ANALYSING HUMAN SECURITY CHALLENGES IN ZIMBABWE, 2008-2017

By

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBRIVIATION

HS	Human Security
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
ZANU	Zimbabwe African National Union
ZANLA	Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union- Patriotic Front
MCD	Movement for Democratic Change
POSA	Public Order and Security Act
AIPPA	Access to information and the Protection of Private Act
HIV/AIDS	Human Immune-Deficiency Virus or Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ICC	International Criminal Court
R2P	Responsibility to Protect
SA	South Africa
SADC	Southern African Development Community
GNU	Government for National Unity
PM	Prime Minister
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
IR	International Relations
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
MNCs	Multinational Corporations
ZNA	Zimbabwe National Army
TCA	Thematic Content Analysis
TREC	Turfloop Research and Ethics Committee

UL	University of Limpopo
FTLRP	Fast-Track Land Reform Programme
NDP	National Democratic Party
RF	Rhodesian Front
ESAPs	Economic Structural Adjustment Programs
IMF	International Monetary Fund
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ZCTU	Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Union
USA	United States of America
EU	European Union
CFU	Commercial farmers Union
GoZ	Government of Zimbabwe
NEC	National Employment Council
UN	United Nations
GPA	Global Political Agreement
ZEC	Zimbabwe Electoral Commission
CIBD	Coercion, Intimidation, Beating and Displacement
ZPR	Zimbabwe Public Police
CIO	Central Intelligence Organisation
EMBs	Electoral Management Bodies
PA	Pan-African
AU	African Union
ICG	International Crisis Group
UNSC	United Nations Security Council

USB	Universal Serial Bus
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
UK	United Kingdom
ZIDERA	Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act
ILO	International Labour Organisation
UNOCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
WFP	World Food Program
MT	Metric Tons
GMA	Grain Marketing Act
GMB	Grain Marketing Board
SGR	Strategic Grain Reserve
PVO	Private Voluntary Organisation
ARVs	Antiretroviral Drugs
PTSD	Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

ABSTRACT

Human security (HS) came about as a result of a number of international developments that triggered risks threatening the wellbeing, security and survival of human beings. In that regard, HS shifted away from exclusive concerns with the state towards individual citizens. This study examined HS challenges in Zimbabwe from 2008 to 2017. A qualitative research methodology and exploratory design was employed for that purpose. The study also employed realism as a theory to analyse the research problem.

Data was derived exclusively from secondary sources. Various HS categories were used to exam Zimbabwe. These included food, health and political security. Furthermore, the study assessed the impact of HS threats on the welfare and day to day life of Zimbabweans. In doing so, it highlighted how a denial of basic human rights undermined the security of citizens. It concluded by suggesting a number of policy recommendations, which could stem the massive poverty that now characterises that country. Among others, these include consciously cultivating respect for human rights and democracy and good governance. This effort must be followed by programmes geared at improving the socio-economic circumstances of all Zimbabweans irrespective of their political affiliation. Regional, continental and broader global organisations must commit and help Zimbabwe rebuild itself economically and politically as well.

DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation hereby submitted to the University of Limpopo, for the degree of Master of Arts (International Politics) has not been submitted for the award of any degree or diploma in any other tertiary institution and that it contains no other person's work which has been used without due acknowledgement in the main text of the dissertation.

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Surname, Initials (title)   **Date**

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DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to my beloved mother, my late father and my younger sister Thapelo Loretha. They have supported and encouraged me to focus on my studies. I wouldn't have been where I am today without you. Your inspiring words have made me stronger and better person. I love you so much.

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1. Introduction

The concept of human security (HS) caught the attention of scholars and practitioners after the publication of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Report in 1994. HS came about as a result of a number of international developments, in particular, the disintegration of Yugoslavia into nine (9) independent republics. The disintegration of that country was accompanied by gross human rights abuses, genocide and ethnic cleansing.

Ethnic cleansing did not only happen in Yugoslavia but also in countries like Rwanda and Sierra Leone. Some heads of state in Africa were accused of this crime, which they committed with impunity. This development led the international community to device a mechanism to bring them to book. HS is one of those mechanisms intended to protect the people against such impunity. HS arrival was a watershed as it marked a significant departure from the Westphalian practice and notion of security. Whereas traditional security was state-centric, HS, by contrast, focuses primarily on individual citizens. This study is about HS challenges in Zimbabwe from 2008 to 2017. This period was selected because of the economic meltdown in that country and the general political violence that came with that meltdown.

1.1 Background and motivation

The history of Zimbabwe's political violence began with the elongated conflict of independence from the 1960s through to the late 1970s (Freedom House Zimbabwe Country Report, 2011). The fight for independence in opposition of the white minority rule was led by the Shona-dominated Zimbabwean African National Union (ZANU) and its armed wing the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) on one hand and the Ndebele-dominated Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and its armed forces, on the other hand.

After this struggle, Zimbabwe gained independence in 1980 under the leadership of Robert Mugabe and ZANU (Gusha, 2019). The expected socioeconomic dividend was however slow to materialise. A few years into independence, the ruling party began to crackdown on the opposition, resulting in mass murder of the Ndebele (Country of Origin Information Report, 2010: 14).

The Ndebele were seen as supportive of ZAPU and in the absence of any real effort at reconciliation that remained the narrative of the conflict. The two parties ZANU and ZAPU "merged" in 1987 after bitter fighting, thereby creating the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) (Ndlovu-Gatsheni & Willems, 2010: 12). President Robert Mugabe was in power until 2017 (Chitagu, 2018: 4).

The armed forces played a determining role during the war of independence and that role has continued in the post-independence politics of Zimbabwe. Towards the end of the first decade of independence, the government began to shift the land and other resources more towards the security forces to secure their political loyalty (Country of Origin Information Report, 2010: 32-40). Given this development, it can be argued that while Zimbabwe gained political freedom from its colonial masters, it did not move significantly from its repressive past. A culture of impunity, genocide and gross human rights abuses has persisted, perpetrated by members of the security force and its leadership (Sonnek, 2011: 38, Sachikonye, 2011).

Access to land and delivery of basic services has created tension to the extent that the Mugabe regime strategically exploited these to mobilise political support (Freedom House Zimbabwe Country Report, 2011). The 'land-grab' programme of the late 1990s and early 2000 is a good example in this regard (Cliffe, 2011: 913). During that time, the government embarked on a comprehensive land redistribution programme targeting in particular white farm owners. In parcelling out those white farms to the so-called 'war veterans', the ruling party not only enriched the new governing elite but also tried to win political support away from the rival Morgan Tsvangirai's Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). That turbulent land reform programme coupled with the withdrawal of donor support and general macroeconomic mismanagement led to a substantial agricultural decline (Moyo, 2004: 6).

In February 2000 a referendum was held in terms of a new constitution permitting President Mugabe to have two additional terms in office. That constitutional amendment also sought to grant certain government officials immunity from prosecution. Another constitutional amendment was designed to allow the government to acquire land without payment (Ploch, 2010: 1).

ZANU-PF was heavily defeated in this referendum and it was the first time in the history of post-independence Zimbabwe that this happened. The consequences of this

action would reverberate and impact negatively on HS of many Zimbabweans especially those aligned with the political opposition (Ploch, 2010: 1). For its part, the government would launch a series of actions directed at its opponents. To start with, an operation code-named Third Chimurenga/Jambanja was mounted. Through this programme, the government intensified the expropriation of white-owned farms. These were awarded to the 'war veterans' politically sympathetic to ZANU-PF. In other instances, the 'war veterans' were violently active in expropriating white-owned land. However, the government did little to punish or prevent such acts of violence e.g. intimidation, torture etc. (Christiansen, 2010). The judiciary was similarly purged. Judicial officials deemed sympathetic to the political opposition or not loyal enough to ZANU-PF were replaced with loyalists (Machakanja, 2010).

Human rights violations caused by these land invasions occurred while the country was preparing for the 2002 Presidential elections (Dzimiri, 2017: 56). The HS crises escalated further with the promulgation of repressive laws like the Public Order and Security Act 1 of 2002 (POSA) and the Access to Information and the Protection of Private Act no. 5 of 2002/3 (AIPPA) (Coltart, 2007).

The promulgation of these Acts before the Presidential elections of March 2002 allowed the abuse, coercion and torture of MDC supporters (Dzimiri, 2017: 56). AIPPA was implemented, among other issues, to stop the press from reporting on politically motivated torture, beatings, killings, forced evictions and arbitrary arrests. The leader of MDC Morgan Tsvangirai was arrested a week before the elections on charges of treason. In the parliamentary elections of 2005, the use of these laws was even more widespread. Over 600 MDC supporters have been killed during these elections and many others arrested and sentenced without trial (Dzimiri, 2017:56).

Operation Murambatsvina was launched in 2005 with deadly human security consequences for many Zimbabweans. The activity resulted in thousands of supposedly illegal residential settlements being demolished (Dzimiri, 2017: 59). Although the government claimed that the action was aimed at eradicating informal urban settlements and stopping money laundering, over 700,000 people lost their homes (Bracking, 2005). Many other people lost their sources of income especially the unemployed who depended on the informal sector (Tibaijuka, 2005: 32). About 80% of Zimbabweans living with HIV/AIDS were evicted from informal settlements.

Others from those displaced were relocated to rural areas where there is no access to medical care (Ploch, 2017: 15). This period and the various operations launched by the government remains the most publicised in terms of human rights violations by the Zimbabwean state.

The dire HS situation in Zimbabwe, especially the politics thereof, attracted international attention. It was around this time that processes were underway to establish an international court to bring violators of the rights of people to book (Ainley, 2015: 37). A good example of this is the establishment of the International Criminal Court (ICC) in 1998 following the Rwandan genocide. ICC was founded on the notion of responsibility to protect (R2P) which by now had sensitised the world about the folly of doing nothing when the rights of innocent people were being violated (Ainley, 2015: 37). It was in this spirit that certain countries resolved to impose comprehensive political and economic sanctions on Zimbabwe. While this action was understandable, perhaps necessary, it, however, worsened the political and socio-economic circumstances of most Zimbabweans further (Hondora, 2009). Sanctions led to the collapse of social services which in turn added another burden to an already crumbling economy. Most hospitals begun operating at below capacity as doctors, nurses and other health professionals left Zimbabwe in large numbers citing poor remuneration and poor working conditions. The HIV/AIDS pandemic and other preventable diseases started killing people as there were no proper measures in place to stop the deteriorating health sector (Nyazema, 2010).

Instances of Zimbabwean violence and human insecurity reached new heights with the 2008 elections. During that period the security forces and ZANU-PF militia launched a mass repression, torture and murder campaign against opposition activists, reporters and ordinary citizens accused of sympathising with MDC (RAU, 2018: 5).

As human insecurity deteriorated further, calls for international intervention mounted. It was at this stage that President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa (SA) was appointed mediator by the regional organisation, Southern African Development Community (SADC) (Tumbare, 2013:21). Through his efforts, a Government of National Unity (GNU) was formed amongst Zimbabwe's political rivals, President Mugabe and

Morgan Tsvangirai. In that GNU, the latter served as a Prime Minister (PM) while the former would remain President (Common Wealth Observer Group Report, 2018: 7).

Though the 2013 elections were free of the violence which had characterised much of the post-independence period, they were however, neither free nor fair. In fact, numerous similar instances of violence were characteristic of those elections (Country Watch, 2016:56). To start with, they were hastily convened by a politically compromised Constitutional Court that had announced an election date long before key electoral reforms were effected. Secondly, the state media was heavily biased against the opposition. Lastly was a voter registration process that did not comply with the law and was deliberately skewed in favour of the ruling party (The 2017 Human Rights Report, 2017: 1).

The November 2017 Coup

By 2017, the 92-year old President Mugabe had been in power for more than three (3) decades. By now, the socioeconomic conditions of most Zimbabweans had deteriorated significantly. Public calls for him to step down were at fever pitch, including within ZANU-PF. These events led to his formal impeachment in parliament. But Mugabe resigned to pre-empt that parliamentary process. His nemesis, the former Vice President Emmerson Mnangagwa, took over from him (Chitagu, 2018: 4). On 24 November 2017, Mnangagwa was sworn in as President thereby ending a three decades-long reign were HS was not known (Raftopoulos, 2019: 4). To many who observed that military-backed change of power, it was neither orderly nor peaceful. It was a violent military takeover characteristic of much of Zimbabwe's post-colonial history (The Economist, 2018).

1.2 Problem Statement

For the period understudy, the Zimbabwe economy imploded. That development was also accompanied by systematic gross human rights abuses, allegations of ethnic cleansing in Matelebeland and sustained violence directed at the enemies of the ruling party. Many Zimbabweans began leaving their country in large numbers to become asylum-seekers, economic migrants and refugees in neighbouring countries and overseas. Given the deteriorating political situation, both continental and sub-regional organisations intervened to stem that HS tide. Against this backdrop, this study thus seeks to explore the HS crisis spawned by the economic, political and social meltdown

in Zimbabwe, from 2008-2017. In doing so it will make a number of policy recommendations as to how to effectively tackle HS challenges wherever they erupt in the sub-region and elsewhere on the continent.

