

**AFRICA UNIVERSITY**

(A United Methodist-Related Institution)

**CITIZEN ENGAGEMENT IN MONETARY POLICY MAKING IN  
ZIMBABWE**

**BY**

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**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE  
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER IN PUBLIC POLICY AND  
GOVERNANCE IN THE COLLEGE OF BUSINESS, PEACE, LEADERSHIP AND  
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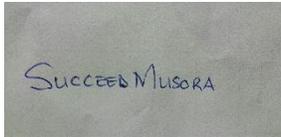
## **Abstract**

The research sought to examine citizen engagement in monetary policy making in Zimbabwe with special focus on the existing frameworks for engagement and the extent to which government engage the citizens. Identification of opportunities and limitations of citizen engagement was another central objective of the study. The research adopted a mixed methodology in which a survey was carried out to obtain the perceptions of citizen towards the engagement process whilst qualitative data was obtained from identified key informants. The study was underpinned by the Elite Theory which states that policies are a result of elite consensus and not the demands of the citizens. Group Theory was also used as an alternative way through which government can adopt in a bid to place citizens through various societal groups at the center of monetary policy making. The study explored the level of confidence which citizens have towards monetary policies in Zimbabwe. In addition, respondents' views were sought in as far as limitation and opportunities are concerned. The research findings lay bare that citizens are aware of the legal and institutional frameworks for engagement, however their confidence in these frameworks is very low. Another finding of the research was that the majority of citizens have not been engaged in monetary policy matters in the past five years. This has caused the lack of confidence in such policies which result in a lot of policy friction and resistance. However, a positive outcome of the research was that the majority of the citizens are still willing to participate in monetary policy making if given an opportunity, hence the government should take advantage of the available opportunities such as technology and social media to initiate robust citizen engagement process. Thus, the future of citizen engagement lies in the ability of government to seize such opportunities and at the same time working towards addressing grey areas such as polarization and lack of awareness which threatens the very existence of effective citizen engagement mechanisms. Thus, the government is encouraged to engage citizens in all monetary policy issues to boost confidence which is of much importance for any policy success, especially monetary ones. This is due to the fact that, without confidence in policy, it would be a mammoth task for government to implement and let alone enforce such policies.

**Key Words:** Policy, Citizen, Engagement, Monetary

## Declaration

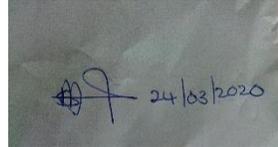
I declare that this dissertation is my original work except where sources have been cited and acknowledged. The work has never been submitted, nor will it ever be submitted to another university for the award of a degree.



SUCCEED MUISORA

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Student's Full Name



[Signature] 24/03/2020

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Student's Signature (Date)

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Main Supervisor's Full Name

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Main Supervisor's Signature (Date)

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## **Dedication**

I dedicate this research to my loving wife Ayanda for her indefatigable support and understanding during the entire period of my studies. Special mention goes to my son Maximilien Kunashe, whose smiles kept me going. I also dedicate this work to all Zimbabweans who are craving to see a democratic and inclusive society.

## **List of Acronyms and Abbreviations**

|      |                              |
|------|------------------------------|
| AU   | African Union                |
| AUC  | African Union Commission     |
| CSOs | Civil Society Organizations  |
| HOC  | House of Commons             |
| MP   | Member of Parliament         |
| POA  | Parliament of Australia      |
| POZ  | Parliament of Zimbabwe       |
| RBZ  | Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe     |
| SI   | Statutory Instrument         |
| TNF  | Tripartite Negotiation Forum |
| UK   | United Kingdom               |

## **Definition of Key Terms**

**Monetary Policy**-It is an economic policy which regulates the growth rate of money supply in an economy, as well as regulating macroeconomic variables such as unemployment and inflation (Corporate Finance Institute, 2020).

**Citizen Engagement**-It is an intentional and active dialogue between citizens and the government or public officials in which citizens have some control over the decisions that affect them aimed at improving policies and public service delivery (Citizenlab, 2019). It differs from citizen participation in that it is formal and a top down approach established by authorities or government.

**Policy Making**-It is a systematic process of coming up with a policy to address a public problem which consists of various elements such as problem identification, agenda setting and policy legitimation.

**Statutory Instrument**-Statutory Instrument is a form of legislation which provides for an Act of Parliament to be brought into force or amended without the Parliament having to pass a new law (House of Commons, 2008). Statutory Instruments are also known as delegated or subsidiary legislation.

## Table of Contents

|   |             |
|---|-------------|
| <b>Abstract.....</b>  | <b>ii</b>   |
| <b>Declaration.....</b>   | <b>iii</b>  |
| <b>Copyright.....</b>   | <b>iv</b>   |
| <b>Acknowledgements.....</b>  | <b>v</b>    |
| <b>Dedication .....</b>   | <b>vi</b>   |
| <b>List of Acronyms and Abbreviations .....</b>                         | <b>vii</b>  |
| <b>Definition of Key Terms .....</b>                                    | <b>viii</b> |
| <b>Table of Contents .....</b>  | <b>ix</b>   |
| <b>List of Tables .....</b>   | <b>xii</b>  |
| <b>List of Figures.....</b>   | <b>xiii</b> |
| <b>CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION .....</b>                                     | <b>1</b>    |
| 1.1 Introduction .....  | 1           |
| 1.2 Background of the Study .....                                       | 2           |
| 1.3 Statement of the Problem .....                                      | 3           |
| 1.4 Research objectives .....   | 5           |
| 1.5 Research Questions .....  | 5           |
| 1.6 Research Assumptions .....  | 5           |
| 1.7 Significance of the Study .....                                     | 6           |
| 1.8 Delimitation of the Study .....                                     | 6           |
| 1.9 Limitations of the Study .....                                      | 7           |
| 1.10 Chapter Summary .....  | 8           |
| <b>CHAPTER 2 REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE .....</b>                     | <b>9</b>    |
| 2.1 Introduction .....  | 9           |
| 2.2 The Group Theory .....  | 9           |
| 2.2.1 Elite Theory .....  | 10          |
| 2.3 Relevance of Theoretical Framework to the Study .....               | 10          |
| 2.4 Philosophical and Historical Framework for Citizen Engagement ..... | 12          |
| 2.4.1 African Historical Perspective on Citizen Engagement .....        | 13          |

|   |           |
|---|-----------|
| 2.5 Rationale for Citizen Engagement .....                                | 13        |
| 2.6 Existing Frameworks for Citizen Engagement.....                       | 14        |
| 2.6.1 Legal Framework.....  | 14        |
| 2.6.2 Kenyan Legal Framework for Citizen Engagement .....                 | 15        |
| 2.6.3 Zimbabwean Legal Framework.....                                     | 16        |
| 2.7 Institutional Frameworks and Citizen Engagement Platforms.....        | 18        |
| 2.7.1 Legislature as Institutional Framework for Citizen Engagement ..... | 18        |
| 2.7.2 Stakeholder Breakfast Meetings .....                                | 19        |
| 2.7.3 Consultative Forums.....  | 20        |
| 2.7.4 Parliamentary Outreaches and Hearings.....                          | 20        |
| 2.7.5 Written Submissions and Petitions .....                             | 21        |
| 2.7.6 National Budget and Citizen Engagement.....                         | 22        |
| 2.8 Civil Society as an Institution of Citizen Engagement.....            | 23        |
| 2.9 Global Perspective on Citizen Engagement in Policy Making .....       | 24        |
| 2.10 Limitations and Opportunities for Citizen Engagement.....            | 26        |
| 2.10.1 Limitations .....  | 26        |
| 2.10.2 Opportunities for Citizen Engagement .....                         | 28        |
| 2.11 Chapter Summary.....   | 29        |
| <b>CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY .....</b>  | <b>30</b> |
| 3.1 Introduction .....  | 30        |
| 3.2 The Research Design.....  | 30        |
| 3.3 Population and Sampling.....  | 31        |
| 3.4 Data Collection Instruments .....                                     | 33        |
| 3.5 Pilot Study .....   | 34        |
| 3.6 Data Collection Procedure.....  | 34        |
| 3.6.1 Collection of Secondary Data .....                                  | 36        |
| 3.7 Analysis and Organization of Data .....                               | 36        |
| 3.8 Ethical Consideration .....   | 37        |
| 3.8.1 Informed Consent .....  | 37        |
| 3.8.2 Confidentiality and Anonymity .....                                 | 37        |
| 3.8.3 Respecting Individual Autonomy .....                                | 38        |
| 3.8.4 Avoiding Deceptive Practices.....                                   | 38        |
| 3.8.5 Protection of Participants.....                                     | 38        |
| 3.9 Summary .....   | 39        |

|   |           |
|---|-----------|
| <b>CHAPTER 4 DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION</b>               | <b>40</b> |
| 4.1 Introduction .....  | 40        |
| 4.2 Data Presentation and Analysis .....                                      | 40        |
| 4.2.1 Legal and Institutional Frameworks for Citizen Engagement .....         | 40        |
| 4.2.1.2 Institutional Frameworks .....  | 43        |
| 4.2.1.3 Confidence in the current legal and institutional frameworks .....    | 44        |
| 4.2.2 Government and Citizen Engagement .....                                 | 47        |
| 4.2.3 Citizens and Willingness to Participate in Monetary policy Making ..... | 54        |
| 4.2.4 Opportunities and Limitations .....                                     | 58        |
| 4.3 Discussion and Interpretation .....                                       | 61        |
| 4.3.1 Effectiveness of Existing Legal and Institutional Frameworks .....      | 62        |
| 4.3.2 The Extent of Citizen Engagement in Monetary Policy Making.....         | 64        |
| 4.3.3 Citizens and the Power to Govern .....                                  | 67        |
| 4.3.4 The Future of Citizen Engagement in Monetary Policy Making.....         | 68        |
| 4.4 Summary .....   | 69        |
| <b>CHAPTER 5 SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS .....</b>                | <b>71</b> |
| 5.1 Introduction .....  | 71        |
| 5.2 Discussion .....  | 71        |
| 5.3 Conclusion.....   | 74        |
| 5.4 Implications .....  | 74        |
| 5.5 Recommendations .....   | 75        |
| 5.6 Suggestions for Further Research.....                                     | 76        |
| <b>REFERENCES.....</b>  | <b>77</b> |
| <b>APPENDICES .....</b>   | <b>81</b> |

## **List of Tables**

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Table 3.1:Demographic characteristics of Key Informants .....         | 33 |
| Table 4.1:Knowledge of institutional frameworks (In percentage) ..... | 43 |

## **List of Figures**

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Figure 3.1: Demographic Characteristics of Survey Participants .....                             | 32 |
| Figure 4.1: Confidence in legal and institutional frameworks .....                               | 44 |
| Figure 4. 2 Channels through which citizens receive information about monetary policies<br>..... | 50 |
| Figure 4.3:Reasons for non-Engagement.....   | 52 |
| Figure 4.4:Factors contributing to limited engagement .....                                      | 60 |
| Figure 4.5: Elitist Model of Monetary Policy Making in Zimbabwe .....                            | 65 |

## **List of Appendices**

|   |    |
|---|----|
| APPENDICES .....                                | 81 |
| Appendix 1: Informed Consent.....               | 81 |
| Appendix 2: Key Informant Interview Guide ..... | 83 |
| Appendix 3: Survey Questionnaire .....          | 85 |
| Appendix 4: AUREC Approval Letter.....          | 87 |

## **CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 Introduction**

Citizen engagement is a fundamental aspect of human development, which as a concept has been emphasized since the mid-20<sup>th</sup> Century but became more pronounced in the 21<sup>st</sup> century (Chwalisz, 2017). Engagement of citizens in policy making is seen as the touchstone of human rights-based approach to development. To that end various international, regional and domestic laws have been enshrined to promote and lubricate the engagement of citizens by government in policy development. This chapter focuses on the background of the research as well as the gap between the ideal situation and the reality on the ground which therefore informs the whole study. The research questions which underpins the study are elaborated in this chapter together with the research assumption that, often times government does not engage citizens in monetary policy making process. Significance of the study is highlighted in this chapter, for both the government as well as Civil Society Organizations (CSOs).

The limitations of the study are highlighted whilst the geographical delimitation of the study is given as the Central Business District of Harare. Therefore, in general this dissertation seeks to dissect the process of citizen engagement in monetary policy, paying attention to the legal and institutional framework which are available for citizen engagement. In addition, limitations and opportunities for citizen engagement will be explored such that recommendations will be given to improve the relationship between government and its citizens when it comes to engagement in monetary policy development in Zimbabwe.

## **1.2 Background of the Study**

Following the economic crisis in 2008 which was coupled by hyperinflation, Zimbabwe formally discarded its currency in favor of the multicurrency regime. Before that, the introduction and mass printing of bearer cheques saw the skyrocketing of prizes which devalued the pseudo currency when inflation rate broke world ranking to become second only to Hungary (Hanke, 2014). The multicurrency regime was welcomed by many for it was seen as a panacea to a myriad of economic challenges which obtained at that time. The introduction of the policy did not take into account the engagement of citizens, but the government just succumbed to the decision of the citizens who had already adopted various foreign currencies in their daily transactions (Magaisa, 2019).

The introduction of various foreign currencies including the Rand, United States Dollar and the Pula saw the stabilization of the economy through taming inflation, (Hanke, 2014). This was initiated during the Government of National Unity (GNU), after the expiry of the political settlement in 2013 a lot of monetary policies were introduced by the government. These include the demonetization of the Zimbabwean dollar in 2015, the introduction of the bond notes and the Intermediary Money Transfer Tax (two percent tax), among others. In Zimbabwe, in other spheres of life citizens have been engaged in policy development through various initiatives such as parliamentary outreaches as well as budget consultations towards each and every financial year. However, in monetary policy development the process seems to be very opaque and characterized by ambush tactic hence the engagement of citizens has been very limited in the previous policies (Magaisa, 2019). Thus, lack of citizen consultation about various policies let alone proper communication leaves citizens in confusion and thus eroding confidence in the policy.

The engagement of citizens in mentioned policies was limited since some of the policies were invoked through the Presidential Powers Temporary Measures Act, thus by-passing the citizens and the parliament as an institution which represents the general citizens. This has led to a lot policy friction and failures. This manifested through a lot of demonstrations and court applications seeking to overturn some of these policies. The introduction of bond notes faced a lot a resistance and a barrage of criticism from the citizens who posed that, it was a euphemism for the introduction of a Zimbabwean dollar through back door. It was challenged at various platforms, even at court levels. Citizens were not properly engaged, however fast down the lane, the bond notes began to lose value though at its inception it was said to be at par with the United States Dollar.

Citizens should be engaged in monetary policy making as enshrined in the constitution to instill confidence in the citizens who are not only the public recipients of such policies but should be viewed as agents in policy making as well. Therefore, this study seeks to explore the extent to which the government of Zimbabwe engage citizens in monetary policy development and the consequences thereof such that recommendations will be made.

