

Research Paper

Democracy as an Elite Tool for Oppressing the Majority: A Case of Selected African Countries

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Abstract

This paper seeks to establish and investigate the incontrovertible scenarios that the people of Zimbabwe and Uganda experienced during the dawn of democracy. This paper argues that "democracy" is a system beneficial to the elites but unbearable and detrimental to the livelihoods of ordinary people in Zimbabwe and Uganda. The democratic breakthrough in these countries brought hope, confidence, and zest to the proletariats that their dire socio-economic conditions would be transformed for the better. But little did they know that their conditions would be exacerbated than ever before. The high levels of inequalities, poverty and unemployment in these countries continue to haunt the people. Unfortunately, this happens under the ambit of AU, which is tight-lipped to such conditions people are going through. Regrettably, it appears as if the ones who are in positions of leadership are fueling the abuse of democracy, wherein they abuse their power in government to orchestrate their illegitimate shenanigans. Subsequently, human rights are often violated and suppressed when the "mighty" officials want to influence the processes of democracy with a direct autocratic system. Despite the calls from the UN that human rights and democracy should be respected and adhered to, people continue to witness the violence and suppression of such principles under the ambit of democratic governments. This paper uses a qualitative research approach to analyze the scenarios of the abuse of democracy in these countries. This paper finds that the violation of freedom of expression, assembly, and freedom of association is prevalent in these countries. Therefore, the paper recommends that structures such as the AU should enforce their responsibilities to safeguard and protect the rights of the people as per democratic states.

Keywords: African Union; Democracy; Human rights; Poverty; Uganda; Zimbabwe

INTRODUCTION

It is depressing that the entire African continent fought for freedom during the colonial period and that many African nations continue to do so today. In the past, liberation from the colonizer was the order of the day; today, it is liberation from the "African brother", so one may wonder when the continent will start talking about growth since so much time has been spent on the war for emancipation, which seems to require supernatural intervention before it can become a reality (Cheeseman, 2018). Do we really believe that God must descend from heaven for Africans to gain their independence? Jotia (2012) indicates that the existence of many parties and the holding of elections are currently considered benchmarks for judging democracy in Africa. Regardless of whether the "promises and falsehoods of elections" are kept meeting the expectations of the electorate, the national government of a country where many political parties are competing for control of the country can say that democracy is in place (Cilliers, 2016).

Kasfir (2013) discusses that it is often believed that holding 'free and fair elections' in Africa is the first step towards establishing a democratic society. Unexpectedly, most of the elections are still not as free and fair as they should be. Is it not funny that Zimbabwe's recent rigged elections were judged free and fair even though the political atmosphere in that country was so unstable just before the vote that opposition leader Morgan Tsvangirai was compelled to apply for political asylum in South Africa? Yet, several election officials and media sources declared the elections "free and fair". Most opposition parties in Africa end up being forced to contest the election results, which inevitably leads to an escalation of already deadly political tensions to the point of armed war (Alfandika & Akpojivi, 2020).

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The aggression and suffering that the people of Zimbabwe and Uganda continue to endure under the notion and umbrella of democracy is unbearable. This paper seeks to highlight and examine the undeniable scenarios that the people of Zimbabwe and Uganda are experiencing in the infancy of democracy. This paper argues that "democracy" has transformed into a system that is beneficial to the elites but intolerable to the people of Zimbabwe and Uganda, affecting their livelihoods. Violations of freedom of expression, assembly, and associations are pervasive in these countries. Despite calls from the United Nations (UN) to respect and uphold human rights and democracy, people continue to witness violence and repression of these principles under democratic governments. The selected African countries in this paper refer to Zimbabwe and Uganda. However, the purpose of this paper is to establish and investigate the incontrovertible scenarios that the people of Zimbabwe and Uganda experienced during the dawn of democracy.

LITERATURE REVIEW Research Gap

The increasing threat to democracy from authoritarian leaders occupies a prominent place in the current debate (Jürgen, 2017). Researchers, scholars, and political scientists who study this question often arrive at contradictory conclusions because they use different measures and standards of democracy (Johansson & Bergstedt, 2015). Some hold the view that the world is in a democratic recession, with countries experiencing recent declines in the quality of democracy outnumbering those where it has improved. Therefore, this paper bridges this gap by selecting two African countries as cases of the study.

