THE STATE, CIVIL SOCIETY AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT: THE CASE OF ZIMBABWE

JONATHAN OSHUPENG MASENG

A dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree

MAGISTER ARTIUM

In

Political Studies

Faculty of Humanities

North-West University

(Vaal Triangle Campus)

Vanderbijlpark

Supervisor: Dr. CM (Ina) Gouws

Co-supervisor: Dr. Herman Van der Elst

November 2010

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the following people for their contribution and support towards my research:

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the relationship between the state and civil society in Zimbabwe. The relationship between the state and civil society is discussed under the categories of the concepts democratisation, good governance and sustainable development. The nature of the relationship between the state and civil society in Africa is examined to set out parameters for state-civil society debate in Zimbabwe. The discussion of the relationship between the state and civil society in Zimbabwe is synthesised into three parts, the post-independence era, the post-1990s and the post-2000.

From these discussions it is argued that the relationship between the state and civil society was peaceful in the first decade of independence and this was because the state maintained dominance and control over all sectors of civil society. However, the 1990s saw a collapse of peaceful relations between the state and civil society in Zimbabwe. The collapse of the peaceful relationship between the state and civil society came as a result of the country's economic decline and the authoritarian practices in Zimbabwe, which saw the emergence of a confrontational civil society towards the state. In the early 2000s, it is observed that the state became repressive towards civil society through the introduction of repressive laws which include Access to Information and Privacy Act (AIIPA) and the Public Order and Security Act (POSA). For peaceful relations between the state and civil society to exist in a sustainable manner, the state must continuously promote and practise democracy and good governance. In addition, the state should play a pivotal role of enhancing sustainable development in a manner that meets the socio-economic realities of its population.

Keywords: The state, Civil Society, Civil Society Organisations (CSOs), Democratisation, Good Governance, Sustainable development, Authoritarianism, Economic Decline, Zimbabwe.

CONTENTS

Acronyms and Abbreviations

AU-African Union

AIPPA-Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act

BSA-Broadcasting Services Act

CIO-Central Intelligence Organisation

CPP-Convention People's Party

CSOs-Civil Society Organisations

DPMF-Development Policy Management Forum

DRC-Democratic Republic of Congo

ECA-Economic Commission for Africa

EU-European Union

ESAPs-Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes

GDP-Gross Domestic Product

GOZ-Government of Zimbabwe

ICD-Independent Complaints Directorate

MDC-Movement for Democratic Change

MPOI-Mass Public Opinion Institute

MISA-Media Institute of Southern Africa

NCA-National Constitutional Assembly

NEPAD-New Partnership for Africa's Development

NGOs-Non-Governmental Organisations

NGO Bill-Non-governmental Organisation Bill

NPOs-Non-Profit Organisations

PVOs-Private Voluntary Organisations

POSA-Public Order and Security Act

UANC-United African National Congress

UN-United Nations

UNSIA-United Nations Systems-Wide Special Initiative on Africa

UK-United Kingdom

USA-United States of America

USAID-United States Development Agency

SRC-Students' Representative Council

ZANU-PF-Zimbabwean African National Union-Patriotic Front

ZCTU-Zimbabwe Congress of Trades Union

ZIDERA-Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act

CHAPTER ONE

1. Orientation and problem statement

Thomson (2004:6) defines the state as a set of political institutions that govern within a delimited territory. Examples of state institutions are the armed forces, state bureaucracy, courts and police (Weber, 1994), and examples of state, are inter-alia, South Africa, Zimbabwe and Botswana. On the other hand, civil society is defined as those organisations that arise out of voluntary association within society, found between the extended family and the state. Examples of civil society institutions are academia, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), non-profit organisations (NPOs) , trade unions, private voluntary organisations (PVOs) and religious organisations (Thomson, 2004).

Both the state and civil society have a critical role to play in promoting and enhancing democratisation, good governance and sustainable development. Therefore, a stable relationship between the state and civil society is crucial for the effective development of any country. This is because the presence of a strong civil society working with a capable state is regarded as a necessary condition for civilising the state (Kabemba, 2005). In this view, a healthy relationship between the state and civil society must exist in order to establish and maintain a vibrant democratic and economically stable society (Ncube, 2008:1). In southern Africa civil society has played a role in advancing development. However, development seems to be having setbacks in some countries. Muloongo (2007: 4-5) maintains this view by stating that:

'While it is true that many Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) have aided the development process of southern African societies in various fields, it is also true that these processes are beginning to slow down in a number of southern African countries. The slow-down is partly due to a melt-down in relations between CSOs and the state.'

Both the state and civil society have contributed towards development in Zimbabwe. However, from the mid-1990s civil society in Zimbabwe has not enjoyed peaceful collaboration with the state and this has resulted in tension and hostility. In essence,

the state and civil society failed to effectively interact with one another, thus triggering instability and underdevelopment in many states (Thomson, 2004:5). In Zimbabwe, like in any other southern African state, the relationship between state and civil society was a collaborative one after independence (Muloongo, 2007:17). Nonetheless, the relationship between the state and civil society in Zimbabwe has not remained collaborative in that it has deteriorated (Muloongo, 2007:17). This is due to the reason that 'the Zimbabwean state has become so anti-CSOs that it is legislating and enforcing regulations that restrain the operations of CSOs and is resorting to intimidation tactics' (Muloongo, 2007:17-18). Indeed, the introduction of legislations such as the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIIPA), Public Order and Security Act (POSA) and Broadcasting Services Act (BSA) by the Zimbabwean government has limited CSOs activities.

The authoritarian practices which effected a negative blow to democratic governance in Zimbabwe seems to be among the root causes of the breakdown of peaceful relations between the state and civil society in that country. This is because civil society raised its displeasure with the authoritarian ways of governance in Zimbabwe. Consequently, the state reacted by limiting the voices of CSOs on issues of governance. Certainly, this has seen both the president and the minister responsible for Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) in Zimbabwe speaking against the involvement of CSOs in the country's politics rather than humanitarian activities (Herald, 2002; 2004).

This study seeks to establish the factors that led to the hostile relations between the state and civil society in Zimbabwe. Once this is achieved, it would then be possible to make specific recommendations on how to rectify or improve the situation.

1.1. Research questions

Based on the above background the following questions were posed:

- What is the role of the state and civil society in a democratic dispensation, with specific focus on democratisation, good governance and sustainable development?
- What is the nature of the relationship between the state and civil society in Africa on areas of democratisation, good governance and sustainable

development and which factors led to the disrupted relations between the state and civil society and what role have these played in the economic discourse of Zimbabwe?

1.2. The objectives of the study

The objectives of the study were to:

- Identify and discuss the role of the state and civil society in a democratic dispensation, specifically focusing on democratisation, good governance and sustainable development;
- Describe the nature of the relationship between the state and civil society in contemporary African politics, with specific focus on issues of democratisation, good governance and sustainable development;
- Discuss and analyse the factors that led to the hostile relations between the state and civil society and the causes of economic decline in Zimbabwe; and
- Outline and interpret the findings from chapter four and provide recommendations to normalise the relations between the state and civil society.

1.3. Hypothesis

The absence of democratisation, good governance, and sustainable development are major causes to the collapse of peaceful relations between the state and civil society in Zimbabwe.

1.4. Techniques of investigation

1.4.1. Research methodology

There are two types of research methods namely, qualitative and quantitative. Quantitative research is concerned with counting and measuring, producing in particular estimates of averages and differences between groups. On the other hand qualitative research has its roots in social science and is more concerned with understanding why people behave as they do: their knowledge, attitudes, beliefs, and fears. Cresswell (2009: 4) observes that qualitative research is a means of

exploring and understanding the meaning individuals ascribe to a social or human problem.

This dissertation used qualitative research method. This research method was used in order to establish which factors led to the hostile relations between the state and civil society in Zimbabwe. Babbie and Mouton (2006:53) define the purpose of qualitative research as the description and understanding of human behaviour, rather than its prediction and explanation. Qualitative researchers aim to gather an in-depth understanding of human behaviour and the reasons that govern such behaviour. The qualitative method investigates the what, where, when, why and how of decision-making. In this regard, the qualitative research method ensured gathering in-depth understanding of the relationship between the state, civil society and underdevelopment in Zimbabwe and the reasons that govern such relations.

As part of the qualitative research method this study made use of the secondary data collection technique. Secondary data is information that is already available. This is collected by a person or organisation other than the user of the data. Secondary data is inexpensive and easily accessible; it is already available and saves time. It avoids data collection problems and provides a basis for comparison. Secondary data can be collected from various sources, which include, but are not limited to: books, magazines, websites, already published reports, television, radio, newspapers, films, journals and publications, research papers (Herrnson, 1995: 453). For this study, academic books, monographs, journal articles, occasional papers, academic articles, conference papers, reports, government and other organisations publications, theses and dissertations, on-line news and news paper reports and other relevant literature were used.In this dissertation, the chosen qualitative research method gathers an in-depth understanding of the relationship between the state and civil society in Zimbabwe and the reasons that govern such relations. Qualitative research gives much richer answers to research questions posed by the researcher with respect to the relationship between the state and civil society in Zimbabwe, and it thus gives valuable insights to this dissertation.

1.4.2. Stages of the research

This dissertation relied on the five stages of research provided by Cooper (1998: 6), which are:

- **Stage characteristics**- research questions where formulated in order to provide guidance to literature review on the relationship between the state and civil society in areas of democratisation, good governance and sustainable development.
- **Problem Formulation-** the problem formulation was based on existing evidence on the relationship between the state and civil society in Zimbabwe. The researcher then made a distinction between relevant and irrelevant information.
- **Data collection**- having distinguished between relevant and irrelevant information, the researcher choose sources relevant to examine the relationship between the state and civil society in Zimbabwe.
- **Data Evaluation**-a significant number of academic contributions have been made on the state and civil society in Zimbabwe and because of this reason the researcher had to apply a criterion to separate valid from invalid studies for this dissertation.
- **Analysis and interpretation**-the researcher analysed and interpreted data retrieved from other studies on the state and civil society. This was done in order to synthesize the data to fit into the structure and arguments of the dissertation.
- **Public Presentation**-the researcher applied editorial criteria to build a study that has relevant and insightful analysis and recommendations for future studies to be performed on the subject.

1.4.3. Conceptualisation of the study

The analysis in this study is confined into three concepts democratisation, good governance and sustainable development. In this regard the concepts democratisation, good governance and sustainable development form a framework of analysis for the study. Chapter two provides clarification and analysis of these

three concepts. In addition, these three concepts form the synthesis and parameters for the discussions on the state, civil society and underdevelopment in Africa generally and Zimbabwe in particular. Thus the discussions focus on the nature of the relationship between the state and civil society in Africa and Zimbabwe in particular on issues of democratisation, good governance and sustainable development. Chapter three gives a general discussion on Africa, while chapter four provides discussions on Zimbabwe.

1.5. Literature review

This dissertation relied on literature review as the method of investigation, which is the first step of an empirical study. A study of existing literature was conducted to systematically, methodologically and accurately perform this research. The literature review proved to be important for this thesis and this was based on the observation by Cooper (1998: 1) that given the cumulative nature of science, trustworthy accounts of past research are a necessary condition for orderly knowledge building.

This contributed towards clear understanding of the nature and background of the problem identified. In this regard a review of existing literature on the relationship between the state, civil society and underdevelopment in Zimbabwe was conducted through scrutinising sources such as books, theses and dissertations written by students from various universities, political science and international relations journals, conference papers and other papers presented on the subject, newspaper reports and other on-line media reports, Zimbabwean government publications, African Union and United Nations publications, official websites and other relevant internet publications.

The literature reviewed by the researcher did not provide a clear and structured analysis of what lead to disrupted relations between the state and civil society in Zimbabwe. As a result the researcher realised the need to close the gap of literature by providing scientific facts and analysis in a structured manner through categorising and structuring the discussions on the state and civil society in Zimbabwe. The discussions were categorised and structured in the following manner, looking into the state and civil society in Zimbabwe through three phases which are the post independence era, the post 1990s and the post 2000 era.

In this regard relevant internet searches were conducted by looking for key words such as civil society, the state, democratisation, good governance, and sustainable development in order to build arguments based on scientific facts for the study. The data from the literature review is used to explain the political and economic trends in Zimbabwe from independence to date. For the purpose reviewing the literature the following databases were consulted:

- Catalogue of Books: Africa Institute of South Africa library and North West University libraries
- Nexus database: Theses and dissertations from various universities
- Political Science and international relations journals
- Conference Papers and other papers presented on the subject
- Media: Newspaper reports and other online media reports
- Zimbabwean Government Publications
- African Union and United Nations Publications
- Official websites and other relevant Internet publications

1.6. Limitations

The research intended to conduct interviews in order to help provide a description of the relationship between the state and civil society in Zimbabwe on areas such as democratisation, good governance and sustainable development. This was based on Mouton's emphasis on the importance of a researcher acquinting themselves with research already conducted on the researched topic of interest and his ability to take the most accepted theoretical standpoint and recent debate into cognisance (Mouton, 1996:119).

Six professional Zimbabweans were identified to have qualitative interviews with. They were selected because of their higher education profiles and the fact that they are Zimbabweans who decided to make a living in South Africa because of the breakdown between of relations between the state and civil society in that country.

Similarly, efforts were made to request interviews with Zimbabwean government officials working at the Zimbabwean Embassy in South Africa. However, the

interviews with the six individuals mentioned and the officials at the Zimbabwean embassy were not conducted. This is because the email request sent to the embassy, which is a requirement when requesting an interview with them, were never responded to. In addition, the researcher made calls to the embassy to request for interviews. However, the calls proved to be of no assistance as the researcher was asked to write emails to the embassy, which were not responded to.

As a result the researcher was not afforded the opportunity to interview government officials from the embassy. With regards to the six individuals the researcher saw it inappropriate to interview them because the responses were anticipated to be biased and one-sided because the views from government would be lacking. In the same breath, the researcher also wished to visit Zimbabwe to conduct fieldwork for the study, but this was prevented by the lack of financial assistance. There was another limitation in conducting the literature study. The researcher made efforts to obtain official documents from the Zimbabwean government website relevant to the dissertation. However, the Zimbabwean government website did not provide adequate information that met the expectations of the researcher.

1.7. Outline of Chapters

The structure of the dissertation is as follows:

Chapter: One: Orientation and problem statement

Chapter Two: A theoretical description of the role of the state and civil society in a democratic dispensation.

Chapter Three: The nature of the relationship between the state and civil society in African politics.

Chapter Four: Factors leading to the hostile relations between the state and civil society and causes of economic decline in Zimbabwe.

Chapter Five: Conclusion and recommendations.

1.8. Conclusion

Chapter one provided an understanding of both the state and civil society through defining the two terms. It further placed at the fore research questions that are answered in this study. The research questions equally assisted in the design of the objectives of this thesis. Chapter one also provided a hypothesis on which the study was premised. In addition, chapter one provided the research methodology which was used in conducting this dissertation and the stages of research undergone in this study. Similarly, chapter one provided literature review and an overview of the database consulted in pursuing this study. The chapter put forth an outline of chapters, which provided a framework for the interplay of discussions in the dissertation.

CHAPTER TWO

Theoretical description of the role of the state and civil society in a democratic dispensation

2.1. Introduction

Chapter two provides the theoretical exposition of the role of the state and civil society in a democratic dispensation. In doing so, the concepts democratisation, good governance and sustainable development are main categories under which the role of the state and civil society are outlined. These concepts were identified on the premise that they are universal phrases used to describe the political and socio-economic trends of former Third World countries, which are now known as developing or less developed countries. These concepts also have their specific significance for this study in order to understand what is meant by a democratic dispensation. The significance of the identified concepts for this study stems from the fact that both the state and civil society, which are central concepts in this chapter and the study generally, are vital components on issues of democratisation, good governance and sustainable development.

In this regard, the point of departure for the chapter is to provide definitions of democratisation, good governance and sustainable development. Having done that, the chapter discusses the role of the state and civil society in democratisation, good governance and sustainable development respectively. These discussions in this chapter provide a theoretical foundation for the chapter three. Thus, the discussions in chapter three on the nature of state-civil society relations in Africa are categorised under the concepts of democratisation, good governance and sustainable development.

2.2. Understanding a democratic dispensation

This section gives an exposition of the concepts democratisation, good governance and sustainable development.

2.2.1. Democratisation

This section defines and discusses the concepts of democracy and democratisation and further draws a difference between the two. In doing so the foremost concept to be defined is democracy which can be understood as the centrality of collective rights and the supply of socio-economic opportunities to the masses (Meena, 1997: 40). It is a system of government whose legitimacy derives from the principle of popular sovereignty, thus ordinary citizens are endowed with the ability and capacity to govern themselves. Democracy has basic attributes which include the right to vote, to belong to a political party of one's choice and freedom of expression. In addition, a system of checks and balances amongst key institutions of the state, the executive, parliament and judiciary, as well as the rule of law are vital elements to democracy (Sachikonye, 2003: 99). Democracy is developed through promoting free and fair elections, supporting good governance, enhancing respect for human rights, promoting representative and responsive government, strengthening the rule of law, encouraging civil society participation in the political domain and enhancing public sector effectiveness (Global village, 2010:3).

Democratisation on the other hand is a process that involves the creation and expansion of the political space for multiple actors to interact, negotiate, compete, and seek realisation, within set and permissible rules (Adejumobi, 2002: 3). In developmental perspective, democratisation involves ensuring that the structures, institutions and governance not only address the fundamental needs and rights of all citizens, including women and children, but they also engage citizens in their creation and maintenance in order to ensure equitable and sustainable development. The process of democratisation also involves developing capacities and opportunities for society, including the non-governmental, community based, and private sector organisations, to work with government to develop the mechanisms and processes through which individual and collective interests are effectively represented and addressed. At the root of this process are democratic institutions,

rules, practices and democratic values that must be fostered and strengthened (Global village, 2010:1).

In the backdrop of the above definitions of democracy and democratisation, it can convincingly be argued that democracy is a system of government, while democratisation becomes a process to achieve this system. In essence democratisation is a process of transforming an institution to conform to democratic norms ultimately becoming a democratic system of government. Generally, democratisation is based on democratic principles such participatory democracy and multi-party elections, the rule of law and an independent judiciary and the protection human rights. Furthermore, democratisation is a process that fulfils collective rights and the supply of socio-economic opportunities to the masses.

2.2.2. Good governance

While there are several positions on what entails good governance, there are common denominators that explain the term popularised by the World Bank in 1989. The World Bank identifies six dimensions of governance indicators including voice and accountability, political stability and absence of violence, government effectiveness, regulatory quality, and the rule of law and control of corruption (World Bank, 2003). According to Nsibambi (1998:4) the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in 1994 identified seven features of good governance which are:

- Legitimacy established through rule-based opportunities for changing government in an orderly and predictable manner;
- Freedom of association and participation;
- Fair and effective legal frameworks;
- Accountability of public office and service and transparent processes;
- Availability of valid and reliable information;
- Efficient and effective public sector management; and
- Co-operation between government and civil society (Nsibambi, 1998:4).

These seven features of governance identified by UNDP above are complemented by Global Village (2010:3), which argues that good governance involves:

- Institutional capacity building;
- Training public servants;

- Promoting integrity in government;

- Strengthening democratic control over government;

- Improving transparency;

- Taking legal, administrative political measures against corruption;

- Decentralising systems in decision making; and

- Building systems of checks and balances (Global Village, 2010:3).

In this vein, good governance involves actions of the state within the parameters of governance features identified above, in the interests of its citizens. This is achieved within the limits and principles of democracy in pursuit of achieving developmental objectives. It is based on the above views that Kakumba (2008: 66) observes good governance as a process aiming at various objectives including the welfare of citizens, economic growth, political stability, and security of its citizens. Furthermore, good governance aims at ensuring the prevalence of democracy and the overall accountability and monitoring of the state's actions by society (Kakumba, 2008: 66). Good governance involves democratisation, which Global Village (2010:3) says involves developing the capacities and opportunities of society, including non-governmental, community-based organisations and private sector organisations, to work with government in developing mechanisms and processes through which individual and collective interests are effectively represented and addressed.

In a nutshell, good governance is the political process based on the seven features pointed out above, which were identified by the UNDP in 1994. From the above arguments, governance has therefore extended from its traditional government action of utilising power to enforce societal compliance, to focusing on addressing developmental roles by the different segments of socio-economic and political forces. The role of citizens and the way social groups organise to make and implement decisions affecting their well-being are core governance activities. This means that, governance is not a preserve of the state or the wielders of state power for that matter, but rather, a partnership between the leaders and the led to promote the entire society's well-being (Kakumba & Kuye, 2008: 632). In this regard good governance requires participation of both the state and civil society in order for it to be realized and further promote the well being of the entire society. This should be

done through the state and civil society establishing a partnership in pursuit of achieving good governance.