### **1.3 Statement of the Problem**

It is of paramount importance to engage citizens when making policies so that they have a sense of ownership which provide legitimacy to any policy. The importance of engaging citizens when making policy has been realized worldwide to an extent that this has been enshrined in various international statutes which Zimbabwe is part to. These include Article 21 of the United Nations Declaration for Human Rights together with Article 13 of the African Charter on Human and People's Rights which articulate the right and importance of citizen engagement and participation for the betterment of humanity. In

Zimbabwe the engagement of citizens in matters of governance and policy development is provided for in the Constitution. Section 3 (2)(f), notes that all agencies of the government should respect the citizens from whom the authority to govern is derived whilst subsection (g) of the said section mandates them to be transparency and accountable. In addition, section 141 of the same constitution mandates the parliament to consult and engage citizen in legislative and other processes. In others spheres of policy development, the government seems to understand the need to engage citizens, for through various platforms the government has attempted to reach out to citizens.

However, when it comes to monetary policy making, it seems the government is not effectively engaging its citizens. Various monetary policies have been introduced between 2015 and 2019 with citizens having limited knowledge of the whole process. Some policies came amid resistance from some sections of the citizens, the bond notes are a case in point. It was introduced in the late 2016 without effective citizen engagement, in fact some sections of the citizens were against its introduction which resulted in various court cases and petitions (Matanda, Dube & Madzokere, 2018). The introduction of the Intermediary Money Transfer Tax in 2018, was another policy which was invoke by the Minister without any form of citizen engagement, introduction of the policy was very swift, without any fundamentals of a good policy development. Mashava, (2018) accentuates this by positing that the policy which was forth-put by the Minister of Finance was quickly gazzeted into law through SI 205 of 2018, within two weeks after its proposal. As such, many opposed it through various channels including the legal way, for instance, *Mfundo Mlilo vs Minister of Finance and Economic Development (HC9723/2018)*. This has resulted in a lot of policy friction which is not good especially in the monetary sphere

where confidence from the citizens and the market is of utmost importance. Hence this study seeks to understand the extent to which government engage citizens in monetary policy making, the consequences and the way-forward thereof.

#### **1.4 Research objectives**

The study sought to fulfil the following objectives:

1. To assess the legal and institutional frameworks which provide for citizen engagement in policy making;
2. To explore the extent to which the government engage citizens in monetary policy issues;
3. To identify the opportunities and limitations for citizen engagement in monetary policy making;

#### **1.5 Research Questions**

The study sought to answer the following questions:

1. How effective is the legal and institutional frameworks which provide for citizen engagement in policy making?
2. To what extent does the government engage citizens in monetary policy making?
3. What are the limitations and opportunities for citizen engagement in monetary policy making?

#### **1.6 Research Assumptions**

The research was predicated on the following assumptions:

1. Citizen engagement is at the center of any policy success without which would result in either policy failure, friction or difficulties in implementation.

2. The Government of Zimbabwe by-passed citizens and places itself at the center of monetary policy making.

### **1.7 Significance of the Study**

The study was premised on the view that little research has been previously dedicated to the engagement of citizens in relation to monetary policies. Previous related studies have been focusing much on participation of citizens in other spheres such as service delivery and politics. Therefore, the research might contribute to the closure of the knowledge gap in the Zimbabwean context as far as monetary policy making and citizen engagement is concerned. The research might help the government of Zimbabwe through the Ministry of Finance and the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe [RBZ] by providing evidence-based policy recommendations once the research is completed. Conclusion and recommendations drawn based on the views of important stakeholders and citizens may inculcate a culture of engagement far opposed to confrontations as have witnessed before. This might reduce policy friction and failure as far as monetary policies are concerned.

### **1.8 Delimitation of the Study**

This study was geographically delimited to Harare where important key informants were drawn for in-depth interviews and a survey was carried out in the Central Business District of Harare alone. Therefore, for the survey, the geographical boundaries were Harare Street to the west, 5<sup>th</sup> Street to the east, Samora Machel Avenue to the north and Robert Mugabe Road to the south. This was due to the proximity to the researcher as well as the fact that most of the people who are in the CBD at a particular given time of the day on average represents people from various districts within Harare as a province. In terms of age, the study focused on participants above eighteen years since this is the legal age

allowed for one to participate in political, electoral and civic issues in terms of section 67 (3) of the Constitution.

The study was conceptually delimited to citizen engagement in the active and legitimate sense which is different from manipulation and therapy as explained by Arnstein (1969) in the Ladder of Participation. In this study citizen engagement means an intentional and active dialogue between citizens and the government or public officials in which citizens have some control over the decisions that affect them aimed at improving policies and public service delivery (Citizenlab, 2019). It differs from citizen participation in that it is formal and a top down approach established by authorities or government. The researcher adopted this definition as a result of the fact that many governments seem to engage citizens yet they already would have their position on various policy issues, thus engagement would be done as an exercise to tick the box.

### **1.9 Limitations of the Study**

Any academic investigation is subject to limitations, that is challenges which were faced in carrying out the research. Therefore, the researcher faced the following limitations:

1. The researcher faced challenges in getting opportunity to have in-depth interviews from some prospective respondents. Due to bureaucracy in various organizations, the request letters were forwarded from one department to another before permission to collect data was approved. To mitigate this, the researcher booked for appointments well ahead of time and was flexible enough to allow interviews at the most convenient time of the respondents. In addition, the researcher explained clearly the purpose of the study and try to exonerate it from any political

connotations in a bid to get a buy in from the gatekeepers and hence navigating the political terrain of the research.

2. Citizen engagement is a politically contested issue especially around the pillars of the economy, for it can be used for political manipulation. This is accentuated by the level of political polarization currently obtained in Zimbabwe. Therefore, the probability of obtaining views imbued with political biases from various subjects from the population was imminent, as such the researcher tried by all means to use triangulation in a bid to reduce such biases.

### **1.10 Chapter Summary**

This chapter highlights the basic structure of this study by providing an outline on the background of the study, statement of the problem as well as objectives of the study. Various monetary policies have been introduced by the government for the past five years, however, it has been established that the level of citizen engagement has been limited. This has been contribution to policy friction hence, some of the objectives of the study are to assess the legal and institutional frameworks of engagement as well as to explore the extent to which the government engages its citizens when developing monetary policies. The significance of the study is predicated on the need to close the knowledge gap since there is very little research on the subject matter. The study is geographically delimited to the Central Business District of Harare due the proximity to the researcher and that on average people from various districts in Harare would be found in the Central Business District.

## **CHAPTER 2 REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE**

### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter provides the theoretical framework underpinning this study and analyses the literature related to the topic at hand. Two theories, the elite and group theories form the basis of this study. Literature related to the topic under study is reviewed under categories as follows, the legal and institutional framework for citizen engagement, government's citizen engagement and finally limitations and opportunities for citizen engagement will be investigated.

### **2.2 The Group Theory**

This study adopted two approaches to explain the subject at hand, that is group and elite theories. Group theory is a model of policy making which places citizens through various groups at the center of policy development. This means various group will lobby for or against any policy initiative in any country. Thus Anyebe, (2018), points out that public policy is the balance reached by various struggling groups trying to win favor for their advantage. The origins of this theory can be traced back to Robert Dahl and Charles Lindblom, who argued that society is governed through a polyarchy system whereby decision-making power lies within the hands of citizens through various nongovernmental groups. However, the power of citizens to influence policy depends on the power and the structure of such groups. Through this, citizens participate in policy development through the role played by civil society organization in different sectors of the society to voice their views and visions towards policy development.

### **2.2.1 Elite Theory**

The Elite theory is the model which largely explains how monetary policies are crafted in Zimbabwe. The model highlights that the society is divided into clusters in which the elite in the society craft policies that reflects their interest and needs whilst totally disregarding input from the citizens and any other stakeholders. The origins of this model dates back to Platonic era in which Plato emphasized on the need to have philosopher kings who would rule and make decision on behalf of the whole society. The philosophers Kings are described as having virtue and knowledge which justifies their rule upon the masses who are regarded as unknowledgeable. The theory was further advanced by Italian Scholars such as Mosca, Pareto and Michels in the 19th Century, whilst Mills and Dye are regarded as the contemporary elitists of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. Dye (2004) posits that public policies do not emerge from the demands and interests of the general citizens but from the interests and consensus of the elite. Hence a minority from the political and economic elite will craft policy at the best interests of themselves and not the general citizens (Pokharel, 2019).

### **2.3 Relevance of Theoretical Framework to the Study**

The relevance of these two theories to the study is that the other theory captures the ideal situation whilst the other reveals the situation as it stands on the ground, based on the literature available. The group theory, though it attempts to establish the relevance of placing citizens at the center of policy making through various groups, the model does not adequately capture how policies are made in Zimbabwe in the context of monetary policy. The government is expected to engage citizens and various stakeholders in policy development as established in the constitution of the country in tandem with the norms of

good governance. According to the group theory, public policy is viewed as an outcome of pressure from the groups pushing for their various interests to form the agenda and consequently policy (Pokharel, 2019). To some extent, the government conduct public consultations to gather views from various groups and stakeholders especially towards the crafting of national budget. However, the power of groups to influence policy making on monetary policy in Zimbabwe still remains limited. Citizens through interests' groups tried to shape policy formulation towards the introduction of bond notes in 2016 to no avail. The Independent (2016, August 16) accentuates this by noting that the government was not moved by the anti-bond protestors, with the RBZ officials unequivocally stating that the bond notes would be introduced regardless of public resistance.

The elite theory assumes that the state is an instrument in the hands of the elite to control the masses. This model assumes that citizens are not informed and above all lacks technocracy, as such some elites should just make decisions on their behalf. The Minister of Finance downplayed the relevance of engaging the public when it comes to monetary issues which he regards as sensitive issues. He pointed out that there is no need for referendum let alone engagement of citizens when dealing with currency, except to give indications that a new currency will come at some point (Murwira, 2019). Thus, the elites are of the view that engagement is not relevant, what is important is just informing citizens about a policy which shall be or is already crafted. This reflects the top-down approach when making policy, in which citizens are regarded as passive recipients and not agents in policy making.

## **2.4 Philosophical and Historical Framework for Citizen Engagement**

In democratic society, it is recognized that citizens have the right to participate actively, directly or indirectly to shape their government through public policies. Maddox (2005) points out that public policy is not only reserved for politicians but also the general citizens who petition government, or through various interest groups and shape public policy for it affects the whole community. Thus, public administration has been increasingly placing citizens at the center of policy making not only as targets but agents as well (Parliament of Australia [POA], 2011). There has been a growing expectation from the general citizens to be engaged in policy making, failure to fulfill the expectation has led to policy friction which manifest through various ways. The historical and philosophical framework of citizen engagement can be traced back to the 5<sup>th</sup> Century in the Athens democratic system. The Athens democratic system by that time was characterized by direct democracy whereby citizens participated directly in shaping the system of the society under which they lived. In the 20th Century, Hannah Arendt is famously credited for advocating for citizen-centric politics in her work, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (1951). The scholar advanced a version of political engagement based on depth cultural achievement opposed from the natural human nature, as pointed out by POA (2011). However, another theorist Habermas advanced a view in which he advocated for competent and knowledgeable citizens to engage each other and the government as well. This means marginalized and unknowledgeable citizens will be relegated to the periphery when it comes to citizen engagement.

### **2.4.1 African Historical Perspective on Citizen Engagement**

Since time immemorial African states has been placing citizens at the center of policy making through various traditional mechanism with some still being practiced today. In Botswana, the idea of citizen engagement can be traced back to pre-independence era whereby local communities were consulted by their leadership before making decisions which would affect the whole society (Molokwane & Lukamba, 2018). The process of engagement from the village to the central government has been practiced before. Molokwane and Lukamba (2018) point out that, engagement has some roots to the traditional custom of Tswana called Kgotla whereby town consultation with the citizens would be held. In Zimbabwe engagement of citizens has a traditional history imbedded in the culture of both the Shona and the Ndebele people. Over centuries, the traditional system in Zimbabwe has been acknowledging the importance of citizen engagement through various platforms such as the Dare (Traditional Court) whereby the community under a Kraal Head would gather to deliberate on various social, economic and cultural issues affecting the whole community before the leadership could make final decisions. This gave citizens from the community an opportunity to air out their views in support or denouncement of any policy initiative.

### **2.5 Rationale for Citizen Engagement**

There are various reasons which have been put forward by to justify the need to engage citizens in policy making. Davis and Simon (2012) are of the view that citizen engagement promote social cohesion and empowers citizens. Social cohesion is the cornerstone of a functioning community for it builds trust and legitimacy for any policy or decision. Through engagement, citizens feel empowered to voice their concerns and give

preferences for public policies. Engagement promote democracy and development in the sense that increased participation of citizens will make public institutions more accountable and responsive, a critical factor for achieving the Millennium Development Goals (Davis & Simon, 2012). Citizen engagement also matters because inclusivity in political institutions is the cornerstone of wealth and prosperity (Acemoglu & Robinson, 2016). In difficult economic and political situations, it is imperative to engage citizens in a bid to help policy makers to find popular backing when making tough public policy choices (Chwalisz, 2017). It is important to include the input of the citizens in making policies rather than engaging citizens as an exercise to tick the box. Inclusion of citizens views in making policy will build confidence in the citizens hence they will keep on participating in future endeavors after realizing that the whole process will be genuine and produce tangible results.

## **2.6 Existing Frameworks for Citizen Engagement**

There are various legal and institutional frameworks which guide and provide for citizen engagement in policy formulation. These frameworks vary from national to international and they are of paramount importance for they provide some underpinnings towards the engagement of citizens in regard to the governance of their countries.

### **2.6.1 Legal Framework**

The need to engage citizens in policy formulation has been enshrined in various legal statutes world over which have been already alluded to some sections above. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, through Article 21 provides for the emancipation, engagement and participation of citizens either directly, or indirectly in the governance of their respective countries (United Nations General Assembly, 1948). This created the

foundation upon which many legal statutes are built on as far as the engagement of citizens is concerned. In Africa, the need to engage citizens in policy formulation has been captured in the African Union Charter for Human and People's Rights (AUCHPR). Article 13 of the Charter gives equal opportunity for every citizen to participate in the governance process of his or her country (African Union [AU], 1981). The African Charter for Popular Participation in Development and Transformation was adopted in 1990 due to the realization of the shortcoming of AUCHPR in matters of engagement. It was adopted against a decade of economic deterioration in Africa and the realization of the importance of citizen participation for economic development (AU, 1990). Article 7 of the Charter clearly explains the imperative of citizen engagement without which will affect nation building and economic development.

However, citizen engagement is still lacking in Africa as has been accentuated by the Agenda 2063, which under Aspiration 6 envision an Africa whose development is people centered and people driven by 2063 (African Union Commission [AUC], 2015). It envisions an Africa in which all citizens will be actively participating and engaged in decision making in all aspects for development only by 2063.