Conceptualisation of Democracy

A common belief that liberal and constitutional democracy is waning globally, notably in the young democracies of Africa, Latin America, and Eastern Europe, is growing in academic research and public discourse (Diamond & Plattner, 2010). Southall (2003) concedes that "democracy is going through a difficult time". "Emerging democracies have stalled or stagnated, and democratic practice is experiencing a recession" (Diamond, 2015). Be that as it may, it is necessary to outline the concept of democracy briefly and clearly. Although there is no universal definition of democracy, it is generally recognized to promote both individual and community freedoms, individual responsibility for decisions, and the ability of citizens to protect and promote their common interests and welfare (Cheema & Maguire 2002).

Democracy fosters an environment in which people and organizations can come together along social and economic lines to represent their interests. This helps the poor to participate in decision-making and thus improve their situation (Axtmann, 2013). According to Sorensen (2018), democracy is based on three categories of rights: political, economic, and social. These rights include freedom from oppression, the opportunity to participate in the political process, and the equitable distribution of resources. Here, we see the connection between democracy as a political system and its relationship to the capitalist economic system, in which people's participation is also linked to their freedom to share in the material benefits that come with economic development. Since the integrity and existence of society are threatened without the participation of as many people as possible, democracy must be based on respect for the inherent value and dignity of every man, woman and child.

Because different individuals and groups view democracy differently, it cannot be defined precisely or completely, nor can it be value-free (Jürgen, 2017). However, the most common understanding in contemporary discourse is based on liberal democracy, which states that democracy is a form of government in which there is significant, full, regular, and fair competition for all elected government positions; a high degree of political participation; and civil and political

liberties (freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and the right to form and join organizations of one's own choosing) sufficient to ensure the integrity of the political system (Jürgen, 2017). According to Johansson and Bergstedt (2015), to maintain social order and peace, these defining characteristics of democracy must be brought to bear in daily life in government activities, nongovernmental organizations, and all other human contacts.

Such a practical understanding would require that people engage in economic production and use their skills in a range of other self-determined activities (Azhar, 2015). Since it is impossible for all the inhabitants of a modern nation-state to come together, it goes without saying that representation and the transfer of power are prerequisites for the functioning of a democracy. This would allow many communities, groups and regions to find solutions to problems that correspond to their own experiences and interests. It is crucial for democracy that political participation is not made dependent on property relations, western educational levels, capitalist economic development, gender categories or ascriptive criteria, or the organisational strength of a society.

Democracy and Elections

Although elections are one of the democratic principles that democratic countries should use to elect their own political parties and ultimately govern the country, the electoral processes are denigrated, declared flawed, and called unfair elections by ordinary people on the ground who witness all electoral scandals. With this point in mind, the bureaucrats, officials in government and other agencies that oversee the process of elections are quick to declare that '*The elections were free and fair'* without considering the real issues on the ground. Even when elections are held regularly and are relatively free of significant fraud, incumbents often misuse state resources, do not give sufficient media attention to the opposition, intimidate opposition candidates, and, under certain circumstances, manipulate the election outcome (Levitsky & Way, 2010).

Levitsky and Way (2010) characterize this form of behaviour as a competitive authoritarian regime. Formal democratic institutions are generally thought to be the primary mechanism for gaining and exercising political authority under competing authoritarian regimes (Levitsky & Way, 2010). The authors conclude that, contrarily, under competitive authoritarian regimes, transgressions of these standards are both regular and severe enough to establish an unfavourable competitive landscape between the ruling party and the opposition. However, because politicians consistently and severely flout these laws, the system does not uphold the minimal requirements for democracy.

Democracy in Zimbabwe

Most Zimbabweans agree that the country's current crisis is essentially a leadership crisis. It is generally believed that former President Mugabe and his cabinet officials have been in office far too long to govern transparently and responsibly (Ncube, 2020). Toward the end of former President Robert Mugabe's term, they (Zimbabweans) seemed to have run out of ideas on how to solve Zimbabwe's many economic, social and political problems (Kwashirai, 2023). They should, therefore, make way for younger Zimbabweans who understand the basic workings of a modern state in a globalised world. The socio-economic constraints that afflict the southern African country are the result of problems at the political level (Mungwari, 2017). The government's unwillingness to liberalise the political system by adopting a democratic constitution has forced a confrontational approach on the people because Ncube (2020) concedes that the administration of the former president, Mugabe, was characterized by black supremacists wherein Mugabe dictated everything.