2.2.3. Sustainable development

Sustainable Development is understood to be economic development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (Deardoff, 2010). It is a vision of development that encompasses populations and integrates concerns such as the fight against poverty, gender equity, human rights, education for all, health, and human security (UNESCO, 2010) .As the definition of sustainable development includes economic development, it is necessary to provide an explanation of economic development which is regarded as the sustained increase in the economic standard of living of the country's population (Deardoff, 2010).

Similarly economic development can be linked to economic growth which is understood to be the increase over time of the capacity of the economy to produce goods and services and (ideally) to improve the well-being of its citizens (Deardoff, 2010). From the above definitions it is clear that sustainable development involves economic development and economic growth in pursuit of establishing the socio-economic welfare and growth of the population in a particular society.

Political and social development are also critical elements to sustainable development. On the one hand, political development is regarded as the development of the institutions, attitudes, and values that form the political power system of a society (Burnell, 2010). Political development can be classified into two formulations. One formulation of political development dwells on the emergence of national sovereignty and the integrity of the state, demanding respect and upholding commitments in the international system (Burnell, 2010). The other formulation of political development identifies domestic attributes. These domestic attributes include constitutional order and political stability, attained through the formation of a settled framework of government, reliable procedures for leadership succession, and a consolidation of the territorial administrative reach of government institutions (Burnell, 2010). The importance of political development in sustainable development

stems from its linkages with economic progress. The linkages are that political development has traditionally been seen as a catalyst to economic progress (Burnell, 2010). On the other hand, social development is a process which results in the transformation of social structures in a manner which improves the capacity of the society to fulfil its aspirations (Zadeh & Ahmad, 2010: 66). Social development refers to positive change which is regarded transformation that better equips society to fight poverty (Zadeh & Ahmad, 2010: 66). Social development, therefore, forms part of sustainable development from a premise that it involves improving capacity of a society to fulfil its aspirations.

The process of sustainable development therefore seeks to ensure the realisation of the people's basic needs and socio-economic rights through enhancing political and social development. This socio-economic rights include adequate standards of living, access to education, social security, social and medical assistance, adequate nutrition, social welfare benefits and protection of health in a sustainable manner. It is a substantial argument that sustainable development represents all aspects of socio-economic development and growth in a given country.

Sustainable development is a broad concept as it has the attributes of democracy and good governance as its critical components. With respect to democracy, it can be deduced that it represents sustainable development from the observation that democracy is the supply of socio-economic opportunities to the masses. Thus democratisation has a direct and critical contribution to the notion of achieving sustainable development. Likewise, good governance can also be linked to sustainable development; hence Mafunisa (2004: 389) observed that good governance is a cornerstone of sustainable development.

Similarly, the processes that are undertaken to achieve good governance equally contribute in the pursuit of achieving sustainable development. Ideally democratisation, good governance and sustainable development are compatible concepts representing a democratic dispensation. This democratic dispensation is based on principles of democracy and good governance, which create an environment conducive for sustainable development.

2.3. The role of the state in a democratic dispensation

This section discusses the role of the state in a democratic dispensation.

2.3.1. The role of the state in democratisation of a society

According to Al-Iryani (1998: 1) the universal role of the state in the advent of the 21st century includes among others enhancing democracy or democratisation and popular participation in free and fair elections. Thus the first step in the democratisation process is conducting free and fair elections where multiple parties can compete for political power. Competition between parties gives state institutions legitimacy primarily because legitimacy stems from citizens deciding who should govern through voting. Beyond elections the state must foster the rule of law, enforce constitutionalism, and promote human rights protection and strengthen the national judicial system (Kauzya, 2002: 1).

The moves towards democratisation were predominantly observed in Africa throughout the early 1990s when the wave democratisation hit the continent. During this period single party states in Africa were forced to expose themselves to multi-party elections, democratic constitutions and good governance, legitimacy and inclusivity. For instance, Mulikita (2003) observes that Zambia led the democratisation wave in Anglo-phone African states by holding elections in 1991. Similarly South Africa became one of the countries to have first steps of democratisation through holding the first ever democratic general elections in 1994 after decades of undemocratic apartheid rule. In this regard, states that held and still hold multi-party, free and fair elections take the first step in playing the democratisation role. Correspondingly, multi-partism complemented the democratic attributes of the right to vote, belong to a political party of one's choice and freedom of expression through deciding which party should govern. In light of the above the state should thus ensure that citizens exercise the fore-mentioned democratic attributes which are central components to the democratisation process.

Fostering the rule of law similarly is one of the conditions for the state to achieve democratisation. Hence the idea of the rule of law is pointed out by Sachikonye (2003: 99) as a vital element for democracy. In addition, Al-Iryani (1998: 1) observes

that fostering the rule of law is one of the roles of the state in the 21st century. Therefore, as one among the means of advancing democratisation the state has a responsibility to foster and enforce the rule of law. The rule of law usually is referred to as the observed body of international accords and treaties, state constitutions, and written laws which embody the human rights traditions accepted virtually universally, and which protect individuals and order society in the respective nations of the world (Klingelhofer & Robinson, 2002:3). The state, therefore, must through its constitutions accede to international accords and treaties and written laws promoting human rights to consolidate the rule of law, thereby contributing towards democratisation.

As strengthening the judicial system is one of the roles of the state in the democratisation process, the significance of the state to strengthen the judicial system is based on the premise that an independent and well-functioning judicial system is vital in ensuring that the majority does not trample upon the rights of the minority (United Nations, 2002). It is also essential in minimising impunity that often leads to insecurity, injustice, corruption, and abuse of public office and power as well as discouragement of long-term investment. It ensures that an effective system of checks and balances is in place to prevent the concentration of power in the hands of one of the three branches of government and to protect minority groups (United Nations, 2002). Accordingly from the above views, strengthening the judicial system mandates the state to ensure protection of human rights, encourage long- term investment, promote checks and balances between the three arms of government, and minimise insecurity, injustice and corruption.

Similarly, as regards to other roles, the state ascends the centre stage through establishing institutions and laws that promote and protect human rights. The state must ensure that the institutions and laws established fulfil universally recognised standards and practices. By universally recognised we mean human rights protection captured in treaties and conventions by international and regional organisations such the United Nations (UN) and African Union (AU). South Africa can be classified as an example of a country that protects and promotes human rights in accordance with international standards and this is mantained in the country's constitutional provision of the bill of rights (Fombad, 1996: 8).

As the democratisation process involves the creation and expansion of the political space for multiple actors to interact within a set of permissible rules. Similarly, the state has an obligation to create political space for interaction of multiple actors. Multiple political actors in this regard refer to the presence and participation of civil society and opposition political parties in the country's politics. Mulikita (2003) points out, for instance, that without multiple parties a country cannot be referred to as democratic and also that a multiple political system ensures that people have an opportunity to choose from different political leaders from various parties.

The state, therefore, has a political obligation to establish a multiple political system which is guided by the constitution. Hence Mulikita (2003) continues to argue that a democratic constitution is absolutely imperative in a democracy because not only does it enshrine the principle of free, fair and transparent elections, but it makes a smooth transfer of power from one government to another possible. The above argument obliges the state to provide citizens with a democratic constitution that embodies critical democratic factors such elections, human rights protection, rule of law and democratic governance.

2.3.2. The role of the state in good governance

In promoting good governance, the state must ensure that people participate in initiating, making, implementing, and monitoring decisions and plans that concern them, taking into consideration their local needs, priorities, capacities and resources. This is achieved by transferring power, authority and resources from central to local government and lower levels (Kauzya, 2002: 9). Furthermore the state must ensure that there is strengthened accountability and transparency through making leaders to account to the communities they serve. Manor et al (1992: 2) view good governance as an array of practices which maximise common good for the public. Based on this observation, within governments there must be transparency, effectiveness, openness, responsiveness and accountability, the rule of law and the acceptance of diversity and pluralism.

Therefore, the state is obliged to practice good governance through promoting transparency, effectiveness, responsiveness and accountability, the rule of law and the acceptance of diversity and pluralism. Equally the state must strengthen good

governance through institutional capacity building, training public servants, promoting integrity in government, strengthening democratic control over the governments, taking legal, administrative and political measures against corruption, decentralising decision making and developing systems of checks and balances (Global village, 2010: 3). These principles of good governance are inseparable and dependent on each other to exist and this means without the existence of one, it is impossible for others to exist.

2.3.3. The role of the state in achieving sustainable development

In the sustainable development process the state must direct its resources to investment in social services (health, education and welfare) and infrastructure projects and the protection of the environment (Al-Iryani, 1998: 1). As sustainable development is regarded economic development that meets the needs of the present without compromising those of future generations. It is therefore safe to argue that the role of the state in sustainable development is to direct resources and invest in health, education and welfare of citizens and infrastructure projects. The state must directly invest its resources in these identified areas. This should be done without compromising its ability to invest in these areas in the future.

It is noteworthy that sustainable development has economic growth as its critical element seeking to improve and secure the socio-economic welfare of the population. In enhancing sustainable development the state, therefore, has a responsibility of promoting economic growth. Hence, according to El-Mefleh (2005: 2) one of the traditional roles of government is to be an engine for economic growth. Thus, fundamentally the state is an engine that drives the increase in economic capacity to produce goods, services and improve the well-being of its citizens. For that reason the leadership of the state is needed to foster and protect an enabling environment for economic activity that can promote both security and growth (UNDP, 2002: 145).

In the same way of enhancing sustainable development through economic growth, the state has three fundamental roles. These roles are identified by Reinert (1999: 279) who views the state as a provider of institutions which serve as preconditions to economic growth, as a provider of income distribution and as a promoter of

economic growth. The role of the state in sustainable development comes as far as the formation of the state itselfis concerned. Leftwich (2008:18) supports the latter statement by indicating that in the course of their formation and consolidation, all modern states have to confront challenges such as the promotion and protection of the national economy and the associated demand for (or requirement of) the provision of social welfare.

A strengthened and independent judicial system is essential for long term investment therefore contributing to economic growth. For that reason, a strengthened and independent judiciary is not only important for democratisation but also for sustainable development. It is critical for putting in place a conducive environment for growth, entrepreneurship and foreign and local investments (Kauzya, 2002:8). Therefore, a strong and efficient judiciary is essential in providing a stable environment for the growth of investments and economic activity (Kauzya, 2002:8). It is a compulsion for the state to establish a strengthened and independent judicial system which will result in long term investment driving sustainable development forward. The state must also promote and practise good governance to achieve sustainable development. This is because good governance is a cornerstone of sustainable development (Mafunisa, 2004: 489); as such, the roles of the state in good governance significantly contribute to sustainable development. From this premise, the roles of the state in good governance are critical components to achieve sustainable development.

2.4. The role of civil society in a democratic dispensation

This section discusses the role of the civil society in a democratic dispensation.

2.4.1. The role of civil society in the democratisation of a society

The concept of civil society has become prominent in the current political discourse particularly on democratisation. In contemporary democratic societies, it is hard to imagine any form of decision-making process that does not take into consideration opinions and notions from the civil society, expressed either through individual involvement or at an institutional level (Obuljen, 2005:1). Hence, civil society organisations (CSOs) are often regarded as the best agents to articulate and

advocate for people's interests and their democratic aspirations (PRIA, 2010). Bunbongkarn (2001: 141) argues that in democratisation of a society, civil society can play a vital role in making the elites and the public more committed to democracy by disseminating democratic principles and ideas. Bunbongkarn (2001: 141) continues to note that CSOs can consolidate democratisation by stimulating political participation and encouraging people to get more involved in politics. In this sense, civil society's role in encouraging political participation strengthens the legitimacy and the institutionalisation of democratic government which are essential for democratic consolidation (Diamond, 1999: 239-240).

Civil society's role in democratisation has seen scholars such as Samarasinghe (1994: 13) arguing that it is a necessary condition for democracy. Civil society is seen widely as an increasingly crucial agent in limiting authoritarian governments (PRIA, 2010). In this view civil society plays a major role in undermining authoritarian regimes and introducing democracy. Based on the latter argument, civil society is expected to facilitate the consolidation and maintenance of democracy (Oche, 2003: 192) and also deepen the democratic character of an existing democratic regime (PRIA, 2010). Civil society serves a number of functions, of which the most prominent is to limit state power and to oppose and resist the abuse of state power (Oche, 2003: 192). The role of civil society in democratisation was reflected in countries such as Nigeria and Kenya were CSOs transformed autocratic regimes in these states to democratic ones. Likewise, in South Africa CSOs played a crucial role in transforming the autocratic apartheid government into a democratic one (M'boge & Doe, 2004:4).

Summing up, civil society's role in the democratisation process comes in two ways. One is democratic consolidation and the other is democratic transitions. In democratic consolidation civil society plays a role through the support and maintenance of democratic principles and institutions. Equally, in democratic transitions civil society plays a major role in mobilising pressure for political change. Organised groups such as students, women's groups, farmers' organisations, NGOS, trade unions, religious groups, professional organisations, the media, think-tanks and human rights organisations are a crucial source of democratic change (Diamond, 1994: 5).

It is within the parameters of democratic transition that there has been an emergence of civil society movements to challenge some states. For instance, states such as Ghana saw a civil society movement in the form of Convention People's Party (CPP) playing a key role in the struggle for independence (M'boge & Doe, 2004:3). In terms of democratic consolidation, the role of the media and other civil society organisations in the fight against establishment of a media tribunal in South Africa can be cited as civil society's contribution to democratic consolidation.

2.4.2. The role of civil society in good governance

Civil society is a crucial agent in enforcing political accountability and improving the quality and inclusiveness of governance (PRIA, 2010). It is an actor without whose participation good governance cannot be achieved (Amoako, 1997). A strong and plural civil society is necessary to guard against the excesses of state power and to legitimatise the authority of the state based on rule of law (Diamond, 1994). By channelling and processing the demands and concerns of different groups to the state, civil society underpins an effective and streamlined state, ensuring legitimacy, accountability and transparency, thus effectively strengthening the state's capacity for good governance (Mercer, 2002: 7). Thus civil society contributes to good governance through advocacy for curtailment of corruption and inefficiency. Civil society improves information flow and networking for increased accountability and improved awareness (Ghaus-Pasha, 2004:11).

Generally, civil society contributes to good governance. Its role is divided into four categories, namely public policy and decision making; enhancing state performance; transparency and information; and social justice and the rule of law (Manor, Robertson, & White, 1999: 8-11). Firstly, civic associations, such as women's organisations, bring together people from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds through toleration, respect, trust, and credible commitment for the advancement of a common agenda (for instance women empowerment). They try to influence policy reforms through dialogue, advocacy and persuasion. Thus, CSOs possess the ability to mobilise the public to participate more fully in decision-making processes and the management of public affairs (Mukamunana & Brynard, 2005: 668).

Secondly, CSOs can improve transparency and increase the availability of information about the making and implementation of government policy by disseminating information within society. This is important in promoting accountability because citizens will be aware of the pledges made by their governments, and can be in a position to demand service delivery. This suggests a more activist role for civil society, in which civic role-players back up information and dissemination activities through mobilisation and public advocacy work (Mukamunana & Brynard, 2005: 668).

Thirdly, CSOs can contribute to the quality and effectiveness of public services and expenditures by working directly with government in shaping, financing and delivering public services in a variety of ways. These can take the form of state-civil society partnerships in which CSOs work closely with state institutions in designing public policies, service delivery and monitoring. This practice of partnerships lays the foundations for an effective government and rapid economic growth (Putnam, 1993). Fourthly, CSOs, in particular human rights groups, can play a significant role in promoting social justice and the rule of law in the governance of a country. They do so by either pressing for the implementation of existing laws, or, advocating fresh legislative initiatives and institutional reforms thereby improving the functioning and accountability of state organs. Furthermore, CSOs can play a protective role in sheltering individuals threatened by repressive states, and defending their rights through the official legal process (Mukamunana & Brynard, 2005: 668).

2.4.3. The role of civil society in achieving sustainable development

Ghaus-Pasha (2004:10) categorises the role of civil society in achieving sustainable development into the following areas:

- Improving local business investment climate;
- Encouraging new enterprises and livelihood programs; and
- Delivering of social services.

In improving the local business investment climate, civil society focuses on economic infrastructure provision and maintenance such as housing development

programmes. In addition, civil society improves policy for business through advocacy for improved economic policies. It also promotes investment. In order to encourage new enterprises and livelihood programmes civil society promotes income generating projects, micro-finance projects and organises cooperatives. Thus CSOs assist and finance small projects for community groups, gives credit and loans to feasible projects and to small business individually or collectively. Furthermore, CSOs provide advice on areas such as finance, business planning, marketing and the law. Equally significant, CSOs assist communities and sectors in establishing cooperatives in areas such as agriculture and housing, among others (Ghaus-Pasha, 2004:11).

In delivering social services to society, civil society plays a role in areas such as education, health, social welfare and other social sector. In the education sector, civil society conducts literacy programmes and provides increased business-focused education. In the health sector civil society implements health programmes, organises occupational health standards and implements and supports HIV/AIDS family planning, vaccination, etc (Ghaus-Pasha, 2004:11). In the area of employment, CSOs help people access employment and self-employment programmes and provides job placement programs particularly for the minorities and other marginalised groups (Ghaus-Pasha, 2004:11). Civil society plays a role in changing the socio-economic conditions through stimulating developmental action which improves the well-being of poor and excluded people (PRIA, 2010).

For the reason that good governance is a cornerstone of sustainable development, it thus means the role of the state in good governance contributes to sustainable development. As regards, civil society's role in promoting good governance equally contributes to sustainable development. Among the civil society roles noted in 2.4.2 is that it contributes to good governance by contributing to the quality and effectiveness of public services and expenditures through working directly with government in shaping, financing and delivering public services in a variety of ways.

In this manner, state-civil society partnership is established in which CSOs work closely with state institutions in designing public policies, service delivery and monitoring. This practice of partnerships lays the foundations for an effective government and for economic growth (Putnam, 1993). Thus civil society's role in

promoting good governance significantly contributes to achieving sustainable development. It is on the premise of the above arguments that governance in development circles is generally used to refer to the manner in which power and resources are used towards the realisation of developmental objectives (Nsubuga, 2004).

2.5. Conclusion

This chapter has given an account of what a democratic dispensation represents, through defining and discussing the concepts of democratisation, good governance and sustainable development. Critically, the chapter discussed the role of the state and civil society in a democratic dispensation. Democratisation, good governance and sustainable development were used as major categories to discuss the role of the both the state and civil society in a democratic dispensation.

Through the discussion in the chapter it can be deduced that there is a nexus that exist between democratisation, good governance and democracy. This is because democratisation and good governance are two sides of the same coin. Therefore democratisation is a pre-requisite for good governance. In the same breath, democratisation and good governance are determinants of sustainable development.

CHAPTER THREE
The nature of the relationship between the state and civil society in Africa

3.1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the nature of state-civil society relations in Africa. Accordingly, the discussion on the nature of state-civil society relations in Africa will be categorised under the concepts of democratisation, good governance and sustainable development.

In the democratisation discourse, this chapter seeks to provide arguments and evidence that most of Africa was hit by a wave of democratisation in the 1990s. Throughout the discussions assertions will be made that indeed Africa has experienced democratisation. However there remain challenges. The discussions will provide evidence that there are significant strides made in respect of democratisation in Africa and will identify challenges. The chapter tries to achieve this through dwelling on the determinants of democracy such as free and fair elections and human rights protection among others.

The discussions intend to forward the argument that good governance is a fundamental prerequisite to sustainable development. In that regard this chapter aims to advance arguments that the inability of African states to achieve good governance has contributed to the continent's development problems. Furthermore, the progress in economic development in Africa post-independence is pointed out. As such the post-independence state ascended the centre stage in the development discourse. This chapter seeks to discuss and analysethe nature of the relationship between the state and civil society in Africa. Prior to discussing the nature of the relationship between the state and civil society in Africa, this chapter tries to provide a general discussion on issues of democratisation, good governance and sustainable development on the continent. The discussions on the nature of the relationship between the state and civil society in Africa are intended to create a foundation for discussions on the nature of the relationship between the state and civil society. In discussing the nature of the relationship between the state and civil society under democratisation, the chapter has two sub-sections: the colonial and post-colonial era.

3.2. Understanding a democratic dispensation in Africa

This section provides an exposition of the application of democratisation, good governance and sustainable development in Africa.

3.2.1. Democratisation in Africa

Most of the literature on democratisation in Africa agrees that from the early 1990s the continent began to experience democratisation as one party and /or military regimes transformed to multi-party democracies. Bratton and Van de Walle (1997: 8) note that in 1989, 29 African countries were governed under some kind of single party constitution and one party rule seemed entrenched as a form of governance. However, by 1994 not a single *de jure* one party state remained on the continent. By December 1994, 35 countries had undergone democratic transition. South African democratic transition from apartheid to democratic rule added considerable weight to the democratisation process on the continent (Sachikonye, 2002: 8). Likewise, military rule in Nigeria collapsed and gave way to a democratically elected government in 1999 (Sachikonye, 2002: 8).