### **2.6.2 Kenyan Legal Framework for Citizen Engagement**

In Kenya policies come up from different organizations which pushes for their issues to come to the agenda table. Regardless of where the policy initiatives come from, there is room for the general citizens to participate in policy development. The constitution of Kenya of 2010 is progressive when it comes citizen engagement in policy making. It provides the basis for citizen participation in policy making as captured in Article 10 of the Constitution on National Values and Principles of Governance as read together with

Article 35 which provides the right to access information held by the State, (Kenyan Constitution,2010). This means citizens can access all information they want in regards to any policy issue or policy development. However, critics argued that, the involvement of citizens and large consultation processes may derail the process of policy making citing Disaster Management Policy which took fifteen years to be finalized.

### **2.6.3 Zimbabwean Legal Framework**

The Constitution establishes the fundamentals on the need to engage citizens in policy formulation as a foundation of good governance. Therefore, engagement of citizens provided for in the constitution should be abide to always. The need to engage citizens is established in section 3 of the constitution which provides that the power to govern is derived from the citizens. Section 3 (2) (f), notes that all agencies of the government should respect the citizens from whom the authority to govern is derived whilst subsection (g) of the said section mandates them to be transparency and accountable. In addition, section 141 of the same constitution mandates the Parliament to engage and consult citizens in various processes and bills. These constitutional provisions together with international and regional statutes which Zimbabwe is part to form the basis for citizen engagement in the country. The importance of these sections of the constitution were emphasized in the case of Mfundo Mlilo vs Minister of Finance and Economic Development, 2019. The applicant sought to put aside the Intermediate Money Transfer Tax, pointing out that the policy was arbitrarily pronounced by the Minister without engaging citizens and the parliament and the judge ruled in favor of the applicant putting aside the policy and the SI 205 of 2018, (HC9723/18). Thus, basing of this High Court

Judgement, the engagement and participation of citizens in policy making have been emphasized much in Zimbabwe.

The Constitution further provides for the engagement of citizens in Section 59 whereby citizens are given the right to demonstrate and present petitions (Constitution of Zimbabwe, 2013). This section is imperative because it offers opportunity for citizens to present demands to any government institution whenever they feel that they are not consulted. However, citizens can demonstrate and present petitions but many times this will not change the government's position over its policy choices. This can be exemplified by the issue of bond notes in which a pressure group held various demonstrations against the introduction of the notes and presented its petition to both Parliament and Ministry of Finance, but at the end the policy was rolled over regardless of all those resistances. The deputy governor of RBZ argued that regardless of the concerns from the public, the bond notes would be introduced anyway (The Independent, 2016). This indicates how officials devalue the importance of engaging citizens.

The availability of information is imperative to enhance citizen engagement, this requirement is buttressed in the Constitution particularly section 62, which provides the right and opportunity for citizens to access information held by the government for public accountability interests (Constitution of Zimbabwe, 2013). Information concerning policy making held by the state should be accessible to all citizens which will enable them to make right decisions and to participate from an informed position. The challenge is that when the government wants to deny citizens from obtaining important information, it will simply securitize the matter upon which citizens need information for, by arguing that doing so is in the best interests of the security of the state.

## **2.7 Institutional Frameworks and Citizen Engagement Platforms**

There are various institutional frameworks which provide for citizen engagement in policy making but the most important are the legislature and CSOs. Sixty percent of the countries in the world are representative democracies whereby the citizens vote for officials who craft policies and legislation on their behalf (Robert, 2019). This means that citizens participate in governance and policy making indirectly through their parliamentary or senatorial representatives. Through voting for a representative, the views of the most marginalized groups are heard at the national government and if their representatives fail to represent them well, they have an opportunity to substitute them in the next election (Robert, 2019).

### **2.7.1 Legislature as Institutional Framework for Citizen Engagement**

In many African countries, elections are often disputed with allegations of rigging which means citizens might not have a proper opportunity to select a representative of choice, as such, such a candidate will not bother to push for the views of the citizens in any form for he or she will not lose anything from that. Zeynep (2018) posits that the problems of electoral integrity in developing democracies result in the erosion of public confidence in public officials, and electoral management bodies. This directly weakens parliament as a mechanism for citizen engagement. In addition, representative democracy may breed inefficiency through bureaucracy which will become ineffective and slow to take action on various important issues (Robert, 2019). This can be validated by the example from the 9<sup>th</sup> Parliament of Zimbabwe whereby six bills lapsed after the August House failed or neglected to debate and effectively pass them into law (Murwira, 2018). Therefore, the

idea of representative democracy and participation of citizens indirectly is lost when the representatives of the citizens sleep on duty at the detriment of the needs of the masses.

### **2.7.2 Stakeholder Breakfast Meetings**

In Zimbabwe the government usually engages stakeholders through what is known as the Business Membership Organizations which exists in almost every sector of the economy. Former president of the Confederation of Zimbabwe Industries posited that BMOs has been important in policy formulation by participating in processes together with government (The Herald, 2017). The effectiveness of this platform is neutralized by government's actions which does not seem to value this engagement. Confederation of Zimbabwe Industries bemoaned that fiscal and monetary policy makers have a tendency of asking for advices from the stakeholders but at the end do the opposite and does not seriously consider the advice (The Herald, 2017). In 2016 the government through the RBZ held various stakeholder breakfast meetings over the introduction of the bond notes. However, such meetings were only held to explain the introduction of bond notes and not necessarily on seeking views of the stakeholders on whether or not the currency should be implemented. The challenges of these breakfast meetings are that the government will meet the stakeholders already with their policy choice thus the platform will be used as an exercise to tick the box of engagement. For instance, after a realization that citizens were against the introduction of the bond notes yet they were determined to roll out the policy, the RBZ held various meeting in which they explained that the bond notes would not be forced upon the public (Herald, 2016). The platforms end up being explanatory and not engagement in nature.

### **2.7.3 Consultative Forums**

This is mainly done through the Tripartite Negotiation Forum (TNF) which usually negotiate and consult other key stakeholders on social and economic issues towards the formulation and implementation of key policies. The TNF was established in 1998 as a non-legislated forum to discuss socio and economic matters with government. However, the absence of enabling act providing for the structure and function of this social dialoguing platform weakened it. The TNF Act No 3 of 2019 only came into force on the 4<sup>th</sup> of June 2019, all these years the forum was operating in a legal vacuum precipitating its weaknesses as an engagement platform. Thus, in monetary policy making process this platform proved to be less effective. For instance, various stakeholders advised the government that introducing bond notes alone would not solve the currency shortages. However, the RBZ went on to state that the bond notes would be introduced anyway since they would act as an economic export incentive (The Herald, 2016). The consultative forums are not that effective as platform for citizen engagement since government choose when to or not to use them to engage citizens in monetary policy making.

### **2.7.4 Parliamentary Outreaches and Hearings**

In terms of section 141 of the constitution, the Parliament of Zimbabwe is mandated to come engage citizens in coming up with various laws and policies in tandem with the principles of good governance also enshrined in the same constitution. Thus, towards the introduction of the bond notes the parliament had to engage citizens across the country. The Parliament Portfolio Committee on Finance and Economic Development conducted public hearings concerning the RBZ Amendment Bill popularly known as the Bond Notes bill. The hearings were scheduled to begin in Masvingo on the 29<sup>th</sup> of November 2019.

However, it is important to note that this was just therapy exercise since the hearings were held after the bond note had already been introduced. This was a method by the government to legalize an otherwise illegal move of introducing the policy through the Presidential Powers Temporary Measures Act without involving the public. The then parliamentarian, Jessie Majome had to point the irregularity of government by noting that the currency was illegal and unconstitutional since government was gazetting an RBZ Amendment Bill to introduce the already introduced bond notes, and this was an admission of illegality (Open Parly, 2016). This points to the ineffectiveness of the public hearings as a platform of citizen engagement in monetary policy making. Following this illegality and exposure of the weakness of the parliament, the government tend to by-pass both citizens and parliament in the successive monetary policies. Hence, the parliamentary outreaches and public hearing proved to be less effective in term s of monetary policy making in Zimbabwe.

### **2.7.5 Written Submissions and Petitions**

In terms of section 59 of the Constitution citizens have a right to demonstrate and petition government over any issue. This legal right presents another platform for citizen engagement in monetary policy making. This platform was largely used by citizens and some pressure groups during the introduction of the bond notes in 2016. A social movement called Tajamuka was on the lead in working on the petition to stop the introduction of the bond notes. In August 2016, many Zimbabweans marched and presented a petition to the Minister of Finance protesting against the introduction of bond notes (Pindula, 2016). However, this platform of engagement did not yield much since the president cleared the way for the introduction of bond notes through issuing a decree on

31<sup>st</sup> October 2016 which also by passed the parliament. This points to the weakness of this mechanism as a platform of citizen engagement.

### **2.7.6 National Budget and Citizen Engagement**

In Zimbabwe Parliamentary Portfolio Committees undertake pre-budget consultations every financial year. Through these the Portfolio Committees will conduct consultations with various government ministries and departments. Public hearings concerning the National Budget are held across the whole country towards each financial year. Parliament of Zimbabwe [POZ], (2019) states that, this is an opportunity for citizens and various organization to engage with the MP and contribute towards what should or should not be in the 2020 budget. A critical critique should be raised over the inclusion of the views from the public in the actual document, this is due to the fact that there is a tendency to engage citizens for tokenism and box ticking exercise whilst the government already has its position. POZ (2019) notes that information from the public will be passed to other Members of Parliament for reaction during the whole budget process.

However, government of mainly engage citizens when it comes to budget processes whilst ignoring them on other monetary issues. Mhlanga (2016) points out that the general population in Zimbabwe are engaged in budget formulation which helps inclusivity of all peoples as articulated in the constitution specifically section 141. In the early 2000s the government came with a strategy which was called Re-engineered Budget Process which needed to increase the engagement of citizens in budgetary issues. According to that concept, various Parliamentary Committees engage with different ministries, different stakeholders such as civil society and the general public (Chebudo, 2007). The parliament is now carrying out sector specific budget consultations across the country's ten provinces,

however the inclusion of the views of the citizens in the actual budget statement is questionable. However, the effectiveness of parliament in monetary policy is highly questionable.

## **2.8 Civil Society as an Institution of Citizen Engagement**

Civil society is one of the important institutions outside government circles which promotes citizen engagement. The role of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) varies but to complement government work and activities is another dimension played by this important sector in many countries. Bhargava (2015) points out that many policy makers are cognizant of the fact that civil society can complement government efforts towards citizen engagement. CSOs are increasingly beginning to seek the views of citizens in the development and implementation of various policies. CSOs complement government institution through engaging citizens from the most marginalized and vulnerable groups, which due to geographical location might not be reached out to by government. By working under various subsector civil society undertake outreaches to gather information from the most marginalized groups and use that information to influence government policy making. One of the important organizations which act as an institution which facilitates citizen engagement is the Zimbabwe Coalition on Debt and Development (ZIMCODD). Its mandate is to enhance citizen participation in policy formulation by taking views of the grassroots and the marginalized members of the society (ZIMCODD, 2019). Thus, the organization has managed to conduct various public outreaches and engagements on various topics such as public finance management and national budget consultations. Through these outreaches, views from the most marginalized concerning policy formulation are gathered. On the other hand, a youth organization, Youth Forum

Zimbabwe have been conducting public outreach programs on various contentious issues such as governance and service delivery.

## **2.9 Global Perspective on Citizen Engagement in Policy Making**

Various governments in the world have of late been placing citizens at the center of policy making in tandem with the human rights-based approach to development. The importance of involving citizens in policy making is captured in various international statutes for instance the United Nations Declaration for Human Rights and the African Charter on Human and People's Rights, specifically Article 13. Therefore, many countries are making efforts to engage their citizens through various channels such the use of parliament as an institution which represents people and the use of technology through social media to gather views from the citizens. Citizen engagement in the UK is very dynamic and the British are still clamoring for more robust initiatives when the government is making important decisions and policies. The government of UK came up with various consultation strategies, for instance, in its Civil Service reform in 2012 the government outlines ways to improve citizen engagement in policy development, (House of Commons [HOC], (2013). The plan is geared towards giving more opportunity for citizens to influence policy through participation hence de-monopolizing government's policy making influence. The Civil Service Reform Plan came into being due to the criticism which citizens were levelling against policy making in the UK whereby government would engage citizens as a box ticking exercise when they have already determined their course of action.

In Kenya different policies come up from different organizations which pushes for their issues to come to the agenda table. However, regardless of where the policy initiatives

come from, there is room for the general citizens to participate in policy development. Predicated on this background, the government of Kenya when it comes to monetary policy, it engages citizens in tandem with Article 201 of the Constitution which highlights the Principles of Public Finance which include the participation of the citizens (Government of Kenya, 2019). Towards the end of each financial year the National Treasury always engages citizens through invitation to individuals, public and private organizations to contribute through submitting proposals for various policy issues. The policy proposals from the citizens will be considered during the budget process, as noted by the Government of Kenya (2019). Taking advantage of technology, the government use the emails as a channel for communication with citizens when submitting their proposals.

Government can engage citizens and promote their participation, for instance in Colombia and Brazil there are incentives given to the citizens for participation. In Brazil, the Congress introduced an electronic platform called e-Democracia Portal, which gives citizens benefits which commensurate with their participation and contribution, whilst in Colombia the government issues out awards to organizations which prove to be outstanding in citizen participation on annual basis (ParlyAmericas, 2018). In Botswana, the use of Kgotla system promotes effective citizen engagement in policy making, this system is used by Councilors and Member of Parliament to provide feedback and explanation on any policy issues (Molokwane & Lukaba, 2018). Nevertheless, the Kgotla system has some weaknesses which the government should work on to improve engagement. There is a tendency by many public officials to avoid answering questions after delivery of speeches to the public concerning various policies.

## **2.10 Limitations and Opportunities for Citizen Engagement**

There are various limitations to citizen engagement which have been discussed by various scholars. However, it is the duty of the government to maximize the opportunities whilst minimizing the limitations on citizen engagement for the betterment of the society.

### **2.10.1 Limitations**

Lack of resources is a major limitation to citizen engagement especially in the developing world. Resources and time are of paramount importance for their availability will lubricate the whole process. A lot of financial and human resources are needed to carry out public engagement across the nation. It takes a lot of money from the budget to conduct public consultations and outreaches in a bid to get citizens' perspectives over a certain policy intent. Though the application of technology and social media may reduce some of the cost involved in-person methodology, they can only be complementary due to the large digital divide which still exists in many of the Global South Nations, as noted by ParlAmericas (2018).

Time and money are required to lubricate citizen engagement, as such many developing countries including Zimbabwe fail to mobilize the required amount hence end up bypassing citizens justifying it on the lack of resources. Currently Zimbabwe is facing a myriad of economic challenges marked with increased inflation and budget deficit, as such it would be difficult for government to set aside some funds earmarked for engaging citizens towards policy making. This view has been accentuated by the International Peacebuilding Advisory Team (2018) which notes that often times government officials resist public engagement arguing that the process whilst it delays decision making process it also needs a lot of time and gobbles a lot of money. However, no explanation should be

invoked to justify non engagement of citizens in policy making because all policies are crafted for the citizens hence, they should be subjected to citizens for scrutiny.