The MDC's rise as a genuine opposition force, with support across the Zambezi to Limpopo and from Plumtree to Mutare, created the conditions for the planned electoral ouster of Mugabe's ZANU-PF. Mugabe and his party were so alarmed by the almost immediate and widespread support

that the MDC has been able to amass in such a short period of time that they have realized that the land issue, racism, violence, and intimidation are the only tools that can be used to combat political rivals that Mugabe once referred to as "enemies of the state" (Moyo, 2017; Mungwari, 2017; Kwashirai, 2023).

Mugabe and his devoted followers were furious when the government-sponsored and manipulated draft constitution was rejected in February 2000 (Hundermark, 2022). This populist victory over a struggling dictatorship served as an overdue wake-up call for the ruling regime. The overwhelming "no" vote also offered ordinary Zimbabweans great optimism that the hopeless political and economic situation might be altered. People have utilized their democratic right to vote and rejected ZANU-PF's policies for the first time since 1980 (Mungwari, 2017). This triumph also served as a warning to Mugabe and his party that their grip on political power would break embarrassingly unless immediate action was made to rectify the issue. As a result, they turned to violence, racism, and intimidation of the population. The land issue was the ideal area to apply all three of these strategies since, for over 20 years following independence, the government did nothing to address this pressing issue for the majority of black Zimbabweans (Mungwari, 2017; Moyo, 2019)

Democracy in Uganda

Recent studies of the political economy of Uganda point to the weakening of the initial gains in both democracy and development made after the National Resistance Movement (NRM) came to power in 1986 due to the shifting dynamics of power relations between political elites and between elites and more popular actors (Golooba-Mutebi & Hickey, 2013; Kjær, 2015). President Museveni faced little resistance in promoting a series of economic and political reforms that left Uganda hailed as a success story in terms of securing impressive levels of growth, poverty reduction, and citizenship involvement through its "no-party" system of participatory democracy. This was made possible by the fact that Uganda had built an inclusive ruling coalition that helped ensure political stability, with the notable exception of the conflict-affected north. The misuse of local government structures and growing neo-patrimonial use of public resources for personal and political gain, however, made it clear by the mid-late 1990s that the NRM government's primary focus was on maintaining itself in power rather than encouraging a larger project of transformation (Kasfir, 2012).

Both economic and political institutions remain in an informalized condition and are still very far from providing equitable access to a broad range of individuals under a populist leader with authoritarian inclinations (Tripp, 2010; Tilly, 2007). Uganda has not attained the levels of structural transformation (Hausmann, Cunningham, Matovu, Osire, & Wyett, 2014) associated with significant changes in class configurations (Sandbrook et al., 2007) despite employing more than 70% of its workforce in the agricultural sector. Official tax revenue has been stagnating at roughly 13% of GDP for the past ten years. Income tax was eliminated in 2005 for political reasons, and commercial quantities of oil were discovered in 2006. As a result, the government is not held accountable by the requirement to bargain with citizens for resources. According to Golooba-Mutebi and Hickey (2013), there is no evidence of a decline in 'autonomous power clusters' (Tilly, 2007) since state-business connections are primarily collusive in character and military commanders continue to have a substantial official and informal presence in government decision-making.

Reflecting on Two Scenarios as a Point of Reference *Zimbabwean Scenario*

Since 2000, there has been a severe political and economic crisis in Zimbabwe. While there

are many reasons for the crisis, the consensus is that the state has failed to uphold the rule of law and respect for human rights in the face of intense pressure from the media, opposition parties, and civil society to enact democratic reforms (Moyo, 2009; Raftopoulos & Phimister, 2004). Zimbabwe's 2008 elections are one example of such perspectives. Recapitulating on the previous elections, the late president of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe, was defeated in the 2008 elections by Morgan Tsvangirai of the MDC. Tsvangirai received 47.9% of the vote, while Mugabe received 43.2% (Ncube, 2013). Numerous MDC supporters died as a result of ZANU-PF's state-sponsored wave of violence, which also caused extensive internal displacement and intimidation. Ncube (2013) recalls that in 2000, when the ZANU-PF approved a Land Acquisition Act, violence was unleashed on the white commercial agricultural community, including farm employees and civil society. The campaign's catchphrase was "The pen cannot defeat the gun" at the time (Ncube, 2013). As a result, disenfranchised farmworkers, youth militias, veterans of the conflict, and other sympathizers were ready to assault commercial farms held by white people (Ncube, 2013). As if that was not enough, the late President Mugabe resisted leaving power until he was under pressure to do so in 2017 by 'the will of the people'. This shows how narcist, greed and pomposity of some of the leaders in maintaining power by any means necessary.