Throughout the early 1990s, African countries sought to practise multi-party democracy in which multiple political parties contested elections and this resulted in smooth transfer of power from one party to the other. This is clearly captured by Diamond (2008: 5) who argues that in the late 1960s, 70s and 80s more than two thirds of African leaders left power violently as a result of coups or assassinations. However, the 1990s saw peaceful exits as a result of electoral defeat and this became a norm on the African continent (Diamond, 2008: 5). Moreover, elections have become increasingly regular and frequent and almost all African elections have been contested and the rise of democracy in Africa marked the end of one party state (Diamond, 2008: 5). Many electoral democracies that emerged after the 1990s, such as those in Benin, Mali and South Africa have persisted for more than a decade (Diamond, 2008: 4).

As the first step in achieving democratisation is holding multi-party elections, African countries such as Benin, Mali and South Africa which have held elections since the early 1990s fulfilled the first step to democratisation. In this way significant steps

towards democratisation have been made. However, despite the progress there remain problems with the consolidation of democracy through elections, as there are instances in some countries where elections have not been free and fair. Hamdok (2008: 52) supports the latter view by observing that in several countries, semi-authoritarian regimes persist and there is manipulation of the electoral process or allowing little political space for opposition forces to compete for political power. Diamond (2008: 5) agrees with the above view by indicating that states such as Ethiopia, Gambia, Uganda and Zimbabwe have had elections which were randomly limited, manipulated or rigged; as such the notion of democratisation through free and fair election has been compromised in these countries.

Though the electoral democracies that have swept across Africa since 1990 cannot be left without record, it is noteworthy that elections do not make a democracy (Karl, 1989), hence there is an observation that at the root of democracy there are democratic institutions that must be fostered and strengthened to promote democratisation. In many African states, the institutions that support democracy such as parliaments, courts and a free press are either lacking or compromised (Herbst, 2008: 61). In the same way, democratisation requires multiple political actors and participatory politics for its advancement.

In Africa, however, there is a trend of dominant parties that has existed in countries such as Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Tanzania and Zambia. In these countries parties have held substantial majorities through several elections, consequently marginalising the opposition and limiting competition in the political sphere (Lewis, 2008: 74). Democratisation has had setbacks emerging from dominant party rule in African states which have limited participatory democracy and limited expansion of political space for multiple political actors to interact in the political domain. In some instances, there has been a reverse to the democratisation process as the military has overthrown elected governments, and the democratic experiences came to an end as countries returned to authoritarian rule (Sachikonye, 2002: 8). In addition, where democracies survive, elected governments and rulers have regressed into manipulating political rule as a means of consolidating their grip on power (Bratton & van de Walle, 1997). Thus in these democracies the formal components of democracy co-exist with authoritarian practices (Sachikonye, 2002: 8). Contestation continues to exist on citizenship issues, constitutional rights and

freedoms and the degree of the freeness and fairness of the elections (Sachikonye, 2002: 8).

Some African countries have made considerable progress in the promotion and respect for the rule of law, which is one of the determinants for democratisation. In a report compiled by the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) it is noted that in Botswana 88% of expert respondents gave a positive verdict that their leadership respects the rule of law. Likewise, in Namibia, Mauritius, Senegal, Morocco, Lesotho, Benin, South Africa and Ghana, there is considerable adherence to the rule of law (ECA, 2005: 24). However, in Swaziland 69% of respondents pointed out that the leadership rarely or never respects the rule of law. In Kenya, Ethiopia, Chad, Zimbabwe and Malawi there are doubts about the commitment of government agencies to respect and implement the rule of law (ECA, 2005: 24).

The promotion and protection of human rights similarly is one of the attributes of democratisation. It is worth mentioning that human rights protection requires the country's adherence to international treaties, conventions and standards of human rights. Most African countries adhere to the major international instruments, treaties and conventions on human rights and to the regional framework for human rights protection (ACHPR, 1981). For instance, one of the major objectives of the Constitutive Act of the African Union (AU) is the promotion and protection of human and peoples' rights in accordance with the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights and other relevant international instruments (AU Constitutive Act, 2002). One of the AU's guiding principles is respect for democratic principles, human rights, the rule of law and good governance. A major milestone in human rights protection in Africa was recorded through the ratification by AU member states of the instrument establishing the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights in February 2004 (African Union, 2004).

Similarly, the constitutions of many African countries incorporate human rights as key provisions; such is seen in the South African constitution through the bill of rights (Constitution of RSA, 1996). These values are broadly accepted by both the leadership and the people as being central to a decent society (ECA, 2005: 23). In pursuit of this objective, many African countries have established watchdog

institutions to protect and promote human rights. These institutions include national human rights commissions, public protectors, anti-corruption commissions, inspectors-general of government and ombudsmen are in place for people to seek redress of rights violations (ECA, 2005: 23). In addition, legal aid schemes have been established to provide legal services at affordable costs to the poor and free services to the poor defendants who cannot afford legal services fees. This is the case in countries such as in Nigeria, Ghana, Senegal, South Africa and Zambia (ECA, 2005: 23-24).

Although, most African countries adhere to the major international instruments, treaties and conventions on human rights and also incorporate human rights as key provisions in their constitutions, the police and prison services violate the rights of citizens with impunity in several countries. This is experienced through the police, engaging in torture, extra-judicial killings and ill-treatment of suspects awaiting trial (ECA, 2005: 24). One case in point is in South Africa where the Independent Complaints Directorate (ICD) stated in its 2001 report that torture and ill-treatment of criminal suspects by the police remained a serious problem in the face of the relatively good human rights record of the government (ICD, 2001). Most recently, the Community Law Centre attached to the University of Western Cape has indicated that South Africa is failing in its international obligations to report torture and other ill-treatments in police cells and prisons (News24, 2010). In this case, protection of human rights is experiencing setbacks as result of the police's actions.

Building checks and balances between the three arms of government is critical to the democratisation of society. Legislatures and judiciaries, which were severely undermined and underdeveloped in the long years of political dictatorship and authoritarianism, are gradually reasserting their independence. They are providing meaningful checks to the powers of the executive (ECA, 2005: 4), meaning the systems of checks and balances between the judiciary, legislature and the executive are in place in some African countries. These countries include South Africa, Namibia, Mauritius, Ghana, Benin, Botswana, Lesotho, Morocco, Senegal, Mozambique and the Gambia (ECA, 2005: 4). In these countries People generally consider the legislature to be free from the external control of the executive. Therefore, the legislature in these countries provides some parliamentary oversight

of public institutions, makes laws in the interests of the people, exercises power over the budget and promotes public accountability. In other countries, the legislature ranges from the spectrum of being fairly free to really not free from external control (ECA, 2005: 4).

In consideration of the above observations, some citizens of the African countries mentioned above strongly believe that there are checks and balances between the legislature, judiciary and the executive. In addition, there is accountability which of cause translates into transparency and this is essential for good governance. In contrast to this, other African citizens believe that the legislature is not free from external control, and this presents two contending views on issues of checks and balances and the independence of the legislature and judiciary in Africa.

3.2.2. Good governance in Africa

Before discussing good governance in Africa it is important to note that good governance is one that is democratic, while autocratic governance has been proven to be unconducive for development (Eregha, 2007: 207). In Africa the debate on good governance has become intertwined with the concept of sustainable development. This is because scholars on the subject have consistently argued of the existence of a nexus between good governance and development. The nexus has been developed through the observation by Omeiza (2008: 5) that good governance is a fundamental requirement for sustainable development in Africa. Hence the African continent has gone through a transition from authoritarian regimes to efforts to entrench good governance. It is in this light that the1989 World Bank report observed that a crisis of governance underlay the litany of Africa's development problems (World Bank, 1989: 60; Ndue, 2005).

Africa therefore has a historical record of bad governance (Amoako, 2003: 2) and this has not placed the continent on the sustainable development path. Thus some African states have lacked the capacity to provide the institutional frameworks that support good governance. In too many African countries the public sector has not operated in accordance with the rules of transparency and accountability of state

institutions (Amoako, 2003: 4). Nonetheless, many African countries are tackling corruption through putting in place anti-corruption commissions and introducing strict laws to end it. Botswana established the directorate on corruption and economic crime and Nigeria established the commission on financial crimes and other related economic offences and the anti-corruption commission (ECA, 2005: 16-17). Unfortunately in some African countries anti-corruption institutions have been established to serve mainly political purposes of appeasing the citizens and donors (ECA, 2005: 17-18).

The observation that good governance lays on participation, consensus and inclusiveness in the decision-making process is increasingly becoming a pratical reality in Africa. This is because people's participation in politics, public debate and policy-making in the continent has substantially improved. Democratic institutions have become more inclusive in ethnic, religious, racial and gender terms. Many countries currently have constitutional provisions or conventions to reflect the social profiles of their countries in state institutions. Countries such as Nigeria make ethnic balancing in state institutions a constitutional matter (Kalu, 2004). Similarly, the Ethiopian constitution also promotes ethnic balancing (Johnson, 2005) and South Africa makes conscious efforts to promote racial inclusiveness in state institutions (Constitution of RSA, 1996). In addition, with respect to issues of political participation, and consensus decision-making and inclusiveness, political parties are considered the machinery for democratic control of political power, through articulating and aggregating the interests of diverse groups in society and as such forming a basis of political pluralism (ECA, 2005: 5; Bunwaree & Kasenally, 2005: XII).

The presence of political parties has significantly increased in countries like South Africa (with 140 parties), Mali (91), Ethiopia (79),Chad (73), Senegal (65), Kenya (48), Burkina Faso (47), Morocco, Nigeria and Botswana (30 each), Egypt (17) and Ghana (10) (ECA, 2005: 5). Though the numbers are clearly impressive, only a few of these parties are competitive in elections (ECA, 2005: 5). The increased presence of political parties in these African countries signifies the level of liberal democracy and the promotion of political pluralism which enhances participation and inclusiveness of other parties in governance issues. Taking note of the latter there

are, however, African countries where political parties are denied the political space to participate in the political realm. For instance, in Egypt and Malawi opposition parties in practice have little space to actively participate in political and electoral activities (ECA, 2005: 6). In addition, in Uganda and Swaziland political parties are not allowed to operate legally (ECA, 2005: 6).

The fact that good governance involves democratisation, it is beyond question that progressive achievements in democratisation mentioned in section 3.2.1 have significantly contributed towards achieving good governance on the continent. Indeed, as indicated earlier in this section that good governance is democratic, it is thus evident that democratisation has consolidated good governance on the continent. Generally, the 2005 ECA report on governance on the African continent notes that though there are many challenges to conquer, the overall governance situation in African countries has markedly improved during the past decade (Bosch & Coetzer, 2004: 6). This means African countries have made major milestones in areas such as promotion of the rule of law, transparency and accountability, checks and balances between the three arms of government, combating corruption, and participatory and consensus orientated decision-making. Nevertheless there remain challenges in achieving good governance on the continent.

3.2.3. Sustainable development in Africa

The interface between sustainable development and good governance was observed in chapter two section 3.2.2. Good governance is a significant prerequisite for sustainable development. In addition, it is clearly captured by Omeiza (2008: 5) who observes that good governance is a fundamental requirement for sustainable development. Good governance as observed earlier is one that is democratic; in this regard the consolidation of democracy and good governance should equally contribute to stronger foundations to achieve sustainable development (Sachikonye, 2002: 3). Yet, the African continent experienced little economic development and lack of democracy until independence (Sachikonye, 2002: 1). Therefore the lack of democracy and good governance in Africa made it impossible to establish foundations for sustainable development. Hence, Sachikonye (2002: 1) comments that the independent African states in the 1960s had two critical challenges, on the

one hand was the need to respond to the demands of democratisation on the continent, while on the other hand was the challenge of fulfilling the need for economic growth. Because of the need to fulfil economic growth and thereby achieving sustainable development, the independent governments all invested, without exception, in expansion of the social and physical infrastructure of their countries in a manner which widened access to education, modern health facilities, transportation, housing, skills development, and employment on a scale that exceeded what colonialism was able to offer (Olukoshi, 2002: 6).

All of the independent African governments maintained a significant role for the state in the development process; equally they undertook varying degrees of planning designed not only to improve the foundations of the economy but also to continually increase access to opportunities in a context of huge, unexpressed demand (Olukoshi, 2002: 6). This resulted in the reasonably high levels of economic growth which most countries recorded during the first decade of independence and which, in virtually all countries, was above the rate of population growth (Olukoshi, 2002: 6). In this regard, there was an increase in the capacities of African economies to produce goods and services and to improve the well-being of citizens.

At the same time during the post-independence era the political terrain was being narrowed by the state from political pluralism to political monopoly and this was seen through the rise of one party regimes and military dictatorships. The emergence of one party system and military dictatorship served as a constriction of the political space and political participation and was also a way of consolidating the goal of national unity amongst citizens by independent governments (Olukoshi, 2002: 7). This process of national unity was consolidated by the African states through uniting multi-ethnic and multi-religious societies after decades of colonial strategies of divide and rule. It combined with the slow rate of economic growth and also the slow rate of expansion of opportunities for different categories of people (Olukoshi, 2002: 7). This meant that the state could no longer supply socio-economic opportunities to the masses and sustainable development was compromised. Indeed, the post-independence African states met the economic needs of the people in the early independent years, yet they compromised the ability of future generations to meet their economic needs and in this equation indeed sustainable development was not

achieved. This is due to the reasons that, after the first decade of independence most African countries faced economic collapse and as such were unable to respond to the socio-economic demands of their respective populations.

In the quest to deal with the dwindling economies and lack of sustainable development of African states, the International Monitory Fund (IMF) and the World Bank introduced Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes (ESAPs). Despondently, the ESAPs failed to redress the socio-economic decline of the post-colonial state. In the face of the failure of ESAPs to remedy the crises of economic decline facing the continent, both increased political repression/authoritarianism and the worsening problems of livelihood combined, in the course of the 1980s, to raise serious questions about the representativeness and legitimacy of the state (Olukoshi, 2002: 7). The deepening social crisis across the African continent, including reversals in some of the health and educational gains of independence, also generated concerns about citizenship and citizenship rights which, in some instances, translated into concerted challenges to the entire post-independence nation-state project (Olukoshi, 2002: 7). In the worst cases, the combination of diminished state and governmental legitimacy, increased political authoritarianism, and the erosion of citizenship rights resulted in the efflorescence of competing ethno-regional and religious identities which expressed themselves violently and caused the collapse of central governmental authority (Olukoshi, 2002: 7).

Consequently, the World Bank pointed out that a crisis of governance underlay the litany of Africa's development problems (World Bank, 1989: 60; Ndue, 2005). In this regard, the emergence of the one-party system and military authoritarianism which diminished democracy and good governance had its share in contributing to the socio-economic decline of African countries. In addition, the ESAP which was meant to redress the socio-economic decline failed to achieve its objectives and further worsened the socio-economic collapse of African states. Comparing the average growth rates of African countries between the period 1960s to the early 1970s with those recorded during the ESAPs years in the 1980s and 1990s; the   growth rates of the 1960s and 1970s proved to be much better than those recorded during the ESAP years (Olukoshi, 2002: 6).

3.3. The nature of the relationship between the state and civil society in Africa

The point of departure for this section is the discussion of the nature of the relationship between the state and civil society in Africa in the democratisation process, tracing issues from colonial rule and the post-colonial era. The section continues to discuss and examine the nature of the relationship between the state and civil society in Africa under the concepts good governance and sustainable development.

3.3.1. The relationship between state and civil society and democratisation in Africa

Section 3.3.1.1 discusses the relationship between the state and civil society from the colonial period and section 3.3.1.2 discusses this relationship in the post colonial period.

3.3.1.1. The relationship between the colonial state and civil society in Africa

The relationship between the state and civil society in Africa traces its roots to the pre-colonial period. During that period CSOs ranged from welfare associations, agricultural work parties and credit associations (Matanga, 2000: 4). At the establishment of colonial regimes most CSOs faced repression and some went underground and this was because the colonial states saw them as potential centres for the emergence of political opposition to colonial rule (Matanga, 2000: 5). The repressive colonial rule in African states politicised and radicalised some CSOs and lead to the creation of others; as a result some of these African CSOs later played a role in overthrowing the colonial state (Matanga, 2000: 5).

Due to repression by the colonial state towards civil society, CSOs adopted a politicised and radicalised approach towards the colonial governments (Matanga, 2000: 5). As such the relationship between the state and civil society became that of confrontation and hostility as CSOs pressurised the governments to open space for democratic governance. This was seen in the important role civil society played

during the nationalist struggles against colonialism (Adejumobi, 2002). For instance in Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah and his Convention People's Party played a key role in the struggle for independence against the colonial regime (M'boge, & Doe, 2004: 3). In the same breath, in Nigeria CSOs such as trade unions, the federation of Nigerian Women's Societies and Zikist movement were at the forefront of the struggle for independence (M'boge, & Doe, 2004: 4).

3.3.1.2. The relationship between the post-colonial state and civil society in Africa

The relationship between the state and civil society in the post-colonial era can be categorised under cooperation, co-option and confrontation and hostility. With respect to cooperation and co-option, it is well known that after independence most CSOs were co-opted by the state, and under one party rule became part of the government system. Trade unions, professional groups associations, women and youth organisations and other CSOs came under control of the ruling party or directly under the governments (Adejumobi, 2002). The cooperation between the state and CSOs and co-option of civil society by the state was a strategy used to advocate for national unity beyond independence. The immediate period after independence was one characterised by a generally good relationship between the state and civil society (M'boge, & Doe, 2004: 3).

Though after independence there was generally a good relationship between the state and civil society, the cooperative relationship did not last. M'boge and Doe (2004: 3) aptly put it by arguing that a marriage between the CSOs, in particular trade unions and students unions and religious leaders, with African governments did not last, as CSOs turned into forces of political opposition towards the state. This gave rise to confrontational and hostile relations between the state and civil society. This confrontational and hostile relationship between the state and civil society worsened with the increasing tendency towards political decay on the African continent. The political decay on the continent was characterised by decline in competitive politics, the establishment of regimes centred on personalisation of power and suppression of civil liberties (Chazan et al, 1988; Matanga, 2000: 5). Owing to the curtailment of political pluralism and the introduction of authoritarian regimes, one party state and personal rule, civil society found itself lacking political

space to participate actively in the political realm. Most governments did not allow any kind of advocacy or opposition by CSOs (Adejumobi, 2002). This motivated CSOs to build up confrontational and opposition approaches toward African states, through becoming challengers to authoritarian African states. Mutanga (2000: 5) argues this clearly by indicating that civil society in liberal thought is believed to be a cornerstone of democracy, as it is seen to be capable of providing counter-weight to state power through protecting human rights and expanding the political space. In this equation civil society thus is a challenger to the authoritarian African state (Mutanga, 2000: 5).

Thus CSOs are key promoters of transition from an authoritarian African state to a democratised one. Indeed, the role of civil society in democratisation was reflected in countries such as Nigeria and Kenya were CSOs transformed autocratic regimes in these states to democratic ones. Equally in South Africa, CSOs played a crucial role in transforming the autocratic apartheid government into a democratic one (M'boge & Doe, 2004:4). Conclusively, the relationship between the state and CSOs after independence can be divided into two categories. On the one hand was the confrontational and hostile relationship, while on the other was the good and peaceful relationship.

3.3.2. The relationship between state and civil society and good governance in Africa

Both the state and civil society have a critical role to play in enhancing good governance. The importance of civil society in enhancing good governance comes from the view by UNDP that a viable, strong and informed civil society is central to good governance (UNDP, 1997: 11). In addition the state is a central player responsible for promoting good governance. Therefore, cooperation between CSOs and the government is vital for good governance (UNSIA, 1998: 1). Hence it has become an accepted ideal in the African continent that good governance involves the state forging closer partnerships with CSOs as a way to improve accountability, transparency and state performance (NEPAD Secretariat et al, 2007: 7).

As seen in section 3.3.1 both the state and civil society have contributed towards the democratisation on the African continent through CSOs exerting pressure on states and in return states succumbing to the pressure and as a result moving away from authoritarianism to democratic governance. In this regard considering that democratic governance is regarded good governance as noted in section 3.2.2, convincingly the role of both the state and civil society in the wave of democratisation that swept across the continent in 1990s significantly contributed towards good governance. It is safe to argue that the confrontational and hostile relationship between the state and civil society indicated in 3.3.1.2 contributed towards achieving good governance in Africa. This is based on the premise that the direct outcome of the confrontational and hostile relationship between the state and civil society is the wave of democratisation that swept across the continent in the 1990s.