Apathy is another limitation which is a result of the belief by citizens that their input and engagement will not result in any real changes in government policies. However, as noted by the HOC (2014), the duty of the government is to create confidence and trust in the policy process to ensure that engagement will be a meaningful exercise. The International Peacebuilding Advisory Team (2018) points out that frustration over ineffective participation can limit citizen engagement in future initiatives. Frustration can result from the failure by government to bring feedback on the inputs provided by citizens and absence of any recommendations being taken in. This has been emphasized by the HOC (2014), which notes that citizens will participate and engage effectively with the government when there is confidence and belief that their contribution will make a change. Without confidence in the process, citizens will not engage with the government hence it's the duty of the government to provide reliable policy development process.

There are also constitutional loopholes which suffocates the engagement of the public in policy formulation. Many constitutions around the world provides an opportunity for the government to evade public consultation under the guise of lack of time and resources. Very few countries such as Switzerland have a constitutional provision which mandates the government to subject all-important decisions and policies to referendum for citizen scrutiny. In Zimbabwe the situation is no better as the executive has some powers entrenched in the presidency to bypass citizens and parliament in making policies. The Presidential Powers (Temporary Measures) Act, empowers the president to make policies and laws without engaging the public or parliament, this was invoked in 2016, during the

introduction of bond notes. Citizens were against the policy however, this did not stop the government to introduce the policy, for the RBZ was geared to introduce the policy anyway. This saw the parliament inviting public inputs on bond notes after the policy had been already introduced through SI 133 of 2016. This would be interpreted as engaging citizens, to legitimize an already known position, well described by Ansteirn (1969) as therapy and manipulation.

### **2.10.2 Opportunities for Citizen Engagement**

With the coming of technology there are various opportunities which can be exploited at the benefits of citizen engagement without much cost on time and resources. Thus, government should use social media and other technological tools to engage citizens. The government of UK introduced what it calls Digital Strategy which will capitalize on social media conversation to get public insights which will inform policy process (HOC, 2014). The use of technology and social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter and WhatsApp can maximize the engagement of citizens. In Kenya, the government introduces an email platform such that citizens can contribute to their future towards the national budget, through that platform, citizens can send their submissions, Government of Kenya (2019). This reduces the cost of time and resources while promoting efficiency in public participation. The National Assembly of Canada, Ecuador and Chile provides official websites whereby citizens can get information and answers to various frequently asked questions, as noted by ParlAmericas (2018). The use of digital technology provides opportunity for effective dialogue and engagement of citizens and stakeholders, for it reduces cost and time.

CSOs can work together with the government to promote citizen engagement through various ways. Firstly, government should tap into connections and linkages already made by civil society organizations in linking with the marginalized societies in the country. The government can rely on the civil society to get the views from the marginalized societies. Civil societies undertake various researches and surveys which reveals the needs of the general citizens which can be used to shape policy development. With various civil societies in Zimbabwe which are multisectoral and covers all sectors varying from youth to vendors, this presents government with an opportunity to easily tap the views of the citizens from these CSOs. Therefore, citizen engagement should be an easy initiative, when the government has no funds it can partner with CSOs and undertake public outreaches riding on the back of those organizations.

## **2.11 Chapter Summary**

This chapter covers a wide range of issues from the theoretical framework which provides the foundation of this study. The group and elite theories have been advanced and explanation proffered on how they are relevant to this study. In addition, a historical perspective on citizen engagement has been also outlined from both an African and European perspectives. The chapter went on to provide the rationale for citizen engagement without which the whole thesis would become pointless. Literature on legal and non-legal frameworks which provide for citizen engagement has been explored from across the globe.

## **CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY**

### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter covers the methodology which was used in this study. Methodology is one of the most important aspect of a research for it is the bedrock of the successfulness of the research project. Methodology specifically addresses two key questions, that is how data is collected and analyzed when carrying out a research. Issues around ethical consideration will be discussed in this chapter.

### **3.2 The Research Design**

Three important aspects of research design regardless of various definition of the term is that it should serve as moral compass for data collection, measurement and analysis. As such, this study adopted a cross sectional survey design using mixed approach, that is both qualitative and quantitative methods were used. Qualitative approach was used whilst leaning towards interpretive approach. Interpretive approach mainly focuses on understanding issues through comprehensive and holistic manner which will result in observable conclusions after trying to understand the how and why people do things in the manner they do. On the quantitative side, a survey was carried out to gather the perceptions of citizens in regards to monetary policy making.

As such, qualitative methods in form of in-depth interviews with key informants from the government as well as officials from the CSOs, captains of industries, policy think tanks and trade union and money changers were conducted to enable the researcher to get depth and rich insights concerning various issues of the research.

### **3.3 Population and Sampling**

The population of the study for the survey consisted of all citizens above eighteen years who were in the Central Business District of Harare during midmorning, at a given working day. Geographically the Central Business District was demarcated by Samora Machel Avenue to the north, Robert Mugabe Street to the South, 5<sup>th</sup> Street to the east and Harare Street to the west. However, since there are no published figures of such population from both the City of Harare and Zimbabwe National Statistics, the researcher used a population of nine thousand four hundred and fifty-five (9455). This was based on the estimated population density of 6900 people per 2700 square kilometers. Thus, using the margin of error of 5% and confidence level of 95% the sample size was three hundred and seventy (370). However, the researcher validated 265 participants out of 370 based on the completeness of the questionnaires.

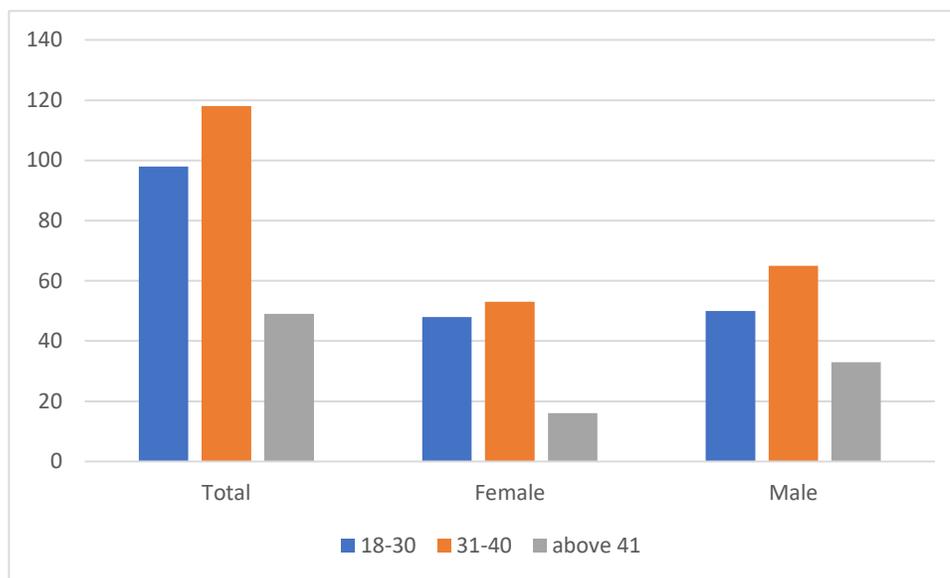
For in-depth interviews, nine participants were used since the methodology used in the research is mixed methodology. These include CSOs which operates in the spheres of citizen engagement, captains of industries, trade unions and policy think tanks as well as informal forex traders. In addition, in this investigation, the researcher employed non probability sampling methods to elect individuals who actually participated in the study.

The researcher used convenient sampling technique to select individuals for the survey in the CBD of Harare and purposive sampling for in depth interviews. Thus, with purposive sampling the researcher already had predefined groups which he intends to gather data. As such, the criteria used to select participants include exposure and knowledgeable in policy making and citizens engagement, taking into account the need to cover all relevant sectors ranging from youth, vendors, labor, policy think tanks and captains of industries.

### 3.3.1 Demographic Characteristics

The study showed that most of the respondents were within the 31 to 40 age group with about 56% of the respondents representing males and 44% for females. This therefore, shows that the study was homogenous as it fairly represented both sexes. However, the least respondents came from the age group of 41 and above with constituted about 19%. This can be shown by fig 2 below, which the age distribution of the sample.

Source: Researcher, (2020)



**Figure 3.1: Demographic Characteristics of Survey Participants**

The demographic characteristics of the key informants also tried to reflect a balance in the gender representation, however just like the survey participants, the representation of key informants tilted in favor of males. This can be shown in the table below.

**Table 3.1: Demographic characteristics of Key Informants**

| <b>Key Informant</b> | <b>Cluster</b>         | <b>Gender</b> |
|----------------------|------------------------|---------------|
| Respondent 1         | Trade Union            | Male          |
| Respondent 2         | Informal Sector        | Male          |
| Respondent 3         | Youth Organization     | Male          |
| Respondent 4         | Captain of Industry    | Female        |
| Respondent 5         | Policy Think Tank      | Male          |
| Respondent 6         | Economist/Government   | Male          |
| Respondent 7         | Civil Society          | Female        |
| Respondent 8         | Informal Forex Dealers | Female        |
| Respondent 9         | Informal Forex Dealers | Male          |

The table above shows that in carrying out this study the researcher was cognizant of the various stakeholders who are important when it comes to monetary policy making. The researcher tried to come up with a balanced key informant as representatives from various clusters were considered such that a wide and divergent views would be obtained for the purposes of coming up with a rich and insightful study. The researcher managed to fairly to reach out to both genders thus at the end, females represented one third of the key informants.

### **3.4 Data Collection Instruments**

The researcher used an interview guide and a survey questionnaire to obtain information from the subjects. On in-depth interviews, the researcher had the questions in advance; however, he would also ask for clarifications and probe the respondent to obtain as much information as possible. On the quantitative side, the researcher used a survey

questionnaire to gather data from the citizens in the CBD of Harare guided by the geographical demarcations already highlighted. Sometimes the researcher could clarify the questions to the respondent when the need arises so that the respondent would answer from an informed position.

### **3.5 Pilot Study**

Before beginning the process of data collection, the researcher carried out a pilot study to assess the feasibility of the study and methods to be used. The pilot study was conducted in the High-Density area of Kuwadzana in Harare where the researcher undertook a mock survey, however, it was important not to include the participants of the pilot study in the actual study which was later carried out. The pilot study was very important in that it informed the researcher about the issues around the process and procedures. It is from the pilot study that the researcher understood the levels of retention, eligibility criterion and clarity of questions for the survey which informed the main study. From the pilot study, the researcher managed to make some amendments to the questionnaire adjusting questions which seemed to be vague and brought more clarity to all questions. This made the actual survey easy for many respondents could quickly answer all questions with few exceptions which called for further clarifications from the researcher.

### **3.6 Data Collection Procedure**

Primary data was collected from the general citizens through a survey questionnaire and in-depth interviews with key informants. The researcher would get into the CBD of Harare during working days and hours and sought consent from citizens to have his survey questionnaire answered. The researcher was cognizant of the geographical demarcations of the study hence areas with more flow of people were conveniently visited by the

researcher to collect data such as the commuter omnibus ranks as well as the major flyover lee ways located within the geographical area under study. Details about the research were divulged to the prospective respondents whilst for clarification on some issues around the survey questions the researcher would use native language (Shona) to seek understanding from the respondents. The survey questionnaire had sixteen closed ended questions which sought for 'No or Yes' response save for only three which were opened ended hence required some little explanation from the respondent.

On in-depth interviews, the researcher first seeks for permission to carry out the study from prospective organization through emails, phone calls and sometimes would physically approach offices of various organizations. After granted with the permission the researcher proceeds to seek consent from the respondents and interviews of about thirty to forty minutes long were held. An interview guide helped the researcher on asking various questions whilst a lot of probing was done to get more insights from the respondents. The researcher asked for permission and consent to electronically record the whole interview such that no important information would be missed by the researcher. However, some the key informants refused to be electronically recorded citing security reasons. These include money changers, representative from the captain of industry and economist from the government. The researcher had to scribble some notes and key points during the interview process. All questions were open ended which would give the respondent enough latitude to explain everything in much detail. The researcher was responsible for all data collection and transcriptions. The collected data was stored in form of hard copies and audios before transcription was done, after which all the primary sources were destroyed for confidentiality sake. Data collection was done in such a

manner that the data gathered would be meaningful and useful in answering all of the research questions highlighted in this study.

### **3.6.1 Collection of Secondary Data**

The researcher used secondary data in this project. Relevant sources of secondary data which were used in the research include various SIs governing monetary policy which were published by the government of Zimbabwe which include but not limited to SI 205 of 2018 and SI 142 of 2019. Various international and regional legal statutes which Zimbabwe is part to were also useful in the study as well as the constitution of Zimbabwe. Regionally, documents published by the Government of Kenya were also a useful source of secondary data in this research.

### **3.7 Analysis and Organization of Data**

The researcher began by transcription of all interview data, data cleaning and then followed by data coding. Coding means the categorization of raw data into identified sub themes from what is obtained from the field. This involve deductive reasoning and theorizing in a bid to minimize the size of raw data by highlighting significant patterns hence producing meaningful conclusions and evidence from the data. Data was synthesized while patterns were identified, as such, meanings would be easily deduced from the data. The researcher went on to analyze data, identify patterns and draw various meanings from the data. Survey questionnaires were assessed for completeness and those which were completed were coded numerically. Data gathered from the survey was transcribed into excel format and analyzed through the use of spreadsheet which helps to produce various graphs and charts to present the perceptions of the citizens obtained from

the survey. Thus, descriptive analysis of the data was undertaken to come up with meaningful interpretations.

### **3.8 Ethical Consideration**

In research, observing ethics is important for it prevents the researcher from making errors such as exploiting participants and eroding research values such as mutual respect and accountability, which will affect the final conclusion of the research. As such, the researcher adhered to a high level of ethical considerations for the sake of quality and integrity of the research. The researcher highly regarded the importance of ethical considerations such as, confidentiality and anonymity, informed consent, voluntary participation and protection of participants, among others. These are summarized below.

#### **3.8.1 Informed Consent**

This is about getting permission from the subjects so that they would be part and parcel of the research without any undue influence on their side. This was done through effective negotiation and communication of the purpose of the research, duration of the interview and benefits. The researcher began by explaining his identity to the participants, issues around data security and what motivated the researcher to list them as potential subjects for his research. No incentives were dished out to the subjects to exhort them to participate. Therefore, at the end the researcher asked for a written and signed consent by all participants, which he easily got.

#### **3.8.2 Confidentiality and Anonymity**

The researcher ensured a maximum degree of confidentiality and privacy. To protect the identity of the participants the researcher used pseudo names to make the data anonymous. In addition, to protect the confidentiality of data gathered, interview manuscripts and

survey questionnaires were destroyed as soon as the text was captured in digital form with access to the researcher alone and information only readily available to those who were directly involved in the research.