More recently, the 2023 elections have highlighted worries regarding the possibility of violence, electoral manipulation, and intimidation in the course of election campaigns. The government's management of the electoral procedures and its treatment of political rivals continue to be causes for alarm. In that regard, the Southern African Development Community (SADC) also raised some worrying concerns over the recent elections in Zimbabwe. One of their apprehensions or concerns revolved around the prohibition of opposition gatherings and the documented instances of voter intimidation (Enca, 2023).

Ugandan Scenario

Uganda was known for promising political progress under Museveni's government (Izama & Wilkerson, 2011). The country had democratic principles, separation of powers, and human rights, which were good for the socio-economic development of all people. However, Uganda's difficulties began when Museveni insisted on one-party rule. It was clear from the beginning that Museveni intended to rule the country until his last breath. Ahluwalia (2021) notes that Uganda's constitution is amended from time to time to allow the president to remain in power at all costs. The author points out that this includes the abolition of presidential age limits and terms of office. Therefore, Museveni is still president of Uganda after more than 35 years in office and has no plans to leave office anytime soon. However, Kizza Besigye, Museveni's former doctor, lost the 2001 presidential election to Museveni by 69% to 28% (Izama & Wilkerson, 2011). Museveni used open violence and intimidation throughout the presidential election campaign as a result (Izama & Wilkerson, 2011). The elections in Uganda in 2021 were no exception. Museveni's administration instigated violence prior to the elections that resulted in 50 murders and several grave injuries (Ahluwalia, 2021).

It was suspected that the results were fraudulent, and Kyagulanyi Sentamu, known as Bobi Wine, did not accept the results. The Museveni administration harassed and intimidated Wine when he and his fellow demonstrators voiced their concerns (Ahluwalia, 2021). Bobi Wine was placed under house arrest immediately after the elections. He could not go out on the streets because of the many acts of violence that took place in the country. But the government also shut down the Internet to silence the opposition and election observers. Therefore, it was no surprise that U.S. election observers withdrew their interest in participating in the elections, citing the violence and abuse of power by the Museveni-led government.

The Role of The African Union in Strengthening Democracy

This theme begins with a brief historical overview of the founding of the African Union (AU). Oguonu and Ezeibe (2014) show that the AU emerged from the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963 in the month of May. Its central mission was to promote and maintain peace and security in African countries. It was also established to ensure sovereignty, independence, and conflict resolution in Africa (Murithi, 2008). Most importantly, the establishment of the OAU was zealously aimed at freeing African countries from the chains of colonialism (Bamidele and Ayodele, 2018). However, Oguonu and Ezeibe (2014) contend that during the 1990s, the OAU stayed out of conflicts in nations including Sierra Leone, Somalia, Liberia, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). The AU was established and formally introduced in 2002 in Durban, South Africa, as a result. Its initial duty was/is to maintain democratic values with good governance and respect for human rights, as well as to guarantee peace, security, and stability (Hanson, 2009). The AU Charter therefore blatantly and unequivocally indicates that no human rights violations should be tolerated in Africa (Oguonu & Ezeibe, 2014). Unfortunately, despite the pronouncements in the AU Charter, the African continent is experiencing unprecedented suffering and misery.

The OAU Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, and Resolution, which was founded in 1993, is designed to promote the ideals stated in the AU charter (Bamidele and Ayodele, 2018). Thus, the sub-committee was developed and came up with 5 scenarios which should be regarded as illegitimate and unconstitutional. These include, amongst others, that:

- 1. "Military coup d'état against democratically elected government;
- 2. The refusal by the incumbent government to relinquish power to the winning party after free, fair and regular elections;
- 3. The refusal of the government to call for general elections;
- 4. Government by decree;
- 5. Mercenary intervention to replace democratically elected government" (Organization of African Unity, 2000:2; Bamidele and Ayodele, 2018: 135).

