

MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY



FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS AND PUBLIC MANAGEMENT

**EXAMINING THE CAUSES OF INTRA-STATE CONFLICTS IN ZIMBABWE AND
THEIR IMPACT ON HUMAN SECURITY AGENDA**

BY

MOYO THOBKILE P

R137038T

**DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS OF A BACHELOR OF SCIENCE HONOURS DEGREE IN
POLITICS AND PUBLIC MANAGEMENT AT MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY**

GWERU, CAMPUS

2017

APPROVAL FORM



The undersigned confirm that they have supervised and recommended to Midlands State University for acceptance: **the dissertation entitled: Examining the causes of intra-state conflicts in Zimbabwe and their impact on the Human Security Agenda.**

Submitted by: **Thobekile Prudence Moyo (RI37038T)** in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the Bachelor of Sciences Honours Degree in Politics and Public Management.

.....

.....

SUPERVISOR

DATE

.....

.....

CHAIRPERSON

DATE

RELEASE FORM

NAME OF STUDENT : Thobekile Prudence Moyo

REGISTRATION # : R137038T

DISSERTATION TITLE: Examining the causes of intra-state conflicts in
Zimbabwe and their impact on Human Security
Agenda.

DEGREE TITLE : Bachelor of Science Honours Degree in Politics And
Public Management.

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED: 2017

SIGNED

DATE

PERMANENT ADDRESS: House No 35
2nd Avenue and Robert Mugabe Way
Bulawayo
Zimbabwe

CONTACT NUMBER : 0774616332

EMAIL ADDRESS : *thobzah38@gmail.com*

DEDICATION

To my beloved parents, Mr L. Moyo and Mrs N. Moyo, my brother Z. Moyo and sister-in-law S. Masuku and my lovely daughter Nkazimulo Moyo.

ABSTRACT

The country has been highly susceptible to intra-state conflicts since the attainment of independence, thus this research assessed the causes of intra-state conflicts in Zimbabwe and the impact of intra-state conflicts on human security agenda. The main objectives were to assess the causes of intra-state conflicts in Zimbabwe, to analyze how intra-state conflict affect human security and to proffer recommendations on how intra-state conflicts can be managed as part of the human security agenda. The research collected data using random sampling method, from government officials, war vets, general population at large and eye witnesses and victims around the country through the use of questionnaires and interviews as methods of data gathering. Thematic approach was used in data analysis. The general conclusion was that in as much as intra-state conflicts have occurred in Zimbabwe they have severely impacted human security in different ways talk of loss of lives, destruction of infrastructure which is mainly because of the failure of the social contract between the government and the people thereby their negative impacts have retarded growth and development in Zimbabwe while an end to them seems obscure. Recommendation brought forward to minimise or eradicate intra-state conflicts and promote human security agenda include committed and sincere leadership, even distribution of resources, protection of fundamental human rights, eradication of poverty and finally provision of gainful employment especially for the youth and also putting into practice the use of preventive diplomacy. What then are the causes of these unending conflicts in Zimbabwe? How far have they impacted on human security and the potential development of Zimbabwe as a county? What can we do to overcome this monster? Answers to these questions form the bone of contention of this paper.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First I would like to thank the almighty God, the author and finisher of our lives. I would like to give credit to my guardians Mr and Mrs Moyo, whose support was invaluable throughout my research endeavour. Special thanks goes to my supervisor Mr W. Mudyadzo whose “interested intervention” made this work, a resounding success. Without him my research was not going to be a successful one and I strongly appreciate his input and at large the department of Politics and Public Management lecturers. In addition, it has been a marvel working with the entire honours group, the feeling was just great. The group’s insatiable desire to achieve greater things meant that names of Lorraine Mukomana, Charmaine M. Ndou, Petronella .S. Mpofu, Primrose Sikhosana, Lastchoice Masikati will forever be remembered.

