sincerely

Prof. P. Machakanja
Director

Appendix B Clearance Letter from the District Administrator, Goromonzi District

All correspondence should be addressed to

THE DISTRICT ADMINISTRATOR
Telephone: +263 274 2251/2
Direct line: +263 274 2253

ZIMBABWE

Reference:

MINISTRY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT
PUBLIC WORKS AND NATIONAL
HOUSING

Office of the District Administrator
P. Bag 43
GOROMONZI

26 March 2014

TO Traditional Leaders
Goromonzi

RE; CONFIRMATION LETTER FOR MR COLLEN SHOKO.

This letter serves to confirm that Mr Collen Shoko is a student at Africa University doing a research on; THE ROLE OF TRADITIONAL LEADERS IN THE DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS OF ZIMBABWE, with specific reference to Goromonzi district.

Can you please kindly furnish him with relevant information for his research and note that this office has no objection to his research .

Your usual participation is highly expected.

Mateta V
For: **DISTRICT ADMINISTRATOR: GOROMONZI**

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Appendix C Questionnaire for Key Informants (Traditional Leaders, District Administrator, Councillors, Member of Parliament*)***

RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

Research Topic: *The Role of the Traditional Leadership Institution in the Democratization Process of Zimbabwe. "Case of Goromonzi District Traditional Leadership"*

GENERAL GUIDELINES AND ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The following safeguards will be used to protect the participant's rights:

(i)   *Participants in the study will be advised verbally about the voluntary nature of their participation and would be free to withdraw from the study any time without penalty being imposed on them.*

(ii) *Participants shall be advised that at any time during the study, they are free to choose to respond to a question or decline when put across to them.*

(iii) *The research objectives of the study will be shared with the participants both in writing and verbally, these will be briefly explained.*

(iv) *Since the study will be dealing with traditional leaders a verbal consent to participate in the study shall be obtained.*

(v)   *The research will share all the data collection methods and activities that will be used for the research.*

(vi) *Written transcriptions and interpretations of the data collected will be made available to the participants just to ensure they agree to information captured.*

(vii) *Confidentiality of all participants and information collected shall be maintained throughout the study.*

(viii) *The researcher will consider the participants' rights, interests and wishes whenever choices are made regarding reporting of the data collected.*

A.   IDENTIFICATION OPTIONAL

Name of Researcher: --

Name of Participant: --

Position of Participant: --

Date of Interview: --

Gender of Participant: ---

Age of Participant: --

B. INTRODUCTION OF THE STUDY

Researcher self introduction:

Explain the purpose and objectives of the study:

(i)   To critically assess the role and influence of traditional leadership in the politics and development process of Zimbabwe.

(ii)   To examine the influence of government on the roles and functions of traditional leaders.

(iii)   To explore ways in which traditional leaders could contribute to a peaceful political and development process.

(iv)   To make policy recommendations for the improvement of the traditional leadership institution.

Have participants introduce themselves

(i)   Explain that a tape recorder, pictures and video clips will be recorded in the process to enable the researcher to listen later and write further notes on the discussions.

(ii)   Names will not be used in this process and everything will be confidential.

SECTION 1: ROLES OF TRADITIONAL LEADERS (Chiefs, headmen and village heads)

GENERAL VIEWS

1.0   What do you see as the role and functions of traditional leaders in the politics and economic development process of Zimbabwe?

1.1   What is the role of the traditional leadership institution in ensuring a peaceful environment in their areas of jurisdiction?

1.2   What is your role in the implementation of economic development projects in your area?

1.3   How do you select participants or beneficiaries of these economic projects?

1.4   How do you coordinate your work with your local councillors and Member of Parliament?

1.5   How does the chieftaincy institution function in your area?

1.6   In the history of your people has a female chief ever been installed?

       1.6.1   If your answer to 1.6 is "No" why?

       1.6.2 What are your views about female chiefs?

       1.6.3 Do you believe female chiefs can be effective in dealing with social, political and economic development processes in Zimbabwe? Support your answer.

1.7   How should traditional leaders deal with political and gender based violence cases in their communities?

       1.7.1 How prevalent are political based violence cases in your area?

       1.7.2 What are the root causes of political violence?

       1.7.3 How prevalent are gender based violence cases in the area?

1.8   How can a chief's leadership and life style impact on his subjects?

CHIEF'S ADVISORY COUNCIL (Chief and Counsellors)

1.9 How does the chief's advisory council function?

1.9.1 Who are the chief's counselors?

1.9.2 What are their qualifications?

1.9.3 How do counselors interact with members of the community?

1.10 How does the institution of traditional leaders relate with religious leaders and traditional spirit medium institutions?