Post The Speeches and Expressions By The Organization Of African Unity And The African Union

Agreeing that the AU is the successor to the OAU, it should oversee all African countries and play an important role in monitoring. The AU must and should revitalise and define Africa's development path. In doing so, the AU must strengthen African values, morals, culture, and ethics, which are the pillars of a rejuvenated African democracy. Despite these assurances, Africa and its people continue to be beset by an unfortunate, unpleasant and tragic environment. In recent years, the AU has come into the limelight. On the African continent, both academics and common citizens have questioned its efficacy.

The AU has come under the worst criticism ever as most of the so-called 'democratic countries' continue to abuse the foreign concept of democracy. The researchers deliberately claim that the so-called 'democratic countries' are the worst in Africa in terms of their development trajectory. Engel (2019) notes that since 1989, the number of countries that have adopted a democratic process to run their countries has increased significantly. The author asserts that many of them still lack basic democratic substance. In politics, a democratic government chooses either 'electoral' or 'liberal' democracies to govern their countries (V-Dem Institute, 2019).

RESEARCH METHOD

According to Cooper (2012), the term 'research' comprises two words: Re+ Search. To research is what it literally implies. This means that the term "research" denotes a methodical examination or action to learn new information with respect to the facts that currently exist. This paper used a qualitative approach to achieve its objectives.

Research Design

Rahi (2017) asserts that a research design's primary intent is to provide a framework for the numerous activities carried out during the research process. The study's research methodology was a descriptive research design. According to Babbie and Mouton (2001), a content analysis strategy was applied in this study's qualitative research methodology. According to Hsieh and Shannon (2005), content analysis is a versatile technique for analysing textual data. As per Drisko and Maschi (2016), content analysis refers to a range of analytical techniques that include methodical, rigorous textual studies as well as impressionistic, intuitive, and interpretative analyses. Despite its adaptability, content analysis was the most suitable method for this study because, according to Hsieh and Shannon (2005), it aims to "provide knowledge and understanding of the phenomenon under study". The goal of content analysis is to produce a concise yet thorough description of the phenomena. The analysis's output is the ideas or categories that best capture the phenomenon (Drisko & Maschi, 2016).

With attention to the text's content or context, research utilizing qualitative content analysis focuses on the qualities of language as communication (Mayring, 2014). Text information may be nonverbal, printed, or electronic and may originate from narratives, open-ended surveys, focus groups, interviews, or print material like books, articles, or manuals. It can also come from observations. Beyond just counting words, qualitative content analysis closely analyses language in order to divide enormous volumes of text into a manageable number of groups that correspond to comparable meanings (Lindgren, Lundman, & Graneheim, 2020). There aren't any distinct or defined borders in this study, as Mayring (2019) claims.

Data Collection

This study is predominantly qualitative in character and depends on a survey of secondary sources' literature and materials. The secondary sources led to secondary data that was gathered from regulatory and policy papers, academic books and journal articles, prior annual, quarterly, and monthly reports, as well as pertinent reading materials and news in the media. The nature and quality of objects are the main topics of qualitative research. It frequently represents the subjective viewpoints that study participants have stated in their own words (Hurst, Arulogun, Owolabi, Akinyemi, Uvere, Warth & Ovbiagele, 2015). Unobtrusive research methods were applied for this goal.

According to Stainback and Stainback (1989), the expression 'qualitative research' typically refers to any kind of research that yields conclusions that are not supported by statistical methods or other types of quantification. Exploring social or human issues through methodological inquiry traditions, qualitative research is an exploration of understanding. Moreover, the study created a comprehensive, all-encompassing portrayal that emerges when words or concepts are scrutinized, resulting in obtaining intricate perspectives from the participants (Stainback & Stainback, 1989). According to Lawrence and Tar (2013), qualitative research offers thorough descriptions of the social context under investigation. Data were continuously analysed in accordance with the fundamentals of qualitative research design.