### **3.8.3 Respecting Individual Autonomy**

It was clearly communicated to all participants that they reserve a right to refuse to answer any question which they did not feel comfortable to answer during the interview without any repercussions. In addition, participants were also given an absolute right to terminate their involvement in the whole process, even in the middle of the interview without any requirement for them to explain their action.

### **3.8.4 Avoiding Deceptive Practices**

Deception can take various forms including but not limited to misleading of deliberate nature and deliberate omissions. The researcher avoided using deception hence revealed the nature of the study at the earliest possible time and made sure that all participants had understood it before signing the consent forms.

### **3.8.5 Protection of Participants**

The researcher had an obligation to protect the subjects from any harm be it physical or mental, as such he tried by all means not to harm, offend or embarrass participants. Against this background, the researcher carefully prevented conflict of interest and avoided asking personal questions which would end up embarrassing or offending the subjects. Therefore, the researcher minimized harm that might befall his subjects to the same level as those that they may encounter in their day to day activities.

### **3.9 Summary**

This chapter has elaborated how the mixed methods were employed in this study. Issues around the procedure, whereby data collection instruments such as interview guides and survey questionnaire will assist the researcher in gathering necessary data. Data analysis and ethical considerations have been also described and explained in this chapter. The chapter also highlighted the delimitations of the study whilst giving particular attention to geographical demarcations in the central business district. The chapter manages to highlight the various sector from which key informants were drawn from and the demographic characteristics of the respondents being highlighted. Various secondary sources of data which were necessary for this study to be feasible have been elaborated.

## **CHAPTER 4 DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION**

### **4.1 Introduction**

The purpose of this study was to examine citizen engagement in monetary policy making in Zimbabwe with special focus on legal and institutional frameworks, the extent of citizen involvement, opportunities and limitations. The study measures citizens' confidence in the existing legal and institutional frameworks for engagement as well as confidence in the current monetary policies. This chapter focuses on the presentation of data gathered from the field. Statistical data from the survey and qualitative data from the key informants will be presented in various ways through the use of graphs, pie charts and tables, drawing out thematic concerns on citizen engagement and the role of government in involving the citizens in monetary policy making. Thematic concerns were drawn as a way of depicting the views of the participants on various questions from both interviews and the survey.

### **4.2 Data Presentation and Analysis**

To investigate the role played by citizens in monetary policy making in Zimbabwe, participants were asked questions to measure their understanding on the different aspects of the legal and institutional frameworks for citizen engagement and the extent to which government engages the citizens in the policy process. Most respondents registered dissatisfaction in the general engagement process in monetary policy making and expressed less confidence in the existing monetary policies. The respondents could not appreciate the role played by government to facilitate engagement in policy making.

#### **4.2.1 Legal and Institutional Frameworks for Citizen Engagement**

The research sought to assess the legal and institutional frameworks for citizen engagement in Zimbabwe. Questions were subjected to the citizens concerning their

knowledge about these frameworks, effectiveness as well as the level of confidence in these existing frameworks as far as monetary policy making is concerned. This would enable the researcher to fully examine such frameworks from an informed position based on data and evidence obtained from the field.

#### **4.2.1.1 Legal Frameworks**

There was an overwhelming response from the citizens citing awareness of the existing legal frameworks. Most respondents from the survey indicated that they were aware of the constitutional provisions which mandates government to engage citizens in monetary policy development. Comments from the qualitative data shows that though the legal frameworks existed which provides mechanism for citizen engagement their functionality is very limited since the government has managed to come up with various policies without much involvement of citizens. Respondent 1 argued that the effectiveness of these legal framework is questionable, though there are some consultation which are done especially toward the crafting of the national budget, citizens' views are not taken aboard hence this will dampen the spirit of participation within citizens in general. Thus, participation will be a mere wastage of time since citizens' views will not be considered. However, respondent 2 supported the existing legal frameworks arguing that government through the ministry of finance has made strides to involve citizens in monetary policy making through the use of the Parliament as representatives of the citizens, as MPs represents communities and constituencies therefore during the monetary policy making they are expected to deliberate effectively and voicing the concerns from their communities, therefore citizens are involved. The respondent notes that it is the role of MPs to make contribution on behalf of citizens. On the contrary respondent 3 highlighted

that though the legal frameworks allow the representations and actual participation of the general public in the policy making, both systems are not being exploited fully by the 9<sup>th</sup> parliament, hence monetary policy comes as a surprise to the citizens. The respondent highlighted that several times citizen were by-passed in monetary policy making process pointing the introduction of SI which separated the bond notes account from the nostro account as well as the S.I 142 of 2019 which introduced the de-dollarization policy and the Zimbabwean dollar. The respondent noted the weaknesses of some of the constitutional provisions which perfectly legalize the by-passing of citizens in policy development such as the Presidential Powers Temporary Measures Act. Respondent 7 pointed out that the existing legal frameworks have some loopholes which are being taken advantage of by government to justify non-engagement of citizens in monetary policy issues. The Respondent went on to say that the SIs were introduced by government as a mechanism through which the government can bypass citizens and parliament when crafting monetary policies.

The study findings showed that there were greater responses amongst males (74%) than females (26%) with the understanding of the legal and institutional frameworks for citizen engagement. This may be explained using various lenses, such that males mostly attend to public issues, are the mostly employed and mostly educated than females hence they are active in the issues of governance. Respondent 3 pointed out that this is due to patriarchal society, difference in education or employment issues, therefore such results shows that important issues such as policy making must reach even to the marginalized community.

#### 4.2.1.2 Institutional Frameworks

Respondents were asked on the understanding on the available institutional frameworks hence, the majority of the respondents were familiar with the parliament as compared to CSOs as institutions of citizen engagement. This can be elaborated in the table below.

**Table 4.1: Knowledge of institutional frameworks (In percentage)**

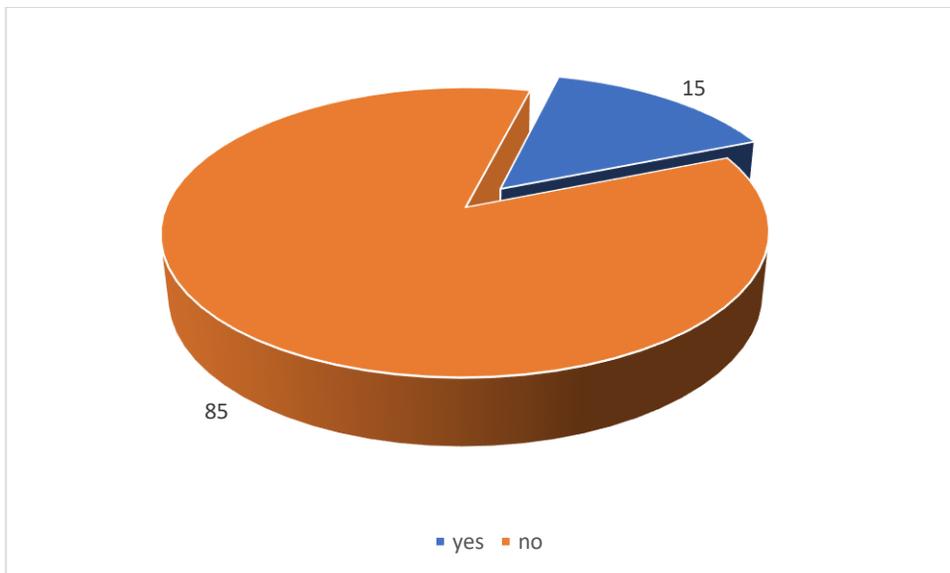
| <b>Institutional Framework</b> | <b>Employed</b> | <b>Student</b> | <b>Self-employed</b> | <b>Retired</b> |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------------|----------------|
| Parliament                     | 73              | 66             | 80                   | 86             |
| Civil society                  | 27              | 34             | 20                   | 14             |
|                                |                 |                |                      |                |

Respondents showed varied responses in line with their knowledge of the available institutional frameworks. Respondent 7 pointed out that its normal for citizens to be much more aware of the parliament than CSOs, citing that parliament is made up of MPs who are elected by the general citizens whilst CSOs are just formed by individuals whilst others are international in nature many of them are national. The respondent pointed out that the CSOs should work hard and conscientize citizens about their existence as another institution of engagement and keep on spreading awareness on policy issues. Respondent 8 emphasized the same arguing that to them it's also something new, they are just aware of the parliament as an institution of engagement. The respondent pointed out that the many citizens only came to know about these civil societies during the days of Tajamuka movement and its fight against the introduction of the bond notes because many of their

demonstrations would lead to violence with the security hence affecting many citizens especially in the central business district of Harare.

#### **4.2.1.3 Confidence in the current legal and institutional frameworks.**

The survey attempted to find and understand the perception of citizens towards the existing frameworks for citizen engagement. The respondents showed lack of confidence in the available legal and institutional framework. Many respondents (85%) reflected dissatisfaction whilst 75% of the respondents posed that they had no confidence in the parliament as an institution of citizen engagement during monetary policy making. This is reflected in the pie chart below.



**Figure 4.1: Confidence in legal and institutional frameworks**

These views were further corroborated by the Respondent 1 who posed that citizens lack confidence in the existing frameworks because they have loopholes which subject the whole system to weaknesses, such that consultation can be done no input from the citizens will be taken on board. Respondent 1 went on to argue that as citizens through their unions

they are consulted but rarely does their input find way into the actual policy document. The respondent applauds the government only once, during the GNU where by their views were considered by the government in the national budget of 2012 to an extent that the budget was code named 'Beyond the Enclave' from the statement taken from one of their position papers of 2011.

Respondent 5 argued that citizens have no confidence in the parliament as an institution of citizen engagement because it is very weak such that the executive can do whatever it wants at any time without any form of checks and balance, this makes it a weak arm of government in the eyes of the citizens. Respondent 5 argued that this is because, firstly the quality of the Zimbabwean parliament leaves a lot to be desired because if one follows their debates one would find that the MPs spent much of their time discussing petty issues or heckling each other, actually they 'major in minor' as that respondent puts it. In addition, the respondent said that most of them didn't engage in meaningful discussion throughout their term except booing and jeering other colleagues from the other side. The respondent attributed this to the constitution which doesn't require any academic qualification for one to be a member of parliament as such through that way the quality of the parliament is compromised to an extent that many of the parliamentarians receive sitting allowance literally for 'sitting' because they spend the whole session without uttering any single word.

Secondly, Respondent 5 highlighted that the 'whipping' system which exist in the parliament whereby when making contribution in parliament one has to censor his contribution such that they confirm with his or her political party's ideology even if wisdom demands one to point contrary. The respondent argued that one would find that

both the opposition and the ruling party have their 'chief whips' in parliament to monitor how their colleagues from their respective parties are behaving, hence in some terms our parliamentarians have some 'party blinkers' when discussing in parliament. The respondent noted that it's either they are affected by lack of knowledge on what needs to be done on the importance of citizen engagement or they are weakened by the whipping system hence they fail to clearly articulate issues in the manner they are supposed to do.

Respondent 4 notes that citizens do lack confidence in the existing legal and institutional framework for genuine reasons which should be urgently addressed. The respondent pointed out the frequent changes in the government as a major contributory factor. The frequent change in the government is contributing to frequent changes in various statutes and policies which leaves citizens with no confidence at all. The respondent went on to point the coup of November 2018. For instance, the bond note which was introduced by the Mugabe administration and was pegged at 1:1 with the United States Dollar, however with the coming of the new government, the bond note was no longer equal to the United States dollar with just a stroke of a pen and many citizens lost a whole life savings. This was done in a swift manner without consulting the citizens or major stakeholders as pointed out by the respondent 5.

Respondent 4 corroborated the lack of confidence reveal by the survey positing that even the government engages stakeholders through various platforms such as breakfast meetings rarely will the officials adopt the views that will be pointed out by various stakeholders. Thus, one would find out that these platforms of engagement are not producing positive results.

Respondent 6, an economist posited that it was imperative and most prudent to separate the bond note account from the nostro account and liberate the exchange rate for that was the only practical way forward. The respondent highlighted that citizens are supposed to trust the existing frameworks because something practical was done in a bid to stabilize the economy because in his view one way or the other the 1:1 narrative was going to be exposed as something unsustainable economically. When asked about the need to include citizens in the process, respondent 6 was of the view that the matter was an urgent one which needed quick solution as the economy was falling at an exponential rate as such to wait and consult the citizens could mean more damage to the economy at the detriment of the same citizens. Thus, the government had to by-pass the citizens and initiate a policy which was sustainable at that time.

#### **4.2.2 Government and Citizen Engagement**

The generality of the responses revealed a challenge since the citizens registered a lot of dissatisfaction concerning the manner through which government develop monetary policies. Data collected through the survey highlighted that 88% of the respondents have never been engaged by the government in monetary policy making in the past five years. The percentage of non-engagement by government corroborates with the high percentage (89%) of individuals who registered lack of confidence in the monetary policies in Zimbabwe. Respondent 1 reveals that citizens do not have confidence in the monetary policies in Zimbabwe because they are not engaged during formulation and even if they are consulted it is difficult to find their views in the actual policy document. The respondent noted that a lot of policy inconsistency and policy reversal also erode citizens' confidence in the existing monetary policy frameworks.

Respondent 5 highlighted that government has an elitist tendency of by-passing citizens in monetary policy making, disregarding clear constitutional provisions. The lack of contribution by the citizens during the policy making process makes it difficult for the citizens to have confidence in the actual policy. The policy document would be seen as '*chinhu chavo*' meaning 'their thing' reflecting the idea that citizens will have no sense of ownership in such a policy. The respondent also noted that this has resulted in a lot of policy friction. The lack of confidence in monetary policies has resulted in a lot of petitions, court cases and demonstrations against various monetary policies in Zimbabwe.

Respondent 9 pointed out that the government deliberately bypass citizens so that there create economic opportunities for themselves out of that. The respondent argued that by introducing the Zimbabwean dollar without involving citizens, the government was aware of the economic catastrophe ahead but went on with the policy for them to exploit economic interests. The respondent went on to highlight that government top officials are now amongst the biggest money changers since they are the ones who are responsible of bringing bond notes into the streets to trade the United States Dollar. This means, when making monetary policies the government officials deliberately create loopholes for them to benefit.