DECLARATION

Moyo Thobekile Prudence declare that the topic “Examining the causes of intra-state conflicts in Zimbabwe and their impacts on human security agenda” is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

Signed

Date

TABLE OF CONTENTS

APPROVAL FORM	i
RELEASE FORM.....	ii
DEDICATION	ii
ABSTRACT.....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
DECLARATION	v
LIST OF TABLES	ix
ABBREVIATIONS.....	xi
CHAPTER I.....	1
INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.0 Introduction.....	1
1.1 Background	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem	4
1.3 Research Objectives	5
1.4 Research Questions	5
1.5 Justification of the Study	5
1.6 Delimitation of the Study	5
1.7 Limitations of the Study	6
1.8 Summary	6
CHAPTER OUTLINE	7
CHAPTER ONE; BACKGROUND.....	7
CHAPTER TWO; LITERATURE REVIEW	7
CHAPTER THREE; RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....	7
CHAPTER FOUR; DATA PRESENTATION-ANALYSIS-DISCUSSION.....	7
CHAPTER FIVE; SUMMARY-CONCLUSION-RECOMMENDATION.....	7
CHAPTER II.....	8
LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	8
2.0: Introduction.....	8
2.1: Literature Review.....	8
2.2: Nature and Scope of Intra-state Conflict	9
2.3: Types of Conflicts.....	9
2.4: The History of Conflict in Zimbabwe.....	10

2.5: Intra-state Conflict in Zimbabwe.....	11
2.6: Causes of Intra-state conflicts in Zimbabwe.....	13
2.7: Consequences of Intra-State Conflict	16
2.2: Theoretical Framework	18
2.8.1: Grievance Theory.....	18
2.8.2: The Marxist Theory of Rebellion	20
2.8.3: Relative deprivation theory	20
2.9: Summary.....	21
CHAPTER III	22
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	22
3.0: Introduction.....	22
3.1: Methodology	22
3.2: Population and Sample Size	23
3.2.1: Sampling	23
3.2.2: Target Population	23
3.2.3: Sample Size.....	24
3.2.4 Sample Design	24
3.3: Data Gathering Methods	25
3.3.1: Interviews.....	25
3.3.2 Personal Observation.....	26
3.3.3: Questionnaires.....	26
3.3.4: Document review or analysis	27
3.4: Ethical Considerations.....	28
3.4.1: Voluntary Participation and Informed Consent	28
3.4.2: No Harm to Participants	28
3.4.3: Confidentiality	28
3.5: Summary	29
CHAPTER IV	30
DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS	30
4.0: Introduction.....	30
4.1 Data Presentation.....	30
4.2 Data Analysis	30
4.3 Response Rate to Questionnaires for target population	31

4.4: Response Rate Analysis	31
4.5 Awareness rate of intra-state conflict in Zimbabwe.....	32
4.6: Causes of intra-state conflicts in Zimbabwe.....	34
4.8: Summary	40
CHAPTER V:	41
SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	41
5.0 Introduction.....	41
5.1 Summary of the Research.....	41
5.2 Conclusions	42
5.3 Recommendations	43
5.3.1 Committed and Sincere Leadership	43
5.3.2 Even distribution of resources	43
5.3.3 Promotion of rule of law.....	44
5.3.4 Protection of Fundamental Human rights	44
5.3.5 Eradication of Poverty.....	44
5.3.6 Provision of gainful employment for the youths.....	44
5.3.7 Adequate remuneration of civil servants.....	45
5.3.8 Preventive Diplomacy	45
APPENDICES	46
APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE GUIDE FOR GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS	46
APPENDIX 2: QUESTIONNAIRE GUIDE FOR WAR VETERANS	49
APPENDIX 3: QUESTIONNAIRE GUIDE FOR GENERAL POPULATION.....	52
REFERENCE LIST	55

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1: Target Population	24
Table 4.4: Response Rate to Questionnaires.....	32

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.2.....	34
Figure 1.3.....	37