1.3 Literature Review

Historically, security has been linked to the state or regime's ability to maintain territorial security. For that, reason traditional security focused on threats to sovereignty, territory, state institutions and policies (Duskova, 2016: 25). Human security emerged in the early 1990s as an alternative to the traditional state-centred perspective. UNDP (1994: 22) claimed in its 1994 Human Development Report (Lawson, 2004: 90) that 'the definition of HS has been interpreted narrowly for a long time as a defence of national interest in foreign policy, as global security from the threat of a nuclear holocaust or as territorial security from external invasion. It had more to do with nation states than with individuals. Forgotten in their daily lives were the legitimate concerns of ordinary people seeking security. For many of them, protection now symbolised security against the risk of hunger, disease, homelessness, violence, social conflict, environmental hazards and political oppression. HS is not about arms but human life and dignity.

HS revolutionised the 21st century. Its consideration focused on four of its essential characteristics namely;

- 'A universal concern. It is important to people everywhere, in rich nations and poor. There are many important threats to all people, including poverty, alcohol, corruption, pollution, and violation of human rights. They can vary in severity from one part of the word to another, but all of these threats to HS are real and growing' (UNDP, 1994: 22).

- The components of HS are interdependent. If people's safety is threatened anywhere in the world, it is possible that all nations will be involved. Hunger, disease, pollution, drug trafficking, violence, racial tensions, and social disintegration are no longer isolated domestic occurrences. Their effects travel the world (UNDP, 1994: 22).

- Early prevention makes HS easier to ensure than later intervention. Meeting these threats upstream is less expensive than downstream (UNDP, 1994: 22). For example, it would be much cheaper to teach people how to prevent Human

Immune-deficiency Virus or Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (HIV / AIDS) than buying them medication to stop their condition from getting worse.

- HS is people-centred. It is concerned firstly with how people in society live and breathe. Secondly, how freely they exercise their many choices. Lastly, how much market and social opportunities they have access to, and whether they live in conflict or peace (UNDP, 1994: 24).

HS is frequently described as 'freedom from fear' and 'freedom from want'. As such, it implies that people should have access to sufficient water and food, to health care, a decent environment, and protection from political repression and social conflict (Sonnek, et.al 2011: 18). HS, therefore, uses other variables when approaching insecurity compared to traditional security perspectives.

HS means protection from chronic threats like disease, repression and hunger. Second, it means protection from unexpected and disruptive changes in everyday life patterns - whether in households, employment or societies (Lawson, 2004: 90).

Such threats can exist at all levels. A slow, silent process can be the loss of human security or an emergency that is abrupt, loud. Because of wrong policy choices, it may be human-made. It could be the result of forces of nature or it may be a combination of both – as is frequently the case when environmental degradation to a natural disaster and human tragedy (Sonnek, et.al 2011: 18).

HS is not, however, a completely separate approach from traditional security. It is an effort towards extending security to include situations involving distress and harm. HS often depends on a well-functioning government, thus traditional security and human security are interlinked (Barnett & Adger, 2007). The opposite is also valid; if the level of HS falls, traditional security may be threatened. HS is contextual based and its characteristics differ across nations and regions, depending on the particular local security challenges facing the people (UNDP 1994: 5).

The usefulness of the HS concept has been criticised as its definition boundary is indistinct and overlaps with other concepts as human development, poverty and political instability (Sonnek, et.al 2011: 19). The World Bank has also introduced a new concept, citizen security, focusing more exclusively on freedom from physical violence and freedom from fear of violence. In applying this concept, the World Bank says that

the key elements of achieving HS are citizen security, justice and jobs when faced with the risk of conflict and violence (World Bank, 2011b: 11).

1.3.1 Environmental security

Environmental security is intended to protect the healthy physical environment in which human beings rely. Rapid population growth and intensive industrialisation, which can destroy habitats, pose a threat to environmental protection. Due to human emissions, water scarcity is a major environmental concern and a problem in developing countries. Other issues include salinisation, which can endanger irrigated land, and deforestation, which can exacerbate droughts and flood intensity. The world is facing some persistent and long-term challenges, but others are more immediate and aggressive. Population growth, as well as poverty and land scarcity, also can move people to cyclone, earthquake r flood vulnerable areas and make them more vulnerable (UNDP, 1994: 28).

Climate change will add further to climate insecurity including higher temperatures, changing precipitation patterns, rising sea-level and increasing climate risk frequency which will also affect economic, food and health security (Sonnek et.al 2011: 19).

1.3.2 Economic security

"Economic security requires an assured basic income from productive employment and remunerative work or as the last resort from some publicly financed safety net" (UNDP, 1994: 25). Rufu (2009: 20) argues that "high levels of unemployment and under-employment, high rates of inflation and significant income gaps among rich and poor have made global poverty worse." In other words, employment security and salary might at least guarantee dignified and human survival (Rufu, 2009: 20).

1.3.3 Food security

Food security is achieved when all people have physical and economic access to adequate, secure and nutritious food that satisfies their dietary needs and food preferences for as long as they live (World Food Summit, 1996).

The right to food could be cultivated, purchased or benefited from an unrestricted food distribution programme, provided by the government or international organisations. World Food Summit also laments that food availability is a necessary condition of

protection. Many people suffer from malnutrition and hunger as a result of lack of purchasing power and poor food distribution systems (UNDP, 1994: 38).

1.3.4 Health security

Health security means being protected from contact with health hazards, having proper access to health care and medical care and being able to take care of one's own health if necessary. As articulated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), everyone has the right to a standard of living suitable for adequate health and well-being. An accessible and affordable basic health service is essential for households in order to achieve health security (Onjala et al. 2006: 6). Poverty and inequality weaken most aspects of health security as well as the health status of an individual (O'Brien & Leichenko, 2007/2009: 10).

Poverty, in turn, tends to increase due to poor health status (Onjala et al. 2006: 3). Health status is worse for poor households and poor countries, as the effects of poverty, such as food insecurity and poor nutrition decrease health status, along with poorer countries generally providing poorer public health care systems (O'Brien & Leichenko, 2007/2009: 10).

Health security is linked to both economic and food security. Low incomes reduce access to health care systems. Reduced food intake can result in malnutrition, which reduces health status due to starvation or increased vulnerability to infections and diseases (Sonnek et al. 2011: 21).

1.3.5 Personal security

Personal security is the occurrence of physical violence. Threats to can manifest in numerous forms: threats amongst a groups of people (e.g. ethnic tension), threats from individuals or gangs (e.g. crime, street violence), threats directed against women (e.g. domestic violence), threats prompted by the state (e.g. physical torture), threats instigated by other states (e.g. war), threats against children based on their vulnerability and dependence (e.g. child abuse), and threats to self (e.g. suicide, drug use) (UNDP, 1994: 30).

1.3.6 Community security

Community security is the protection that people gain from belonging to community, religion, a family, an organisation etc. that might share common values and norms. In some traditional communities certain group of people are oppressed because of their ethnic groups or gender (UNDP, 1994: 31).

1.3.7 Political security

UNDP suggests that a culture that values and upholds fundamental human rights is one of the most critical aspects of human security (1994: 32). State repression, however, continues to be a serious global concern. Torture, ill-treatment, disappearance, political repression, detention and imprisonment are the challenges faced by most developing countries. This has been documented by Amnesty International. The above-mentioned threats to security are usual in states that spend millions on security forces (UNDP, 1994: 33).

The indicated categorisation is vital since it sets very specific conceptual boundaries, because risks are continuously evolving based on the current scenario in a particular environment or country. Consequently, a narrow interpretation might not include all potential unexpected risks that need to be handled (Owen 2004: 18).

1.3.8 HS crisis in Zimbabwe

The issue of HS challenge is still a critical problem for international development. There is still no single solution to this global concern. So given the foregoing, the study seeks to suggest a number of policy interventions which if implemented could help alleviate poverty, foster good governance and curb a culture of political intolerance which has been prevalent through much of the period under review in Zimbabwe. Prolonged political incumbency and spiralling economic decline are central to the HS crisis in Zimbabwe. This has resulted in serious social consequences, such as loss of income security, high unemployment and persistent inequality, food shortages and malnutrition. Furthermore, the poor system of delivery of public services has resulted in a decline of trust in the existing political system (Rufu, 2009: 2).

Therefore, in order to establish political legitimacy, the government has resorted to the use of violence. It accounts for a growing number of cases of violations of human rights sponsored by state. As such, the concept of human security will be extended through

a thorough understanding of the interrelated risks to human survival in Zimbabwe (Rufu 2009: 2).

In contrast, HS and human rights are widely intertwined (Alkire, 2002). Ramcharan (2004: 40) argues that human rights protections determine the essence of protection because, without respect to human rights and fundamental freedoms of citizens, it is impossible to achieve national and international stability.

Zimbabwe has been repeatedly and routinely on the international spotlight for human rights abuses. The government has made use of the constitutional tools available to strengthen its hegemonic position (Muvingi, 2008). A proof of this is an increasing number of torture, murder, disappearance and unlawful detention of individuals who belong to opposition political parties and supporters, and the press (The 2017 Human Rights Report, 2017).

The use of torture, inhumane treatment and coercion of targeted victims has been a norm in that country and has caused emotional trauma, death or injuries (Country of Origin Report 2010:32). However, the exercise of violence in the country has cripples the advancement of the principles of democracy in Zimbabwe because citizens fear free choice, expression or political participation for fear of being victimised (Rufu, 2009: 4).

7.1 Operationalization of the key terms

1.4.1 **Human Security –** refers to safety from chronic threats such as hunger, disease and repression as well as protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life- whether in homes, in jobs or in communities (UNDP, 1994: 23).

1.4.2 **Analyse -** To research or investigate in depth something to find out more (Cambridge Dictionary, 2018).

1.4.3 **Challenge -** The situation or something that needs a great deal of mental or physical effort to be successful (Cambridge Dictionary, 2018).

1.5 The Role of Theory

The study will employ a Realism theory to identify and analyse the research problem. This will be ensured by explaining the role played by the ruling party and the security force in the politics of Zimbabwe. Thus leading to the crisis in governance. This crisis

gave birth to political, economic, social, ideological, and humanitarian problems in the country.

Realism is a theory that explains international relations (IR) in terms of power. The exercise of power by states towards one another is sometimes referred to as realpolitik or just politics of power. Realists stress that the international system is inherently anarchic — a concept that does not mean complete chaos or a lack of structure or laws, but rather a lack of central government capable of enforcing law. No central authority enforces rules and ensures compliance with norms of conduct (Falode, 2009: 3).

Realists believe that sovereign states are the key actors in the international system and as they have the most influence, special attention should be paid to them. In comparison, international institutions, NGOs, multinational corporations (MNCs), individuals and other sub-states and trans-states have little influence (Falode, 2009: 3).

States tend to pursue self-interests. The assumption on rationality implies that states and other international actors can identify their interests and put priorities on various interests (Ezrow, 2017: 11). The term is understood to encompass environmental security, military security, political security, economic security, monetary security, energy security and security of energy and mineral resources (Blignaut & Perevolotsky, 2017).

Current national security and access to information regulations and practices in Zimbabwe are a mixture of state security and human security. Nearly all states in the international system regard national security as most important against all internal and external threats to its borders. Much of Zimbabwe's literature on national security focuses on POSA, the AIPPA, and the Official Secrets Act. These Acts are synergistically applied and developed from the hereditary Rhodesian law and Order Maintenance Act, enacted in 1960 (Kupe, 1997).

Realists believe that access to state information is not practical. They argue that most nations are reluctant to divulge confidential information to the public especially in an atmosphere where trust of their adversaries is lacking, and such trust is unlikely to be fostered as long as those adversaries do not disclose their own confidential information (Kupe, 1997).

Booth (1991: 318) points out that in an international system defined by anarchy, realists see states as concerned with their own physical safety and autonomy. The overriding goal of each state is its own security and survival. States build up their militaries respective to survive hence the security dilemma (Falode, 2009:4).

The Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA) has played a general political role in the elections in Zimbabwe, an issue that poses political and security threats to the citizens. (Country of Origin Information Report, 2010: 32). Thus, while the nation gained independence from its colonial masters, it could be argued that it did not alter the repressive nature of the state institutions themselves. Zimbabwe developed a culture of impunity for the abuse of human rights perpetrated by the military and its leadership (Sonnek et.al, 2011: 38).

State survival is guaranteed best by power. Relative power can be used as a means of survival and thus the true preferences of the state. This results in an international system in which each country competes for relative power with each other (Falode, 2009: 4).

1.6   Purpose of the study

1.6.1 Aim

The aim of the study is to analyse the HS challenges in Zimbabwe from 2008 to 2017.

1.6.2 Objectives To identify HS challenges in Zimbabwe during that period

- To analyse those challenges, and
- To suggest a number of policy recommendations as to how to tackle such HS challenges, wherever they exist in the region and on the continent.

1.7   Research Methodology

A qualitative research methodology will be employed to explore the research problem. It is a technique for conducting independent studies using previously existing data originally collected for research purposes or other purposes' (Sherif, 2018). It is also used to expand on data collected by observations, interviews and reviews of the. Qualitative data used in secondary study research is often obtained and archived as a result of independent qualitative studies carried out by a research team or independent investigators, as well as quantitative research funded by private and

government agencies (Sherif, 2018). In this study data was re-analysed from previous researchers to determine all HS problems faced by Zimbabwe. This study aim to explore these challenges. Findings of qualitative secondary data will deepen the understanding of the challenges encountered by the country.

The creation of theories for such social phenomena is concerned with qualitative research methodology. This methodology is chosen because it enables the researcher to gather in-depth insight on topics that are not well understood. In other words, it helps one understand how things are the way they are. The goal of qualitative research is to find answers to questions that begin with why, how and what is it like?