Respondent 6 posed that government do engage citizens through various ways but many a time citizen do not attend in numbers to offer their views so that government would consider them. The respondent pointed out budget consultation meetings which are held each year in each province in a bid to gather the perceptions of the citizens. The respondent challenged the lack of engagement in monetary policy making. Respondent 5 weighs in justifying the lack of confidence in the existing monetary policies. Firstly, noting that there

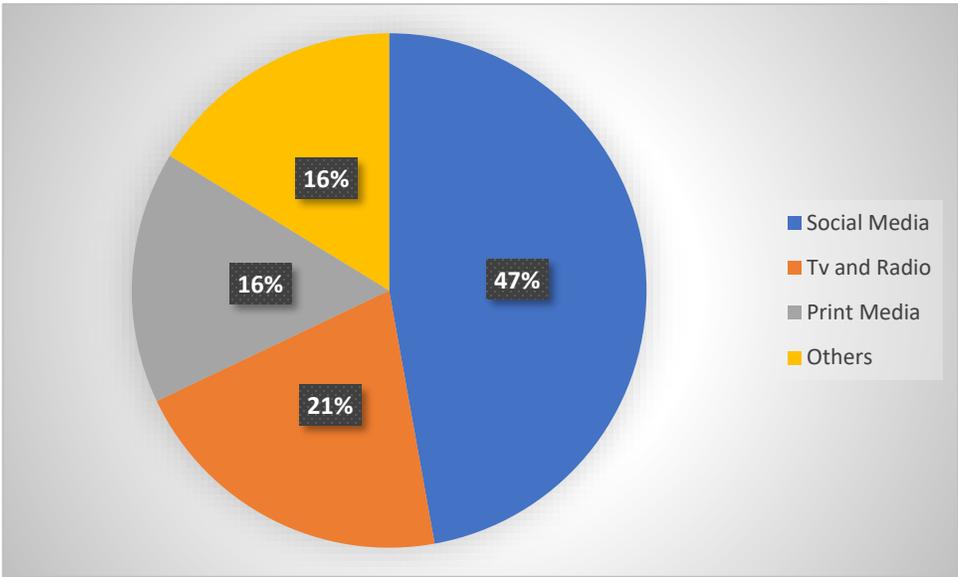
is huge apathy in Zimbabwe toward public processes, which emanates from the fact that citizens do not trust public processes due to lack of transparency and accountability, this contributes to non-engagement as the majority of citizens feel that their views will not be taken aboard. Secondly, respondent 5 points out that government do not engage citizens in a sincere manner, citing the parliamentary outreach programs which were held in 2016 seeking input from the citizens over the bond not yet the policy had been already introduced through a decree. Therefore, the engagement was done as a cover up to legitimize an otherwise illegal and illegitimate process.

Respondent 7 pointed out that the government has a tendency to avoid citizens in policy making and this erode confidence in monetary policies, as such there should be a constitutional amendment providing that all monetary policies with far reaching consequences to the general public should be subjected to the parliament for scrutiny or to the citizens themselves through referendums. This, according to the Respondent 7 would be the only way to restore the lost confidence in the policies being ushered in by the government.

#### **4.2.2.1 Channels of Information**

Data indicates that government do not properly inform citizens about the new monetary policies as they come. The majority of the citizens indicated that they usually receive information about monetary policy through social media rather than the mainstream media, as shown in the pie chart below. Respondent 2 had to corroborate this saying that nowadays social media is more influential than mainstream media as such government should take advantage of it to engage as well as informing citizens about monetary policy issues. The respondent highlighted that, the fact that citizens will end up receiving

information through social media expose a gap in the government information system hence that will also contribute to the erosion of confidence in the monetary policy. Respondent 4 posited that nowadays people tend to have confidence in the information from social media pertaining to monetary issues because it tends to be true than that which come from the mainstream media. The respondent highlighted that one would find information from social media stating that a new monetary policy will be invoked soon (separation of bond notes and nostro accounts) but then the government will reject such information as a hoax tending to cause unnecessary panic in the public. However, within three months a policy will be invoked exactly as was stated in the social media, thus giving credence to social media while eroding public confidence in the monetary policies as well as government institutions.



**Figure 4. 2 Channels through which citizens receive information about monetary policies**

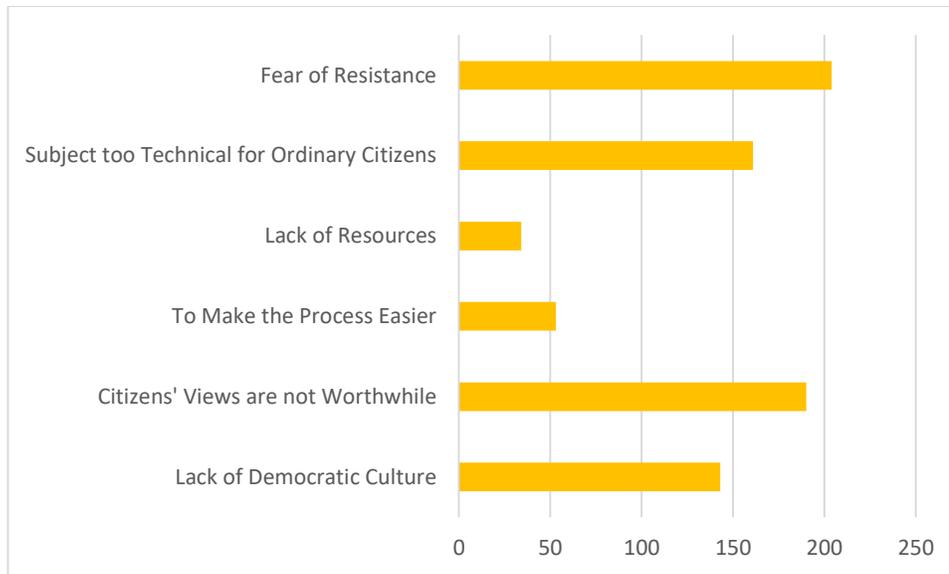
The figure above indicates that the majority of citizens rely more on social media to obtain information about monetary policies, this alone indicates the fact that government is not

reaching out to citizens when making policies. This will create information vacuum hence the lack of confidence in these policies.

Respondent 3 highlighted that the lack of confidence in monetary system mainly stems from the lack of engagement which has been witnessed in the past five years. Government has a tendency of adopting a top down approach when it comes to monetary policy issues. In addition, lack of proper information about the policies further erode the little confidence the citizens might have in the policy. Respondent 7 posited that instead of the government dedicating much of its time in informing and educating citizens about new monetary policies, citizens will end up looking information from among themselves and social media with various consequences. Respondent 8 was of the view that they got information about various monetary policies secretly through the elites in the government. The respondent had to say this will help them to map their business of forex trading since their 'bosses' are within the government so they will get reliable information ahead of the general public.

#### **4.2.2.2 Reasons for Non-Engagement**

Data varied concerning why sometimes government by-pass citizens in monetary making process for the citizens provided varied responses as the question was open ended. Many citizens were of the view that government do not engage citizens because of fear of resistance for their policy initiative would be anti-poor, the assumption that the subject on monetary policy is too technical for the ordinary citizens and with a minority positing the lack of resources. This can be further elaborated by the chart below.



**Figure 4.3:Reasons for non-Engagement**

The views from the chart above were further corroborated by many of the key informants, for instance, respondent 1 highlighted that government is fully aware that most of its monetary policies are not popular to the majority of citizens hence subjecting such policy intent to the citizens will result in a barrage of criticism and expose the lack of political popularity of the government. The fear of criticism, resistance and exposure will force the government to by-pass citizens in monetary policy making. The respondent further highlighted the resistance which government faced towards the introduction of the bond notes, citing that the ‘resistance was too much which led to a lot of demonstrations’ against the policy.

Respondent 3 noted that government doesn’t value the views of the citizens which emanates from the lack of democratic culture and transparency in the Zimbabwean body politics. Due to that, government will be fully aware that with or without citizens’ views the policy will sail through at the end of the day. This is due to the fact that the democratic space has been shrinking as of late, thus it would be difficult for citizens to express their

views contrary to what government declares citing the heavy handedness of the government towards unarmed civilians in August 2018 and January 2018 when citizens tried to express their rights.

Respondent 4 espoused that there is an elitist tendency within the government of Zimbabwe thus relegating citizens to the periphery in monetary policy making. The respondent argued that because of such tendencies, policies end up being crafted by elites who are not in touch with the realities on the ground. The respondent further articulated that this is predicated on the false assumption that the subject of monetary policy is too technical for the ordinary citizens to contribute meaningfully. The Respondent posited that, from government's view citizens are not conversant with monetary policy to the extent that government officials would say, *'haa zvemari izvi povho haingazvize'* meaning 'monetary issues are too technical to be understood by ordinary citizens'.

Respondent 6 find traction in the views of the minority from the survey (13%) who were of the view that government lacks resources whilst (20%) pointed out the need to quicken policy process as the reasons why government sometimes by-pass citizens in monetary policy making. The respondent highlighted that it takes a lot of financial resources to mobilize citizens for engagement across the whole country, thus it is difficult especially taking into account the austerity measures under which the government is operating. The respondent went on to point out that though the government wants to engage citizens, time factor should be taken into account. It would take a very long and unnecessary period before a consensus is found if the government opt to take the engagement route. Therefore, sometimes government would be in need of taking action as soon as possible. The respondent exemplified this using the 2% tax, arguing that the government was in urgent

need of resources to resuscitate the industry and subsidize many basic commodities therefore, there was no time to engage the citizens whilst ‘Rome was burning’ meaning it was folly for government to wait and engage citizens whilst issues were getting out of hand.

#### **4.2.3 Citizens and Willingness to Participate in Monetary Policy Making**

Data portrays that the majority of citizens have a strong desire to participate in governance issues. The majority of the respondents (91%) from the survey expressed interest and desire to participate and make a contribution directly in monetary policy making if availed an opportunity. However, only 58% of the respondents from the survey were confident that their views and contribution would bring some changes in the whole process and outcome of monetary policy making.

Respondent 1 corroborated these views highlighting that citizens are willing to participate in policy making if the government to engages them. The respondent argued that it’s the responsibility of the government to engage citizens taking advantage that the citizens are conscious of their rights hence it would be easy for the government to enjoy a high turnout in such processes of engagement. Respondent 3 pointed out that the largest population in Zimbabwe are the youths, and these youths are ready to participate in the matters of governance so as to shape their future, thus culminating in the large number of respondents who need to participate if engaged by government. The respondent went on to say that the youth, demographically are the ones who are hit hard and first by the economic situation obtaining in the country. As a result, the youths have a strong conviction that if they are engaged in monetary policy making issues, they might make a contribution which will turn around the fortunes of the country.

On the 42% who express lack of confidence in their views making change even if they are engaged by the government during the policy making process, respondent 5 had to say that this is actually true to those who once participate in various town hall meetings and public consultation forums. Such individuals have a negative experience whereby their views were not taken on board; therefore, they have no confidence that their views would be considered in sensitive matters such as monetary policy making. Respondent 5 had to say that government should consider views of citizens as important and give feedback to the citizens after various consultative meeting through that, confidence is built within the citizens which will motivate them to keep on coming in numbers and participate if government avails opportunity in future.

Respondent 4 argued that the citizens have no confidence that even if they are to be engaged their views will be taken into account in the final policy. The respondent pointed out that citizens through various engagement platforms such as breakfast meetings and public hearings have been engaged but their views at the end do not inform the policy framework. In addition, respondent 9 concurred with this view pointing out that at the end of the engagement the position of the government take precedent over what the masses would have suggested.

Citizens were also asked about their perceptions on whether or not government would have capacity to enforce monetary policies if they do not engage citizens during the process of policy making. Data provides divided perception with 53% of the respondent reflecting that government will have the capacity to enforce monetary policy regardless of whether they engaged citizens or not. This was supported by Respondent 2 who highlighted that since government has the monopoly over the use force then it would be

easy for it to enforce various policies even if they by-pass citizens in making such policies. In addition to that, the government is the one which control both the monetary and fiscal structures of the country, as such they monopolize such avenues and simply impose and enforce monetary policies. The respondent went on to clarify this using the case of the Intermediary Transfer Tax which was imposed upon citizens. Initially, there was an outcry against the taxation, which led to a court case however, no amount of outcry nor court case managed to stop the government from collecting the tax, as indicated by respondent 2.

Respondent 6 argued that government has a right to enforce all policies if they have a legal instrument supporting such a policy directive. Thus, regardless of non-engagement of citizens the government will enforce monetary policies as long as there is legal feasibility. The respondent said though there was no effective engagement with citizens, the issuing out of bond notes went ahead because the government had prepared the legal ground to enforce the policy directive in form an SI. Respondent 6 pointed out that following the introduction of the Zimbabwean dollar the government had to introduce Exchange Control Directive 102/2019 which is a legal instrument to enforce the use of Zimbabwean dollar as the sole legal tender in domestic transactions.

Respondent 5 supported the views from the 47% of the survey participants who indicated that government has no capacity in enforcing monetary policies if they do not properly engage citizens during policy formulation. The respondent noted that the largest currency in any economy whether a weak or a strong one is confidence, and the confidence is built through involving citizens along the policy making process. Therefore, the lack of confidence presents a challenge for the government to enforce such a policy. The

respondent noted that, due to lack of proper engagement during the process of coming up with the bond notes, though the currency was said to be trading at par with the United States dollar, slowly that narrative lost luster and it was the citizens who began to reject such a narrative because the government had not considered their views during policy formulation. Though the government tried to enforce such a narrative upon the citizens, it failed hence the coming up with a directive in October 2018 which separated the bond notes from the United States dollars indicating that the two were not trading at par.

Respondent 4 noted that lack of citizen engagement will lead to policy friction and present challenges for the government to enforce such monetary policies. The respondent exemplified this with the recent de-dollarization policy which came in June 2019 and banned any use of foreign currency for domestic transactions. The respondent pointed out that government is having a lot of nightmares concerning the proliferation of the use of foreign currency in domestic transactions especially the United States dollar. Citizens are now rejecting the new Zimbabwean dollar in favor of the United States dollar regardless of the criminalization of that. Citizens across the nation are now charging goods and services in United States dollars. The respondent highlighted that there is also a sharp increase in the parallel market where the United States dollars are being traded, the use of police by the government to arrest the culprits has yield nothing.

Respondent 7 was of the view that regardless of the existence of legal frameworks to enforce various monetary policies upon citizens, without involving them in the process of coming up with the policies it will be difficult if not impossible for government to realize full compliance. The respondent argued that in 2008 when the citizens rejected the Zimbabwean dollar in favor of foreign currency there was a regulation which prohibited

such transactions. Thus, without trust in any monetary policy it would be difficult to enforce it upon the citizens, therefore, currently the government is struggling to enforce the Zimbabwean dollar upon the citizens hence the economy is now dollarizing again, as noted by the respondent 7. Respondent 8 corroborated this by pointing out that even if the government tries to enforce policies upon citizens, the enforcement mechanisms are weak thus, at the end citizens will do what is rationale under the market forces. Example given is when the police attempt to ban the trading of forex in the streets, since they (police) also prefer the United States dollar to the Zimbabwean currency they are easily bribed and the forex traders will remain doing their business.

#### **4.2.4 Opportunities and Limitations**

On the opportunities for citizen engagement many respondents pointed out to the use of social media, technology, CSOs and stakeholder consultations. The respondents cited social media as an important tool which government can exploit as an opportunity for citizen engagement. This was accentuated by Respondent 3 who cited that government should seize the opportunity of the proliferation of social media such as Facebook, twitter and WhatsApp either to engage citizens or provide information about policy issues. This is due to the fact that more than 75% of the citizens in Zimbabwe have at least one of the social media accounts as such to spread information about monetary policy making using such platform would cut the cost of time and resources.