ABBREVIATIONS

AU-African Union

CCJP-Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace

CPIA-Centre for Peace Initiatives in Africa

EU-European Union

GNU- Government of National Unity

GPA-Global Political Agreement

MDC- Movement for Democratic Change

PF-ZAPU-Patriotic Front-Zimbabwe National Peoples Union

SADC-Southern Africa Development

UDI- United Declaration of Independence

ZANLA-Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army

ZANU PF-Zimbabwe African National Unity Patriotic Front

ZCTU-Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Union

ZIMASSET- Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation

ZIPRA-Zimbabwe Peoples Revolutionary Army

CHS Commission on Human Security

DDC District Development Committees

ZNLWVA-Zimbabwe National Liberation for War Veterans Associations

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

Intra-state conflict has left a mark on the people of Zimbabwe, as it has left the country politically and socially divided. The research seeks to zoom into the causes of intrastate conflicts and the impact of conflicts on human security. It evaluates the effectiveness and efficiency of the policies in preventing intrastate conflicts, which is defined as conflict that occurs or exists within the boundaries of the state. Previous research and general opinion reveals that this act, intra-state conflict is disproportionately prominently fueled up by political and economic factors rather than social factors. However the research broadens its scope by not being biased but considers social factors in fueling up intra-state conflicts. The research paper will unpack the causes of intra-state conflicts which are fueled up by political, economic and social factors. More attention will therefore be paid on the impact of intra-state conflicts on human security agenda in Zimbabwe, of which the impacts are mostly negative than positive. These include destruction of infrastructure, loss of lives, and outbreak of diseases to mention but a few.

This chapter highlights the prelude of the study which presents the background to the study, unanswered questions that gave light to the researcher to come up with this topic. Also included in the chapter is the statement of the problem, significance of the study, delimitations and limitations indicating a critical assessment on the causes of intra-state conflicts and the challenges that government officials are facing in dealing with impacts of intra-state conflicts in the country. In this case, this chapter becomes the introductory part of the study.

1.1 Background

Zimbabwe has experienced a number of civil conflicts since attaining independence in 1980 and has a continuous history of violent conflict, dating back to the original occupation in the 1890's. Violent problem solving has been a feature of all governments, and persists today as according to Sachikonye (2011). Clapham, (2012) stipulates that states that emerged out of violent struggle through liberation movements seem to have developed differently to those

that emerged through peaceful handovers, and this is very evident in contemporary political dynamics in Zimbabwe.

The Liberation War, whilst beginning in the aftermath of UDI reached a peak in the 1970s with over 30,000 killed, thousands maimed or injured, tens of thousands tortured or abused, and tens of thousands displaced either to neighboring countries, or forced into protected villages as articulated by Realer, (2004).

Following a very brief period of peace, the country was once again wracked by extreme violence between 1982 and 1987 by the so-called Gukurahundi, ending with the Unity Accord in 1987. It is estimated that about 20,000 civilians were killed during this time, and once again torture became epidemic. Two other significant episodes of violence need comment. The 1998 Food Riots, predicated by deepening poverty increases in food prices, led to very violent response from the government with thousands arbitrarily imprisoned, and many thousands tortured, beaten or abused. In 2005, and following ZANU PF's resounding victory in the elections that year, the government, under the guise of urban renewal, displaced over 700,000 people in Operation Murambatsvina. This brought widespread international condemnation and accusations of genocide and had devastating consequences for a populace already reeling under growing poverty.

There was much speculation that this latter operation had little to do with urban renewal, and everything to do with pre-empting urban opposition and organization against the government. Outside of these two very serious periods of violence, the Liberation War and the Gukurahundi, virtually all elections since 1980 have been marred by political violence as according to Makumbe and Compagnon, (2000) and some were much more violent than others, especially since 2000. Presidential elections, 2013 apart seem particularly violent, as the stakes for retaining the immense power of the presidency are so very high. Whilst the elections in 2008 were not more violent than those in 2002, this latter election did not receive the usual support from SADC and AU, and forced ZANU PF into a power sharing arrangement with the MDC, the Global Political Agreement (GPA) resulting in the Inclusive Government.

The consequence of these violent elections, the violent displacement of commercial farmers and farm workers, attacks on the judiciary, and the frank abandonment of the rule of law, led to Zimbabwe being suspended from the Commonwealth, dispute proceedings being instituted

by the European Union under the Cotonou Agreement, leading to restrictive conditions being imposed on Zimbabwean political leaders, and the imposition of sanctions by the United States. All of this violence has had a marked effect on the nation, with estimates of the trauma caused by three, nearly four decades of political violence suggesting hundreds of thousands of trauma victims in need of rehabilitation and assistance. It has left a nation that is one of the most desirous of democracy in Africa also one of the most pessimistic about ever achieving this and a citizenry that is regularly termed.

Human Security Agenda:

The Commission of Human Security (CHS), in its final report Human Security Now, defines human security as: "...to protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfilment. Human security means protecting fundamental freedoms – freedoms that are the essence of life. It means protecting people from critical and pervasive threats and situations. It means using processes that build on people's strengths and aspirations. It means creating political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that together give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity."