1.7.1 Research Design

Kumar (2014: 123) defines a research design as a plan for conducting research, that is, how to collect data, from whom, how to analyse the collected information and how the study results will be interpreted.

An explanatory research design will be employed in this study. It focuses on why things take place and predicts future events. Explanatory studies are characterised by a research hypothesis that defines the existence and direction of the relationships between or among the variables studied (Kumar, 2014). This study will identify and analyse HS challenges in Zimbabwe for the said period and make a number of policy recommendations how both the region and the continent can tackle them when they arise.

1.7.2 Data Collection

No fieldwork will be undertaken. Desktop research is characterised by reliance on secondary sources. To most people it suggests published reports and statistics. In this study, data will be collected through library, internet, published reports, and the press and news reports searching.

1.7.2.1 Sampling

Burns and Grove (2003: 31) state that sampling is a method for selecting a group of people, events or cases for research purposes. The study uses Zimbabwe as a case study. The country was selected because of its dire political and economic problems that attracts the international attention.

1.7.3 Data Analysis

Collected data will be analysed using thematic content analysis (TCA). The latter is an interpretive process in which data are systematically searched for patterns that describe a research phenomenon (Tumbare, 2014: 19). TCA will applied to identify the themes, quoting what other scholars are saying regarding the researched topic, hence wrapping up the entire collected literature and identifying what other scholars concluded. In using TCA the researcher is also required to add his or her own views (Anderson, 2007:1).

1.7.4 Quality Criteria

One of the components of good research is a report on the authenticity of the collected data and its analysis. Quality criteria is determined by a combination of a credibility, dependability, transferability, and confirmability. Credibility and internal validity combine to form truth value, with the former referring to the correctness of description, conclusion and explanation (Halldorsson & Aastrup, 2003: 6). Credibility will be ensured by the use of diverse sources to obtain corroborating findings.

Transferability relates to the degree to which the findings of qualitative research can be extended or applied to other contexts or settings (Maphaka, 2017: 33). A literature review will be undertaken and findings of similar research studies reported. In chapter 1 the research methodology, design, data collection and analysis is outlined. This is done to enable other researchers, when undertaking similar research, and following same methodology and sources, to reach similar conclusions or establish whether transfer to other situations is possible or not.

Confirmability refers to an extent to which the findings could be confirmed or corroborated by other researchers (Kumar, 2014: 219). In this study about the HS crisis in Zimbabwe, rich data about the political developments in that country will be collected and analysed in line with the research tenets of qualitative research (Diana, 2014: 89).

Dependability refers to data reliability over similar conditions (Diana, 2014: 89). According to Lincoln and Guba (1985: 316), dependability is about suggesting reliability, therefore there can be no validity without reliability. Thus, a demonstration of the former is sufficient to establish the existence of the latter. The same principle

also applies in this research. Using the same research methodology, design and data analysis tools, other researchers would concur with the findings of this study.

1.8 Significance of the study

Zimbabwe has been in social, political and economic crisis since the turn of the 21st century. The crisis is the result of combined effects of poor governance, economic mismanagement and political intolerance. Everything combined put the country in a very bad light that attracted international attention. This study is significant because HS is about human rights and in a democratic state people's rights has to be valued and protected. In Zimbabwe however, the human rights of many people were violated and many faced imprisonment for defying the ruling party's way of handling things. The government also failed to provide decent healthcare system and quality education for its citizens. It will also focus on the impact that human rights violence has in promoting HS in Zimbabwe. It is for these reasons why HS in critical and has to be studies.

1.9 Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations in the field of research are important. Ethics are the rules or standards of behaviour that make a distinction between what is right and wrong. They help to identify the distinctions between acceptable and unacceptable behaviour of the researcher. Research findings rely heavily on the honesty, accuracy and credibility of ethical principles. The public and reader wants assurances that researchers have followed the appropriate guidelines (Resnik, 2012).

1.9.1 Avoid academic fraud

Academic fraud can be defined, as the intentional deception of others. It include plagiarism, false citation, false data, internet resources etc. (Ramos and Goncalves, et.al (2020:2) All the material collected and cited in the study will be acknowledged accordingly. An effort will also be made to ensure that unless expressly stated, all the materials are cited. All material sources will be interpreted in such a way that the integrity of the original writers is protected.

De-identification of data: refers to the process of separating data from the person with whom it was originally linked. This necessitates the elimination or transformation

of individual identities (Stalla-Bourdillon, 2021). The research will unsure that data will always be de-identified before being published.

Data management strategies: is the term that describes how data collected is organised, shared, stores, preserved, handled etc. (Van den Eynden, 2017). The researcher organise hardcopies according to their topics and put them in portfolio files and soft copies are stored in a USB device, External hard drive and email.

1.9.2 Permission to conduct the study

The Turfloop Research and Ethics Committee (TREC) will be approached for ethical clearance to conduct the research. This is done since the research is under the umbrella of the University of Limpopo (UL).

CHAPTER 2

2. Introduction – Literature Review

The aim of this Chapter was to review literature related to and about human security and or lack thereof in Zimbabwe from 2000 to 2013. The study argues that human insecurity emanated from that country's repressive political culture and the violence that ensued therefrom. It further outlined and analysed how that repressive political culture intensified over the said period, including the various patterns it took before and after the 2008 elections.

RAU (2018: 5) contends that between 2000 and 2013, the Zimbabwe state security forces carried out violence against civilians but targeted in particular members of the opposition political parties and aid workers. The latter included members of various non - governmental organisation (NGOs), both local and foreign. The reason for this was that these NGOs were providing food parcels and shelter to victims of the state-sponsored persecution and violence. Government-allied "war veterans" and "militia" in particular, accused them of defying the ruling party and supporting the opposition party (Jonga, 2008). Political persecution took several forms including gross human rights abuses, enforced disappearance, kidnapping, torture, detention and rape (The 2017 Human Right Report, 2017: 1).

After the dawn of the century, several national elections were held in Zimbabwe but most were deemed flawed by international observers (Ploch, 2010: 2). This was so because with ZANU-PF having enjoyed the monopoly of power since 1980, the country had not been able to develop strong democratic foundations. State and party lines had blurred and were indistinguishable from one another (Zimbabwe CDCS, 2016: 6).

This Chapter reviews the literature focusing on political violence in Zimbabwe after 2000. The period was selected because of the violence that came with (1) the ruling party's first referendum defeat, (2) the fast-tracking of land reform programme (FTLRP) and (3) the economic meltdown during that period.

2.1 Crisis of political governance

From 2000, Zimbabwe underwent serious governance crisis occasioned by political, economic and humanitarian difficulties (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2003: 100). Though it could

be argued that these were to some extent emanating from the legacy of colonialism typical of most post-colonial African states, the contribution to this crisis by the post-independence leaders cannot be overlooked (Chiweshe, 2016: 13).

2.2 The origins of a repressive political culture

Chimanga (2015) and Ndlovu-Gatsheni, (2003) suggested that Zimbabwe's political culture is largely a product of four main influences, namely;

- the pre-colonial,
- colonial,
- the armed liberation struggle, and
- ZANU-PF rule.

The contemporary Zimbabwean political culture is but an articulation of these four streams. To this extent, Karl Marx was right to contend that 'men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please. They do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living' (Macdonald, 2006).

Factors that gave rise to the political culture of Zimbabwe were all undemocratic. In this regard, Chimange, (2015: 22) is of the view that pre-colonial societies were dominated by policies that were non-competitive. Political power was thus not open and competition in whatever form was not accepted. Until this day, leaders of Zimbabwe continue to see political rivalry with distrust and open animosity (Country Review, 2016: 21).

Pre-colonial governance was in the form of kingship and chieftaincy. Political authority under this form of governance derives not from political contestation but birth right. For Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2003: 102), this culture has been carried over in the form of "a culture of life presidency" in found in several post-independence African states.

Colonialism was, by design and definition, a repressive governance system. It was undemocratic to the heart (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2003: 102). It did not bother to establish democratic institutions that included Africans. Their participation in politics was severely limited and political competition between Africans and whites was not allowed or tolerated at all (Makahamadze, et al. 2009: 37). Colonialism was exploitative and

governed by colonial masters who used arms to assert their power. They systematically marginalised the indigenous people culturally, socially and economically by using racial laws that promoted oppression and polarisation. Some of the discriminatory laws included obligatory livestock and land taxation, forced labour and inter-racial sexuality in favour of whites. These incapacitated black indigenous people while, in all aspects, supporting whites (Chimange, 2015: 26).

The liberation war strengthened rather than destroyed this authoritative culture. Each African was forced to support the war of independence thereby creating an institutionalized culture of conformity, unquestioned support and fear (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2003: 103).

Liberation movements were riven by internal conflicts. For example, ZAPU and ZANU fought each other bitterly between 1963 and 1964. Combatants from both sides committed extensive acts of aggression against civilian population as well as against each other (Chitiyo 2000: 4). The violence took multiple forms like beatings, rape, assassination, killing or stealing of livestock, destroying fields and sometimes the razing down of villages. Intolerance between rival groups was marked by the use of extinction terminology, for instance, "patriots versus puppets", "freedom fighters versus sell-outs", as well as acts of violence against those described as "puppets" and "sell-outs" (Chimange, 2015: 29).

Since the liberation struggle had given rise to a militaristic understanding of governance, a culture of bigotry, intimidation and violence came to permeate the ZANU-PF rule from 1980 onwards. To that extent, the ruling party was confident of its brutal way and its ability to create sense of fear to those who dare to challenge it. The ruling party did not only adopt the repressive political culture of the past, it actively vanned ethnic conflicts and executed unfair rulings on indigenous peoples (Chitiyo 2000: 6).

2.2.1 How political repression evolved

According to Chiweshe (2016: 13), Zimbabwe has a history steeped in brutality. After all, it was a country born out of bitter conflicts for independence nearly after a century of oppressive colonial rule. For Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2003: 103), 'the tradition and political division that contributes to the assassination of members of the opposition parties is embedded in the colonial history of the settlers'. White people used state power to

forcibly expel black people from their own lands (Muchemwa et al. 2013). Zimbabweans reacted aggressively to the oppressive colonial rule through the 'first Chimurenga war' of 1896-1897, which was brutally crushed. The 'second Chimurenga (1966-1979) war' led the way to a negotiated settlement and independence in 1980. Nevertheless, systemic and institutionalised abuse did not end with independence. It has been integrated into the system of governance and has become an overarching feature of politics and the development of independent Zimbabwe (Chiweshe, 2016: 14).

The first phase of this evolution can be traced to the pre-colonial era. At that time, the Shona-speaking communities emerged in the interior of the Limpopo valley in the nineteenth century and headed to the Zimbabwean highlands. Many states rose and fell in the eleventh century, including the Mapungubwe kingdom. The Mutapa kingdom lasted from 1450 to 1760 and the Rozvi state emerged in the early 17th century (Chiweshe, 2016: 14).

In 1888 Cecil Rhodes received a concession for mineral rights from King Lobengula of the Ndebele people and local chiefs. Earlier that year, the territory that became Southern and Northern Rhodesia was designated a British sphere of influence (Chiweshe, 2016: 14). The British South Africa Company was chartered in 1889 and the settlement of Salisbury (now the capital of Harare) was founded in 1890. In 1895, the area was officially called Rhodesia, after Cecil Rhodes, under the control of the British SA Company (Country Watch, 2016: 9).

The Ndebele rose in an uprising that saw the death of King Lobengula, their chief (Chiweshe, 2016: 14). Thereafter indigenous Zimbabweans, including livestock and property, were expropriated by the colonialists. To further subdue them, colonialists levied overpriced cattle-dip taxes and grazing fees. They forcibly removed Zimbabweans from their productive land and coerced them to serve as labourers in their emerging and established commercial farms (Moorcroft and McLaughlin 2008: 21).

But in the late 1950s, a fresh wave of violence emerged against colonialism in southern Rhodesia. In response, the Rhodesian officials banned and prohibited the National Democratic Party (NDP) as they saw its hand in the new nationalist upsurge. Its

banning in 1960 gave birth to a party known as the Zimbabwe African People Union (ZAPU) in 1961 (Zewde 2008: 186).

In 1962, however, ZAPU split into two distinctly ethnic groups, one predominantly Shona-speaking led by Ndabaningi Sithole and another, mainly Ndebele-speaking, led by Joshua Nkomo. In 1963, Robert Mugabe and Muzorewa left ZAPU to join the competing ZANU-PF faction because leaders could not agree on a strategy and tactics (Nyere, 2016: 98). This spread the seeds of distrust as well as discord along tribal lines that eventually boiled into an active civil conflict (Muchemwa et al. 2013). The conflict subsided somewhat when a unity agreement was signed and Joshua Nkomo became the country's vice president after independence (Chiweshe, 2016: 16).

On 11 November 1965 the minority Rhodesian government, under the leadership of Ian Smith's Rhodesian Front (RF), opted for a unilateral declaration of independence (UDI) from Britain (Country Watch, 2016:10). This step angered nationalists to the extent that they intensified their struggle against the white minority government. In retaliation Ian Smith launched Operation Mardon, comprising of a series of infantry assaults aimed at camps belonging to ZANLA and ZANU's military bases in Mozambique (Chimange, 2015). Under these assaults, the military of these liberation movements had no choice but to close ranks. They realised that they had one enemy in common and the fastest way of defeating and extricating Zimbabwe from subjugation was to unite (Nyere, 2016: 99).