One of the core attributes of good governance is enhancing state performance. In terms of enhancing state capacity on the African continent, in the current governance discourse, CSOs have contributed through working directly with African governments in shaping, financing and delivery public services in a variety of ways (Nkwachukwu, 2009). These have taken the form of partnerships in which CSOs work closely with state institutions in designing and providing health, education, and other social services, mobilising funds from among client groups and other sources, and monitoring quality and coverage of social services (Nkwachukwu, 2009). Indeed, this describes the peaceful nature of the relationship between the state and civil society in the current political discourse which contributes to the notion of good governance on the continent. However, it is noteworthy that this peaceful relationship between the state and civil society in the current political discourse does not apply to all African countries. A case in point is Zimbabwe and this is clearly discussed in chapter four.

3.3.2. The relationship between state and civil society and sustainable development in Africa

Due to the need to achieve sustainable development, the post-colonial governments invested, with no reservation, in expansion of the social and physical infrastructure of their countries in a manner which widened access to education, modern health facilities, transportation, housing, skills development, and employment on a scale that exceeded that of the colonial era (Olukoshi, 2002: 6). In this observation, the post-colonial states achieved the state's required role of directing resources to social services (health, education and welfare) and infrastructure projects. In this equation, due to the existence of the marriage between the post-colonial state and CSOs, civil society could thus also complement its required roles, such as delivering social services. In these views, the marriage that existed between the state and CSOs allowed both the latter and the former to fruitfully contribute in delivering services such as education, modern health facilities, transportation, housing, skills development, and employment.

Though after independence the relationship between the state and civil society was generally good; the cooperative relationship did not last as CSOs turned into forces of opposition. The breaking point of the relationship between state and civil society on the continent was motivated by the socio-economic decline of African states. Matanga (2000: 5) argues that the re-awakening wave of African civil society in the confrontational and opposition segments was largely a response measure to the declining economic capacity of the African state. The decline in economic capacity of African states meant that the socio-economic needs of the people could not be fully catered for. As such, CSOs became discontent with the decline of African states economic capacity to fulfil the socio-economic needs of the population. In reaction, CSOs developed a hostile approach towards the African state.

Most recently, state-civil society relations can be regarded as peaceful in some African states. This is due to the reason that CSOs in Africa have been recognised as key agents of local change and development (UNSIA, 1998: 1). As good governance is regarded a prerequisite for sustainable development on the African continent, it is accepted that the state does not have the capacity and cannot, by itself, deliver economic development effectively (NEPAD Secretariat et al, 2007: 7).

Therefore, good governance on the African context also involves the state forging closer partnerships with the private sector and civil societies to improve public service delivery and bringing about economic advancement (NEPAD Secretariat et al, 2007: 7). As a result, African governments are recognising the full role of non-state actors in the development process by giving them the space to play their full roles in policy formulation, service delivery and empowerment of communities to demand services (NEPAD Secretariat et al, 2007: 7). From the discussions in this section, the relationship between the state and civil society in the sustainable development discourse since independence shows both the peaceful and confrontational perspectives.

3.4. Conclusion

The purpose of chapter three was to discuss the nature of the relationship between the state and civil society in Africa. Indeed the latter was achieved through categorising the debates under the concepts democratisation, good governance and sustainable development. Prior to discussing the nature of the relationship between the state and civil society in Africa, this chapter provided a general discussion on issues of democratisation, good governance and sustainable development on the continent. This was done in order to create a foundation for the discussions. In discussing the nature of the relationship between the state and civil society under democratisation, the chapter had two subsections on the colonial and post-colonial era and continued with the discussion in two main sections on good governance and sustainable development.

From the discussion in the sections above the nature of the relationship between the state and civil society in Africa can be categorised into two faces: there is one which is peaceful and the other which is confrontational and hostile. The peaceful relationship is seen in the marriage that existed between the state and CSOs post-independence. It is maintained that the peaceful relationship existed as a result of the co-option of CSOs by the state and also CSOs being under control of the government or the ruling parties. Likewise, in the current political discourse the peaceful relationship is premised on a general consensus that a peaceful partnership should exist between the state and civil society in order to consolidate the

democratisation and good governance agenda and place the continent on the path to sustainable development.

Hence, it is noted in 3.3.2 that good governance involves public-private relations, which of course come in the form of the relationship between the state and civil society. Indeed as argued in 3.3.2 African governments are recognising the importance of the role of non-state actors in the development process. This recognition, therefore, consolidates and promotes the peaceful perspective of the relationship between the state and civil society in Africa. In addition, the state and civil society enjoyed peaceful relations in the socio-economic realm; this is due to the fact that while on the one hand, the post-colonial states invested in and widened access to education, Health facilities, transportation, housing, skills development and employment, CSOs on the other hand complemented the government's efforts through closing gaps which the state could not fill (Kambeba & Olaleye, 2005: 63).

The confrontational and hostile nature of the relationship between the state and civil society emerged when CSOs began to oppose both the colonial and post-colonial state. As indicated in section 3.3.1.1, during the colonial era CSOs were repressed by the colonial state, and this repression radicalised and politicised civil society and further gave rise to other radical and political CSOs. In this light, CSOs were at odds with the colonial state, as they (CSOs) sought to depose the state.

Since independence, the confrontational and hostile relationship between the state and civil society has its roots in two factors which are political and economic. On the political front, it is clearly observed in section 3.3.1.2 that the decline in competitive politics and introduction of patrimonial rule, centralisation of power and one party rule limited the CSOs' political space to participate in the political sphere. As a consequence, civil society challenged the authoritarian state in their quest to bring about democracy and good governance and this gave rise to hostile relations between the two actors.

On the economic front the confrontational and hostile nature of the relationship between the state and civil society is traced to the decline in the economic capacity of the state. It is argued in section 3.3.2 that the confrontational and opposition segments to the post-colonial state came as a response to the declining economic capacity of African states. In essence, as section 3.3.2 continued to argue, the socio-

economic decline of African states became a breaking point for peaceful state-civil society relations, as a result confrontation and hostility began to characterise their relations.

CHAPTER FOUR
Discussing and analysing the factors that led to the disrupted relations between the state and civil society and the causes of economic decline in Zimbabwe

SECTION 1: Prologue to chapter four

Section 1 provides an introduction to chapter four which provides an insight on the flow of discussions through the whole chapter. Furtheremore, section 1 provides a brief background introducing Zimbabwe.

4.1.1. Introduction

This chapter examines the relationship between the state, civil society and underdevelopment in Zimbabwe within the parameters set in chapter two and three respectively. The chapter is divided into three sections namely, the post-independence Zimbabwe; the post-1990s Zimbabwe; and the post-2000 Zimbabwe. The chapter therefore traces issues of state-civil society relations with respect to democratisation, good governance and sustainable development from the post-independence era, throughout the 1990s and from 2000.

Section 2 of this chapter traces Zimbabwe's political evolution since independence. This will be done through examining how the state entrenched its dominance over sectors of society through its objective of nation building, and through the campaign for unity within the nation. The discussions will show that through the campaign for unity by the Zimbabwean state, powers became centralised and there was an emergence of a *de facto* one party state, as a *de jure* one party state could not be achieved. In addition, there will be a brief discussion on how the state used undemocratic practices to maintain its electoral hegemony specifically drawing on the experiences of the 1985 and 1990 elections. Section 2 of the chapter also contains a section discusing both the role of the state and civil society in achieving a situation of sustainable development in Zimbabwe. Furthermore section 2 of this chapter discusses the relationship between the state and civil society in the post-independence era and specific focus will be on the state's relationship with the intelligentsia, students, labour unions and the media. In closing, section 2 provides

an overview of the relationship between the state and civil society. Section 3 of chapter four focuses on the 1990s which saw the change of relations between the state and civil society. In this section it is outlined how the state started facing socio-economic challenges even though it had made significant improvements in education and the health sector, among others, in the first decade of independence. This section provides arguments that as a measure to deal with the socio-economic challenges the state introduced Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP). However the ESAP did not yield any socio-economic improvements for Zimbabweans as problems of unemployment deepened due to company liquidations. Similarly, this section provides a discussion on three political events or actions by the state which contributed to the dramatic collapse of the Zimbabwean dollar and eventually the down spiral of the economy. Having done that, section 3 further points out that the failure of ESAPs to redress socio-economic problems and the three political events or actions by the state that lead to the down spiral of the economy gave rise to a confrontational and hostile civil society towards that the state. As such, the mid-1990s saw the breaking point of peaceful relations between the state and civil society in Zimbabwe.

Section 4 discusses the relationship between the state and civil society in Zimbabwe from the year 2000. This section maintains that since the year 2000 the state deepened authoritarianism and moved away from democratic practices. This section maintains that civil society experienced political suffocation and suppression through introduction of repressive laws by the state that were unconstitutional. Furthermore, section 4 discusses electoral experiences in Zimbabwe and how they fail to translate to democratic practices by the state as civil society and opposition face suppression and can not actively participate in the political realm. This section discusses further how sustainable development in Zimbabwe was compromised since 2000 through the lack of democratic principles in the country.

4.1.3. Zimbabwe: A brief background

The Republic of Zimbabwe, formerly known as Southern Rhodesia, the Republic of Rhodesia, and Zimbabwe-Rhodesia is a landlocked country located in the southern part of the continent of Africa, between the Zambezi and Limpopo rivers (Mario, 2009:7). It borders South Africa to the south, Botswana to the southwest, Zambia to

the northwest and Mozambique to the east. It is a former British colony from 1888 until the signing of the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in 1965. In 1980 Zimbabwe formally gained independence and Robert Mugabe and the Zimbabwean African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) have since ruled the country (Sachikonye, 2009: 1).

Zimbabwe has a population of about 12.233 million and has three official languages: English, Shona and Ndebele (Government of Zimbabwe, 2010). The capital city of Zimbabwe is Harare and it has three main towns, namely, Bulawayo, Gweru and Mutare (Government of Zimbabwe, 2010).

SECTION 2: The post-independence Zimbabwe

Section 2 discusses issues of democratisation, good governance and sustainable development in Zimbabwe.

4.2. Discussing democratisation and good governance in Zimbabwe

In chapter two and three, the concepts democratisation and good governance were discussed respectively. Chapter two gave a theoretical overview of democratisation and good governance, while chapter three looked at the application of these concepts in Africa. In this section of chapter four the focus is on how the concepts democratisation and good governance manifested in Zimbabwe.

4.2.1. Democratisation and good governance: A discussion on nation-building and centralisation in Zimbabwe

Dorman (2001:50) observes that after independence the Zimbabwean state channelled itself to the task of nation building. Nation-building became an instrument of state domination and control marked by the marginalisation of popular participation (Tengende, 1994: 153). The marginalisation of popular participation meant that the post-independence Zimbabwean state failed to meet some determinants of democratisation and good governance such as the expansion of political space for multiple actors to interact and the decentralisation of decision-making systems, which are mentioned in chapter two. Through nation-building the

state sought to dominate and control all levels of society with the intention of having a centralised decision-making system and limiting actors in the Zimbabwean political landscape.

The task of nation-building was to be achieved through policies advancing national unity (Dorman, 2001:50), which was crucial in a state plagued not just by unequal development but by explicit policies of divide and rule practised by the Smith regime and its British colonial predecessors (Mandaza, 1986: 54). Nonetheless this policy was also used to excuse authoritarian policies, abuse the monopoly of force, and justify limitations on human rights and freedoms (Dorman, 2001:51). The major aim of policy was to dominate the available political space, squeezing out competing voices which could lay claim to the nationalist discourse (Dorman, 2001:51). Though unity was critical for the Zimbabwean nation to heal divisions created by the colonial regime, democratisation and good governance could not be achieved under the political conditions that came with it. The political environment and conditions of national unity worked in favour of establishing a centralised state in which no political force could challenge the hegemony of the ruling ZANU-PF and the state.

Indeed a centralised system of government came into existance, since in this system state power is accumulated usually within the executive branch of government, most often in the office of the President and individuals within the core executive who monopolize all formal political activities within society (Thomson, 2004: 109). In this system no rival source of political power is endorsed or tolerated, thus there is limitation of organised opportunities for political opposition. In this sense political opposition parties are often outlawed and only the official party of the state is permitted to campaign during elections (Thomson, 2004: 109).

Centralisation of power by the state plagued Zimbabwe for years, and this is due to the fact that power was highly centralised in the executive branch of government, specifically in the office of the president (USAID, 2006: 4). There has been no existence of checks and balances on the use of power by the Zimbabwean executive; thereby the judiciary and legislature were largely subordinate to the executive (USAID, 2006: 4) in this equation the executive dominated all branches of government (USAID, 2007: 2). In addition, the exercise of state power was

characterized by patronage, corruption and forceful intimidation leading to erosion of the rule of law and democratic freedoms (USAID, 2006: 4). Consequently the notions of democratisation and good governance have not been a reality in Zimbabwe.

The campaign of national unity in Zimbabwe saw ZANU-PF and Robert Mugabe holding primacy over government, using its regional branches and local cells to maintain control and discipline over its members at the lower echelons and also to monitor what happened in society at large (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2004: 313). A powerful secret police kept the citizenry under surveillance and dealt severely with dissenters. The Zimbabwean security police, the Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO), employed highhanded methods to curb political opposition and the Army's Fifth Brigade was ruthless towards dissidents (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2004: 313). As a means of minimising dissent from society Herbst (1992:26) argues that since 1987 the president had at his disposal concentration of powers relegating parliament to a secondary position. Indeed, what was experienced in Zimbabwe post-independence was an emergence of an autocratic government which sought to curtail participatory democracy and good governance. Based on the thesis that good governance is a critical requirement to sustainable development, curtailing democracy and good governance meant that to some extent sustainable development was compromised.

4.2.2. Democratisation and good governance: A discussion on national unity and one party rule

As the Zimbabwean government continued with the mission of nation-building and unity, it was simultaneously conducting campaigns against those groups which might potentially compose an opposition, often using the legislative and administrative tools of the Rhodesian state (Weitzer, 1990: 149-151). The maintenance of state hegemony was being driven by the political rhetoric of nation-building through unity. In support of the latter statement, Dorman (2001:64) argues that the rhetoric of unity was used as a theme with which to drive societal demobilisation.

The unity that was preached by government was intended to have a society with non- political social groupings such as schools, churches, businessmen and unions

and the sexes (Dorman, 2001:65). The sexes were urged to unite (Herald, 1982: 3), students were also urged to unite regardless of colour (Herald, 1981: 3), businessmen similarly united and this was seen as a great breakthrough (Herald, 1982: 1.), and workers were told repeatedly to unite or be disowned (Herald, 1982: 2; Herald, 1982: 11; Herald, 1982: 4).

This unity campaign in a way moved itself towards the establishment of a one party state. Sithole and Makumbe (1997: 122) argue that after independence there was a strong drive towards a *de jure* one party state and for the better part of the 1980s the Zimbabwean political leadership and the ruling party aggressively advocated a one party state. One party states, just like centralisation was a trend that most African countries adopted after independence. The one party system was either achieved by popular vote or by arranged negotiations, where opposition parties agreed to merge with ruling parties (Chazan etal, 1999: 46-50) or through suppression of political opposition seeking to emerge from society. In the case of Zimbabwe, a one party situation was achieved through the merger of ZANU-PF and ZAPU in 1987. The unification of ZANU and ZAPU set the stage for the *de facto* one party rule which characterised the political system between 1987 and 2000 (Dorman, 2001:66).

As in 1989 one party rule seemed to be the normal form of governance in Africa as 29 countries were governed under this system. Zimbabwe was not an exception, though it was a *de facto* one party rule system. While uniting the nation was a progressive ideal for the Zimbabwean nation, the driving factor behind the ruling ZANU-PF was to eliminate any form of political opposition and remain as the sole political actor with no other sources of rival power to challenge its hegemony. To this end, the national unity campaign worked against the notion of democratisation and good governance, as the state could not be subjected to checks and balances, decentralised decision-making, participatory politics, transparency or accountability.

4.2.3. Democratisation and good governance: A discussion on undemocratic electoral hegemony

ZANU-PF has held electoral hegemony since independence in 1980 (Sithole & Makumbe, 1997: 123). The creation and maintenance of ZANU-PF's dominance within both local and national elections has been maintained through the usage of legislation, state-funding, violence and election rigging (Dorman, 2001:68). In local elections after the war, low-level ZANU-PF officials prevented non-members from being appointed to temporary district commissions and from contesting the first district elections (Dorman, 2001:68). This is evident as reports stated that in Mutoko the commission was forced to stop holding meetings because it had been appointed by a white district commissioner and it was not a pro ZANU-PF commission, while in Wedza it was demanded that non ZANU-PF commissioners be removed (Kriger, 199: 217-218).

On the national level, ZANU-PF consistently controlled parliament during the 1980s (Dorman, 2001:68) as it gained seats primarily within their former operational areas of Mashonaland (Stoneman & Cliffe, 1989: 79). Despite these obvious legacies it is impossible to ignore the coercive mechanisms used by the various wings of ZANU-PF to enhance its hegemony during elections. The 1985 election was notable both for the violence in Matableleland, and for the relative peacefulness of the polling days (Dorman, 2001:68). Violence erupted after the election, with ZANU-PF supporters in urban areas harassing, beating up and evicting members of minority parties from their houses (Sithole, 1986: 92). Similarly, in the 1990 March elections ZANU-PF got an overwhelming victory, however the electoral processes were not free and fair (Anon, 2004).

From the above, it is clear there was an absence of democratic elections during this period. This is because determinants of democratic elections such as fair competition between political parties or candidates were absent. Opposition parties and candidates could not enjoy the freedom of speech, assembly, and movement necessary to voice their criticisms of the government openly and to bring alternative policies and candidates to the voters. Under ZANU-PF's electoral hegemony the notions of democratisation and good governance were arguably non-existent.

4.3. Discussing sustainable development in Zimbabwe

Section 4.3 discusses sustainable development in Zimbabwe in the post-independence era. Both the role of the state and civil society in achieving sustainable development in Zimbabwe are discussed in this section. Section 4.3 proves and argues that indeed during the first decade of independence Zimbabwe experienced economic development, as the state invested heavily on social welfare and infrastructure projects. In addition, arguments are forwarded that civil society also played a role in economic development, as it filled the gaps that the state could not fill.

4.3.1. The state in sustainable development

Development was one amongst chief objectives of the post-colonial Zimbabwean state. Dorman (2001; 60) observes that development was the motivating force in government ideology which included all that had been denied citizens by the colonial Zimbabwean state. The development objectives meant that the Zimbabwean government sought to assume the responsibilities of a state in achieving the situation of sustainable development, through directing its resources and investing in social services (health, education, welfare) and infrastructure. As Crystal (1994: 280) observes, developmentalism sustains authoritarian rule and fosters the belief that the state must play the central role in promoting economic growth and that, to that end, individuals and social organisations must relinquish power to it, allowing it the routine, if temporary use of force against enemies (Crystal, 1994: 280).

Accordingly, the rapid improvement in socio-economic status for many Zimbabweans in the 1980s did legitimatise the government's tactics and strategies (Dorman, 2001:52), these strategies and tactics of course campaigned for state hegemony across all levels of society, ultimately entrenching authoritarianism. Though developmentalism maintained authoritarianism in Zimbabwe, according to Mugabe (1981) it was aimed primarily, but by no means exclusively, at the rural population. Hence, the government implemented a policy of national development focusing on reconstruction after the war years and the de-racialisation of service provision (Mugabe, 1981). In particular, emphasis was put on de-racialising education and

health service provision, implementing a minimum wage and extending agricultural buying points in former tribal trust lands (Dorman, 2001:61).

According to Chung in Stoneman (1988) between 1979 and 1989, the numbers of students in primary and secondary education expanded by 332%, this was considered the biggest achievement of the majority government. Better access to health, clinics and the de-racialisation of hospitals also lowered infant mortality rates. Child mortality which had been at 100-150/1000 in 1980, by 1989 had fallen to 46/1000 births. Expanded immunization covered 80% of the population and decreased the incidences of communicable diseases (Lennock, 1994: 6). Although the greatest increase in spending on healthcare occurred between 1980 and 1982, expenditure levels were maintained throughout the decade (Dashwood, 2000: 43-46.).

In the 1980s, the government did invest seriously in social welfare and agricultural sectors and reached some of its developmental goals, especially in the rural areas and indeed expectations of improved living standards were relatively easily met in the 1980s (Dorman, 2001:64). As a result of huge government investments in education, health and rural development and productive sectors such as agriculture, the 1980s saw increased public expenditures by government which made up 45 per cent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Dhliwayo, 2001: 2).