As argued by the CHS, the need for a new paradigm of security is associated with two sets of dynamics, that is human security is needed in response to the complexity and the interrelatedness of both old and new security threats, from chronic and persistent poverty to ethnic violence, human trafficking, climate change, health pandemics, international terrorism, and sudden economic and financial downturns. Such threats tend to acquire transnational dimensions and move beyond traditional notions of security that focus on external military aggressions alone. Second, human security is required as a comprehensive approach that utilizes the wide range of new opportunities to tackle such threats in an integrated manner. Human security threats cannot be tackled through conventional mechanisms alone. Instead, they require a new consensus that acknowledges the linkages and the interdependencies between development, human rights and national security.

Human security is an emerging paradigm for understanding global vulnerabilities whose proponents challenge the traditional notion of national security by arguing that the proper referent for security should be the individual rather the state. The concept of security has traditionally been associated with states than individuals, but certain developments in the contemporary world such as evident disparities of economic opportunities both within and

between states, violent conflicts, socio-economic deprivation, diminishing nonrenewable resources leading to increased number in human trafficking, immigrants and refugees, manifest xenophobia in both rhetoric and violence towards migration and minorities have made it more relevant to focus over the individual as the organizing concept of the network, represents an alternative approach to the security of individuals and communities referring to both freedom from fear and freedom from want. Human Security encompasses the well known concepts of conflict prevention, crisis management and civil-military relations and furthers them through widening the definition of insecurity and adding a human rights and human development based perspective to security policies.

Putting individual agency at center of the problem, questioning the scope and institutional structure of security provision, and extending and altering the perception of threats by taking into account the political, economic and social dimensions of security. Human security implies a paradigm shift in traditional security mentality and policy making. At the EU level, Human Security does not only give rise to a new strategic narrative that has the potential of introducing new elements to EU Foreign Policy, in particular to Neighborhood Policy, but also provides new insights for various other EU policies, by integrating the objective of political stability based on democratic values to the debates on security, by exploring economic and environmental aspects of security that create non traditional security challenges, such as social exclusion, informal and illicit economies, organized crime and poverty and by tackling the shortcomings related to good governance and public sector reform from an alternative point of view.

Human security approach envisions democratization processes in which respect for human rights becomes the organizing principle of policy making, as governments are focused on what makes citizens safe and adequately provided for and that mechanisms exist for individuals and groups to take decisions about their own lives. It also implies democratization, transparency and accountability in policy making as a part of the transformation from a closed elite model of governance to one based on the interests and participation of all citizens.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Zimbabwe has experienced many intrastate conflicts since independence these include the so called Gukurahundi 1982-1987, Food Riots 1998, Presidential Elections 2002, Operation

Murambatsvina 2005, Presidential elections 2008 and 2013. The study sought to establish the causes of the intrastate conflicts and their impact on the Human Security Agenda.

1.3 Research Objectives

- 1-To assess the causes of intra-state conflicts in Zimbabwe
- 2-To analyze how intra-state conflicts affect human security.
- 3-To proffer recommendations on how intra-state conflicts can be managed as part of the human security agenda.

1.4 Research Questions

- 1-What are the causes of intra-state conflicts in Zimbabwe?
- 2-How do intra-state conflicts affect the Human Security Agenda?
- 3-How could intra-state conflicts be managed as part of the Human Security Agenda?
- 4-What possible solutions can be rendered to reduce and eliminate intrastate conflicts and promote human security?

1.5 Justification of the Study

Intra-state conflicts have left many economies in bad shape, they impact negatively on economic growth through weakening and destroying institutions resulting in stagnant and declining economic activity as according to Mlambo (2009). Intra-state conflicts have also weakened the people's access to human security requirements which include shelter, health, education and personal protection. Therefore intra-state conflicts should be managed efficiently due to its impact on the livelihoods of people in the country. The research seeks to trace the causes of intrastate conflicts and to link the impact of conflicts on human livelihoods in Zimbabwe. It will also explore or evaluate the effectiveness of policies safeguarding the human security as well as providing possible solutions to reduce and eliminate intrastate conflicts.

1.6 Delimitation of the Study

The study focused on examining the causes of intrastate conflicts and their impacts on Human Security Agenda particularly in Zimbabwe. The study does not seek to provide global examination of intrastate conflict.

1.7 Limitations of the Study

This research is a politically sensitive endeavor which is being carried out in a society that has an immature appreciation of human security. In this case, the provision of information from the areas under study may be very difficult since this may complicate information that is not meant to be disclosed.