In 1978, the white minority government entered into a compromise political agreement with Bishop Abel Muzorewa. The arrangement gave birth to what is known today as Zimbabwe-Rhodesia. Other nationalists (now in the form of a Patriotic Front) however rejected it. Fresh political negotiations therefore began in earnest in 1979 at the Lancaster House, Britain (Nyere, 2016: 99). The subsequent political settlement arising from those negotiations led to the first democratic elections and independence in 1980. A new government headed by Robert Mugabe and ZANU-PF emerged proclaiming national reconciliation, especially between black and white Zimbabweans. The new government soon introduced various social development projects to increase social services, particularly in health and education (Chiweshe, 2016: 15).

In the early 1990s, an increase in these social services, including free primary education, however started to cause severe budget deficits. These led to heavy

government debts. Under those circumstances, Zimbabwe was forced to look for loans from global institutions. To ensure that the loans are paid back, the government introduced the Economic Structural Adjustment Programs (ESAPs), following the advice of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) (Parsons, 2010: 113-116).

ESAPs led to a downward economic spiral as most social services, especially in rural areas, were not available to the poor. The 1992 drought made the situation worse (Parsons, 2010: 113-116). The 1998 food riots marked the start of a democratic agitation and resistance against the ZANU-PF government. The worsening economic situation adversely affected land reform and further intensified socio-economic crisis in the country (Chiweshe 2016: 16).

At the same time, Zimbabwe intervened in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) civil strife. That war and war-veterans' pay-outs brought a further toll on the economy (Parsons, 2010: 116). The result was an increase in taxes which angered most citizens. Consequently, the 'Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions' (ZCTU) took the lead in a coalition of civilian and civil society groups to resist, or possibly, replace the government. The government's response was harsh. The protesters were arrested by the police and party members beat up the ZCTU Secretary General (Parsons, 2010: 118). The resulting recession was worsened by USA and EU economic sanctions which led to a world record inflation in Zimbabwe, as well as cash and massive unemployment, fuel shortages and the mass emigration of both skilled and unskilled workers (Chiweshe, 2016: 16).

2.3 Intensifying political repression

In most developing countries, tempers flare up and increase during election campaigns. Numerous election reports and studies by Nyere, 2016; Chiweshe, 2016; Makumbe, 2002, Chimange, 2015) have shown that political violence was a key feature of Zimbabwe's elections.

2.3.1 Violence and the farm invasions

Zimbabwe's political, social and economic turmoil was precipitated when the government took over commercial farms from 2000 onwards under a land reform programme (Human Rights Watch, 2002). The latter was predicated on taking land

away from a relatively small number of white landowners without compensation and handing them over to "war veterans" and landless peasants. These land reform strategies were ostensibly introduced to eliminate food insecurity and promote greater productivity. The government also claimed that they were instituted to create political peace and restore an appropriate property rights regime (Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum 2010: 3).

In spite of these claims, the programme breached a number of human rights enunciated in the 1986 African Charter on Human Rights. Among them were the right to property, freedom from discrimination, equality before the law, etc (Chikwanha, 2009: 5).

Viewing them essentially as a violation of their human rights, the victims took the matter to court in November of that year. After hearing all arguments, the Supreme Court ruled that the land programme was in breach of the constitutional right to private property and the freedom against unreasonable search and access. Thereafter, it issued a decree instructing government and the Commercial Farmers Union (CFU) to remove all new tenants (mainly ZANU-PF supporters) from the occupied lands (source?).

The state not only refused to comply with the court order (Country Watch, 2016: 20), in November 2001, the Land Act was amended to allow for the immediate seizure of all commercial land. That law further allowed government to issue notifications to farmers that to procure their land, that all farming activities should end forthwith and that they should leave within 90 days (Fisher, 2010: 206). Approximately 1,000 of the country's 4,000 commercial farmers received such notifications. Through judgment of the Supreme Court of 2 December 2001, the legal recourse of commercial farmers was effectively removed (Country Watch, 2016: 20). Consequently, some top government and ZANU-PF officials forced farmers to leave and seized their land (Fisher, 2010: 206).

The need for land reform is generally acknowledged by many including by members of the commercial farming community. Nevertheless, the government refused to acknowledge and prevent the violence and intimidation connected carried out by the ruling party supporters and paramilitary units (Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum, 2010).

It is estimated that about 700,000 farm workers lost their jobs. Those granted plots tended to have little security of tenure and were thus vulnerable to potential partisan political processes and political eviction (Human Rights Watch, 2002). These land seizures collapsed agriculture and related industry in the country thereby worsening its economic problems. It is not surprising that a 2002 study by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) named this land programme as the root cause of Zimbabwe's political and economic instability (Country Watch, 2016: 20).

In 2020 Fin24 reported that the government of Zimbabwe (GoZ) announced a plan to reverse President Mugabe's land seizure program. According to that Report, landowners could elect to (1) get their land back, or (2) obtain some form of monetary compensation for it. Though this move did not automatically grant them compensation, a princely sum of $3.5 billion was set aside for that purpose. Victims were however encouraged to apply but any application could be rejected 'on the basis of national defence or public safety (EWN, 2020). The SA Embassy in Zimbabwe has since welcomed this new policy change (Fin24, 2020).

2.3.1.1 Human Rights violations under the land reform programme

The manner in which the land redistribution process was carried was not what Zimbabweans expected. Though each individual has the right to enjoy the rights and freedoms of owning property as proclaimed by the Charter, the process was very violent with many farm owners and workers forcibly removed from their property (Mwakagali, 2018: 48, Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO platform, 2010: 9).

The Zimbabwean Commercial Farmers Union (CFU) reported more than eighty-nine (89) forms of property rights abuses. The latter included unsolicited visits by high-ranking party officials, animal cruelty, harassment, property damage and the theft of farming tools (Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum, 2010: 9). Another disturbing feature of that land reform process was the exclusion of farm workers and those seen to be or having joined opposition parties (Chikwanha, 2009: 5).

2.3.1.2 Violence against farmer owners and workers

"War veterans" and militias from ZANU-PF threatened, targeted and sometimes murdered white farms owners (Fisher, 2010: 208). Given that many perpetrators were neither arrested nor charged, by March 2002 the land reform program had descended

into lawlessness and many breaches of the rule of law. To make matters worse, the head of State was quoted as having said that white Zimbabweans were state enemies (Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum, 2010: 10).

Farm workers were not spared either from the ensuing violence. According to the National Employment Council (NEC) for Agricultural Industry, by June 2000 as many as 3,000 had been displaced, 26 were murdered, 1,600 were beaten and 11 raped. Though forty-seven (47.2) per cent were MDC supporters, as many as forty-three (43.6) per cent had no political affiliation (Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum, 2010:10).

2.3.2 Operation Murambatsvina

In 2005, operation Murambatsvina was launched with the purpose of ending informal settlements, restoring law and order and removing criminal elements from urban areas (Charamba, 2005). The operation took place without the affected being warned or informed beforehand. During the process the police burned and bulldozed tens of thousands of buildings, houses and informal businesses (Human Rights Watch, 2005:10). The demolition resulted in mass eviction of urban occupants from their homes and the shutting down of unregistered small businesses across the country (Nyere 2014: 113). According to relevant UN Report of 2005, up to 700,000 people were either displaced or adversely affected by that operation. The sheer scale (affecting up to 2.4 million people) of this man-made catastrophe is unparalleled in peacetime (Tibaijuka, 2005).

To critics, the operation was part of the ruling party's attempt to undermine the urban poor and shift them to rural areas and to prevent mass uprisings against the deteriorating political and economic conditions in high density urban areas (Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum, 2005).

2.3.3 Electoral violence

The emergence of the opposition MDC in 1999 saw the violence escalating to a new level in Zimbabwe. According to Chiweshe (2016: 17) the deteriorating human insecurity could also be ascribed to the ruling party's determination to cling to power especially in view of the outcomes of the 2000 constitutional referendum. As mentioned in Chapter 1 the referendum was held under the auspices of a new

constitution permitting President Mugabe to have two additional terms in office. It was also sought to grant certain government officials immunity from prosecution and allow the government to acquire land without payment (Ploch, 2010: 1).

The massive campaign initiated by MDC, the National Constitutional Assembly (NCA) and CFU resulted in the rejection of the newly drafted constitution by the electorate (Chiweshe, 2016: 17). This extraordinary loss precipitated intensified state-sponsored land invasions, political instability and economic meltdown (Hammar 2005: 4). The violence played itself out in various ways, including by extrajudicial killings, abductions, disappearances, kidnapping, abuse and systematic psychological torture (Reeler, 2009:5).

The 2002, 2005 and 2008 elections were similarly infected. The Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum reported that in 2008 alone there were 100 cases of murder, 137 of abductions and 6 political-motivated rape cases. Ever escalating numbers of assault, disappearance, displacement and violence were common place as well. reported on freedom of association and expression. But the most disturbing factor about this was the alleged involvement of the state security forces (Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum 2008: 2).

2.3.3.1 Violence in 2002 and 2005 elections

The presidential and parliamentary elections of 2002 and 2005 were held under oppressive legislative measures, crippled by intimidation and violence, as well as by widespread irregularities in the voting process (Reeler, 2009: 6; Tumbare, 2013: 21). During the election campaign and shortly after the polling day, at least 100 men, mostly supporters of MDC, were reported to have been killed. Makumbe (2002: 88) aptly observed that after the 2002 Presidential elections, law and order collapsed and contributed immensely towards increased violent crimes like rape, abduction, arson and kidnapping.

Although the 2005 elections were viewed generally as less brutal, they were nevertheless heavily criticised by the West (Ploch, 2010: 6, Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012: 11). Their outcome was an MDC reduced parliamentary representation while ZANU-PF recovered its majority of two-thirds majority.

2.3.3.2 The violent 2008 Parliamentary and Presidential Elections

2008 was a turning point in Zimbabwe's political landscape. The state not only witnessed the fastest inflation ever recorded in world history but also suffered a complete economic meltdown. The ruling party reacted by unleashing unprecedented violence against own citizens (Welz and Junk 2009: 185).

Since there was no clear winner, a Presidential run-off elections had to be held in terms of the new law. According to Nyere (2016: 101) that June 2008 run-off saw many people being assaulted, maimed and losing their lives. The brutality also saw many incidents in which community members turning against each other (Chimange, 2015: 169).

Government- allied paramilitary forces set up camps meant to force citizens to pledge support to the ruling party. Code named "Operation Mavhoterapi" translated to mean 'who did you vote for', the campaign was meant to intimidate voters into choosing the incumbent President over his rival (Chimange, 2015:117).

Voter turn-out for the presidential rerun election was very small. This being due to the intensity and cruelty of the violence. Hundreds of MDC activists were killed while many more were either detained or tortured (Africa Files, 2016). This therefore forced Tsvangirai to withdraw from the raise thereby allowing Mugabe to gain 85 percent of the vote (Welz and Junk (2009: 186).

Tsvangirai had served as Prime Minister (PM) under the Global Political Agreement (GPA). The latter had led to a government of national unity (GNU) headed by President Mugabe on 15 September 2008 (Coltart, 2016).

The Presidential run-off and general elections of 2013 marked the formal end of the GNU government. Though those elections were not accompanied by as much violence as on previous occasions, they were not entirely free and fair. Even SADC Observer teams could only say that they were "credible" (Country Watch, 2016: 56). Among unacceptable election practices rendering them not free and fair were the following;

- limits on non-ZANU-PF party candidates on holding election campaign or meetings freely
- domestic media bias in favour of ZANU-PF,

- refusal by government to grant permission to certain foreign media groups and journalists to cover the elections,

- the inability of the Registrar General and the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) to provide for a transparent review of the voting rolls, and

- the constitutional court's failure to settle electoral matters before election day, and

- "numerous discrepancies with the voter register, such as irregular registration patterns between urban and rural areas, as well as questionably large numbers of voters older than 100 and very low numbers of youth voters" (The 2017 Human Rights Report, 2017: 28).

2.4 Patterns of violence during the 2008 elections

During the elections, the country experienced extensive human rights violations in the form of arbitrary arrests and imprisonment, intimidation, extrajudicial killings, breaches of freedom of expression and attacks on civilians, etc. by the army and the police.

These were committed under several guises, including (1) obligatory reorientation sessions, (2) beatings, intimidation, kidnapping, abductions, (3) involuntary displacements, (4) destruction of property, and (5) assassination. Victims were mainly MDC supporters and those accused of not voting for ZANU-PF. For Chimange (2015: 169) these acts of violence were designed to thwart and prevent rival political parties from participating thereby increase the likelihood of ZANU-PF victory. War veterans and the military publicly stated this during election campaigns. Each of these violent patterns are detailed below.

2.4.1 Obligatory re-orientation sessions

ZANU-PF and its allied "war veterans" were responsible for these acts of intimidation. Zimbabweans were forcibly recruited to attend these camps and one there were indoctrinated about the ruling party's values and norms. The aim being to force them to be loyal to the party and wean them from alternative parties and ideas. Those perceived to be still resistant were either scolded, publicly tortured or persecuted one way or another (Human Right Watch, 2008). The assumption, therefore, was that it would remind them of the history of liberation and what the 'revolutionary party' stood for (Chimange, 2015: 169).

2.4.2 Beatings and torture

The 2008 Makavhotera Papi Operation was equally violent. Its violence was so vicious as to compel victims to condemn the opposition and swear allegiance to ZANU-PF (The 2017 Human Rights Watch, 2017: 3, Reeler, 2009: 34). Its amount of abuse and beatings was indiscriminate of genders or age (Chimange, 2015).