Data Analysis

In order to satisfy the paper's goal and purpose and to provide a solution to the defined research topic, the data was also inductively analysed. As Sgier (2012) alludes, qualitative data analysis typically follows a continuous and iterative approach, meaning that data collection, processing, analysis, and reporting are interlinked and do not necessarily occur in a linear sequence. Furthermore, Seers (2012) posits that qualitative data analysis involves taking collected

qualitative data and using analytic techniques to convert it into a coherent, comprehensible, enlightening, reliable, and potentially innovative interpretation. Similarly, Graue (2015) argued that qualitative data analysis is a "search for general statements about relationships among categories of data". Through this method, data was analysed in an ongoing process with the aim of searching for statements that helped answer the research question, objective and aim of this paper.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The suffering, pain, and violence that continue to suppress democratic principles in both countries should be condemned. Human rights are being abused, there is no peace, conflicts are frequent, and tyranny or unlimited control has infiltrated the democratic process in African nations like Zimbabwe and Uganda despite the Arab Spring's promises of a new dawn with democratic values around the world. Perhaps the ruling parties in both countries have legitimised such dictators for their own political ends at the expense of the ideals, ethics, and values of good governance that are essential to the long-term survival of democracies in these countries. To put it simply, they are willing to support the most intolerable dictatorship or, in the worst case, keep geopolitical turmoil going to serve their personal egos (Ahluwalia, 2021).

Like other elections, efforts to resist and circumvent the rules in politics can occasionally be seen as 'part of the game' (Andreas, 2002). However, this is done under the tutelage and existence of the AU, which is very vocal about its silence on the ongoing violence and human rights violations in Uganda and Zimbabwe. Despite the AU statements mentioned in this article, coup d'état, poverty, misery, and violence continue to haunt Zimbabwe and Uganda. It is quite clear that democracy in both countries benefits only a few and is an enemy of human development for many ordinary people. It is only a matter of time before young people take to the streets to protest the violation of their rights and demand a revolutionary change of government. This ticking-time missile would mark a major change in the political landscape of both countries. Perhaps those in high positions of authority have a critical role to play in exonerating people from appalling conditions of life.

Zimbabwe has grappled with and continues to face economic hardships, such as hyperinflation, high unemployment rates, and a weakened economy. The instability in the economy has the potential to erode the strength of democratic institutions and procedures. This happens because of the abuse of democracy in that country, wherein there has been and still is a widespread occurrence of political violence and intimidation, which includes actions like the forceful repression of opposition groups, violations of human rights, and incidents of violence during elections. These actions have impeded the development of a robust democratic atmosphere. This is demonstrated by the recent elections in 2023, wherein there have been threats against opposition parties, especially CCC, by the governing party. This paper highlighted that restrictions on press and media freedom have been imposed, involving government oversight and censorship, leading to obstacles in the distribution of varied and impartial information. This also transpires under the umbrella of democracy in Uganda.

CONCLUSIONS

The article has argued extensively that Zimbabwe has, at least in the previous 15 years, gone farther and further away from democracy and toward authoritarianism, if not dictatorship, in contrast to many other African nations that have made real progress toward democratic transformation in the past ten years. The country in southern Africa experienced significant social and economic progress after the raids on commercial farms in 2000. However, based on the events of the previous eight years, it is evident that the majority of Zimbabweans actively support democracy and oppose tyranny. The recent fiasco in the 2008 harmonised elections appears to have left the nation in a bind, both in terms of economic and political progress, as was previously

indicated. It is safe to say that the effects on social development will be negative. Moreover, this paper recommends that the AU must enforce their responsibilities to safeguard and protect the rights of the people as per democratic states. It must begin to take action and be clear on enforcing democratic principles in African countries.

LIMITATION & FURTHER RESEARCH

This paper used a qualitative research approach to delve into, discuss, and probe the challenges faced by Zimbabwe and Uganda as far as democracy is concerned. Through the approach, the authors assessed the past and the recent milieu of democratic principles in Zimbabwe and Uganda. Hence, it was imperative to commence by conceptualizing the concept of democracy and further give its meaning and how it has/is being practised in both countries. This paper was, therefore, limited in adopting a qualitative approach to cover and discuss the context of two countries, i.e., Zimbabwe and Uganda. Therefore, future researchers could make referrals from this paper and further investigate the implications of democracy in different countries. This is a vacuum that other researchers might explore and exploit to make insightful contributions to the body of scientific research.

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