1.11 Do you remember any situation where you sought support of religious leaders or traditional spirit mediums in resolving a conflict in your area or for strengthening leadership? (If {yes} was there any positive outcome?)

1.11.1 What was the incident about?

SECTION 2: GOVERNMENT ROLE IN THE FUNCTIONS OF TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP INSTITUTION   (Chief & DA)

2.0 What is the relationship between the traditional leadership institution and local government?

2.1 What is the role of the district administrator in the traditional leadership institution?

2.1.1 What are some of the challenges you encounter in dealing with Chiefs?

2.2 What are your experiences in working with the government and traditional leaders?

2.3 As a Chief what have you benefitted from government support targeting traditional leaders?

2.4   What support do you get from government to enable you to do your work adequately and independently for the benefit of your subjects?

2.5   What would you do if you disagree with a certain decision from government?

    2.5.1   Can a Chief be dethroned for differing with government policy or decision?

2.6   How does a Chief voice his/her concerns to government if he/she is not happy about a decision that is pushed down for him/her to implement on his/her people?

SECTION 3: STRATEGIES FOR MAINTAINING AN EVER PEACEFUL ENVIRONMENT IN THE COUNTRY (Chiefs, Headman & Village Heads)

3.0   How have you managed to deal with cases of political violence in your area in the past?

3.1   How do you ensure that peace prevails in your area during election and non election periods?

3.2   What have been your experiences of political violence during last election two election years 2008 and 2013?

3.3   How have you protected women and children during incidences of political unrest or gender based violence in your area?

3.4   How have you dealt with your subjects who had voiced different opinions on the judgments by your council on certain matters?

3.5   What has been your experience of working with different political parties in your area?

3.6   What has been your role?

3.7   What do think about the institution of traditional leadership as far as political participation is concerned?

         3.7.1   Can it be truly apolitical?

         3.7.2   Why do think so?

3.8   Your area was once under the MDC political leadership after 2008 elections and now is under ZANU PF after the 2013 harmonized elections how have you managed the peaceful transition among your subjects?

3.9   What is your message or advice to other chiefs in dealing with political differences among their subjects?

3.10   What do you see as the role of the civil society, non governmental organizations, churches and women in contributing to peace in your area or in Zimbabwe?

3.11   Which organizations amongst these do you think can contribute more to a peaceful environment in your area?

SECTION 4: RECOMMENDATIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT OF THE ROLES AND FUNCTIONS OF TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP INSTITUTION

4.0   "Zimbabwe is generally perceived as a peaceful country or society in Africa". What are your views about this statement?

4.1   What can be done to improve the roles and functions of traditional leaders to facilitate participatory political and economic development in Zimbabwe?

4.2   If you were in the position of government what would you do to improve the functions of traditional leaders in Zimbabwe to enable them to maintain peaceful environments in their areas of jurisdiction?

End of Discussion

Thank you for your time and patience and for making my study a success.

Appendix D Questionnaire for focus group discussion

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION QUESTIONS (Village Heads, Community Elders and Church Leaders)

A. **Mood setting with the interviewees guidelines** (critically for focused group discussion)

Outline that this is just a discussion not a conversation, therefore there are "No right or wrong answers, just ideas and opinions". Feel free to disagree with other people in the group. Encourage everyone in the group to participate, because everyone's opinion is important. Try to hear from everyone at least once during this general session.

(i) *If you had to use one word or phrase to describe your understanding of traditional leaders in the Zimbabwean context.* What word or phrase would you use?

(ii) *Reflect on changes that are going on in your community.* Are there any changes in the ways things are being done today which is different from the yester years?

(iii) What is that has changed?

(iv) What roles have traditional leaders play in influencing these changes either positively or negatively?

1. What is the role of the Chief in this community?

2. How does the Chief coordinate his work with your local councillors and Member of Parliament?

3. How do you ensure that women, men, boys and girls participate in economic development projects in your area?

4. How do you identify beneficiaries for these projects?

5. *"There has been debate in our local media about the institution of traditional leadership some saying these are political animals, while others say they should be apolitical".* What are your views about this statement?

6. What do you understand by the term freedom? (Give examples)

7. How can these freedoms be protected among your subjects and members of the community? (Give examples)

8. Are you free to support any political party of your own choice in this area without political reprisals?

9. What do you think that government should do to support the institution of traditional leaders so that it can deliver value to its communities and contribute to both the political and economic development goals of Zimbabwe?

End of Discussion

Thank you for your time,