2.4.3 Involuntary displacements

Makavhotera Papi Operation also consisted of a Coercion, Intimidation, Beating and Displacement (CIBD) program which deliberately forced thousands of people to leave their homes. The aim here was to reduce and limit the likely number of votes cast for Tsvangirai. Once displaced, they could not vote as the laws prohibited voting outside their electoral districts (Chimange, 2015: 170).

2.4.4 Property destruction

Destruction and looting of property was another tactic employed by the regime. This form of abuse and violence targeted opposition political party supporters, specifically. Its perpetrators were equipped (by state agencies) to raid homes, kidnap and ruin anything victims possessed. Law enforcement authorities in return did nothing to arrest or bring perpetrators to book (Chimange, 2015; Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum, 2008: 46).

Instances of rape were rampant during the 2008 elections. Women suffered disproportionately from that form of violence with war veterans and ZANU-PF militias being the main carriers. Sometimes wives and daughters would be raped repeatedly in front of their husbands and fathers (Chimange, 2015).

2.4.5 Assassinations and murder

Assassinations, murder and abductions were frequent during the 2008 elections. Opposition leaders and polling agents were the main victims of the kidnappings. Many of such acts were carried out in secret and at night (Chimange, 2015, Human Right Watch, 2008).

Victims were captured or driven away by unidentified police officers wearing plainclothes and driving unregistered vehicles. They were taken to distant areas where they were beaten and tortured (Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum, 2009:

26). Some of the abducted people were then either left for dead or their dead bodies abandoned. These acts of wanton violence were intended to force people to condemn the funding of the opposition and vote for President Mugabe. These waves of terror were national, taking place throughout the country in order to generate fear amongst those who sought to defy the ruling party (Chimange, 2015).

2.4.6 Inhuman and degrading treatment

Zimbabwe security forces always attacked and abused people in custody, particularly alleged enemies of ZANU-PF. State organs responsible for this was the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) and Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO) (Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum, 2017: 20).

The 2008 Human Rights Forum reports show that such instances of maltreatment increased substantially between 2005 and 2008, respectively. In 2008, however, reports showed that there was a 25 percent increase thereby eclipsing all previous records since 2001. Sixty-two percent (62%) of these instances however occurred during the 2008 run-up election (Reeler, 2009: 27).

2.4.7 Civil liberties

The constitution of Zimbabwe proclaims freedom of expression, association and assembly. It also prohibits all media restrictions. But since 2000, these rights and liberties have been systematically denied. Amnesty International (2013) reported numerous cases involving hundreds of human rights defenders and political activists arbitrarily imprisoned and illegally arrested for exercising those rights for the duration of the period under review.

Freedom of Expression

Security officials limited freedom of expression and detained people, in particular those who made public statements disrespectful of the President or those condemning the government and the ruling party (Amnesty International, 2013). Citizen protesting the dire economic conditions and poor governance were often found guilty of undermining and given lengthy sentences. The war veterans, CIO agents and informants diligently monitored the opposition election campaigns and unfailingly reported on any infringement (The 2017 Human Rights Watch, 2017: 16).

Freedom of the Press

Though the constitution allows for press freedom, the government however, limited it in various ways. The state-owned media is under the control of the Ministry of Media, Information and Publicity. In that situation, senior ZANU-PF officials could exploit it brazenly. A case in point was the promulgation of the Access to Information and Protection of Private Act (AIPPA) with the ostensible purpose of preventing of forced evictions, arbitrary arrests, beating and inspiring murders which took place under various aforesaid operations and campaigns (Mapuva and Muyengwa-Mapuva, 2014).

The Interception of Communications Act adopted in 2007 sought to further limit the rights to information, privacy and expression. This Act enabled the government to interrupt emails and to keep an eye on all telephone calls, internet access and the posting of mail (Human Rights Watch, 2008). Government also used accreditation laws to prohibit international reporters from entering the country.

Freedom of Assembly

The constitution allows for peaceful assembly but this right was limited and undermined in several ways. In this regard, government promulgated POSA in 2002 (Coltart, 2007).

POSA required NGO and opposition party members to notify police, seven days in advance, of their intention to hold a public meeting. Failure to do so could result in criminal prosecution and civil liability (Human Rights Watch, 2007: 5). Though the Act permitted the police to ban any meeting on security grounds, organizers could however write to a magistrate asking for reasons for denial of permission. While some NGOs did not comply with the Act, those that did were frequently snubbed (Chikwanha, 2009: 7). Grounds cited for denial were either that organizers intended to undermine the ruling party or criticise government. There were several reports that opposition political rallies were disrupted by members of the ruling party (Human Rights Watch, 2007: 5-12).

Freedom of Association

The constitution guarantees freedom of association and allows for the formation of political parties and other civil groups. Though that was the case, government interfered routinely with the activities leading to the formation of MDC (Zimbabwe

Human Rights NGO Forum, 2014). ZANU-PF supporters, with support and approval of government threatened and harassed those affiliated and loyal to opposition political parties (Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum, 2017:24).

2.4.8 Freedom to participate in the political process

Thought the constitution provided citizens with the opportunity to freely choose their government on the basis of by universal franchise and secret ballot, in practice this right was proscribed (Human Rights Report 2017: 26). Both the electoral process and election management bodies (EMBs) were heavily skewed in favour of the ruling party (Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum, 2014).

Since 2000, international and regional election monitoring bodies have not declared elections and their outcome, free and fair. The 2008 elections, the most violent of all, were declared not a credible enough to reflect the people's will (Country Watch, 2016: 56). This was the case because (1) political parties were not treated equally by EMBs, (2) parliament failed to pass legislation enhancing the transparency of the polls, and (3) government failed to implement certain voting laws as required by the new constitution (Country Watch, 2016: 54).

Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) was largely composed of pro-ZANU-PF security personnel and did not provide, as required by law, a soft copy of the voters' register to other political parties for elections (The 2017 Human Rights Report, 2017:27).

2.5 A response to the crisis

This pervasive human insecurity in Zimbabwe did not go unnoticed, there was a response to it, both internally and externally.

2.5.1 Domestic response

Zimbabwean activists denounced President Mugabe's rule and at great personal risk, commenced disseminating information on how pronounced the crisis was (ICRtoP, 2009). They strongly condemned the violence and begun a debate on whether the human rights abuses had crossed the responsibility to protect (R2P) inception. On 21 April 2008, a coalition of these NGOs wrote a press release demanding effective

response from the international community and a thorough debate on whether R2P should not be applicable to their country.

2.5.2 Regional response

A regional response came from the Pan-African Parliament (PA) based in Johannesburg, SA. Having observed that the crisis could destabilise the whole region, PAP proposed that the leadership of both AU and SADC consult with political parties there and come up with a solution (Dzimiri, 2017: 62).

Regional Heads of State and government subsequent to the 2008 AU summit in Egypt. granted SA President Mbeki the mandate to mediate in the crisis. As already indicated, that mediation led to GNU (Common Wealth Observer Group Report 2018: 7). This rather lukewarm regional response was however denounced (Mangani, 2017: 81).

2.5.3 International response

In late December 2008, a collective of prominent human rights activists, comprising of former U.S. President Jimmy Carter, former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan and Mrs Graca Machel undertook a research mission to Zimbabwe. The group intended to investigate the reported gross human rights abuses and later inform the UN Security Council about their findings. The group was however denied entry into the country (ICRtoP, 2009).

That did not however discourage other international NGOs to denounce the continuing political violence. Others like the Human Rights Watch and the International Crisis Group (ICG) reported that the situation in Zimbabwe remained dangerous both to live in and visit. In its 2010 report, Zimbabwe: Political and Security Challenge to Transition, ICG even called on SA and other countries monitoring the GPA to exert pressure on the regime to desist from its repressive ways.

The EU and USA condemned the abusive government and imposed travel restrictions on top government leaders. Even though the economic sanctions were hurting vulnerable groups in the country, the sanctions were to remain in place until such time that democracy was fully restored and human rights fully respected (Human Rights Watch, 2009).

Though UN kept a close eye on deteriorating human rights situation, it was paralysed in taking effective action by China, Russia and SA which refused to condemn the abuses (Badza, 2009: 161). In this regard, attempts by UNSC to impose an arms embargo, travel bans and financial sanctions against Zimbabwe were vetoed. Not discouraged, then UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon appointed UN Assistant Secretary-General for Political Affairs Haile Menkerios as his Special Envoy to Zimbabwe (Human Rights Watch, 2009).

2.6 Political compromise

On the verge of a political and economic precipice, regional leaders called for a political settlement. In March 2007, SADC mandated SA to facilitate dialogue between the main political parties (Biti, 2015: 7).

Tumbare (2013: 21) states that the action led to a Global Political Agreement (GPA), basically, a power sharing system. In addition, GNU had to begin a political transition that would culminate in democracy. GNU became operational in February 2009 with Mugabe as President and Tsvangirai, Prime Minister (Reeler, 2009:8). In spite of these developments, the situation remained dangerous.

Undeterred ZANU-PF remained hostile to MDC and other political opponents. Most political reforms, called for under GPA, including the passage of a new constitution and presidential elections, were not enacted or enforced.

2.7 Conclusion

The Chapter reviewed both the relevant literature and narrated the unfolding of political events since 2000 in Zimbabwe. In doing so, it demonstrated that political violence was an abiding feature of politics in that country even before colonialism. Unfortunately, political violence and gross abuse of individual liberties and freedoms has once again been a key characteristic of post-independence Zimbabwe.

Chapter Three

3. Introduction

This Chapter is about the research methodology and design used in the study. It farther explains how data about HS challenges in Zimbabwe was collected and analysed. Other important aspects covered by the Chapter include quality criteria and academic research ethical considerations and how these guided the study.

3.1 Research Methodology

A qualitative research methodology was employed to explore the research problem. It is a process 'for conducting self-supporting studies using previously existing data originally collected for research purposes' (Sherif, 2018). Its goal is to find answers to questions that begin with why, how and what is it like? In other words, it helps researchers understand how things are the way they are.

It is a methodology used to expand on data collected by observation, interviews and reviews. Thereby it extends and deepens awareness by stimulating a thorough understanding of the essence of the problem (Broom, et al. 2009).

When employing that research methodology, interpretation or application of new concepts is possible (Sherif, 2018). The findings help researchers address exploratory study questions or re-evaluate the opinions and experiences of the target group (Windle, 2010). As indicated in preceding Chapters, the study aims to explore HS challenges in Zimbabwe.

3.2 Research Design

An explanatory research design was employed in this study. It is a type of research design that focuses on why things take place and predicts future events. Explanatory studies are characterised by a research hypothesis that defines the existence and direction of relationships between or among the variables studied (Kumar, 2014).

Kumar (2014: 123) defines a research design as a plan for conducting research. It explains how data is collected, from whom and it will be analysed and interpreted. For Rawal (2001), Kerlinger (1986) and Mandiwana (2014), research design is essentially a strategy for gathering and analyzing data in an attempt to find answers to research questions.

3.3 Data Collection

The study will rely primarily on secondary data sources. The latter refers to published scholarly articles, books, papers, etc about and on the topic under investigation. While secondary data sources help researchers produce new insights and ideas on the topic under investigation, they may also support existing theories.

This study employed document review because it is a cheap. The research data sources consulted was split down into multiple groups. The first focused on a brief history and elements of the definition of HS in general. The second group is literature. That is, information on the country's political, economic, humanitarian and social challenges. The third group is that of data analyses. This focuses on information on HS challenges and inherent weaknesses to the promotion of human rights of the Zimbabweans.

3.3.1 Sampling

Burns and Grove (2003: 31) state that sampling is a method for selecting a group of people, events or cases for research purposes. The study focused primarily on Zimbabwe as a case study hence sampling was not necessary. The country was selected because the dire political and economic situation threatened people's individual security.

3.4 Data Analysis

Thematic content analysis (TCA) was employed to analyse collected secondary data. TCA is an interpretive method used to systematically search for patterns in collected data (Tumbare, 2014: 19). By design, it identifies common themes in all collected data. Researchers may also be required to add his/her own views when using TCA (Anderson, 2007: 1).

3.5 Quality Criteria

Quality criteria refers to a combination of several elements, namely; credibility, dependability, transferability and confirmability. These combine to form truth value, meaning the correctness of description, conclusion and explanation (Halldorsson & Aastrup, 2003: 6).

Whereas credibility was ensured by the use of diverse sources to obtain corroborating findings, transferability on the other hand, relates to the degree to which the findings can be extended or applied to other contexts or settings (Maphaka, 2017: 33). For this purpose, a comprehensive literature review was undertaken and the findings of similar research studies reported.

This was done to enable other researchers, when undertaking similar research, and following same methodology and sources, to reach similar conclusions or establish whether transfer to other situations is possible or not.

Confirmability refers to an extent to which the findings could be confirmed or corroborated by other researchers (Kumar, 2014: 219). In this regard, rich data about the HS situation in Zimbabwe was collected and analysed in line with the research tenets of qualitative research (Diana, 2014: 89). If other researchers were to follow same, there is no doubt they may confirm this study's findings.

Dependability refers to data reliability over similar conditions (Diana, 2014: 89). According to Lincoln and Guba (1985: 316), dependability is about suggesting reliability, therefore there can be no validity without reliability. Thus, a demonstration of the former is sufficient to establish the existence of the latter. The same principle also applies in this research. Using the same research methodology, design and data analysis tools, other researchers would concur with the findings of this study.