"Government spending was geared towards increased social sector expenditures, expansion of rural infrastructure and redressing social and economic inequalities through the land resettlement program. In urban areas, the minimum wage, black affirmative and indigenization policies, basic commodity price controls etc were pursued in order to ensure decent living conditions of the urban population. The overall outcome of these policies was very strong social indicators (health and education) for Zimbabwe." (Government of Zimbabwe (GOZ), 2009: 1)

Indeed Zimbabwe, like other African states after independence, invested undoubtedly in social services such as health, skills development and education and also in physical infrastructure among others. The post-independence Zimbabwean government's development policy was truly meeting the socio-economic demands of its citizens. However, based on the premise that sustainable development is

economic development that meets the needs of the present without compromising those of future generations, it becomes impossible to argue that economic development that occurred in Zimbabwe post-independence was sustainable. This is based on the reason that the 1990s saw Zimbabwe experience socio-economic problems, which will be discussed in section 4.5.1.

4.3.2. Civil society in sustainable development

Though the state maintained its hegemony behind the rhetoric of nation-building and national unity, this did not totally suppress civil society's role in the country as it was pivotal in the development discourse. The ideal of cooperative relations between the state and civil society for purposes of development was also being driven. This is supported by the fact that many organisations willingly distanced themselves from open political involvement, other than through ZANU-PF, and dedicated themselves to development work (NGO Consultancy Africa, 2005: 2). After independence, many organisations which had supported the liberation movement were keen to work with the state to build a new country (Dorman, 2001:65). Indeed this became a practical reality. Hence, the Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) where embraced by the Mugabe regime as partners primarily because of the role they had played in the liberation struggle and secondly because of their ability to lure funding into the country (NGO Consultancy Africa, 2005: 2).

In this regard civil society movements alongside the state similarly played their part in the development campaign of Zimbabwe after independence. From independence to the mid-1990s, civil society played a supportive role to the government. During this period the government faced unprecedented social and economic problems especially in the areas of education, health and agriculture (Kambeba & Olaleye, 2005: 63). Civil society stepped in and complemented the efforts of government through welfare-type interventions (Kambeba & Olaleye, 2005: 63). They involved themselves in developmental issues such as rehabilitation, relief and social services based on close ties with both international donors and the ZANU-PF government (Kambeba & Olaleye, 2005: 63). Some NGOs concentrated on agriculture; vocational training and other income generating projects, drawing mainly on donor assistance (UNDP, 2000). Indeed as the government was pushing the development

agenda on the one hand, on the other civil society complemented the government were it fell short.

4.4. The relationship between the post-independence state and civil society in Zimbabwe

This section discusses the relationship between the post-independence Zimbabwe state and the civil society. Civil society in this section is categorised into three spheres, the intelligentsia and students, the labour union and the media. Therefore the section is divided into three subsections, respectively discussing the relationship between the state and the intelligentsia and students; the state and the labour union; and the state and the media in Zimbabwe.

4.4.1. The relationship between the state, intelligentsia and students

Immediately, post-independence many of the intelligentsia, including former supporters of the United African National Congress (UANC), were absorbed into the civil service (Kriger, 1992: 214). The state became a prime facilitator of upward mobility, with academics and intellectuals who otherwise might be leading social critics being appointed as ambassadors and directors of parastatals (Raftopoulos, 1988: 7). In this way the government entrenched its hegemony by co-opting into its ranks the potential critics to its actions and as academics were joining the government the critical voices were minimized (Dorman, 2001:74). In addition, researchers in general were supporting the government' socialist inclination and as such became uncritical (Dorman, 2001:74).

Similarly, students enjoyed closer relationship with the government. Although some students did not want to be associated with the ZANU-PF Youth Brigade, which they perceived as uneducated, the Students' Representative Council (SRC) leadership was linked to ZANU-PF networks (Dorman, 2001:75). Like their lecturers, students also saw the public service as their best career option, and until 1985 most graduates were assured jobs (Dorman, 2001:75). The SRC afforded the opportunity to establish 'radical credentials' which could secure a job in government (Tengende, 1994: 235.).

The post-colonial period in Zimbabwe, therefore, saw the forging of peaceful relations between the state, intelligentsia and students. Thus the Zimbabwean state also followed other African states which had generally good relations with civil society in their post-independence era. Thereby, as in other African state, the post-independence period in Zimbabwe was characterised by good relations between the state and civil society. In this way the students and intelligentsia could not critic any actions by the state even if the act represented authoritarianism, and this was because they were under control of the state, which co-opted them into its ranks. The societal demobilisation and the unification discourse indeed brought the state to entrench its hegemony and presence in all spheres of society, thereby consolidating the notion of lack of opposition to the state.

4.4.2. The relationship between the state and the labour union

The intelligentsia and students were not the only societal sector to have had close relations with the ruling ZANU-PF and the state. Similarly the state occupied political space that put it in a position to relate with the trade unions and ultimately exert its hegemony and influence over them. The fragmentation of trade unions saw government seizing control over them, creating the Zimbabwe Congress of Trades Union (ZCTU) and stacking it with ZANU-PF affiliated members and staff (Shadur, 1994: 99 -107; Schiphorst, 2001: 61). The state in this regards gained control of labour relations through the creation of the ZCTU (Dorman, 2001:67). Because the state had control over the ZCTU, in the same rhetoric of unity it ensured that other unions that existed joined the ZCTU, a union it (the state) had formed. As a result where more than one union existed within an industry, unions were pressurised to unite and then join the new ZCTU (Herald, 1982: 2; Herald, 1982, 11; Herald, 1982, 4; Herald, 1982: 4). The ZCTU and ZANU-PF relationship was so close for much of this period that they shared offices (Larmer, 2001).

Indeed the relationship between the ZCTU and the ZANU-PF reflected other African experiences of the 1960s post-independence era, the point in time when trade unions came under control of the ruling party or the state itself, likewise ZANU-PF had control over the ZCTU. In addition, the ZCTU-ZANU-PF relations similarly

proved to be generally good and peaceful as was the case in other African countries after independence.

4.4.3. The relationship between the state and the media

Similarly as it applied to the intelligentsia, student and trade unions, the state went on to enhance hegemonic control of the media. The media moved from being a civic appendage of the ruling white minority into an equally dominated and controlled arm of ZANU-PF (Saunders, 1992: 112). Both the bureaucracy of the Ministry of Information and the media it controlled were re-politicised, as vacant posts were filled by party members and former 'bush-broadcasters' veterans of the Voice of Zimbabwe which broadcast from Maputo during the liberation war (Saunders,1992:109). These actions meant that the media freedom was curtailed through the appointment of pro-ZANU-PF officials within the media and as such the government could not face criticism from a media institution it controlled.

By the turn of the first decade after independence, the popular perception was that the media (and particularly its main public face, Zimpapers) had been effectively annexed by ZANU-PF, another casualty of the ruling party's invasion of nominally 'autonomous public institutions' (Saunders, 1992: 174). This was accomplished through behind-the-scenes ministerial contact with editors and publishers, and more public firings of a series of editors who challenged government policy (Saunders, 1992: 250-253).

To this end the ruling ZANU-PF had effectively gained trust and control of all sectors of society and therefore there was no viable and strong threat to the party and state's hegemony from the media. The idea of nation-building through unification efficiently worked for ZANU-PF. As a result the one party state, though not legalised, was practically the political system that plagued Zimbabwe. ZANU-PF had successfully centralised the state powers as it had control and influence in all aspects of society. As regards state-civil society relations in this case the state and media, were by and large, good and peaceful.

4.4.4. A synopsis of the relationship between the post-independence state and civil society in Zimbabwe

Chapter three described the two faces of the relationship between the state and civil society in Africa, which are the peaceful one and the confrontational or hostile one. Furthermore, the section indicated that the peaceful were seen in the marriage that existed between the state and CSOs. In addition, section 3.4 mentioned that the peaceful relations manifested through co-option of CSOs by the state and CSOs being under the control of government or the ruling party. With the above observations from chapter three section 3.4, Zimbabwe was certainly not an exceptional African state at independence. This is because in Zimbabwe like in other African states post-independence, as pointed out in sections 4.4.1, 4.4.2, and 4.4.3, state-civil society relations were generally good. The critics were co-opted into the state's ranks and researchers were uncritical towards the government, while students enjoyed a close relationship with the government.

Likewise, the relationship between the ZCTU and ZANU-PF was so peaceful to an extent that they even shared offices, and in this partnership the state similarly had control over the labour union. As such this reflected the nature of peaceful state-civil society relations in Africa pointed out in chapter three section 3.3.1.2, under which the state controlled CSOs. Generally, the post-independence era in Zimbabwe was characterised by peaceful state-civil society relations. These peaceful relations were largely a product of the state's dominance and control over sectors of civil society such as student and intelligentsia, the labour union and the media. The political situation and the relations between the state and civil society during this period had become that of a partnership; however the two sectors were unequal partners as the other, the state, had dominance and control over the other. Thus the state was able to control and influence civil society, while civil society could not influence the state. This relationship endured through the 1980s, but the mid-1990s were to bring huge changes in this relationship as a result of the political and socio-economic factors to be discussed in the following sections.

SECTION 3: The post-1990s Zimbabwe

Section 3 discusses the economic and political landscape of Zimbabwe in the 1990s as the catalysts behind the collapse of the peaceful relationship between the state and civil society.

4.5. The collapse of the peaceful relationship between the state and civil society in Zimbabwe

This section discusses and outlines the breaking point of the peaceful relationship between the state and civil society in Zimbabwe. The point of departure is the discussion on the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) followed by three political events. We will look at how these contributed to the collapse of the peaceful relationship between the state and civil society in Zimbabwe. Furthermore, authoritarianism is also discussed as another contributing source to the collapse of the peaceful relationship between the state and civil society.

4.5.1. The state and the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP)

In section 4.3.2 it was observed that as the government came into power in 1980 it invested heavily in education and health, and through parastatals in rural development and productive sectors such as agriculture (Dhliwayo, 2001: 2). This led to increased public expenditure, which for the most of the 1980s made up to 45 per cent of the GDP (Dhliwayo, 2001: 2). Although social indicators improved, particularly in health and education, per capita income stagnated. Huge government spending crowded out private sector investment and fuelled inflation, while shortages of imported goods constrained investment and growth. Population grew faster than job creation, widening the income disparities (Dhliwayo, 2001: 2). This meant that the socio-economic improvements experienced from independence in 1980s were not sustainable. At the end of the 1980s it became obvious that Zimbabwe' stagnating economy would not be able to sustain the state expenditure on welfare (GOZ, 2009: 1). Indeed, the needs of the population during the 1980s period were met. However the ability of future Zimbabwean generations to meet their needs was compromised as the state began to face socio-economic challenges such as

inflation, investment and growth constraints, creation of jobs and widening income disparities.

As a response measure and in an effort to deal with the socio-economic problems and revamp the economy, in 1991 the Zimbabwean government adopted the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) (GOZ, 2009:1; Zeilig, 2010), which was sponsored and advocated by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) (Zeilig, 2010). The ESAP sought to transform Zimbabwe's tightly controlled economic system to a more open, market-driven economy. The restructuring sought to promote higher growth and to reduce poverty and unemployment by:

- Reducing fiscal and parastatal deficits and instituting prudent monitory policy
- Liberalise trade policies and the foreign exchange system
- Carrying out domestic deregulation and
- Establishing a social safety net and training programmes for the vulnerable groups (World Bank Group, 2001)

However, the economy of Zimbabwe has not performed well since the introduction of the ESAP (Dhliwayo, 2001: 2). As a result of ESAP Zimbabwe faced an economic crisis in that factories were closed, workers were laid off and state funding to education was slashed (Zeilig, 2010). By 1996 the Zimbabwean government was under intense pressure to create jobs replacing those lost through ESAP. During this period the unemployment rate rose rapidly reaching 50 per cent in some parts of the formal sector. Meanwhile, official figures showed more than 130 company liquidations since the early 1990s (Saunders, 1996). Indeed, even the government acknowledged the economic downturn experienced throughout the 1990s by stating that;

"The decade of the 1990s witnessed a downturn in economic fortunes as economic decline set in amidst continued structural inequalities and increasing poverty. The economy shrunk consistently as companies closed down or scaled down operations as a result of the stiff competition in the opened up economy. As a result unemployment increased, inflation was on the rise and overall poverty and hardships increased for the majority of the urban population. Real GDP growth averaged 1.5

per cent per annum between 1991-1995 and by 1995 annual inflation averaged around 22.6 per cent per annum from a single digit in the 1980s decade."(GOZ, 2009:2)

Indeed, the state through the ESAP had failed to achieve sustainable development; this is due to the fact that it could not accede to the socio-economic needs of the generations of the 1990s and beyond as compared to those in the 1980s. Indeed, the non-realisation of the growth objectives of the adopted ESAP (1991-1995) became one of the factors behind the country's negative economic downturn (GOZ, 2009: 2). Living standards of the Zimbabwean population rapidly decreased and this led to frustrations that caused social unrest as civil society began to be confrontational towards the state due to its failure to achieve sustainable development. The confrontational approach by civil society towards the Zimbabwean government as result of economic downturn is discussed in section 4.5.3.

4.5.2. The three political events

Coltart (2008: 13) identifies a combination of three events which lead to the dramatic crash of the Zimbabwean dollar and the beginning of the down spiral of the Zimbabwean economy in 1997. First, the war veterans loyal to the ZANU-PF became increasingly disgruntled with the widening wealth gap between themselves and the ruling elite. As a result Mugabe agreed to appease them through paying huge pensions and other benefits. Secondly, in an effort to protect mining investments made by the members of the Zimbabwean ruling elite in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Mugabe ordered the costly deployment of thousands of Zimbabwean troops to the DRC to support the regime of Laurent Kabila. Thirdly, towards the end of the year, the government carried out to acquire vast tracts of land held by white commercial farmers. From these observations above, ESAP was not the sole contributing factor to the downfall of the Zimbabwean economy.

4.5.3. The rise of a confrontational civil society

While expectations of improved living standards were relatively easily met in the 1980s, as the economy weakened in the 1990s the regime's commitment to the developmental state became less convincing (Dorman, 2001:64). Things started to change in the mid-1990s following a series of adverse socio-political and economic events (Kambeba & Olaleye, 2005: 64). As noted in section 4.4.4, the mid 1990s were to bring huge changes to the peaceful relations that existed between the state and civil society and this would be as a result of political and socio-economic factors.

As noted in section 4.5.1, living standards of the Zimbabwean population rapidly decreased and this lead to frustrations caused social unrest as civil society began to be confrontational towards the state due to the state's failure to achieve sustainable development. The ESAP and the three political events mentioned in 4.5.2 became economic factors which served to trigger hostile state-civil society relations in Zimbabwe. Discontent with the results of ESAP and other socio-political manifestations steadily increased throughout the 1990s, and was expressed by the labour and student movements, together with a range of other CSOs (Zeilig, 2010).

Civil society became increasingly politically active and developed a more confrontational approach when engaging the government (Kambeba & Olaleye, 2005: 64). Between 1998 and 1999, formations emerged such as those aimed at promoting various forms of institutionalisation and to change the political landscape in Zimbabwe. They included the Non-State Actors' Forum, the Women's Coalition on Constitutional Reform and perhaps the most significant the National Constitutional Assembly (NCA), comprising of 135 civil society organisations (Raftopoulos, 1988). The NCA challenged the state on constitutional reform and was immediately drawn into hostilities with the ruling party (Kambeba & Olaleye, 2005: 64). Between the period of 1996 to 1998 Zimbabwe experienced protests, strikes and campaigns by students and workers which were often explicitly against the government. The labour movement ZCTU forged links with Civil Society through the NCA in the quest for a

democratic dispensation. The involvement of ZTCU in the NCA led to the formation of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) in 1999 (Zeilig, 2010).

4.5.4. Authoritarianism and civil society

As the wave of democratisation swept across most African states in the 1990, it appears not to have affected Zimbabwe. Thus as most African states sought to establish multi-party democracy, Zimbabwe remained unshaken to join in this path of continental democratisation. This is more so evident as President Robert Mugabe is one of the longest serving presidents in Africa and certainly the longest serving in Southern Africa, as he has been at the helm of the state since independence from Britain in 1980 (Sachikonye, 2009: 1). Robert Mugabe can be termed an epitome of authoritarianism; a political and social system that has suppressed the growth of democracy, maintenance of the rule of law, enhancement of checks and balances on the state institutions and protections of civil liberties in Zimbabwe (Sachikonye, 2002; 2003; Sachikonye & Matombo, 2009).

Authoritarianism can have a benign face, in the form of patronage, and it can also have a coercive face (Sachikonye, 2009: 1). Here authoritarianism relates to a form of arbitrary government which uses coercive instruments of the state to monopolise power while denying political rights and opportunities to other groups to compete for power (Sachikonye, 2009: 1). It also seeks to repress CSOs and other autonomous groups in society which could potentially become sources of challenge to undemocratic practices in the state (Sachikonye, 2009: 1).

Authoritarian regimes including Zimbabwe concentrate their energies in emasculating labour unions, student organisations, human rights groups, the independent press and the judiciary (Sachikonye, 2009: 2). Authoritarianism in Zimbabwe can therefore be traced to the early post-independence years, whereby the ideology of national building through national unity led to the emergence of a centralised state and *de facto* one party rule and also the control of civil society such as the students, labour unions and the media by the state as argued in sections 4.2 and 4.4. Such regimes resist attempts at democratisation from below, including those aimed at broad constitutional reform (Sachikonye, 2009: 2).

The existence of authoritarian practices by Robert Mugabe and ZANU-PF in government gave rise to challenges from various sectors of society as a means of pushing for a democratic Zimbabwe. As Sachikonye (2009: 2) continues to show, authoritarianism would not remain hegemonic as it was being challenged from various quarters. CSOs such as trade unions, student organisations, human rights groups and the independent media were at the forefront of challenging the hegemony represented by ZANU-PF and the authoritarian state (Sachikonye, 2009: 2).

Pressure groups were influential in raising the constitutional agenda. In this sense, the socio-economic problems caused by ESAP were not the only motivating factors in civil society challenging the state. There was a critical need for the state to lose its authoritarian hegemony across the sectors of society and to have a more open and democratic environment in which the trade unions and civil society, the media and students among others could have autonomy from the state. Civil society in particular, the students and the labour movement, became key drivers for a democratic dispensation in Zimbabwe. It is for this reason that Kambeba & Olaleye (2005: 64) mention that civil society became increasingly politically active and developed a more confrontational approach when engaging the government. Thus from the mid 1990s onwards, Zimbabwe saw the relationship between the government and civil society growing increasingly contentious, since ZANU-PF had become unconfortable with civil society's involvement in advocating for greater democratisation or reform of government institutions (Bekoe, 2007). It is for this reason that civil society found it more difficult to operate in Zimbabwe (Bekoe, 2007).

SECTION 4: The post-2000 era in Zimbabwe

Section 4 discusses the relationship between the state and civil society in Zimbabwe from the year 2000. This part further discusses how sustainable development was compromised since 2000.

4.6. Consolidating authoritarianism and curtailing democratic governance

This section argues and proves that from the year 2000 the state consolidated authoritarian rule and moved further away from democratic values. This is shown through discussing the repressive laws that were introduced by the government. The section further argues that civil society and the opposition have not been allowed the political freedom during elections and that elections have not translated into the entrenchment of democratic principles and practices in society. Furthermore it is argued in this section that the consolidation of authoritarianism and the lack of democracy have compromised sustainable development in Zimbabwe. The section points out other political manifestations which contributed to the down spiral of Zimbabwe's economy.

4.6.1. The state, civil society and repressive laws

The post-2000 era in Zimbabwe was undoubtedly plagued with a free-fall of democracy levels. Hence according to Chingono (2010: 199) never in the history of Zimbabwe had there been so much clamouring for a redress in human rights abuses and the absence of democracy than in the period after 2000. Beyond 2000 civil society saw the introduction of legislations that sought to limit its operations and close down democratic space though the purpose of passing legislation for CSOs is generally accepted as being to provide an enabling environment for such organisations to operate and to safeguard the freedoms enshrined in the constitution. In the case of Zimbabwe, the legislation has consistently been passed to achieve the opposite effect (NGO Consultancy Africa, 2005: 3). Legislation has stifled the existence, growth and operations of CSOs in Zimbabwe (NGO Consultancy Africa, 2005: 3).

Civil society in Zimbabwe has to a large extent been effectively banned from playing a role in the democratisation process. This has been observed through a combination of factors such as the enactment of various pieces of legislation (Mozondo, 2007: 1), which include the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA), the Public Order and Security Act (POSA) and Broadcasting Services Act (BSA). Thus the state limited the role of civil society through introducing the AIPPA, the POSA and BSA which suppress fundamental rights and key liberties. Hence the AIPPA, POSA and BSA form an axis of repression against media freedom and freedom of expression in Zimbabwe (MISA, 2005).