Data from the survey highlighted the use of technology as another avenue which might help to improve engagement. Respondent 5 argued that government should take advantage of the fourth industrial revolution of technology and create various platforms whereby citizens can contribute to policy making. The respondent pointed out to various

opportunities which come by technology as far as engagement is concerned. These include the creation of websites by parliament of Zimbabwe and relevant ministries specifically for citizens to contribute towards policy making. Another way would be creating online portals through which citizens will submit their views and evaluate monetary policy issues. The respondent argued that this would be efficient and also a cost cutting measure.

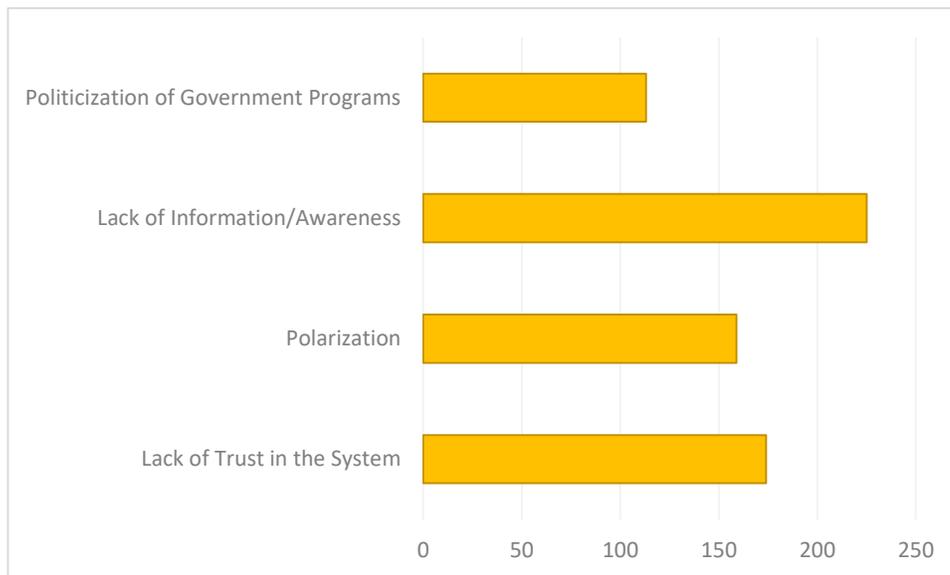
Respondent 4 highlighted that for government to reach out to the remote and marginalized society of our country, they should take advantage of various CSOs which have long established cordial relations with such groups, through this government would be able to gather views and inputs from all citizens across the nation. By having stakeholders' consultations, views from the citizens will find way to the discussion table and have a better chance of making to agenda as noted by respondent 4.

Respondent 7 emphasized that parliament as an avenue for citizen engagement should be effectively used to reach out to all citizens around the country. What is needed is the strengthening of the parliament's power such that it will play a center role as a medium of engagement in policy making. The respondent pointed out that there should be an amendment to the constitution which will give the parliament all the powers to securitize monetary policies on behalf of citizens. The respondent chided the current constitutional amendments which if adopted will further weaken the parliament as an arm of the government.

#### **4.2.4.1 Limitations to Citizen Engagement**

The section sought to highlight some of the factors which contribute to lack of citizen engagement besides the lack of available opportunity presented by government. In some cases, when the government tries to reach out to citizens the engagement process has not

been always successful. Respondent 1 highlighted that indeed lack of information or awareness dampens the spirit of engagement. The respondent cited that several times, citizens do not have information about where and when the government will be having meetings with the public to obtain input from the citizens. This at the end will reduce the number of citizens who attend public forums for the purpose of engagement in policy formulation.



**Figure 4.4: Factors contributing to limited engagement**

The issue of political polarization was also echoed by respondent 5 who noted that Zimbabwe is highly polarized such that any public gathering for the purpose of engagement would end up in a lot of violence as various sections of the society will end up exchanging barbs. The purpose of the discussion would be missed since citizens will end up threatening each other and no meaningful engagement will take course. The respondent noted that such scenarios have been witnessed in various public hearings.

Lack of trust in the system is another factor which threatens citizen engagement process, respondent 3 had to corroborate this arguing that previous experience is the major contributor to this circumstance. The previous experience is disastrous in that the government did not take the views of the citizen with the seriousness they deserved, this contributed to the loss of trust in the system which means that number of citizens willing to participate even if the chance is availed will be compromised. This was accentuated by respondent 4 who rhetorically questioned how the government expects the citizens to trust the engagement platform when these have not contributed meaningfully in the past.

Respondent 7 corroborated the information from the survey positing that indeed politicization of government programs greatly affects citizen engagement. Respondent 7 highlighted that, due to the political history of Zimbabwe there is no clear demarcation between state, government and ruling party. Therefore, there is conflation between state and the ruling party to an extent that many a times ruling party supporters end up disrupting various engagement platforms if they presume that citizens are opposing the government which most of them cannot separate from state. As a result, this will prohibit many citizens to come up to such platforms in future and air their views freely without fear of victimization.

### **4.3 Discussion and Interpretation**

The crux of this section is to breathe life to the presented data by providing some discussion and interpretation. The discussion mainly covers the thematic issues highlighted in the data presentation and analysis section above. The researcher examined data obtained from the field vis-a- vis the theoretical framework used in the study together with existing literature as presented in Chapter 2.

#### **4.3.1 Effectiveness of Existing Legal and Institutional Frameworks**

The finding from the research indicated that the majority of citizens are aware of the existing frameworks which provide for citizen engagement in monetary policy making. Many citizens are aware of the constitutional provisions and the duties of the parliament as far as engagement is concerned. When it comes to the effectiveness of the legal frameworks, that is where loopholes were identified especially with the existence of some legal statutes which takes all the policy making power from the citizens and places it in the hands of the executive at the detriment of citizen engagement. The use of SIs and the Presidential Powers Temporary Measures Act being point of references. This confirms what is happening at continental level, whereby regardless of the existence of AUCHPR and the African Charter for Popular Participation the level of citizen engagement is still limited. To that end, Africa through the Agenda 2063 only envision an Africa with active engagement of citizens in 2063. In developed countries, citizens have the power to influence policy making process grounded in strong and effective legal frameworks. For instance, literature has it that Switzerland has constitutional provisions which mandates government to engage citizens and subject important decisions and policies to citizens' scrutiny through national referendums.

Literature indicates that CSOs exist as another form of engagement, however findings from the research indicate that few citizens are aware of the existence of CSOs as another form of institutional framework. In South America, government forge partnership with CSOs to promote the engagement of citizens in building future national agendas. The platforms of citizen engagement in Zimbabwe have not contributed to meaningful engagement since they are weak and mainly exploited by government as an exercise to

tick the box and not necessarily for effective and meaningful dialogue between citizens and the government.

In addition, the research findings proved that many citizens have lost trust in parliament as an institution which should promote citizen engagement. This undermines the very existence of representative democracy. When citizens lose confidence in the institution which is supposed to represent them then that would be the beginning of apathy. This is not new to the body of knowledge, for literature has pointed out the weaknesses of representative democracy. Robert (2019) points out that representative democracy may breed inefficiency through bureaucracy hence weakening the parliament as an avenue of citizen engagement. This was also accentuated by Murwira (2019) who finds out that several bills had to lapse whilst the parliament could not effectively deliver on its mandate. Therefore, the parliament should try by all means to be visible and be relevant in engaging citizens or representing the citizens' views in their deliberations whenever there is a new monetary policy issue. The parliament of Zimbabwe should also improve the way it conducts its affairs and mostly concentrate on discussing important issues which affect the citizens they purport to represent than jeering at each other.

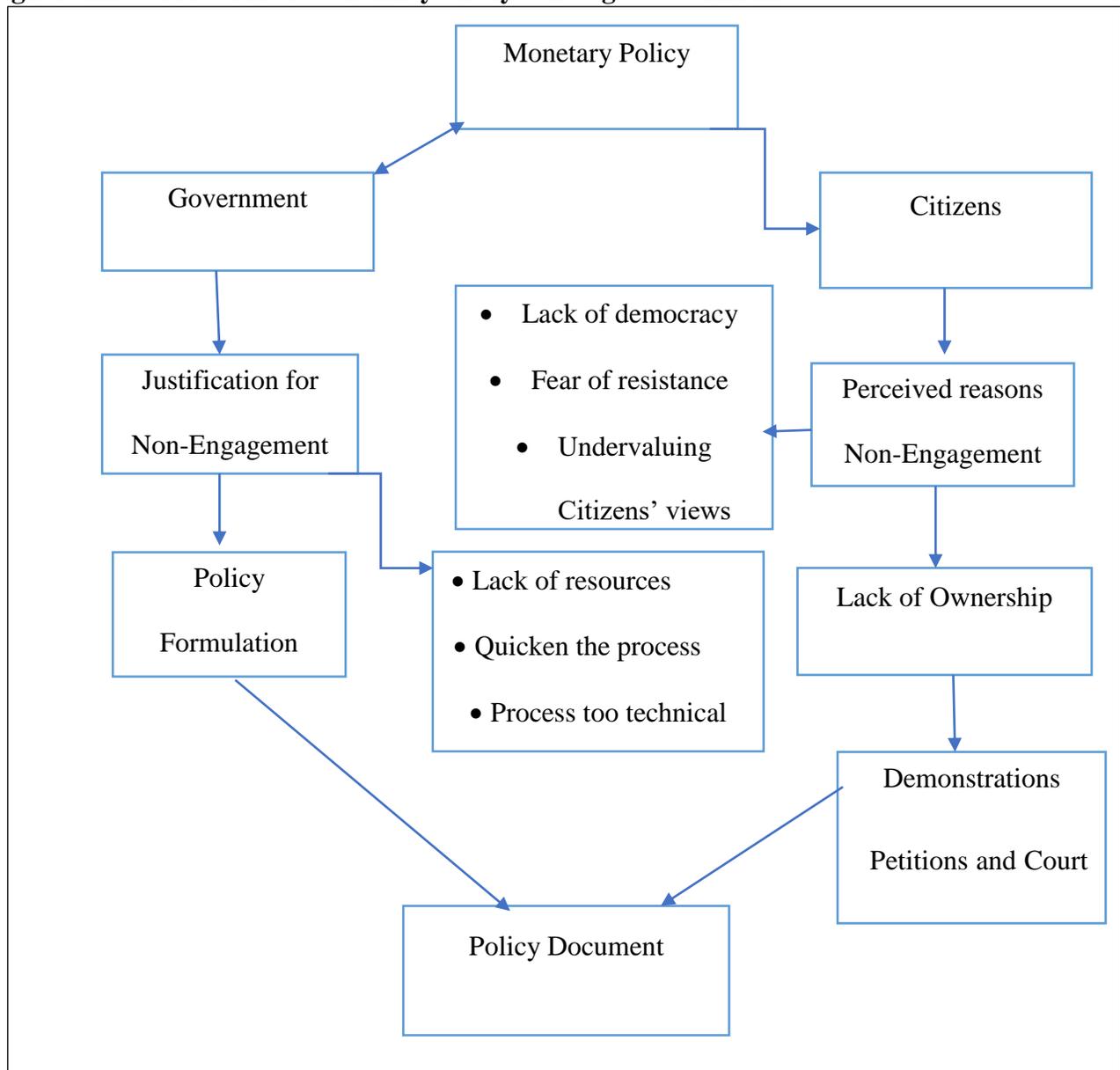
The weaknesses and lack of confidence in the parliament of Zimbabwe contradicts literature of the global level which reveals that some parliaments in Europe and South America are very effective when it comes to citizen engagement in policy matters hence citizens from such countries treat their parliament with high esteem. In the UK, the parliament is effective to an extent that there is a week that is dedicated to citizen engagement. The Parliament Week in UK is a week set aside for parliament to engage citizens concerning matters of policy and governance. In addition to that, in South

America National Assemblies and Universities converge and engage communities on law and policy issues (ParlAmericas, 2018). In Nicaragua parliament establishes Citizen Participation Office solely dedicated for the engagement of citizens on matters of policy making. However, the effectiveness of the institutional frameworks in Zimbabwe is highly questionable as the research found out that there are some loopholes which the government sometimes exploits and end up undermining citizens' engagement.

#### **4.3.2 The Extent of Citizen Engagement in Monetary Policy Making**

Findings indicate that the level of citizen engagement in monetary policy making in the past five years was not that effective. It has been proved that several times government by-pass citizen when coming up with monetary policies. This maybe explained using the elite theory which is one of the theories underpinning this study. This is when the elite places themselves at the center of policy making while disregarding citizenry input. As noted by one key informant, the elites who form the government would suggest that the citizens are too ordinary to understand the technical issues involved in monetary policy. Thus, the elites in government would end up crafting policies which favors their political and economic interests at the detriment of the citizens. The study findings provide a relationship between the elite theory and the way monetary policies are being crafted. The lack of engagement in monetary policy making can be further elaborated by the diagram below.

**Figure 4.5: Elitist Model of Monetary Policy Making in Zimbabwe**



**Source: Researcher, (2020)**

The model above indicates that government which is composed of elites avoid citizen engagement in monetary policy making, the justification is that of lack of resources, the need to quicken the policy making process and that the subject is too technical for ordinary citizens. This concur with the available literature in which International Peace Advisory Team (2012) posits that governments by-pass citizen in monetary making process arguing

that it consumes a lot of time and resources. However, citizens do not take the situation lightly, they will register disapproval of such process through policy resistance in form of demonstrations and court cases seeking to overturn policies which they think are not pro-citizens. Citizens' justification will be that government deliberately left them out of the policy making process because of lack of democratic culture and fear of resistance and not necessarily lack of resources and time.

Literature indicated that some governments around the world do engage their citizens in policy making through various mechanisms. In UK, the Civil Service Reform Plan of 2012 provided for various strategies to promote citizen engagement whilst in Kenya, the government uses various e-platforms to engage its citizens in monetary policy and budget issues in every financial year. However, in Zimbabwe regardless of the various citizen engagement platforms, there has been no meaningful engagement of citizens in monetary policy making. The research findings which points to a gloomy picture of engagement hence the lack of confidence in policies issued out by the government.

The study reveals that when the government attempts to undertake engagement of citizens in monetary policy issues, mostly the engagement will be just an exercise to tick the box. This is due to the fact that several times the views of the citizens are not taken aboard and no feedback will ever be brought back after some 'therapy engagement' process. This means the engagement of citizens in monetary policy issues in Zimbabwe is still at the lowest level in the ladder of participation characterized by manipulation and therapy. This has been the characteristics of many breakfast meeting whereby the government officials provide a false atmosphere of engagement, yet they would not take advice from the various stakeholders. These actions are no important at all, they are just done for window dressing

purposes as amplified by Arnstein (1969). In such scenarios, the government will have the power to control the process of policy making, at the end of the process the few (government) will have managed to control and govern the majority (citizens) as explained by the elite theory of policy making.