3.6 Significance of the study

HS challenges are still a critical problem for the international community. In exploring those challenges in Zimbabwe and suggesting a number of policy recommendations, the study may help in showing how to tackle them effectively everywhere they arise. This does not suggest however that nations are not unique culturally and otherwise.

3.7 Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations centre on rules and regulations that make a distinction between right and wrong in academic research. These help to identify and set standards in acceptable and unacceptable behaviour for anyone engaged in research. They are very important since they provide the reader (and public) with assurances that researchers have followed appropriate guidelines (Resnik, 2012). Research findings rely heavily on them for honesty, accuracy and credibility.

Below, the Chapter describes how each of these ethical considerations was followed and applied during the study.

3.7.1 Avoid academic fraud

All material sources used and cited in the study was acknowledged correctly. They were also accurately interpreted to maintain the integrity of the original.

De-identification of data refers to the process of separating data from the person with whom it was originally linked. This necessitated the elimination or transformation of individual identities (Stalla-Bourdillon, 2021). On this score and where necessary, data was de-identified before being published.

Data management strategies - is about how the collected data was organised, handled, shared, stored and preserved (Van den Eynden, 2017). On this score, the researcher organised hardcopies (copies of books) according to their topics, put them in portfolio files and stored soft copies in USB (Universal Serial Bus) devices, external hard drives and emails.

3.7.2 Permission to conduct the study

The Turfloop Research and Ethics Committee (TREC) was approached to conduct research. At the University of Limpopo (UL) it mandatory to do this at this level of any study program.

3.8 Conclusion

The Chapter outlined the research methodology and design used in collecting and analysing data. It also named the data analysis tool and explained how both ethical considerations and quality criteria guided the study.

Chapter Four

4. Introduction

In the late 1990s Zimbabwe experienced deep economic crisis which seriously threatened the livelihoods of everyone. The worsening poverty, rampant land invasions and the extensive electoral violence helped propel the country into international headlines (Murisa, 2010: 3, Zimbabwe Infrastructure Report, 2019). This was however not the case before the country gained political independence in 1980.

4.1 Causes of Zimbabwe's economic meltdown

At independence, Zimbabwe had one of the strongest economies on the continent with a strong currency and best agricultural production. Since then the economy declined steadily with poor economic management and increasing political repression as main contributors to the decline (Kanyenze et al, 2017). At the same time, these developments eroded the personal security of many Zimbabweans even farther (Hanke, 2008; Kinsey, 2010: 3).

The prolonged economic downturn led to a near 50 percent decline in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Zimbabwe Infrastructure Report, 2019: 4). It has to be said that loss of support from the international community also contributed to the decline (Asante, 2012: 23).

In the past, many countries looked up to the country for inspiration but the story is different currently. Zimbabwe is now amongst the "failed" and poorest states on the continent. Unemployment is rampant and there is widespread shortage of food and medicines. The tourism industry has experienced significant job and revenue losses (Coltart, 2007, Hanke, 2008).

4.1.1 Land invasions

As narrated in Chapter 2, the land reform programme was introduced at a time when the political fortunes of the ruling party were beginning to be eroded and threatened by the rise of MDC. President Mugabe claimed, amongst others, that the programme was intended to redistribute land o black Zimbabweans (Chinyoka, 2017: 6). But the entire effort, as the study narrated, was to win votes for President Mugabe and to obtain full political control of the country (Asante, 2012: 32).

The reform programme was implemented between 1999 and 2009 when the country was severely affected by droughts. Partly to meet this challenge, the state identified 2,455 farms for redistribution (Chikwanha, 2009: 5). But the programme was chaotic and neglected the property rights of owners even though the government had announced that it was going to provide compensation for all capital improvements done but not for the land itself (Coomer and Gstraunthaler, 2011: 321).

In most cases, it comprised of the ZANU-PF youth and other militia working for the ruling party, forcibly removing farmers and their workers. The new occupants immediately took over everything including farming equipment, crops and livestock (Human Rights Watch, 2002). With the new farmers lacking both expertise and resources, it is not surprising that the reform programme led to a significant decline in agricultural production and forced the country to depend heavily on imported food (Echanove, 2017: 15, Chinyoka, 2017: 6).

4.1.2 Civil unrest and war veterans' payments

Economic Structural Adjustment Program (ESAP) was adopted by the government in 1990 and immediately demanded the government to restructure its economy by

- eliminating price controls,
- liberalising trade,
- currency devaluation,
- reduce government budget deficit,
- remove government subsidies on goods and services and increase interest rates to their natural market levels to discourage capital flight,
- reduce state investment in the economy, and
- privatise public corporation and open up local economy to foreign investments (Mlambo, 1997: 2)

Consequently, unemployment rate increased because a massive number of people lost their jobs as a result of closure of local industrial companies due to high competition from outside. The government's cut in social services sectors expenditure affected many people (Kanyongo, 2005: 71).

Further serious economic crisis commenced on 14 November 1997 when the stock market crashed. The crash was occasioned by, among others ESAP which had

induced 232 labour strikes recorded that year. Workers and other civil society groups had been angered by the economic reforms imposed by ESAP (Parsons, 2010: 118).

To compound matters even further, war veterans demanded an increase in their pay for that same year as well. Under pressure, the government relented and begun paying them a one-off fee of ZWD $50,000 by 31 December 1997 and a monthly pension of USD $2,000 by January 1998 (Munangagwa, 2009: 114). Given that this pay demand was not anticipated and budgeted for, the State resorted to borrowing.

These steps were taken amidst a major depreciation of the Zimbabwean dollar and increased costs in agricultural inputs in 1997. For their part, producers raised the price of maize meal (a staple food amongst many in that country), thereby placing limits on all government attempts to counteract some of the negative effects of ESAPs (Parsons, 2010: 118). Attempts at government private sector boost suffered from declining production and rising competition from cheap imported goods (Munangagwa, 2009: 114).

4.1.3 Intervention in the Congolese war

After the outbreak of a civil war in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) in August 1998, the Mugabe government decided to intervene in support of Laurent Kabila, the President (Parsons, 2010: 116). In spite of this, it has to be noted that Zimbabwe does not share borders with DRC, neither was it at any danger of attack (Asante, 2012: 34).

Be that as it may, it is estimated that in the 2 years of that intervention, the Zimbabwean government spent about USD 200-300 million. Some observers are of the view that this is a rather conservative estimate, the actual costs were much higher. Many Zimbabweans were simply not pleased with this intervention given their deteriorating living standards (Munangagwa, 2009: 114).

4.1.4 Economic sanctions

The deteriorating HS situation occasioned by the rapid economic decline and increased political persecution, led the international community, USA, UK, Australia and the EU in particular, to impose a variety of sanctions on Zimbabwe (Chingono, 2009: 66, Kibble & Chitiyo, 2014: 30).

These were "targeted" sanctions in the sense that they were not wholesale but meant for specific persons and organizations and limited to selective products and activities (Chitiyo & Kibble, 2014:30). The government, however, claimed they were "comprehensive" and that their cost to the economy and people "adverse" (Chingono, 2009: 66). These debates and introduction of the Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act (ZIDERA) in 2001 notwithstanding, the economy and people suffered severely. Meant to obtain financial assistance from both World Bank and IMF, all ZIDERA's efforts were thwarted by USA. Its introduction thus ended up not having the envisaged effect on ordinary citizens (Chingono, 2009: 66).

The country has suffered a lot under those sanctions and the government has used them to neglect providing for its people (Hondora, 2009). They have led the country to run out of foreign currency reserves thus making investment in productive sectors impossible thereby further deepening poverty and hardship for many.

4.1.5 International lenders withhold funding

Imposition of international sanctions led to the black listing of Zimbabwe by lending institutions around the world. Attracting and raising foreign direct funding and investment has since become very hard. This has also made it difficult to pay its debts on time. The withdrawal of all credit facilities further contributed to the depreciation of the currency thus worsening its economic growth prospects (Chingono, 2009: 70).

4.2 The onset of hyperinflation

Inflation begun rising steadily from the early 2000s in Zimbabwe. Since then it took a drastic turn and now ranks amongst the highest in the world's history. In February 2007 it shot up again thus qualifying as hyperinflation (Hanke, 2008). Real money demand and parallel market exchange rates crashed in the third quarter of 2008 in reaction to this hyperinflation making the currency valueless. That year, the country adopted the US dollar as its own national currency (Coomer and Gstraunthaler, 2011: 331). Goods and services were now priced in the US dollar and SA Rand denominations.

Unable to resist government pressure to print more money for the luxurious life of the rulers, the central bank worsened the economic decline. The currency value loss not only signalled hyperinflation, it also plunged the nation into deeper poverty. The living

standards of many Zimbabweans likewise deteriorated. Once able to provide employment to many individuals, the manufacturing sector was now on its knees (Zimbabwe Infrastructure Report, 2019: 4).

The country's situation took a drastic turn in the early 2000 as a result of the land invasion programme. This affected agriculture production to a greater extend. As such the Zimbabwe economy became affected as agriculture holds a great stack of the country's economy (Asante, 2012: 23). The once productive agriculture industry declined massively because the reckless land strategy transferred productive agriculture from skilled farmers to Mugabe backers and led to the displacement of more than one million people and collapsed many productive farms. This left 80 percent of the population unemployed and hyper-inflation reached the unprecedented 231 million percent level; a world record (Zimbabwe Infrastructure Report, 2019). It is not surprising therefore that large parts of the country where left without food, jobs and healthcare. The education system also suffered a decline (Hanke, 2008; Murisa, 2010).

Near universal malnutrition fuelled a rise in death and disease and the cholera outbreak, which started in August 2007, left nearly 4,000 dead and 90,000 critically ill (Murisa, 2010). The deteriorating healthcare system could not stop large numbers of medical professionals emigrating to neighbouring countries.

4.3 The agricultural sector deteriorates

Before independence, the agricultural sector served an important role in the economy of Zimbabwe. It created employment and earned significant export revenue. The deterioration of related infrastructure, technologies and shortage of credit facilities for farmers however saw this sector losing its shine (World Bank Group, 2019).

Frequent power outages (electricity) and skyrocketing fuel prices worsened matters for this sector. Coupled with frequent spells of droughts prompted by climate change and the deteriorating soil erosion and subsequent poor soil quality contributed to the collapse in agricultural production. Collectively these gave rise to a steep decline in wheat and tobacco production to less than a sixth of what it was a decade earlier (Zimbabwe Infrastructure Report, 2019: 7). The World Bank Group (2019: 5) reported that these losses accounted for 7.3 per cent of agricultural GDP which was around 9.8 per cent but went down to 8.6 per cent in 2017 (Zimbabwe Infrastructure Report, 2019:

7). Zimbabwe is now importing much of its food (Chinyoka, 2017: 6). Agricultural production has been worsened by the chaotic land reform programme.

4.4 Worsening unemployment

Unemployment is pervasive in Zimbabwe because of the economic collapse. According to the 2006 International Labor Organization (ILO) report (quoted by Chingarande and Guduza (2011: 1), total unemployment skyrocketed by as much as 95 percent, while that of the youth was estimated at over 70 percent.

Finding a job after graduation is very difficult for most graduates thus many remain unemployed for several years after graduation. The UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA) estimated that in 2008 there were only 480,000 formally employed people out of a population of approximately 12 million in Zimbabwe (Mpofu and Chimhenga, 2016: 9). High unemployment in turn has led to the increase in all types of social ills; organized crime, the rapid spread of HIV/ AIDS, substance addiction, etc (Curtain, 2001, Dodo and Dodo, 2014, and Mpofu and Chimhenga, 2016).

In both formal and informal sectors of the economy, women represented 19 percent of the unemployed (Chingarande and Guduza, 2011: 1). Faced with the possibility of extreme poverty, Bhebhe et al (2015: 4) contended, many young people resorted to accepting any job even though overqualified for it. An estimated 3.5 million of the country's nearly 14 million people (25%) have left to seek better work and living conditions elsewhere. In SA, xenophobic attacks have been associated with the increased number of immigrants flooding the country (Murisa, 2016; Mpofu and Chimhenga, 2016: 9).

From the late 1990s, the closure of many manufacturing companies led to unemployment and a deterioration in living standards ((Bhebhe, 2015: 3). The failure by government to deliver social services like housing, health and education increased human insecurity thus rendering many lives vulnerable (Murisa & Chikweche, 2015: 47).

4.5 Deteriorating healthcare

Life expectancy declined substantially, from 54 to 63 years, when the healthcare system began deteriorating after 1998. After ESAP's economic restructuring, families

were burdened with high user fees at health centres and shortages of medical supplies became the norm (Mlambo & Raftopoulos, 2010: 4).

In the face of a spiralling health situation, Murisa & Chikweche (2015: 51) maintained that the country only had 21 percent of the required medical personnel. There were no significant improvements in the healthcare system even under GPA. Statistics show that vacancy rates for midwives was 80% and 62% for nurses. There were also significant shortages of medical school lecturers (Murisa, 2010: 6). While the 2008 cholera outbreak claimed thousands of lives, infant mortality also rose higher. Preventative healthcare also suffered significantly as a result of extreme shortages and disruption of transport and telecommunications infrastructure (Murisa & Chikweche, 2015: 51).

Recent Health Ministry statistics showed that Zimbabwe spent just nine (9) dollars per person per year on healthcare; this is insufficient given the scale and magnitude of the problem. The country was therefore unable to meet its Millennium Development Goals' (MDGs) obligations (Murisa, 2010: 7).