Furthermore, though democracy requires an independent media and civil society that would act as agents limiting authoritarianism and enforcing political accountability and improving inclusivity in governance, thereby enhancing good governance, in the case of Zimbabwe the media and other CSOs have not been independent. This is seen in the review by the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) that AIPPA is one of the most effective legal instruments of state control over the media and civil society communication anywhere in the world (MISA, 2004: 3). The AIPPA has seen the closing down of the *Daily* newspaper, the only remaining independent daily in 2003. Furthermore, in 2005 after three weeks of circulation *The Weekly Times* was closed down on the grounds that it had been licensed only to cover development news, rather than report on politics as it had been doing (Towsend and Copson, 2005: 3).

For these reasons the AIPPA became a repressive law that entrenched extensive control over the media in Zimbabwe. Political meetings such as rallies have also been consistently repressed through the POSA (Sachikonye, 2009: 4). In addition, the POSA prohibited any abusive, indecent, obscene, or false statement about the president, and prohibited false statements prejudicial to the state (Moyo, 2004). In essence Zimbabwe, through its legislations has been a repressive country towards civil society; as a result the ideal of the state consulting with non-governmental stakeholders in the political process and that of a free civil society that challenges state actions has been largely ignored in Zimbabwe.

The Non-governmental Organisation Bill (NGO Bill) of 2004 passed by parliament, just like POSA, AIIPA and BSA, was intended to exert state control and dominance over CSOs. Nonetheless, the bill was not signed into law by the president. The preamble to the Bill states that it is for the registration of non-governmental organisations, to provide for an enabling environment for the operations, monitoring and regulation of all non-governmental organisations (International Bar Association, 2004: 2). However, an analysis of the Bill suggests that it is a far-reaching and draconian law clearly designed to exert full and complete control over NGOs and other human rights and development organisations in Zimbabwe (International Bar Association, 2004: 2).

Though, the NGO Bill was never accepted into law, its sheer introduction did enough harm because the closure and/or relocation of CSOs in Zimbabwe was a direct consequence of the Bill (Chingono, 2010: 205). Fundamentally, the more NGOs became vibrant, the more the government engaged in frustrating their operations (Chingono, 2010: 205). Looking at the repressive laws towards civil society introduced by the state the early 2000s, it can be argued that civil society in Zimbabwe has not been afforded the political space to participate on issues of democratisation, good governance and sustainable development. The repressive laws by the Zimbabwean government have effectively curtailed civil society roles in a democratic dispensation.

It is noteworthy that the existence of the repressive laws towards civil society in Zimbabwe contravened the country's constitution. This is because chapter three of the Zimbabwean constitution promotes the right to freedom of expression and freedom of assembly and association (Constitution of Zimbabwe, 2005). With respect to freedom of expression, chapter three, section 20 (1) states that "except with his own consent or by parental discipline, no one shall be hindered in the enjoyment of his freedom of expression, that is to say, freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart ideas and information without interference, and freedom from interference with his correspondence'. In addition, section 21 (1), states that "Except with his own consent or by way of parental discipline, no person shall be hindered in his freedom of assembly and association, that is to say, his right to assemble freely

and associate with other persons and in particular to form or belong to political parties or trade unions or other associations for the protection of his interests".

In this regard the actions by the Zimbabwean government that have occurred in the country under the provisions of the AIIPA, POSA, and BSA are unconstitutional and illegal. This is primarily because they contravened the constitution and thereby undermining its supremacy. This is due to the constitutional provision that says that "the constitution is the supreme law of Zimbabwe and if any other law is inconsistent with this Constitution that other law shall, to the extent of the inconsistency, be void' (Constitution of Zimbabwe, 2005). Though this is a fact, civil society has experienced political suffocation and repression by the state since the introduction of the AIIPA, POSA, and BSA.

4.6.2. Civil society, the opposition and elections

It is fact that cannot be ignored that an election is the first step in enhancing democratisation. As such, scholars like Chiroro (2005:2) support this fact by observing that democratic rule is inconceivable without elections. In Zimbabwe, however, elections have been held regularly every five years but the political situation has degenerated dangerously into authoritarianism each time there have been opposition challenges to ZANU-PF legitimacy (Chiroro, 2005:2).

The emergence of a strong civil society through the NCA, which lead to ZANU-PF's defeat in the 2000 constitutional referendum and to the creation of the MDC as a strong political opposition, moved the the ruling party to autrocratic practices. The majority of Zimbabweans have for years become accustomed to electoral fraud as was practised by the ruling ZANU-PF led by President Robert Mugabe (Makumbe, 2006: 45). Elections in Zimbabwe have not been conducted in a manner deemed to be free and fair (Makumbe, 2006: 45). Civil society has experienced political suffocation during elections in Zimbabwe because of the restrictive laws in place in the country. This is argued by Kwaganja (2005: 7) that the continued existence of heavily restrictive laws weakened and marginalised Zimbabwe's civil society in the electoral process.

In mature democracies elsewhere, and even in some young democracies in Africa, elections are the central institution of democratic representative governments (Chogugudza, 2008: 1). This is because, in a democracy, the authority of the government derives solely from the consent of the governed. The fundamental rationale for translating that consent into governmental authority is the holding of free and fair elections. This is contrary to stage-managed elections held by dictatorships and one party governments to give their rule the aura of legitimacy in the face of public dissent. In such elections, there may be only one candidate or a list of candidates, with no credible alternative choices. Such elections may offer several candidates for each office, but ensure through intimidation or rigging that only the government-sanctioned candidate is chosen. These are not democratic elections but a mere academic process of legitimising autocratic and repressive regimes.

The voting process in these kinds of elections is manipulated and results are doctored to reflect the wishes of the dictatorship. More often than not genuine international observers from credible institutions and countries such as the Carter Centre, United Nations (UN), Transparency International, Amnesty International, European Union (EU), United Kingdom (UK) and United States of America (USA) among others are barred. It is paradoxical in the case of Zimbabwe that those in charge of running elections continue to preach democracy and transparency yet in practice they have presided over electoral fraud of gross proportions in previous elections (Chogugudza, 2008: 1).

Multi-party elections are not a new phenomenon in Zimbabwe but they have been held under autocratic circumstances resulting in election outcomes that have not yielded to the consolidation of democracy. This crisis of elections is demonstrated by the populace's lack of confidence in their institutions of governance (Chiroro, 2005: 7). Furthermore, the greatest hindrance to the consolidation of democracy is that the electorate has never been offered a political choice as the opposition is harassed and persecuted (Chiroro, 2005: 7). The opposition has never been accepted as part of the democratic process (Chiroro, 2005: 7).

Civil society has not been the only sector to be politically suppressed by the ruling party and the state. The opposition has also experienced political suffocation from actively contesting against ZANU-PF in the electoral processes. Since independence

in 1980, Zimbabwe has regular elections every five years. However it is noteworthy that democracy cannot be measured by elections only. Hence Chiroro (2005: 12) maintains that democracy cannot be measured by the number of elections held by a country but on how deeply the democratic principles, basic rights and freedoms are ingrained in the population. In Zimbabwe, though regular elections have been held, democratic principles, basic rights and freedoms have not been entrenched within the society. For this reason, Mutenheri (2009: 211) argues that if democracy is to be measured on the number of times elections are held, then Zimbabwe can be applauded. Nevertheless, elections in Zimbabwe since 2000 have been a disguise to legitimise an otherwise authoritarian regime led by Mugabe.

Mutenheri (2009: 212) continues to site the 2008 presidential run-off from which Morgan Tsvangirai, the MDC presidential candidate, pulled out as a glaring example of this. In addition to the above Mutenheri (2009: 212) continues to observe that the whole international community through the United Nations (UN) voiced, unanimously, their dissatisfaction with the electoral processes in Zimbabwe, including both China and Russia. The fact that Zimbabwe has held elections regularly every five years does not amount to democratic practices in the country. This is because personal freedoms in Zimbabwe have diminished over the past years as President Robert Mugabe has compromised the civil and political rights of citizens to maintain his grip on power. In the face of mounting opposition to his rule, Mugabe has severely restricted the rights of journalists to express themselves freely, the rights of opposition political parties to hold rallies and meetings, and the rights of citizens to assemble freely.

Diamond etal (1989) in Chiroro (2005: 2) indicates that elections are regarded as the hallmark of democracy by providing the citizens with the possibility of choice as to who should govern them. Most of the literature on electoral democracy refers to a setting where all relevant citizens are entitled to vote, maximum political participation of the citizens, competition among political parties and a host of civil and political liberties. However, these norms according to Chiroro (2005: 2) define an ideal competitive democratic electoral process, which does not exist in Zimbabwe. The major electoral malpractices include lack of transparency in the electoral procedures, lack of information on electoral regulations among both the electorate and the contestants, numerous amendments to laws, most of which are aimed at dis-

enfranchising sections of the electorate who are suspected of supporting opposition political parties, and fraudulent tallying of votes at counting (Makumbe, 2006: 45).

4.7. Deepening decline in sustainable development

Section 4.7 discusses the sanctions imposed on Zimbabwe and the undemocratic practices of the state as factors that exacerbated the country's economic decline.

4.7.1. Imposing sanctions and economic decline

The preceding sections have demonstrated clearly that the Zimbabwean government has failed to meet fundamental principles of democracy and good governance. The failure to fulfil principles of democracy and good governance has earned Zimbabwe multilateral economic sanctions, imposed by the United Kingdom, United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand (Chingono, 2010: 192). The common reason for sanction is that Zimbabwe has failed to meet the fundamental beliefs and values attached to the principles of democracy (Chingono, 2010: 192-193). This fundamental belief has indeed shaped these states' desire to impose sanctions on Zimbabwe (Chingono, 2010:193). For instance, the USA imposed economic sanctions on Zimbabwe through the Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act, 2001 (ZIDERA) and cited Zimbabwe's human rights record, political intolerance and absence of rule of law as the main reasons for the imposition of sanctions (Hondora, 2009).

The significant objective behind the imposition of sanctions on Zimbabwe was to restore democracy and normalcy in accordance with the western standards of democracy (Chingono, 2010: 1). The original motive of economic sanctions was to support the people of Zimbabwe in their struggle to effect peaceful, democratic change, achieve broad-based and equitable economic growth and restore the rule of law (Chingono, 2010: 199). However, the sanctions became significantly responsible for and deepened socio-economic retrogression in Zimbabwe. Though the ESAP was cited in 4.5.2 to have contributed to the socio-economic problems of Zimbabwe, beyond 2000 the sanctions as well became significantly responsible for the country's economic collapse (Hondora, 2009).

Indeed, Zimbabwe has become a case were economic coercion hardly harmed the targeted authoritarian regime. This is because the economic sanctions negatively impacted on the socio-economic status of the ordinary Zimbabwean citizens (Chingono, 2010: 200). Significantly, sanctions generally harm the socio-economic and political status of average civilians, while political elites remain insulated from the coercion (Chingono, 2010: 199-200). Sanctions have significantly harmed the socio-economic status of Zimbabwe and this has seen acknowledgment by government. Hence the governor of the Zimbabwean Reserve Bank has pointed out that the country's declining economic performance is connected to the debilitating effects of sanctions imposed on the country (Gono, 2009: 36).

4.7.2. The undemocratic state and economic decline

Though sanctions have had their share in the economic decline of Zimbabwe, they are not the root cause. This is because economic sanctions were imposed on Zimbabwe in 2002, while the economic collapse began five years before (Coltart, 2008: 10). This means that the economic decline in Zimbabwe started years before the economic sanctions came into effect. To be more precise Coltart (2008:2) notes that the economic decline in Zimbabwe started in 1997. In this regard, besides economic sanctions, the economic collapse of Zimbabwe can be traced to various political factors which include the absence of the rule of law, political intolerance, electoral fraud and gross human rights abuses (Hondora, 2009).

To conclude, the root cause of Zimbabwe's woes came as a result of the absence on liberal democracy (Coltart, 2008: 10). Thus the politics of authoritarianism practised by the state and the practise of draconian laws and suppression towards civil society and the political opposition have contributed towards the economic downfall of Zimbabwe. As noted in chapter two, good governance means a state that is democratic, and to this end good governance is a requirement for sustainable development.

It is therefore a thesis that the move by the Zimbabwean government to authoritarian practices at a time when most of Africa went through a democratisation wave, contributed in the country's economic collapse. Indeed the lack of democracy contributes to economic decline; hence Coltart (2008: 12) maintains that the history of Africa and other developing countries shows that undemocratic governments are inevitably followed by increased corruption, increased inflation and eventual economic decline. Indeed, the economic decline in Zimbabwe is a result of politically unstable climate. This has given rise to the view by the Zimbabwean Reserve Bank governor that the politically unstable situation should have never been allowed to go for a long time. This is because now the country faces the negative economic consequences of the politically unacceptable situation (Gono, 2009: 20).

4.8. Conclusion

Chapter four has proved that the relationship between the state and civil society in Zimbabwe is similar in nature to that of other African countries described in chapter three. In that regard, this chapter argued that in the first decade of independence the relationship between the state and civil society was generally good and peaceful. Chapter four argued that the generally good and peaceful relationship between the state and civil society came as a result of the state's control and dominance of sectors of society in particular the intelligentsia and students, the labour union and the media. The peaceful relationship between the state and civil society came with increased state investment in social welfare (health and education) and infrastructure projects. Thus the first decade of independence saw an increase in social indicators of Zimbabwe.

However, the Zimbabwean government could not keep up with the huge investment in social welfare due to the stagnating economy. This gave way to the adoption of the ESAP by the Zimbabwean government as an effort to revamp the economy. The ESAP did not yield benefits and Zimbabwe's economic woes seemed to be deepening as companies were closed, unemployment increased and the income disparities increased. Though the relationship between the state and civil society was peaceful during the first decade of Zimbabwe's independence, the 1990s saw a shift from the peaceful relationship to a hostile one between the state and civil society. Due to the worsening economic situation civil society developed a

confrontational approach to the state because of its failure to deal with the socio-economic problems that faced the nation. In a nutshell, the 1990s became the breaking point of the peaceful relationship between the state and civil society.

As the Zimbabwean economy continued with the downfall, the post 2000 era saw the state becoming repressive and autocratic towards dissent in society. As a result repressive laws such as the AIIPA, POSA and BSA were introduced and they sought to limit political space for civil society to operate in the country. The post-2000 era thus saw the Zimbabwean government becoming an authoritarian regime as principles of democracy and good governance were curtailed. As the state became authoritarian shifting far away from democracy and its values, the international community in particular the UK and USA, imposed sanctions on Zimbabwe. Though the sanctions were imposed to force the regime to accede to democratic principles, they also impacted negatively on the Zimbabwean economy thus hastening its downward spiral. In closing, the lack of democratic principles and the political instability in Zimbabwe form part of the circle of factors that contributed to country's economic decline.

CHAPTER FIVE
Research findings, interpretations and recommendations

5.1. Introduction

In the previous chapters the role of the state and civil society in enhancing democratisation, good governance and sustainable development and their relationship thereof were discussed. This chapter points out and interprets the findings of the previous chapter. In doing so, the chapter presents three sections synthesised in chapter four and this includes section 2, section 3 and section 4. Section 2 presents and interprets the findings from section 2 of chapter four. Section 3 presents and interprets the findings of section 3 of chapter four and section 4 presents and interprets the findings from section 4 of chapter four. Finally, the original research objectives are revisited and an explanation is given on how each chapter contends with these objectives. Before concluding the hypothesis is revisted to ascertain wheather this dissertation proved or disproved it.

5.2. SECTION 2: The post-independence Zimbabwe

This section presents and interprets the findings from section 2 of chapter four.

5.2.1. Discussing democratisation and good governance in Zimbabwe

5.2.1.1. Democratisation and good governance: A discussion on nation-building and centralisation in Zimbabwe

The following conclusions were drawn:

- Nation-building in the post-independence Zimbabwe was an instrument of state domination and control marked by the marginalisation of popular participation in the political realm. The marginalisation of popular participation meant that the post-independence Zimbabwean state failed to meet some determinants of democratisation and good governance.

- Through nation-building the state sought to dominate and control all levels of society with the intention of having a centralised decision making system and limiting actors in the Zimbabwean political landscape.

- The nation-building policy was used to excuse authoritarian policies, abuse the monopoly of force, and justify limitations on human rights and freedoms.

- Democratisation and good governance could not be achieved under the political conditions that came with nation-building. The political environment and conditions of national unity worked in favour of establishing a centralised state in which no political force could challenge the hegemony of the ruling ZANU-PF and the state.

- Indeed, Zimbabwe became a centralised state; there were no checks and balances on the use of power by the Zimbabwean executive. Therefore the judiciary and legislature were largely subordinate to the executive. The exercise of state power was characterised by patronage, corruption and intimidation leading to erosion of the rule of law and democratic freedoms.

- Indeed, what was experienced in Zimbabwe post-independence was an emergence of an autocratic government which sought to curtail participatory democracy and good governance. Based on the thesis that good governance is a critical requirement to sustainable development, curtailing democracy and good governance meant that to some extent sustainable development was compromised.

The idea of nation-building was advocated through national unity and this resulted in the establishment of *de facto one* party rule as will be discussed in section 5.2.1.2.

5.2.1.2. Democratisation and good governance: A discussion on national unity and one party rule

The following conclusions were drawn:
- The Zimbabwean government continued with the mission of nation-buildingand unity, on the other hand it was conducting campaigns against those groups which might potentially compose an opposition, often using the legislative and administrative tools of the Rhodesian state. Therefore the maintenance of state hegemony was being driven by the political rhetoric of nation-building through unity.

- The unity that was preached by government was intended to have a society with non-political social groupings such as schools, churches, businessmen and unions. These mentioned social sectors were urged to unite by the state.

- Consequently, the unity campaign in a way moved itself towards the establishment of a one party state.

- Uniting the nation was a progressive ideal for the Zimbabwean nation. However, the driving factor behind the ruling ZANU-PF was to eliminate any form of political opposition and remain as the sole political actor with no other sources of rival power to challenge its hegemony. To this end, the national unity campaign worked against the notion of democratisation and good governance, as the state could not be subjected to checks and balances, a decentralised decision-making system, participatory politics, transparency and accountability.

5.2.1.3. Democratisation and good governance: A discussion on undemocratic electoral hegemony

These following conclusions were drawn:

- ZANU-PF has held electoral hegemony since independence in 1980 and the creation and maintenance of its dominance within both local and national elections has been maintained through the usage of legislation, state-funding, violence and election rigging.

- There was an absence of convincing democratic elections during this period. This is because determinants of democratic elections such as fair competition between political parties or candidates were non existent, and opposition parties and candidates could not enjoy the freedom of speech, assembly, and movement necessary to voice their criticisms of the government openly and to bring alternative policies and candidates to the voters. Under ZANU-PF's electoral hegemony the notions of democratisation and good governance were arguably non existent.

5.2.2. Discussing sustainable development in Zimbabwe

5.2.2.1. The state and sustainable development

The government of Zimbabwe played the following crucial roles in development in the first decade of independence:

- Development was one amongst chief objectives of the post-colonial Zimbabwean state. Development was the motivating force in government ideology.
- In the 1980s, the government did invest seriously in social welfare and the agricultural sectors and reached some of its developmental goals, especially in the rural areas; and indeed expectations of improved living standards were relatively easily met in the 1980s.
- Huge government investments were made in education, health and rural development and the productive sectors such as agriculture. The 1980s saw increased public expenditure by government, which made up 45 per cent of the Gross Domestic Product.

5.2.2.1. Civil society and sustainable development

- In the first decade of independence CSOs dedicated themselves to development work. Many organisations which had supported the liberation movement were keen to work with the state to build a new country.
- From independence to the mid-1990s, civil society played a supportive role to the government. During this period the government faced unprecedented social and economic problems especially in the areas of education, health and agriculture.

5.2.3. The relationship between the post-independence state and civil society in Zimbabwe

- The relationship between the state and civil society was generally good and peaceful in the first decade of independence.
- The post-colonial period in Zimbabwe saw the forging of peaceful relationship between the state, the intelligentsia and students. The students, in particular, enjoyed a close relationship with the Zimbabwean government.

- The ZCTU and ZANU-PF relationship was cordial for much of this period to the extent that they shared offices.
- The relationship between the state and the media was also peaceful.

The peaceful relationship between the state and civil society in the post-independence era manifested itself in the state's control and dominance over various sectors of civil society.

5.3. SECTION 3: The post-1990s Zimbabwe

This section presents and interprets the findings from section 3 of chapter four.

5.3.1. The collapse of peaceful relationship between the state and civil society in Zimbabwe

Though there existed in the first decade of independence a peaceful relationship between the state and civil society in Zimbabwe, the mid 1990s came with a dramatic shift in the nature of the relationship. The relationship shifted from peaceful to hostile, indeed the 1990s marked the collapse of the peaceful relationship between the state and civil society in Zimbabwe.