Therefore, the majority of citizens do not have confidence in various monetary policies in Zimbabwe. Citizens do not have a sense of ownership in the existing policies and the perpetual fear that anything can happen without notice around monetary issues will dampen the spirit on investment and scare away any prospective investors both from home and abroad. The announcement of various monetary policies without either engagement or notice put many industries in quandary. For instance, the insurance industry was in a predicament after the introduction of the Zimbabwean dollar, through S.I 142 of 2019 which ignored the existence of United States Dollars insurance contract (Magaisa, 2019). This will result in a lot of policy friction and challenges during implementation process.

The majority of the citizens receive information about new monetary policies mostly through other channels such as social media other than through government channels such as national television and radios. As a result, the actual policy intent is twisted from one source to another. This also led to dissatisfaction about the policy and a lot of misinformation about the actual policy. Government should try to adopt the effective use of electronic platforms as have been witnessed in other jurisdictions where e-platforms have been used to engagement and information dissemination.

#### **4.3.3 Citizens and the Power to Govern**

The research found out that contrary to the constitution the power to govern lies in the minority elite and not the general citizens when it comes to monetary issues. However, an

interesting observation is that the citizens are aware of their constitutional right to be engaged by the government and are highly willing to participate if given an opportunity. The awareness which the citizens have is perfectly conducive for the proliferation of pluralism in policy making only if the government seize the opportunity at the right time. Thus, CSOs through various groups should make concerted effort towards pushing government to engage citizens in monetary policy making. Another option is for CSOs to partner with government towards the engagement of citizens in policy making as have been done by many organizations in South America. Through that, consensus and human rights-based approach to policy making will be realized which will ensure participation, accountability and legality. Through that, it would be easy to implement policies for there would be less policy friction and resistance, citizens would feel a sense of ownership which will foster support and responsibility among citizens.

#### **4.3.4 The Future of Citizen Engagement in Monetary Policy Making**

Research findings indicate that there are a lot of opportunities which can be availed to the citizens in a bid to promote their engagement in monetary policy making and, in that process, taking policy making power off the hands of the few elite and places it to the various groups and citizens in the society. The proliferation of technology and the use of social media should be hailed by every government in the fourth industrial revolution of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The adoption of such measures would ease the engagement of citizens and lubricate the whole process of policy making. Feedback would be easily and timeously availed to citizens through the use of social media thus creating trust between the citizens and the government. This concurs with literature in which governments in Europe and South America take advantage of internet proliferation and engage citizens online.

ParlAmericas (2019) notes that's the government of Canada, Chile and Ecuador through their national Assemblies provides official effective websites for the promotion of citizen engagement and participation. Trust and confidence in the system means citizens would be willing to participate fully knowing that their views will be taken seriously.

However, to enable the restoration of policy making power towards citizens, there should be concerted effort by government to address the lack of awareness, polarization and lack of trust in the government which have been raised by citizens as impediments for effective citizen engagement. Depoliticization of government programs should be promoted to enable many citizens to attend public consultation forums without any fear of victimization. Some of the public hearings conducted by the parliament has resulted in violence linked to the ruling party. Information and awareness should be raised to conscientize citizens about the importance of engagement as well as the availability of relevant information such that citizens will also participate from an informed position which will contribute positively to the policy making process.

#### **4.4 Summary**

The main theme of this chapter was to make a compilation and analysis of the research findings concerning the objectives of the study. Data was presented in various forms such as pie charts and graphs and thematic analysis was undertaken. Findings have indicated that the existing legal and institutional framework for citizen engagement though known by the majority of citizens, the confidence of citizens in these frameworks is very limited because of the various weakness which have not done good in as much as the promoting of citizen engagement is concerned. The research also highlighted that regardless of the willingness of citizens to participate in monetary policy making, for the past five years the

engagement of citizens in monetary policy making has been very bad and minimal. Government has been placing itself at the center of policy making at the detriment of citizen participation. The future of citizen engagement lies in ability of the government to exploit the opportunities available for engagement such as the proliferation of technology and social media. Without that, lack of information and resources will keep on relegating the citizens to the periphery when it comes to monetary policy making.

## **CHAPTER 5 SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **5.1 Introduction**

Inclusivity in monetary policy making with special emphasis on citizen engagement is important in any democratic society to inculcate a sense of ownership and collective responsibility. This can be done through various measures which promotes the engagement of citizens towards an inclusive and democratic society. The central focus of this study was to analyze citizen engagement in monetary policy making through assessing the available frameworks and explore the extent to which government engage its people. The study revealed various perception as far as citizen engagement is concerned, however, the issue which remains prominent is that government has been denying citizens opportunity to contribute in monetary policy making in the previous five years.

### **5.2 Discussion**

This research was motivated by the gap between theory and praxis when it comes to citizen engagement in monetary policy making. Though constitutional and international legal statute which Zimbabwe is part to provides for citizen engagement the lack of citizen engagement in monetary policy making has been glaring in the past five years and this has contributed to a lot of policy friction and resistance which have spilt into the courts of laws and in the streets of Harare through demonstrations. The research was anchored on the need to close the knowledge gap in the literature since little research has been previously dedicated on citizen engagement with particularity in monetary policy making. The main objectives of the research were to assess the legal and institutional frameworks for engagement and to explore the extent to which the government has engaged citizens in monetary policy making in the last five years.

The elite and the group theories underpin this study, in which the former explained the situation on the ground as provided for in the literature as well as evidenced by the data from the field. From the literature available and responses from data collected it can be deduced that the government is placing itself at the center of policy making and bypasses both the citizens and the parliament. Various platforms of engagement which were analyzed indicates a lot of weaknesses which have neutralize the essence of engagement. The breakfast meetings and the parliamentary hearings have not brought effective engagement since they have become platforms for government to justify their already invoked policies and not to seek citizens input. However, much of citizen engagement is witnessed during the formulation of national budget towards the end of each financial year. Nonetheless, rarely does government take the views of the citizens in the actual policy document.

The research adopted a mixed method approach in which a survey was carried out and qualitative data collected from the identified key informants. The research findings revealed that there is a gap between the constitutional demands and what is happening on the ground. The outcomes of the research indicate that the government is placing itself at the center of policy making at the expense of citizen engagement. Though the frameworks for engagement are available they have some weaknesses and they are not effective enough in promoting citizen engagement. To that end, citizens have indicated the lack of confidence in both the frameworks of engagement and the monetary policies which have been ushered in in the past years.

In addition, the study reveals that citizens receive information about new monetary policies through social media and not the mainstream media thus indicting the gap in

policy formulation. In as much as citizens express willingness to participate in monetary policy making if engaged by the government, the existing environment characterized by polarization, lack of awareness and lack of trust proved to be inhibiting factors to effective engagement. Regardless of this situation on the ground, citizens expressed optimism that there remains opportunity for government to improve citizen engagement if they take advantage of the opportunities which come by technology and social media platforms.

The following are the major research findings:

1. Zimbabweans citizens are aware of the existing legal and institutional frameworks for engagement, however, citizens expressed lack of confidence in these existing frameworks.
2. The majority of the citizens have not been engaged by the government in the past five years in as much as monetary policy making is concerned.
3. Citizens do not have confidence in the monetary policies issued out by their government, this have caused a lot of policy friction and resistance to an extent that government has failed to enforce a variety of monetary policies.
4. Government by-pass citizens in monetary policy making in fear of resistance and lack of democratic culture and not necessarily due to lack of resources as some officials have been portraying.
5. There is still an opportunity for government to improve citizen engagement in monetary policy making if it capitalizes on technology to improve awareness whilst minimizing polarization and politicization of government outreach programs.

### **5.3 Conclusion**

A lot still needs to be done in as much as citizen engagement in monetary policy making is concerned, government should take away policy making from the hands of the elite and places it upon the citizens in tandem with dictates of the constitution on matters of governance. The elitist model of monetary policy making is not sustainable especially in democratic societies such as Zimbabwe, for this has proved to be disastrous since there have been various ways in which the citizens attempt to resist monetary policies in which they were by-passed during the process of crafting. To that end, it would prudent for the government to begin to engage citizens through various groups in a more genuine way in a bid to create an atmosphere of confidence and inclusivity.

### **5.4 Implications**

The research findings have various possible effects to the policy making in general, for the lack of confidence in the governmental system would lead to an increase in apathy. Lack of engagement also result in lack of ownership in monetary policies which will have a domino effect in compliance, whereby citizens will resist or evade policies. The evasion of monetary policies and resistance would mean government will end up losing a lot of taxes. This is currently happening whereby various business entities are pricing their goods and services in United States dollars whilst paying taxes to the government in form of local currency. In addition, to ensure policy compliancy means that government will have to spend a lot of financial and human resources towards the enforcement of monetary policies, the money which would have been used in other sectors if the citizens had a buy-in in the policies after being engaged during the process of formulation. The lack of

engagement also results in lack of confidence in monetary policies which has a domino effect upon the value of the national currency.

## **5.5 Recommendations**

Based on the findings from the research, various recommendations can be made to both the government and CSOs in a bid to promote effective citizen engagement in monetary policy making in Zimbabwe. If these two adopt some of these recommendations, a culture of engagement imbedded in democracy may be created which will reduce policy friction and resistance and build the much-needed confidence in both the frameworks of engagement and monetary policies. Recommendations to the government are as follows:

1. Government should try by whatever means necessary to engage citizens in monetary policy making for policies are made for the citizens. Therefore, there is no justification which can be invoked for by-passing citizens in policy making.
2. If government attempts to engage citizens, such engagement should be genuine and not therapy exercise, officials should give citizens feedback and seem to be valuing citizens' contribution. This will create confidence in the system which will motivate many citizens to participate.
3. Government should take advantage of the proliferation of social media and technology to reach out to as many citizens as possible and make awareness to enhance engagement in a more open, effective and less costly ways.
4. In a bid to inspire confidence in the stakeholder's government should strengthen the available platforms of engagement so that they become effective and create conducive environment to enable robust and meaningful engagement with the citizens.

5. Deliberate efforts to create provisions for electronic platforms to facilitate citizen engagement in monetary policy making should be made by the government through responsible ministries and parliament.

Recommendations to the CSOs that work with citizens in the sphere of engagement and policy issues are as follows:

1. CSOs should not tire but keep on conscientizing citizens on the importance of making their voices heard in policy issues. The negative consequences of apathy should be explained to citizens in a bid to promote their participation in engagement processes.
2. CSOs should embark on various projects around the country with the objective of trying to de-polarize the society. This is due to the fact that, the level of political polarization is dangerously very high, this has adverse effects on the engagement and participation of citizens in policy making.

### **5.6 Suggestions for Further Research**

Further study should be undertaken in a comparative approach analyzing the extent of citizen engagement during the era of Mugabe administration and the current administration. Such a study will be able to reveal if the current administration has learnt something from the previous regime in as much as citizen engagement in monetary policy making is concerned. Another research might be conducted targeting a particular policy especially the de-dollarization and focusing on its effects to the micro and macroeconomics of Zimbabwe.

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## **APPENDICES**

### **Appendix 1: Informed Consent**

My name is Succeed Musora, a final year (Master in Public Policy and Governance) student from Africa University. I am carrying out a study on Citizen Engagement in Monetary Policy Making in Zimbabwe: 2014-2018. I am kindly asking you to participate in this study by answering some questions which I have.

#### **What you should know about the study:**

The purpose of the study is to enhance the engagement of citizens by government. You were selected for the study because the constituent which you represent is of paramount importance when it comes to policy development for is greatly affected by monetary policies.

#### **Procedures and duration**

If you decide to participate you will sign this form, it is expected that the interview process will take about 30-45 minutes.

#### **Benefits**

There are no direct benefits/compensation to be obtained by participating in this study. However, benefits are to the general population in the sense that the outcomes of the study might help government to change the way it makes public policies at the betterment of the whole population.

#### **Confidentiality**

Confidentiality is highly regarded in this interview; there is no information which will be attached to your name. All responses will be anonymized.

#### **Voluntary participation**

Participation in this study is voluntary. Your choice not to participate in this study will not affect your future relationship with Africa University. If you participate, you are also free to withdraw your consent and to discontinue participation anytime without penalty.

#### **Offer to answer questions**

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

#### **Authorisation**

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

-----  
Name of Research Participant (please print)

-----  
Date

-----  
Signature of Research Participant or legally authorised representative

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

Name of Researcher -----

## **Appendix 2: Key Informant Interview Guide**

### **Citizen Engagement in Monetary Policy Making in Zimbabwe**

1. Are citizens aware of the legal and institutional frameworks which provide for citizen engagement in Zimbabwe?
2. In the past five years how effectiveness has been these frameworks in as far as engagement of citizens in monetary policy making is concerned?
3. In a representative democracy Parliament is an important institution of Citizen Engagement, in Zimbabwe how effective is Parliament in providing mechanism for CE?

### **Section B**

4. How has the government engaged citizens in monetary policy making for the past five years?
5. To what extent was the engagement effective, were citizens' views taken aboard?
6. Is the environment (social and political) conducive for citizen engagement?
7. In your view why does the government sometimes by-pass citizens in monetary policy development?
8. Are there any consequences of not engaging citizens in monetary policy making, if any can you explain?

### **Section C**

9. What are the limitations and challenges of Citizen Engagement?
10. Do limitations of Citizen Engagement much to do with the government or citizens themselves?

11. What opportunities can be exploited in a bid to promote citizen engagement?

12. What recommendations do you propose for the improvement of citizen engagement in Zimbabwe?

**Appendix 3: Questionnaire Survey Instrument**

- 1. Age of the Respondent: 18-30 ( ) 30-40 ( ) 41 and above ( )
- 2. Sex: Female ( ) Male ( )
- 3. Employment: Employed ( ) Self-employed ( ) Student ( ) Retired ( )
- 4. Are you aware of the legal framework which provide for your engagement as a citizen in policy making? Yes ( ) No ( )
- 5. Do you know the institutional frameworks available for your engagement as a citizen? Yes ( ) No ( )
- 6. Do you have confidence in the current legal and institutional frameworks for citizen engagement? Yes ( ) No ( )
- 7. Is the parliament as an institution which provides for citizen engagement effective in policy development? Yes ( ) No ( )

**Section B**

- 8. Have you been engaged by government in monetary policy making for the past five years? Yes ( ) No ( )
- 9. Do you have confidence in the monetary policies in Zimbabwe? Yes ( ) No ( )
- 10. Do u think your contribution as a citizen in policy making will make any change? Yes ( ) No ( )
- 11. How have you received information about monetary policy in the past five years? Social Media ( ) TV & Radio ( ) Print Media ( ) Others ( )
- 12. In your view why does sometimes government by-pass citizens in monetary policy making.....  
.....

13. Do you think the government will have capacity to enforce monetary policy if they by-pass citizens in policy development? Yes ( ) No ( )

14. Do you think there is an opportunity for government to improve citizen engagement? Yes ( ) No ( )

15. What are the opportunities available for citizen engagement in policy development?.....  
.....

16. What factors limit citizen engagement in policy development?  
.....  
.....

**Appendix 4: AUREC Approval Letter**