4.6 Increased poverty and food insecurity

An October 2018 World Bank Poverty and Equity brief indicated that poverty in Zimbabwe had climbed by more than 70.9% and increased to 72.3% in 2011. A combination of substantial increases in food prices and major deficits in maize production worsened the situation (Zimbabwe Infrastructure Report, 2019: 5).

A decline in production and other industrial activities following ESAPs implementation contributed to the increase in households reliant on hand-to-mouth economy (Murisa, 2010:7).

This development persisted in spite of strong signs of improvement during the 1998-99 harvesting. Regardless of the rebound, Zimbabwe could not meet its 610,000mt cereal-grain requirement to feed the whole population (Murisa, 2010:7). Much of the population has remained food insecure (Chitiyo & Kibble (2014: 9). Heavy flooding and droughts in parts of the country also exacerbated the food crisis and under such conditions, it is women and children who suffered disproportionately (Murisa, 2010: 8).

4.7 Deteriorating education standards

Zimbabwe is a member of the Dakar Declaration which obligated African countries, amongst others, to enrol all children in school by 2015 (Murisa, 2010:13). This policy was aggressively pursued with funding from government and foreign donations (Kanyongo, 2005: 66). As a result, early independence years saw an unprecedented expansion of education. But by the late 1980s, education budgets were beginning to decline. In some instances, this leading to government delaying to pay teacher's salaries. Teachers then begun to emigrate in large numbers (Mapolisa & Tshabalala, 2013: 2255). In 2009, SA began to recruit them, especially those qualified in mathematics and science (Murisa, 2010: 14). As could be expected, this impacted that country's education system negatively.

The following are listed as reasons for the under development of tertiary education in Zimbabwe, namely;

- High US denominated tuition and hostel costs,
- Lack of government funding since the 1990s,
- Poor education infrastructure, and
- The persistent 'brain drain' of the past decade (Kanyongo, 2005; Murisa, 2010, Mapolisa & Tshabalala, 2013).

High tuition and hostel fees caused many students to drop out completely while some opted to take a gap year in order to raise funds to continue their education. Tuition fees ranged from US$ 400 to US$ 1,200 per semester, while average salaries were set at US$ 100 per month (Murisa, 2010: 15).

Government funding to the education sector dried up in the 1990s thereby forcing it to rely more and more on private donors. The shortage of public funds meant that the sector struggled to purchase up-to-date teaching and learning materials as well as upgrade existing technologies and curricula (Murisa, 2010: 15). A lot of highly experienced and skilled professionals left Zimbabwe's universities, colleges and schools thus creating severe human resource shortages in the sector (Mapolisa & Tshabalala, 2013: 2264)

4.8 Conclusion

Zimbabwe started experiencing economic problems in the late 1990s. This consequently affected all sectors of society. The private sector saw a lot of companies closing their doors, thereby triggering extensive job losses.

A deterioration of the agricultural sector led to massive food shortages. Social services such as the healthcare and educational systems also collapsed.

The reasons behind the collapse of Zimbabwe's economy included among others poor economic management and increasing political repression. The situation was further exacerbated by the central bank that printed money for that government to use on unimportant things.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. Findings and Analysis

This Chapter analyses the collected data. As stated in Chapter 3, thematic content analysis (TCA) was employed to analyse the collected data. TCA helped the researcher to identify the themes and quoting what other scholars are saying regarding the researched topic. While using TCA the researcher has also added his or her own views. The Chapter focuses on HS challenges in Zimbabwe from 2008-2017. It also examines how the well-being and daily life of citizens was and affected by HS abuses in that country during the said period.

The HS challenges in Zimbabwe, the study established, fell into one of the following categories, namely;

- Food,
- Health,
- Economic and
- Political.

As could be realised, these categories or types of HS, correspond with the 1994 UNDP Report classification. It can be said therefore that the research methodology and design adopted by this study has been helpful in adding validity and truthfulness in examining the HS research problem in Zimbabwe (Rufu, 2009: 29).

Below the study analyses each of the HS categories identified above and how it played itself out in that country during the said period.

5.1 Food Security

Food is a fundamental requirement necessary for human survival. Practically food security implies that every citizen has to have access to it, implied here are assets, employment and an assured salary (UNDP 1994: 27). Zimbabwe was faced with chronic poverty for a very long time and food production was low and inadequate. Factors responsible for food shortage include the following;

- poor distribution by government,
- the fast track land reform programme (FTLRP),
- the 1990 Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) and

- poor agriculture production (Zimbabwe Infrastructure Report, 2019: 7).

All of these played a role in increasing household food insecurity in urban and rural areas. According to the World Food Program (WFP), the food insecure population averaged between 5 million and 7 million, of which about 60 to 70 percent were children and women in 2008 (Rufu, 2009: 44).

WFP 2008 estimated that in 2008 maize production decreased to 575,000 metric tons (MT), an indication that the agricultural sector was not doing well. The sluggish economy also prevented the government from effectively responding to the worsening food crisis. In 2009 alone, Zimbabwe's humanitarian relief organizations called for food assistance worth USD 718 million. This was about US$ 92 million short of what the government demanded (Indlovu, 2011:2). One years later, additional 1.9 million people needed food aid thus forcing the country to import 625,890,538 MT of maize at $244,097,309.82 (Rufu, 2009: 45, World Bank 2019: 29).

Seasonal malnutrition became a biggest concern because of a shortage of storage facilities and low cash reserves (Welborn et al., 2019: 15). The shortage of foreign currency made it difficult either to import sufficient food or to procure enough agricultural inputs such as seeds and fertilizer subsidies for farmers to improve food production (Zimbabwe Infrastructure Report, 2019: 7).

In rural areas in particular this vicious cycle of seasonal changes and repeated poor harvests reduced the ability of undernourished people to develop the resources and skills to change production possibilities (Rufu, 2009: 47).

Heavy flooding and drought in some parts of the country exacerbated the food crisis. For example, the drought triggered by climate variability in 2015/16 caused a decline in agricultural production and left more people food insecure (World Bank Group, 2019: 1). The situation was further aggravated by the use of traditional farming practices and technologies that limit agricultural output and production and by the insecure land tenure system (Rufu, 2009: 52).

The Grain Marketing Act (GMA) required the Grain Marketing Board (GMB) to maintain a Strategic Grain Reserve (SGR) of 936,000 tons of maize and other grains to meet food safety needs and to act as a reserve during food crises, including crucial times when drought occurs. Of this amount, 500,000 tons were to be held as physical stock

and the remaining 436,000 tons were to be backed by the cash reserve equivalent (World Bank Group, 2019: 29). But this could not be achieved given the dire environmental problems prevailing in that country then.

Malnutrition among children, the elderly and those living with HIV and AIDS soon skyrocketed (Country of Origin Information Report, 2010: 112). Welborn, et al (2019) estimated that in 2014 27.6 percent of children under five (5) years in rural areas and poor urban households "were stunted". This was the case because more than half of the estimated 14 million Zimbabweans ate one meal a day (Rights Watch 2008: 10).

During this time, families were inevitably forced to cut expenses that did not include food such as education and health care to ensure they had enough to eat. The statistics released by the National Child Labour Survey, estimated that 25 percent of children between the ages of 12 and 15 worked as domestic workers, car security guards or street vendors (Rufu, 2009: 53). This means a lot of children dropped out of school to find jobs or do household chores (Country of Origin Information Report, 2010: 96).

The food crisis was further intensified by the rampant HIV/AIDS pandemic. According to Rufu (2009: 7), the pandemic prevalence amongst the age group of 15 – 49 was 33 percent. In any country, this is economically the most productive. But in Zimbabwe many in that category also engaged in high-risk activities like trading sex for food or cash. This situation gave rise to almost 1.6 million orphans and disabled children and well over 100,000 young female-headed households. Ninety percent of orphans were cared for by extended family members while the elderly were left to the care of the young (Country of Origin Information Report, 2010: 96).

Though the right to food could be guaranteed by an unrestricted food distribution programme (UNDP, 1994:38), food aid organisations operating in Zimbabwe at that time were governed by strict laws. In some areas food aid was restricted because they were allegedly supporting opposition parties (Country of Origin Information Report, 2010: 113). Some food aids programmes were also suspended for violating the registration terms and conditions of Chapter 15:07 of the Private Voluntary Organization (PVO) (Jonga, 2008). In this regard, ZANU-PF argued that the food distribution plan was used as a smoke screen to force changes to the political system

(Rufu, 2009: 44). The government's policy of controlling prices of major commodities also made it difficult for poor households to afford basic food (UNDP 1994: 2).

However, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Louise Arbor, emphasized that the decision to deprive citizens of food due to the elections can be seen as an unprecedented distortion of democracy and a serious violation of human rights (Rufu, 2009: 61).

5.2 Health Security

Health security exists when all people have access to adequate healthcare system. But in Zimbabwe most deaths were linked to poor nutrition and unsafe environment (UNDP, 1994: 27). With a total public health expenditure of 8.9 percent (far below the recommended minimum of 15 percent by the 2001 Abuja Declaration), it was impossible for the healthcare system to implement preventative measures (Rufu, 2009: 43, Murisa, 2010).

Medical care in Zimbabwe became very expensive and inaccessible. High inflation had also played a role. Nhapi (2019: 161) argues that patients in Zimbabwe had to pay US$20 for a general practitioner's consultation, who, in turn, routinely referred them to specialists who usually charged between US$50 and US$80 per visit. Nhapi (2019) further indicated that for an abdominal CT scan or X-ray computed tomography, the patient payed at least US$550. Pregnant women were charged US$50 for professional care while delivering children and upwards of US$250 for a C-section at public hospitals. Private doctors charged as much as US$1,200 for the same procedure.

These high costs prevented most impoverished communities from accessing health care facilities. While some patients ignored the illness and delayed seeking medical attention (Bazuzi et al. 2016: 34), some eighty percent of the population received medical support from traditional doctors (Rufu, 2009: 62). Usually these did not charge as much as other health professionals, sometimes even a thank you letter based on the recipient's affordability was the only requirement from traditional healers.

Rufu argues that reimbursement for medical facilities, as well as for services related to fundamental determinants of well-being, should be geared towards the concept of equality, meaning that all programs should be accessible to all, including vulnerable

communities, whether funded by private or public funds. In order to achieve equity, poorer families must not be disproportionately burdened with health-care expenses in comparison to wealthier ones (2009:62).

The country's public health delivery system was thus seriously impacted by;

- weak infrastructure,
- a shortage of skilled professionals,
- shortage of basic supplies (medicine and medical equipment),
- low wages and low staff motivation,
- poor planning and management capabilities, and
- reduced budget allocations to the Ministry of Health and Child Care (Murisa & Chikweche, 2015: 51; Nhapi, 2019:162; Kerina, 2013: 17; Bazuzi, 2016: 41).

Infant mortality is an important factor in measuring a population's health quality, affordability and accessibility. But in Zimbabwe children died routinely from preventable diseases (UNICEF 2009) and infant mortality thus rose from 82 per to 94 per 1,000 live births by 2009 (Murisa & Chikweche, 2015: 51).

Access to clean drinking water was another factor accounting for high mortality. According to the 2009 UNICEF Water, Sanitation and Hygiene Report, 50 percent of Zimbabweans lacked access to clean drinking water. As a result, more than 90,000 people were affected by cholera and 4,000 died (Murisa 2010).

This dire health situation affected women more than most sectors of society. By 2009 UNICEF was reporting that one in two pregnant women in rural areas were giving birth at home and were thus not being attended by trained medical staff (Murisa, 2010: 6).

Zimbabwe has over a million of people infected with HIV/AIDS and the number of those in urgent need of antiretroviral treatment was over 503,678 adults and 89,490 were children under age 15. But due to insufficient drug availability, only a few had access to the drug (Mufuka and Tauya, 2013:54).

Children suffered more than any population group from HIV/AIDS transmission and deaths (UNDP 1994: 28). In 2009 alone 83,000 HIV/AIDS related deaths were recorded and the number of orphaned children was as high as 20%. It is estimated that about 120 000 children between the ages of 0-14 were living with the infection (Kerina et al. 2013: 20).

Drug delivery delays and transportation problems hindered consistent access to ARVs, leading to the production of drug-resistant strains and relapses, as well as death (Human Rights Watch 2008: 10).

5.3 Economic Security

Economic security implies that people should have the opportunity to satisfy the most basic needs and earn a living, in other words, be able to take care of themselves. Obtaining a basic income can at least guarantee their survival with dignity (UNDP 1994: 25). But in Zimbabwe figures released by the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA) in 2009 showed that unemployment was at 94 percent. This means that only 480, 000 of the 12 million people were in formal employment.

Though there were various unemployment estimates during that period, all of them agreed that the rate was very high (Asante, 2012; ILO, 2012; IMF, 2013; Robertson, 2013; World FactBook, 2013 and The Econometer Global Capital Report, 2013).

Over 800 private and industrial (manufacturing) businesses closed due to a weak investment environment. Poor economic policies also contributed to the already high rate of unemployment (Africa Development Bank 2007: 3). Large number of people were increasingly insecure because it was hard to find and keep a job. Widespread youth unemployment took its toll on already scarce family resources.