5.3.1.1. The ESAP and the three political events

The following points marked the collapse of these relations:

- In the 1990s the Zimbabwean government started to experience an economic downturn. This was a result of huge government public expenditure amounting to 45 per cent of the GDP, which crowded out the private sector investment and fuelled inflation, while shortages of imported goods constrained investment and growth. The increased public expenditure, therefore, has a direct link and significant contribution to the economic downturn at the beginning of the 1990s. The population grew faster than job creation and the widening of the income gap continued. Indeed, the socio-economic improvements experienced in the first decade of independence could no longer be sustained as it became clear that the stagnating economy could not sustain increased expenditure on social welfare.

- The government adopted the ESAP as an effort to revamp the economy. The main objective of the ESAP was to promote higher growth and to reduce poverty and unemployment. However, the objectives of the ESAP were never fulfilled, as admitted by the Zimbabwean government. The economy shrunk consistently and companies closed down or scaled down operations as a result of the stiff competition in the opened-up economy. Consequently, unemployment increased, inflation was on the rise and overall poverty and hardships increased for the majority of the urban population. To this end, the government was failing to act as the engine of economic growth to improve and maintain the socio-economic well-being of its citizens.

- The increased public expenditure led to the economic downturn of Zimbabwe at the beginning of the 1990s, while the ESAP failed to help revamp the economy. Rather the ESAP deepened Zimbabwe's economic problems. However, these are not the only contributing factors to Zimbabwe's economic decline.

  Mugabe's agreement to provide disgruntled war veterans with huge pensions and other benefits, the costly deployment of thousands of Zimbabwean troops to the DRC to support the regime of Laurent Kabila as an effort to protect mining investments made by the members of the Zimbabwean ruling elite in the DRC and the government's violent land reform to take land held by white commercial farmers undoubtedly were also contributing factors to the country's economic decline. These are regarded as the three political events to have contributed to the crash of the Zimbabwean dollar and ultimately the downward spiral of the economy.

5.3.1.2. The rise of confrontational civil society

The political and economic manifestations in 5.3.1.1 triggered the following reactions from civil society:

- The labour and student movements, together with a range of other CSOs started to express discontent with the results of the ESAP and other socio-political manifestations throughout the 1990s.
- As living standards of the Zimbabwean population rapidly decreased, this led to frustrations that caused social unrest as civil society began to be confrontational towards the state due to its failure to achieve sustainable development.
- Civil society became increasingly politically active and developed a more confrontational approach when engaging the Zimbabwean government.
- In a nutshell, the ESAP and the three political events mentioned above are the economic factors which caused the hostile state-civil society relations in Zimbabwe.

5.3.1.3. Authoritarianism and the rise of confrontational civil society

Besides the ESAP and the three political events, authoritarian practices in Zimbabwe also led to the hostile relationship between the state and civil society in Zimbabwe:

- As most of Africa was being swept by the wave of democratisation, Zimbabwe remained unshaken to join the path of continental democratisation. It appears the wave of democratisation that swept across Africa in the 1990s never affected Zimbabwe. This is because Robert Mugabe is one of the longest serving presidents in Africa and certainly the longest serving in southern Africa, as he has been at the helm of the state since independence from Britain in 1980.
- Robert Mugabe personifies authoritarianism, a political and social system that has suppressed the growth of democracy, maintenance of the rule of law, enhancement of checks and balances on the state institutions and protections of civil liberties in Zimbabwe.

- Authoritarianism seeks to repress CSOs and other autonomous groups in society which could potentially become sources of challenge to undemocratic practices in the state. Indeed, this has been the case in Zimbabwe as the government has focused its energies in emasculating labour unions, student organisations, human rights groups, the independent press and the judiciary.

- The existence of authoritarian practices by Robert Mugabe and ZANU-PF in government gave rise to challenges from various sectors of society as a means of pushing for a democratic Zimbabwe. Authoritarianism would not remain hegemonic in Zimbabwe as it attracted challenges from various quarters of society.

- CSOs such as trade unions, student organisations, human rights groups and the independent media appeared to be in the forefront of challenging the authoritarian hegemonic state represented by ZANU-PF.

- It is because of all the above indicated reasons that the labour movement, ZCTU, forged links with the NCA in the quest for a democratic dispensation. The involvement of ZTCU in the NCA led to the formation of the MDC in 1999. The MDC emerged to become the strongest political opposition ever to challenge the autocratic ruling ZANU-PF.

The economic downturn and the undemocratic authoritarian practices in Zimbabwe gave rise to the hostile relationship between the state and civil society. Indeed, the mid-1990s had shifted the peaceful relationship between the state and civil society to a hostile and confrontational one. Thus from the mid 1990s onwards, the relationship between the state and civil society grew more and more hostile, as ZANU-PF raised its displeasure with civil society's involvement in advocacy for democratisation and socio-economic improvements in the lives of Zimbabwean citizens.

Consequently, civil society found it more difficult to operate in Zimbabwe, as will be outlined in the following section. For peaceful relations between the state and civil society to exist in a sustainable manner in Zimbabwe, the state must continuously promote and practise democracy and good governance. This means that the principles of democracy and good governance should be embodied in the political sphere of the country. In addition, the state should ascend a pivotal role of enhancing sustainable development in a manner that meets the socio-economic

realities of its population. This would in turn keep civil society pleased as there won't be any frustration and unrest arising from economically unsatisfied citizens.

5.4. SECTION 4: The post-2000 era in Zimbabwe

This section presents and interprets the findings from section 4 of chapter four.

5.4.1. Consolidating authoritarianism and curtailing democratic governance

The rise of a confrontational civil society against the downward spiralling economic conditions and authoritarian practices in Zimbabwe triggered reaction from the state. Because of its involvement on issues of democratisation and socio-economic well-being of citizens, civil society as pointed out in section 5.3.1 found it more difficult to operate in Zimbabwe.

5.4.1.1. The state, civil society and repressive laws

The following conclusions were drawn from this section:

- Beyond 2000 civil society saw the introduction of legislations that sought to limit its operation and closed down democratic space. The introduction of repressive legislation toward CSOs in Zimbabwe has stifled its existence, growth and operations in the country.
- Civil society in Zimbabwe has to a large extent been effectively banned from playing a role in the democratisation process through various pieces of legislation which include the AIPPA, the POSA and BSA. These pieces of legislation have suppressed the fundamental rights and liberties in Zimbabwe, liberties which are cornerstones of a democracy.
- The Zimbabwe government through these legislations has been repressive towards civil society; accordingly the importance of the state consulting with non-governmental stakeholders in the political process and that of a free civil society that challenges state actions has been largely ignored.
- The NGO Bill, though it was never accepted into law, catalysed the closure and/or relocation of CSOs in Zimbabwe.

- Consequently the state's repressive laws towards civil society have limited the political space for CSOs to participate on issues of democratisation, good governance and sustainable development.
- Fundamentally, the repressive laws towards civil society in Zimbabwe contravened the country's constitution. In particular, the right to freedom of expression and the right to freedom of assembly and association.
- The Zimbabwean government's actions towards civil society under the provisions of the AIIPA, POSA, and BSA were unconstitutional, illegal and undermined the supremacy of the country's constitution.

The repressive laws towards civil society in Zimbabwe have dealt a negative blow to the principle of democracy and good governance. It is significant that countries, in the development and/or the amendment of their constitutions and also in the introduction of certain legislations, ensure the entrenchment of laws accommodative to civil society's operations in the country's political realm. For relations between the state and civil society to be normalised in Zimbabwe there is a need for both the international community and the Zimbabwean government to enforce the principles of democratisation and good governance.

5.4.1.2. Civil society, the opposition and elections

The following conclusions were drawn:

- Elections in Zimbabwe have not been conducted in a manner deemed to be free and fair as they have been conducted under autocratic circumstances resulting in election outcomes that have not yielded the consolidation of democracy.
- Hence, civil society has experienced political suffocation during elections in Zimbabwean due to the restrictive laws in place in the country. The continued existence of repressive laws weakened and marginalised civil society in the country's electoral process.
- Similarly, the electorate has never been offered a political choice as the opposition was harassed and persecuted, and has never been accepted as part of the democratic process.

Based on the above, it can be argued that civil society was politically suppressed and suffocated by the ruling party and the state from actively and freely participating in Zimbabwe's electoral processes. To this end, it has become impossible for the state, civil society and the political opposition to enjoy peaceful relations governed by the principles of democracy and good governance. For free and fair elections to be a reality in Zimbabwe and other countries in the world, the pre-requisite is that civil society and the political opposition should be allowed to participate in the electoral process based on democratic principles. Similarlly, the principles of democratisation and good governance should be enforced in Zimbabwe, in this way all stakeholders in the political spectrum will be afforded the political space to participate in elections.

5.4. Deepening decline in sustainable development

As seen earlier, Zimbabwe's economic decline is traced to the 1990s; from the ESAP and the three political events. However, the country's economic problems did not end in the 1990s; rather there are other factors which deepened the economic decline. Therefore, as the state became even more repressive to CSOs through the introduction of repressive legislations, the economic decline deepened. The following are conclusions drawn from the factors that exacerbated the economic decline in the 2000s.

5.5.1. Imposing sanctions and economic decline

- Due to the failure of the Zimbabwean government to fulfil the principles of democracy and good governance, it earned multilateral economic sanctions, imposed by the United Kingdom, United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand.
- Though the original motive of economic sanctions was to effect peaceful democratic governance in Zimbabwe, the sanctions became significantly responsible for and deepened the socio-economic retrogression of Zimbabwe. It is for this reason that the Zimbabwean government acknowledged that the country's declining economic performance is connected to the debilitating effects of sanctions imposed on the country.

5.5.2. The undemocratic state and economic decline

- The economic collapse of Zimbabwe was traced to various political factors which include the absence of the rule of law, political intolerance, electoral fraud and gross human rights abuses; meaning the root cause of Zimbabwe's woes came as a result of the absence on liberal democracy. In this view, the politics of authoritarianism practised by the state and the practise of draconian laws and suppression towards civil society and the political opposition have contributed towards the economic downfall of Zimbabwe.

- Based on the argument that good governance is one that is democratic, and that good governance is a requirement for sustainable development, the move by the Zimbabwean government to authoritarian practices when most of Africa was going through a democratisation wave contributed in the country's economic collapse.

There is need for democratic governance to ensue in Zimbabwe for sustainable development to be realised. For this reason, in order for countries to prosper economically the principles of democracy and good governance should be entrenched within their respective systems of governance.

Having pointed out and interpreted the findings and having made the suggestions, it is significant to ensure that the objectives of the study were fulfilled. Therefore the following sections return to the original objectives outlined in chapter one.

5.6. Revisiting Research objectives

In chapter one objectives were set out and these objectives have been addressed in the chapters of this dissertation in the following manner:

Chapter two provided a theoretical description of the roles of the state and civil society in a democratic dispensation. This was done through discussing these roles under the concepts democratisation, good governance and sustainable development.In doing so, Chapter two drew theoritical parameters for the discussions on the relationship between the state and civil society in Africa in chapter three.

Chapter three examined the nature of the relationship between the state and civil society in Africa. The point of depature for chapter three gave an exposition of democratisation, good governance and sustainable development in Africa. In examining the nature of the relationship between the state and civil society in Africa, chapter three traced its discussions from the conlonial to the post colonial era. Chapter three continued to give an exposition of state-civil society relations in Africa under the concepts democratisation, good governance and sustainable development.

Chapter four discussed and analysed the factors that led to the hostile relations between the state and civil society and the causes of economic decline in Zimbabwe. Chapter four maintained that in the post independence era the relationship between the state and civil society in Zimbabwe were generally good. However, the 1990s saw the relationship change to being hostile because of the socio-economic problems that the country faced. Similarly, the failure to uphold democratic practices in Zimbabwe saw the ermegence of a confrontational civil society towards the state and this resulted in hostile state-civil society relations relations. Factors such as the ESAP, the lack of democracy and good governance and the imposition of sanctions on Zimbabwe have contributed towards the economic decline of Zimbabwe.

Chapter Five outlined and interpreted the findings from chapter four and provided recommendations to normalise the relations between the state and civil society. This was done through drawing conclusions from section 2, 3 and 4 of chapter four and further interpreting these conclusions. In the same breath throughout the section 2, 3 and 4 of chapter five recommendations were made on how the situation can be normalised.

5.7. Revisiting the hypothesis

The hypothesis pointed out in chapter one was proven in the following manner;

- The socio-economic problems experienced in Zimbabwe from the 1990s saw the breaking point of peaceful relations between the state and civil society. To be precise the socio-economic problems meant that the Zimbabwean government could not perform its expected role to achieve sustainable

development and as such the country was plagued with the absence of sustainable development. This lead to civil society being dissatisfied and as such became confrontational towards the state; as a result the relations between the state and civil society became hostile.

- Similarly, the absence of democratisation and good governance also contributed to collapse of peaceful relations between the state and civil society. This is because civil society became confrontational towards the state also because of the state's failure to accede to the princeples and practices of democracy and good governance. Civil society thus advocated for a democratic dispensation in Zimbabwe as the government was authoritarian. In response the state intensified authoritarianism through introduced repressive laws such as AIPPA and POSA to suppress CSOs in the country. From these manifestations the peaceful relationship that existed between the state and civil society post independence collapsed and became hostile.

From the above, indeed, the absence of democratisation, good governance, and sustainable development are major causes to the collapse of peaceful relations between the state and civil society in Zimbabwe.

5.8. Conclusion

The study on the relationship between the state and civil society in Zimbabwe needs an approach that synthesises various factors in order to understand its nature and prospects for the future. This study tried to synthesise the state-civil society relations from three perspectives which are democratisation, good governance and sustainable development. The arguments advanced in this study are indeed a true reflection of the hypothesis outlined in chapter one. Thus, indeed, the absence of democratisation, good governance, and sustainable development are major causes of the collapse of peaceful relations between the state and civil society in Zimbabwe. As we observed, the economic decline and the authoritarian practices in Zimbabwe marked the collapse of the peaceful relationship between the state and civil society that existed in the first decade of independence.

It is significant that future studies bring a diffenent approach in understanding the relationship between that state and civil society in Zimbabwe and Africa generally.

This should be done through looking at other possible causes to the collapse of the peaceful relations between the state and civil society in Zimbabwe which where not addressed in this dissertation. To end discussion on this dissertation the significance of a peaceful relationship between the state and civil society on issues of democratisation, good governance and sustainable development should be deeply understood in societies throughout the world. Democratisation, good governance and sustainable development should be well promoted and implemented in order to avoid collapse of peacefull relations between the state and civil society in Zimbabwe and other countries generally. Thus the causes of hostile relations between the state and civil society in Zimbabwe should become a political lesson to other countries. This would ensure the maintenance of peaceful relations between the state and civil society allowing both to play positive roles in the enhancing the processes of democratisation, good governance and sustainable development. To this end the existence of democratisation, good governance and sustainable development is a pivotal foundation to peacefull relations between the state and civil society.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

ADEJUMOBI, S. 2002. Breaking barriers, creating new hopes: democracy, civil society and good governance in Africa. Trenton: Africa World Press.

BABBIE, E. & MOUTON, J. 2006. The practice of social research. Cape Town, South Africa. Oxford University Press.

BRATTON, M. & Van de Walle, N. 1997. Democratic experiments in Africa: regime transitions in comparative perspective. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

CRESWELL, J. W.2009. Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed method approaches. Thousand oaks: Sage publications.

COOPER, H.M. 1998. Synthesising research: a guide for literature review. Applied Social Research Methods Series Volume 2. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

CHAZAN, N., LEWIS, P., MORTIMER, R. ROTHCHILD, D. & STEDMAN, S. 1988. Politics and society in contemporary Africa. London: Lynne Rienner Publihsers.

CHAZAN, N, LEWIS, P, MORTIMER, R, ROTHCHILD, D, & STEDMAN, S 1999. Politics and society in contemporary Africa.3rd ed. Boulder: Reinner Publishers.

CHUNG, F. 1998. Education: revolution or reform (In STONEMAN, C. ed, Zimbabwe's Prospects: issues of class, state and capital in southern Africa. London: MacMillan.)

DIAMOND, L. 1999. Development democracy: Toward consolidation. Boulder: The John Hopkins University Press.

DASHWOOD, H.2000. Zimbabwe: The political economy of transformation. Toronto. University of Toronto Press.

KARL, T.1989. Imposing consent, electoralism and democratisation in El Salvador. San Diego: University of California.

KRIGER. N.J. 1992. Zimbabwe's guerrilla war: peasant voices. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

LENNOCK, J. 1994. Paying for health. United Kingdom: Oxfam.

MANDAZA, I. 1986. The state in post-white settler colonial situation (In Ibbo Mandaza,ed. The Political Economy of Transition. Dakar: CODESRIA

MARIO, P. 2009. Zimbabwe, land and the dictator. Godfrey Books

MCCORMICK, J. 2007. Comparative politics in transition. 5th ed. Indiana: Indiana University.

MOUTON, J. 1996. Understanding social research. Pretoria: J.L. van Schaik Publishers.

NDLOVU-GTSHENI, S.J.N. 2004. Putting people first-from regime security to human security: a quest for social peace in Zimbabwe, 1980-2002 (In NHEMA, A.G., ed. Edition. The quest for peace in Africa: transforming, democracy and public policy Addis Ababa: OSSREA).

NSIBAMBI, A.R. (ed). 1998. Decentralisation and civil society in Uganda: the quest for good governance. Kampala: Fountain Publishers.

OCHE, O. 2003. Emerging trends in civil society struggles for good governance and democracy after 1999 democratic transition in Nigeria. Ibadan: Vintage publishers.

PUTNAM, R.D. 1993. Making democracy work: civic traditions in modern Italy. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

RAFTOPOULOS, B. 1988. Problems of research in a post-colonial state: the case of Zimbabwe. Harare: ZIDS.

SACHIKONYE, L.M. 2003. Between authoritarianism and democracy: politics in Zimbabwe since 1990. Pretoria: Africa Institute of South Africa.

SHADUR, M. 1994. Labour relations in a developing country: a case study of Zimbabwe Aldershot: Avebury.

SITHOLE, M. 1986. The general elections 1979-1985 (In Mandaza. I., ed. The political economy of transition, 1980-1986. Dakar: CODESRIA.

STONEMAN. C. & CLIFFE, L. 1989. Zimbabwe: politics, economics and society. London: Pinter.

THOMSON, A. 2004. An introduction to African politics. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge.

WEBER, M. 1994. The Profession and vocation of politics. In Political Writings. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

WEITZER, R. 1990. Transforming settler state: communal conflict and internal security in Northern Ireland and Zimbabwe. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Journal articles

CHINGONO, H. 2010. Zimbabwe Sanctions: An Analysis of the "Lingo" guiding the perceptions of the sanctioners and the sanctionees. Journal of African politics and international relations. (4) 2, February.

CHINGONO, H .2010. Economic sanctions: A panacea to democracy and good governance in Zimbabwe? Alternatives. Turkish journal on international relations. (9)1: 192-216, Spring.

CRYSTAL, J. 1994. Authoritarianism and its adversaries in the Arab world. World politics: quarterly journal of international relations. (46) 2: 262-289, January.

DIAMOND, L. 1994. Rethinking civil society: Toward Democratic Transition. Journal of Democracy. 5 (3): 4-18, July.

EREGHA, E.E. 2007. Democratic governance and development in Africa: challenges of African Union (AU). Journal of social sciences. 14(3): 205-214, March.

HERRNSON, P.S. 1995. Replication, Verification, Secondary Analysis, and Data Collection in Political Science. *PS: Political Science and Politic,* 28 (3): 452-455, September.
JOHNSON, O.E.G. 2005. Addressing ethnic in sub-saharan Africa: institutions and agency. Constitutional political economy. 16 (1): 49-69.

KAKUMBA, U. & KUYE, J.O. 2008. Development initiatives and global governance: a continental perspective. Journal of public administration. 43 (4.1): 631-645, December.

KAKUMBA, U. and KUYE, J.O. 2006. Rationalism and problematique of policy making and analysis: the case of public policy targeting in Africa. Journal of public administration. 41 (4): 807-822. December.

KALU, K.A. 2004. Constitutionalism in Nigeria: a conceptual analysis of ethnicity and politics. West Africa review. 6.

MAFUNISA, M.J. 2004. The role of civil society in promoting good governance in the Republic of South Africa. International review of administrative sciences. 70(3):489-496, September.

MERCER, C. 2002. NGOs, civil society and democratisation: a critical review of the literature. Progress in development studies. 2 (1): 5-22.

MUKAMUNANA, R. & BRYNARD, P.A. 2005. The role of civil society organisations in policy making process in Rwanda. Journal of public administration.40 (4.1): 665-676, December.

MULIKITA, N.M. 2003. A False Dawn? Africa's Post-1990 Democratisation Waves. African security review. 12 (4): 105-115.

MUTENHERI, F. 2009. Human rights record and democracy in Zimbabwe since independence: An overview. Journal of sustainable development in Africa. (11) 3: 206-216.

REINERT, E.S .1999. The role of the state in economic growth . Journal of economic studies. 26 (4-5) 268-326.

SACHIKONYE, L. 2002. Wither Zimbabwe? Crises and democratisation. Review of African political economy. 29 (91): 13 – 20, March.

SAUNDERS, R. 1996. Zimbabwe: ESAP's fables. Southern Africa report. (11) 2. January

SITHOLE, M. & MAKUMBE, J. 1997. Elections in Zimbabwe: The ZANU (PF) hegemony and its incipient decline. African journal of political science. 2(1):122-139.

WONDWOSEN, T.B. 2009. Civil society and democratisation in Africa: The role of the civil society in the 2005 elections in Ethiopia. Journal of human and social sciences. 4(2): 80-95, Winter.

ZADEH, B.S & AHMAD, N. 2010. Social development , community development and participation. Journal of US-China public administration. 7 (1): 66-69, January.

Internet sources

AL-IRYANI, A. 1998. The role of the state in a traditional society. Opening speech at the conference on "Yemen: The Challenge of Social, Economic and Democratic Development", organised by the Center for Arab Gulf Studies at the University of Exeter, Exeter, 1-4 April, 1998. http://www.al-bab.com/yemen/gov/iryani1.htm. Date of access: 6 October 2010.

AMOAKO, K.Y. 1997. Opening statement at the Conference on Democracy, Civil Society and Governance in Africa. http://www.uneca.org./eca_resources/speeches. Date of access: 08 October 2010.

ANON, 2004. History of Zimbabwe. http://www.historyofnations.net/africa/zimbabwe.html. Date of access: 08 September 2010

BEKOE, D. 2007. Zimbabwe's Latest Crackdown: Responses and Consequences. May 2007 Peace Brief. United States Institute of Peace. http://www.usip.org/resources/zimbabwe-s-latest-crackdown-responses-and-consequences. Date of access: 08 September 2010

BUNBONGKARN, S. 2001. The Role of Civil Society in Democratic Consolidation in Asia. http://www.apcss.org/Publications/Edited%20Volumes/GrowthGovernance_files/Pub_Growth%20Governance/Pub_GrowthGovernancech10.pdf.   Date of access: 08 October 2010.

CHOGUGUDZA, C.2008. Failure of Democracy in Zimbabwe, a Tragedy for SADC and   Beyond.
http://www.africaresource.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=504
%3Afailure-of-democracy-in-zimbabwe-a-tragedy-for-sadc-and
beyond&catid=141%3Apolitics&Itemid=350&showall=1.   Date   of   access: 21
September 2010

DEARDOFF, A.V. 2010. Deardoffs' Glosary of International Economics. http://www-
personal.umich.edu/~alandear/glossary/. Date of access: 08 October 2010.

El-Mefleh, M. A. 2005. Economic Role of the State in the Era of Globalization.
National
University.http://aabss.org/Perspectives2005/AABSS%20Article%202%20ECONOMI
C%20ROLE.pdf. Date of access: 08 October 2010.

Freedom House. 2009. Freedom in the World 2009 – Zimbabwe. Freedom House,
Freedom   in   the   World   2009   -   Zimbabwe,   16   July   2009, available   at:
http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/4a64526f1a.html.   Date   of   access: 28   October
2010.

Global   Village.   2010.   Strenthening   Democracy: General   Information.
http://www.globalvillage.org/ Date of access: 5 May 2010.

HONDORA,   T.   2009.   Economic   sanctions   undermine   Zimbabwe's
economy.http://www.newzimbabwe.com/pages/sanctions32.13170.html.   Date   of
access: 28 October 2010

KAUZYA, J.M. 2002. The role of the state and Africa's development challenges.
http://www.undp.org/africa/agf/documents/en/background_info/papers/Paper6-
RoleoftheStateandAfricasDevelopmentChallenges.pdf. Date of access: 07 June.
2009.

M'BOGE, F. & DOE, S.G. 2004. African Commitments to Civil society: A review of
eight NEPAD countries. African Human Security Initiative. www.africanreview.org.
Date of access: 07 October 2010.

MUZONDO, T. 2007. Human Rights Protection Under Diminishing Funding in Zimbabwe. http://www.nuigalway.ie/dern/documents/52_tamuka_muzondo.pdf Date of access: 07 September 2010.

NGO Consultancy Africa. 2005. Civil Society Legislation in Zimbabwe History and Development.http://www.ngoconsultancyafrica.org/files/Civil%20Society%20Legislation%20in%20Zimbabwe%20History%20and%20Development.pdf. Date of access: 07 September 2010.

NCUBE,C. 2008. Zimbabwe: Civil Society and Democracy. http://www.ngopulse.org/article/zimbabwe-civil-society-and-democracy-NANGO. Date of access: 08 September 2010

NKWACHUKWU, O. 2009. Civil society, democracy and good governance in Africa. http://www.thefreelibrary.com/Civil+society,+democracy+and+good+governance+in+Africa-a0220202806. Date of access: 20 October 2010.

OBULJEN, N. 2005. The role of civil society in the policy-making process: Examples of cultural policy-making in Croatia. TRANS- Internet journal for cultural sciences- Research Institute for Austrian and International Literature and Cultural Studies (INST) http://www.inst.at/trans/15Nr/02_3/obuljen15.htm#_ftn1. Date of access: 19 April 2010.

Society for Participatory Research in Asia (PRIA). 2010. Civil Society Building. http://pria.org/en/mi-thematic-groups/mi-civil-society-building?showall=1. Date of access: 19 April 2010.

The Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) Zimbabwe. 2005. ZIMBABWE: Repressive media law (AIPPA) under review. http://www.misa.org/cgibin/viewnews.cgi?category=2&id=1137054440. Date of access: 08 September 2010

UNESCO, 2010. Education for sustainable development (ESD). http://www.unesco.org/en/esd/. Date of access: 6 October 2010.

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). 2002. Economic Recovery and the Role of the State.

http://www.undp.org/cpr/content/economic_recovery/PCER_Chapt5.rev.pdf. Date of access: 7 June 2010.

United Nations System-wide Special Initiative on Africa (UNSIA). 1998. Source Book on Governance. http://www.resdal.org/Archivo/d0000092.htm. Date of access: 20 October 2010.

ZEILIG, L. 2010. Zimbabwe: Struggle, dictatorship and the response of the social movements. Links: International Journal on Social Renewal. http://links.org.au/node/1768. Date of access 27 October 2010.

Other articles

COLTART, D. 2008. A Decade of Suffering in Zimbabwe: Economic Collapse and Political Repression under Robert Mugabe. The CATO Institute, March, number 5

DHLIWAYO, R. 2001. The impact of Public Expenditure Management under ESAP on Basic Social Services: Health and Education. SAPRI. University of Zimbabwe.

SACHIKONYE, L. & MATOMBO, L. 2009. The labour Movement and Democratisation in Zimbabwe.

TOWNSEND, J and COPSON, R. 2005. Zimbabwe: Current Issues, Updated March 11, 2005. CRS Report for Congress. Congressional Research Service. The library of Congress.

MOYO, D. 2004. From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe: Change without Change? Broadcasting Policy Reform and Political Control.

KLINGELHOFER, S.E. & ROBINSON, D. 2002. The Rule of Law, Custom and Civil Society in the South Pacific: An overview 8 (11) Third Sector Review: Charity Law in the pacific Rim 211.

SAMARASINGHE, S.W.R.de A. 1994. Series on Democracy and Health: Democracy and Democratisaion in Developing Countries. Development studies program. The American University & Institute for International Research Washinton, DC and International Centre for Ethis Studies. Kandy, Sri Lanka.

GHAUS-PASHA, A. 2004. Role of Civil Society Organisations in Governance 6th Global Forum on Reinventing Government Towards Participatory and Transparent Governance 24–27 May 2005, Seoul, Republic of Korea

MANOR J., ROBERTSON M., & WHITE G. 1999. Civil Society and Governance: A concept paper. Institute of development studies, University of Sussex, England

MEENA, R.1997. Democracy, Good governance, and Popular Participation-What Role for Donors?

NSUBUGA, J. 2004. Decentralisation, Local Governance and Poverty Reduction: A Theoretical Exploration. Seminar Papers presented in Kampala, Uganda Management Inst.

World Bank. 2003. Governance Matters III: Governance Indicators for 1996-2002. World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 3106. Washington D.C: The World Bank.

Bosch, T. & Coetzer, J. 2004. The ECA African Governance Report. Fourth African Development Forum

Development Policy Management Forum (DPMF). 2007. Preface leadership book-1 East Africa.

Occasional papers and research reports

BUNWAREE, S & KASENALLY, R. 2005. Political Parties and Democracy in Mauritius. EISA Research Report No 19

CHIRORO, B. 2005. Apathy, Fatigue, or Boycott? An Analysis of the 2005 Zimbabwe Senate Elections. EISA Occasional Paper Number 38, November 2005

MULOONGO, K.2007. The Role o Civil Society in Promoting Social Justice and Sound Developmental Policies in SADC: A case study of Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe. Report Prepared for CIVICUS: World Alliance for Citizen Participation Johannesburg, South Africa

KAMBEBA, C & OLALEYE, W. 2005. An Assessment of Civil Society in the Electoral Process. Negotiating the Impasse: Challenges and Prospects for Democratisation in Zimbabwe. EISA Research Report, No. 9

KWAGANJA, P. 2005. When the Locust Ate Zimbabwe's March 2005 Elections. EISA Occasional Paper Number 32, May 2005.

SACHIKONYE, L.M. 2002. Democracy, Sustainable Development and Poverty: Are they compatible? Development Policy Management Forum (DPMF) Occasional Paper, No 2.

SACHIKONYE, L. 2009. Between Authoritarianism and Democratisation: The challenges to transition Process in Zimbabwe. Centre of Political and Historical studies on Africa and the Middle East. Occasional Paper No 1. Novenmber 2008.

Conference papers and reports

AMOAKO, K.Y. 2003. The UNECA and Good Governance in Africa. Havard International Development Conference 2003. Governance and Development in a Dynamic Global Enviroment. 4th-5th April 2003. Boston, Massachusetts.

CAPARINI, M. 2002. Civil society and democratic oversight of the security sector: a preliminary investigation. (Fifth international security forum, Zurich, 14-16 October 2002, 1-17).

DIAMOND, L. 2008. The State of Democracy in Africa. National Intelligence Council Conference Report. February 2008. Democratisation in Africa: What Progress Toward Institutionalisation.

HAMDOK, A. 2008. Political Parties in Africa: Challenges for Democratic Governance. National Intelligence Council Conference Report. February 2008. Democratisation in Africa: What Progress Toward Institutionalisation.

HERBST, J.2008. The Institutionalisation of Democracy in Africa. National Intelligence Council Conference Report. February 2008. Democratisation in Africa: What Progress Toward Institutionalisation.

KABEMBA, C. 2005. Can Staten and Civil Society become real partners in fighting poverty in Africa? Short Intervention at the Public Service Day Tele-conference organised by the Southern African Department of Public Service.

LARMER, M. 2001. The political role of the trades union movement in Zambia and Zimbabwe after independence. Paper presented to Southern Africa History and Politics Seminar, Oxford, 22 January 2001.

LEWIS, P.2008. Growth without Prosperity: Democracy, Poverty and Inequality in Africa. National Intelligence Council Conference Report. February 2008. Democratisation in Africa: What Progress Toward Institutionalisation.

MATANGA, F.K. 2000. Civil Society and Politics in Africa: The case of Kenya. Forth International Conference of ISTR, Trinity College, Dubling, Ireland, July 5-8, 2000

MUGABE, R.G. 1981. "Welcoming address by the Right Honourable Prime Minister" in Let's Build Zimbabwe together: ZIMCORD. Report on Conference Proceedings, Zimbabwe Conference on Reconstruction and Development Salisbury, 23-27 March 1981.

NDUE, P.N. 2005. Democratisation, Good Governance and Administration in Africa. 26th African Association for Public Administration and management annual round table conference, Whitessands Hotel, Mombasa, Kenya 7th-11th March, 2005.

NEPAD Secretariat, African Peer Review Secretariat in consultation with the African Union Commission. 2007. Governance In Africa's Development: Progress, Prospects and Challenges. The 9th Africa Partnership Forum Main Theme: Governance and Development. Sub-Theme: Governance in Development. Algiers, Algeria 12-13 November 2007.

OLUKOSHI, A. 2002. Governing the African Political Space for Sustainable Development: A Reflection on NEPAD. Prepared for presentation at the African Forum for Envisioning Africa to be held in Nairobi, Kenya, 26 – 29 April 2002; CODESRIA; BP 3304. Dakar, Senegal.

OMEIZA, M.D. Rethinking Good Governance and Democratisation for Sustainable Development in Africa. A paper presented at the African Regional Conference on Sustainable Development, 7th -8th May, At the University of Calabar, Nigeria.

Theses and dissertations

DORMAN, S.R. 2001. Inclusion and Exclusion: NGOs and Politics in Zimbabwe. University of Oxford (Thesis-DPhil)

SAUNDERS, R. 1992. Information in the Interregnum: The Press, State and Civil Society in Struggles for Hegemony, Zimbabwe 1980-1990. Carleton University (Thesis-DPhil)

SCHIPHORST, F. 2001 Strength and Weakness: the Rise of the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions and the Development of Labour Relations, 1980-1995. Leiden (Thesis-DPhil)

TENGENDE, N. 1994. Workers, Students and the Struggles for Democracy: State-Civil Society relations in Zimbabwe. Roskilde (Thesis-Dphil)

Newspapers and online news reports

HERALD. 1981. Create Unity, Mutumbuka urges 5000 head-masters. Herald: 3, 13 November

HERALD. 1982. Nhongo urges unity of sexes for progress. Herald: 3, 27 January

HERALD. 1982. Breakthrough in a battle to unite all businessmen. Herald: 1, 28 January

HERALD. 1982. Workers told to unite. Herald: 2, 27 January

 HERALD. 1982. Unite or be disowned, warns top ZCTU man Herald: 11, 29 January

HERALD. 1982. Workers unity is vital. Herald: 4, 3 May

HERALD. 1982Clothing unions' merger 'is valid. Herald: 4, 3 February

HERALD. 2002. Mugabe warns against meddling. Herald: 1, 13 October

HERALD. 2004. NGOs causing confusion. Herald: 5, April News 24. 2010. SA 'failing on torture reporting.

News 24. 2010. SA 'failing on torture reporting.

Institutions

African Union. 1986. African [Banjul] Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, adopted June 27, 1981, OAU Doc. CAB/LEG/67/3 rev. 5, 21 I.L.M. 58 (1982), entered into force Oct. 21, 1986:

African Union. 2002. African Union Constitutive Act

African Union. 2004. Protocol on African Court Of Human and Peoples' Rights

Economic Commission for Africa (ECA). 2005. Striving for Good Governance in Africa. Synopsis of the 2005 African Governance Report Prepared for the African Development Forum IV.

International Bar Association. 2004. An Analysis of the Zimbabwean Non-Governmental Organisations Bill.

MISA. 2004. Annual Report, April 2003-March 2004; "Media Institute Says Press Restrictions in Zimbabwe Rule Out Fair Elections," Voice Of America (VOA), April 5, 2004.

Mass Public Opinion Institute (MPOI). 2005. Zimbabwe Election

The World Bank Group. 2001. Independent and Evaluation Group (IEG)-Structural Adjustment programme for the poor

USAID. 2006. The USAID Strategy Statement on Zimbabwe. www.usaidzw.org. Date of Access: 19 November 2009.

USAID. 2006. The USAID Operational Plan on Zimbabwe. www.usaidzw.org. Date of Access: 19 November 2009.

UNDP. 2000. Zimbabwe Human Development Report.

UNITED NATIONS. 2002. Report of the Secretary-General on the Critical Role of Public Administration and Good Governance in Implementing the United Nations Millennium Declaration: Institutional Capacity Development.

World Bank. 1989. Sub-Saharan Africa: From Crises to Sustainable Development Growth, DC, and World Bank.

Government publications

GONO, G. 2009. …Turning Our Difficulties into Opportunities. "Exports, Forex, Exports" .Monetary Policy Statement .Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe. http://www.gta.gov.zw/. Date of access: 03 November 2010

Government of Zimbabwe. http://www.gta.gov.zw/. Date of access: 03 November 2010

South Africa. 1996. Constitution of the Republic of South Africa as adopted by the Constitutional Assembly on 8 May 1996.

South Africa. 2001. The Independent Complaints Directorate (ICD) annual report 2000/2001.

Zimbabwe. 2005. Constitution of Zimbabwe as amended at the 14 September, 2005 (up to and including Amendment No. 17)

Annexure 1. Map of Zimbabwe in Africa (Source: www.worldatlas.com)
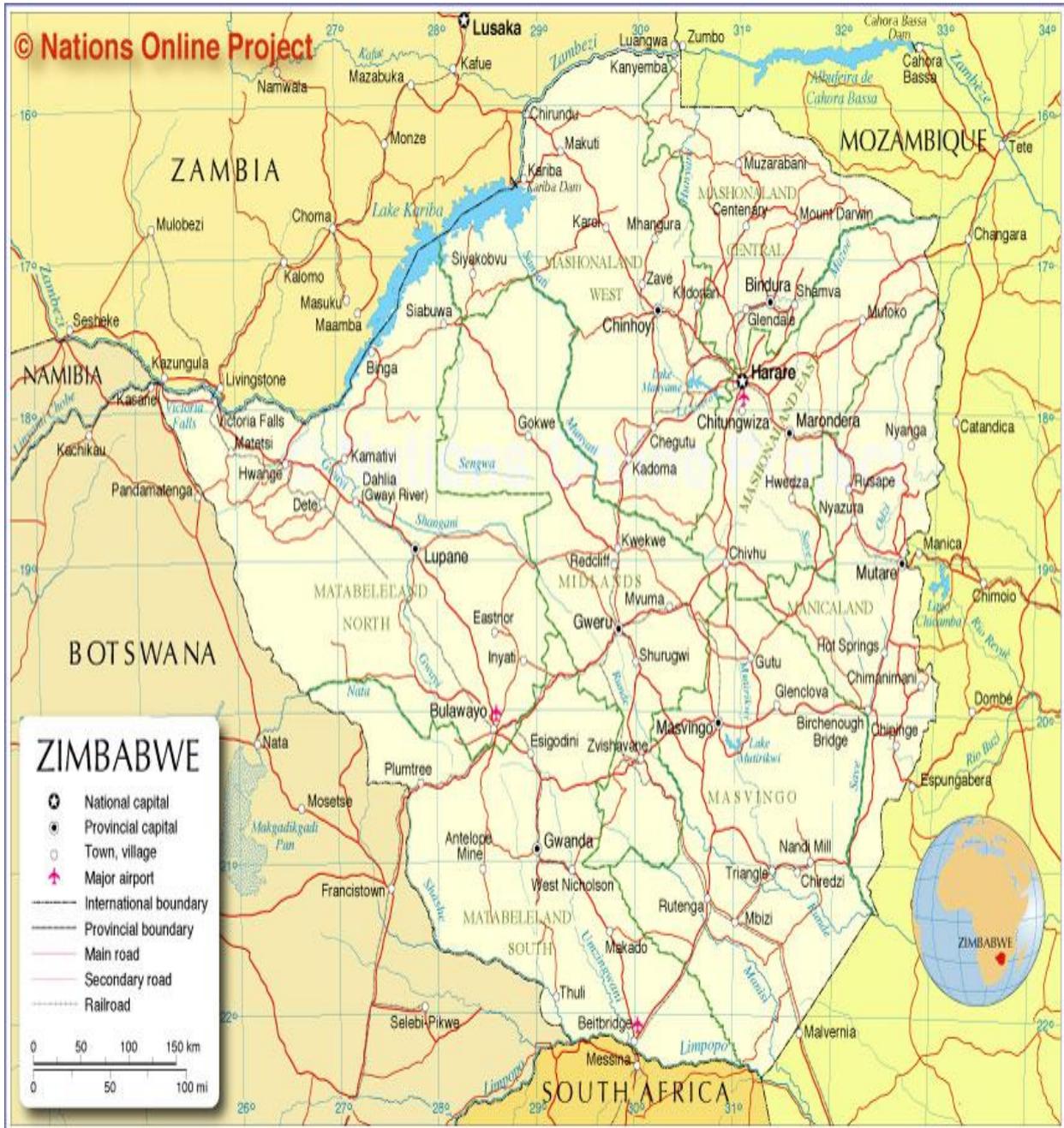
Annexure 2. Political map of Zimbabwe (Source: www.nationsonline.org)