 Low nominal incomes and high inflation rates eroded incomes and buying power (Rufu, 2009: 39). As incomes could not keep up with the rising prices of basic goods and services, living standards declined substantially. Statistics from the 2009 Zimbabwe Consumer Council showed that the price of monthly grocery for a family of six went up from US$ 396, 22 (February 2009) and US$ 424, 11 (May 2009) to US$ 566.83 (October 2009) (Rufu, 2009: 39). In September 2008, inflation climbed by as much as 500 billion percent (Coomer and Gstraunthaler, 2011: 331). According to Rufu (2009: 40) the number of people living on less than $ 1 a day increased from 56.1% to 80%, including pensioners with a fixed salary of US $ 25 per month. This translated into less than US$ 1 per day on the government's payroll for 140 000 beneficiaries.

Remittances sent by individuals working in cities to their rural family likewise decreased thus further exacerbated poverty in rural areas. Nhapi (2019: 158) estimated 76 percent of rural households were living in poverty, while 38 percent were in urban areas. Women and girls have since resorted to prostitution to earn a living (Mutambara, et al. 2018: 20).

Under other circumstances, self-employment could have been the most viable option to earn a living. Approximately 3-4 million Zimbabweans earned their living through informal employment (Rufu, 2009: 40). Most activities in that regard however comprised of street trading, unlawful housing shacks, foreign currency dealings and theft (Bhebhe et al. 2015: 4). It could be said therefore that self-employment did not assure many of conventional economic security envisaged by UNDP. The launch of Operation Murambatsvina in 2005 worsened matters for many in the informal sector. As indicated in other Chapters of this study, the Operation was intended to enforce urban planning and other municipal by-laws but in the process terminated the growth of informal businesses (Dzimiri, 2017: 59; Ploch, 2017: 15; Rufu, 2009: 40).

For some access to land was expedited greatly by membership of the ruling party but for many women, this was not the case. Millions of have struggled to profit from that system because of customary practices that put them under their spouses' leadership. The latter usually regard them as minors and their opinions are not taken seriously in many decision making processes (Chikwanha 2009: 5).

Land reforms have created new vulnerable groups in the country. Former farm workers have been displaced and left with no access to basic resources. Invariably they mostly do not have tangible assets or transferable professional skills. Even in the case of economic recovery, they are likely to become long-term poor.

Widespread poverty in Zimbabwe is thus multifaceted and multidimensional. In other words, it manifests itself in many ways, illiteracy, poor health, malnutrition and lack of voice in family and public decision-making (Rufu, 2009: 42, Muiruri, 2010: 26). In view of the aforementioned many desperately seek government intervention and support but that may not be forthcoming since it (government) lacks the financial resources to fund an extensive social welfare service (UNDP 1994: 26).

5.4 Political Security

This aspect of HS implies freedom to live in a community that values basic human rights (UNDP 1994: 32). But in non-democratic countries, there has been a rise in cases of human rights abuse and state-sponsored political violence (UNDP 1994: 32). As indicated in Chapter 1 and 2 above, reports about increased human rights abuses in Zimbabwe have surfaced since 2000. Many of them have attributed it to the ruling party's resort to intimidation, torture and violence in order to retain power in the face of diminishing political support and legitimacy (Rufu, 2009: 51; Amnesty International, 2013).

Violence brings about physical and emotional trauma as well (Country of Origin Report 2010:32). Healthcare research has shown that victims of torture suffer post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), depression and anxiety. While in detention some were also forced to reject medical treatment for fear that they would continue to be harassed (Chimange, 2015: 208).

Many Zimbabweans are afraid of participating in social media and healing programmes because doing so is likely to expose and imperial their precarious wellbeing even farther. Needless to say, this form of insecurity is likely to impede the development of social justice and healing programmes (Rufu, 2009: 52).

Political security was imperilled more seriously by the interference of the military in the civilian affairs (RAU, 2018:2). The Zimbabwean military was central to Mugabe's authoritarian rule and actively prevented a constitutional change of government through elections (Raftopoulos, 2019: 8).

Military personnel were placed in key positions in the media, election management bodies (EMBs), judiciary and legislature. For Raftopoulos, (2019: 8), the emergence of this 'securocrat state' was a form of 'militarised electoral authoritarianism', a conceptualization derived from the works of Levitsky and Way (2002) and Schedler (2006).

Military interference did not only occur during elections but throughout. For instance, in 2014 the military played a central role in the removal from power of the previous Vice President, Joyce Mujuru (Raftopoulos, 2019: 8) and in several operations afterwards aimed at informal traders in cities (Nyere, 2016: 101).

Security forces, including military intelligence also illegally monitored the movement of citizens and opposition parties (Human Right Watch, 2008). Perceived opposition members were variously harassed and had their homes destroyed or left out of food assistance and agricultural programmes (Alexander and Tendi, 2008). Schools were forced to close in some parts due to increasing attacks against teachers suspected to be opposition party sympathizers. By February 2009, nearly 94 per cent of schools remained had closed in rural areas (UNICEF, 2009).

The non-democratic government of Zimbabwe was also trying to control ideas and information (Rufu, 2009: 54). The media laws were promulgated to demand the accreditation of journalists and media companies to pay exorbitant registration fees to work in the country (Mapuva and Muyengwa-Mapuva, 2014). Those who did not comply faced a two-year imprisonment term. Resident and international journalists were detained or deported for reporting and publishing information considered politically objectionable (Human Rights Report 2017: 19). At the same time the government became the main actor/voice in media with its two main daily newspapers, The Herald and The Chronicle (Chikwanha 2009: 6-7).

With each instance of repression and human rights abuse, opposition through non-governmental organisations emerged. These helped victims in need of humanitarian aid and recorded human rights violations cases (Chikwanha, 2009: 9). They started to routinely condemn these violations in national, regional and international forums.

5.5 Weaknesses in promoting human security in Zimbabwe

Human rights are essential freedoms that all people have simply because they are people, regardless of their social status. There are international legal instruments that entitle individuals certain fundamental rights and liberties (OHCHR, 2016: 17). By right, these should be matched by national instruments but most often this is not the case in many countries. International instruments adopted by the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) include, among others, the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) both of 1966.

Zimbabwe is not only a UN member but a signatory of these international conventions. In addition, it also signed the 1981 African Charter on Human and People's Rights and

the 1992 SADC Treaty (Rufu, 2009: 56). These instruments specify minimum requirements for human welfare, development, advancement and security within a given state (Ramcharan, 2004: 40). Upholding and protecting these rights is a fundamental responsibility of a State.

Nation-states are required to uphold all human rights including socio-economic rights. But without economic resources, no country can guarantee such rights. It is thus imperative for any nation-state to adopt and implement policies that stimulate production and ensure sufficient distribution of national resources equitably and efficiently (Rufu, 2009: 57). But Zimbabwe, during the period under review, has distorted patterns of public spending and investment. The consequent result of such policies has led to food insecurity and expensive education and health inaccessible to most citizens. In this regard, the study can conclude that by failing "to prevent deprivation', 'to protect against deprivation' and 'to aid the deprived' as promulgated in Article 26 of the 1969 Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, Zimbabwe is a failed state (Muiruri, 2010:23; OHCHR, 2016: 33).

Zimbabwe for much of the period under review failed to ensure that minimum essentials needed to free citizens from hunger are met. In this regard the government could have taken effective steps to ensure that these rights are fulfilled (Rufu, 2009: 59). Such steps should have been subsidizing food thereby making it cheaper, encourage citizens to grow their own food and providing them with related resources.

Incessant violence, repression and coercion to which most Zimbabweans have been subjected to arose largely from the country's failure to ratify the International Convention against Torture (Human Rights Study, 2017: 1). Further exacerbating the situation was lack of rigorous mechanisms to enforce human rights. Instead of strongly condemning human rights violations, the African Commission only issued recommendations relating to their protection. In 2008, the UN Special Raporteur on Torture and Other Barbaric Acts was denied entry into the country thereby invalidating all attempts to curb human rights abuses in that country (Rufu 2009: 63).

Another complicating factor is that Zimbabwe lacks a commitment to include all actors in policy formulation and execution (Human Rights Report 2017, 2017: 29). The absence of a significant number of women in the top echelons of government speaks to the persistence of paternalistic cultural tendencies. Patriarchy thus hindered

women's active involvement and participation in decision-making (Country of Origin Information Report, 2010: 82).

Democratic and more representative governance requires the involvement of NGOs, civil society groups, academics and the private sector in decision making (Human Rights Report 2017, 2017: 30). This means that government has the responsibility to promote public engagement of all sectors of society in decision making. What we have seen instead is that only a few with minimal connection to civil society organizations are involved as most of e organisations are viewed as a security risk. As a result, these government executives lack the required skills and willingness to openly engage NGOs (Rufu, 2009:36).

5.6 Conclusion

From Chapter findings, it is abundantly evident that HS challenges is a very serious problem in Zimbabwe. Though HS is understood as prioritising the security of people especially their welfare, safety and wellbeing, the government of Zimbabwe has, for the period under review, failed to meet these HS requirements.

The findings have indicated that though Zimbabwe was faced with chronic poverty and food insecurity for long periods of time, the government failed to address the problem timeously and adequately. It continues to depend on food aid with more than half of the estimated 14 million Zimbabweans eating only one meal a day.

Health security is also similarly lacking as are other social amenities in the country. The study findings have shown that healthcare system is costly and inaccessible. It is further impacted by weak infrastructure, low wages and low staff motivation. Most hospitals are operating at below capacity as doctors and nurses have left for greener pastures elsewhere.

Poverty is rampant as most people are living on less than US$ 1 a day. In 2008 about 94 percent of the 12 million people were unemployed in 2008 with about 3-4 million Zimbabweans earning their living through informal employment. Most activities comprise of street trading and illegal foreign currency dealings.

State-sponsored violence is common in the country and is aggravated by the government's unwillingness to uphold human rights agreements. The absence of

protective legislation and partisan judiciary exacerbated HS deterioration in the country even further.

From these findings several recommendations can be made and these are discussed in Chapter 6.

CHAPTER SIX

6. STUDY FINDINGS AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Before outlining the key findings of the study, a brief summary of each Chapter is made below;

6.1 A brief summary of Chapters

Chapter 1 stated that the aim of the study was to analyse the HS challenges in Zimbabwe from 2008 to 2017.

The study objectives were

- To identify HS challenges in Zimbabwe during that period
- To analyse those challenges, and
- To suggest a number of policy recommendations as to how to tackle such HS challenges wherever they exist in the region and on the continent.

That **Chapter** introduced the study and its motivation, aim and objectives as well as the research problem. It further outlined both the research methodology and design and how data was going to be collected and analysed. The role of theory was also discussed.

Realism theory was selected to help explain the role played of the ruling party and the security force in the politics of Zimbabwe. Realism is about power and how it is employed in politics. In the case of Zimbabwe, it became very evident that unbridled unlimited power can easily lead to its abuse. The first indication of this being President Mugabe and his party (ZANU-PF) stay in power for over three decades. During that time, they unleashed wanton violence against political opponents and variously abused state's resources to entrench themselves in power through electoral fraud. In the meanwhile, the country's economy imploded and HS situation deteriorated.

Realism argues that power is about the pursuit of self-interests. This implies that states and other international actors identify their interests and put priority on them. President Mugabe used the security force to serve his interests which was to remain in power. Under him government militants and security forces acted with total impunity against perceived opponents thereby imperilling their individual and general security of everyone in the country.

Chapter 2 elaborated on the political background of post-independence Zimbabwe and how HS was imperilled by various government programmes, namely Operation Murambatsvina and the land reform programme, to mention but few. As a consequence of these events, SADC initiated a political process which gave rise to a GNU of 2009 that ended in 2013. In spite of these interventions by the regional body, state-sponsored persecution of the ruling party's perceived opponents and various forms of HS violations persisted.

Chapter 3 detailed the research methodology employed by the study.

Chapter 4 was about the socio-economic crisis spawned by human rights abuses perpetrated by government. It further outlined factors that led to the economic downturn which impacted urban and rural households severely. With many social services collapsing, food insecurity and poverty became the norm throughout Zimbabwe.

Chapter 5 elaborated on the general HS requirements and implications in as far as good governance is concerned. In terms of these, Zimbabwe has not done well during the period under review. This means that the country has failed to increase people's involvement in decision-making processes and in placing everyone on an equal footing. This Chapter has shown how the state has violated the rights of the people especially those deemed to be supporters of opposition parties. While the causes of the economic implosion are multifaceted, these have been exacerbated by the exclusion of most from the political decision-making processes. In post-independence Zimbabwe one's political affiliation is central in determining one's socio-economic survival.

Taking cue from Ramcharan (2002: 2), this study is of the view that people's safety in the form of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms can serve as a foundation for national security. This means that a lack of freedom weakens and impoverishes people's creative ability. People are more likely to be inspired and productive in a society that respects their basic human rights and liberties. It can be said therefore that human dignity and self-respect are basic necessities of human nature. Thus civil and political rights are required for income redistribution, economic development and growth.

6.2   Policy Recommendations

Arising from the key findings above, it should be said, firstly, that Zimbabwe requires a political leadership that values national interests above its own. Institutions dealing with human rights should ensure that respect for people's rights, democracy and good governance are cultivated and consciously implemented across all sectors. Secondly extensive socio-economic programmes meant to stem the massive unemployment should be crafted to stimulate growth. The government should subsidise food, redistribute and encourage people to grow it themselves. Thirdly, resources need to be provided to the youth to support their development.

Fourthly, the government must continue to reach out to and seek economic partnership with the international community.

Fifthly, the widespread culture of violence should be terminated as it compromises efforts to democracy and peace. In this regard, organisations like AU and SADC should leaders of their responsibility to create a culture of good governance and democracy in their country.

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