This study also deals with victims, whose provision of information is guided by threats from state officials. Moreover the subject focuses on personal and confidential information and the acquisition of such information requires expert techniques of investigation which the author may lack, hence the provision of biased or distorted information cannot be ignored.

1.8 Summary

This chapter was mainly focused on providing the introductory part of this study. It alluded to issues around providing a sales piece to the study. The chapter provided all the background information around the subject under investigation. It also revealed the researchers main objectives, aims and questions the researcher seeks to answer.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

CHAPTER ONE; BACKGROUND

The scope of the research is on the evaluation of the causes of intra-state conflicts. The research will evaluate the impact of intra-state conflicts on Human Security in Zimbabwe and evaluate the effectiveness, efficiency of current policies on safeguarding human security. The background comprises of the statement of the problem, research objectives, research questions significance of the study, limitation and delimitation of the study.

CHAPTER TWO; LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter delivers into other commentators, scholars and authors who have researched or written on the same issue. It comprises of the theoretical framework, the framework tables out the theories that the researcher will adopt to conduct the research

CHAPTER THREE; RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The chapter will unpack on how the researcher conducted the research. In this chapter the research will reflect on the research design. It describes how data was collected; reflect the nature of the methodology as whether it was qualitative and quantitative.

CHAPTER FOUR; DATA PRESENTATION-ANALYSIS-DISCUSSION

Data presentation, analysis and discussion of findings will be particularly in this chapter. The chapter will prefer data presentation tools such as pie-charts, intimidation trends in view on the concept of intra-state conflicts.

CHAPTER FIVE; SUMMARY-CONCLUSION-RECOMMENDATION

This is the ending chapter of the research and brings forth findings of the study. Recommendation and suggestions will be commended for the researches and end users of the research.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.

2.0: Introduction

The field under study that is, examination of the causes of intra-state conflicts and their impact on the human security agenda in Zimbabwe, is build up by extensive literary text and analysis. In this case the chapter seeks to review these literary documents and to present their shortfalls which this research is inspired to cover. The chapter highlights the nature, causes, characteristics and scope of intra-state conflicts as presented by different schools of thought who seek to explain this degrading phenomenon. This chapter further encompasses the three types of intra-state conflicts and the impacts of intra-state conflicts on human security agenda. More so, the chapter develops a theoretical framework that inspires the study in question. It conceptualizes the field of study under review into an easily understandable phenomenon nurtured by the intended outcome of the researcher.

2.1: Literature Review

A literature review refers to the course of “interpreting, scrutinizing, assessing and summarizing theoretical information related to a certain topic” as stipulated by Narderrir (2010). It discusses published information in a particular subject area, and at times information in a particular subject area within a certain period of time. It can be just a simple summary of the sources, but it usually has an organizational pattern and combines both summary and synthesis, depending on the situation, the literature review may evaluate the sources and advise the reader on the most pertinent or relevant. A review can be defined to be an evaluative report of information found in the literature related to the selected area of study. It helps, as according to Sharp et al, (2002), the researcher to improve knowledge in the research area. It is the preliminary search that helps and refines the researcher’s ideas. Saunders et al, (2009), agrees and further state that crucial literature review helps the researcher to refine further their research objectives and questions and help them avoid simply repeating work that has been done already. In this case, this literary appreciation will be phenomenal in guaranteeing a unique approach that would be adopted by the researcher in articulating this study.

2.2: Nature and Scope of Intra-state Conflict

It is becoming increasingly fashionable to argue that conflict patterns today are fundamentally different from patterns in past historical eras. This argument could call into question the future value of decades of scientific research on the sources and consequences of intra-state conflicts. Several prominent differences have been proposed and major conflict related data set for evidence related to these explanation have been examined. It appears that intra-state conflict is currently more frequent and bloodier than inter-state conflict, as many analysts have argued. Similarly while analysts claim that future conflict will revolve around ethnic or cultural issues rather than territorial or ideological questions, the available evidence is mixed.

Conflict occurs when the deprived group or individuals attempt to increase their share of power and wealth or to modify the dominant norms, values, ideology or beliefs as stipulated by Gesiye, A. (2003). Conflicts involve more than one group, person, nations or multinationals. Issues become a conflict when issues cannot be resolved and that should be avoided. Conflict is viewed as a triangle with attitudes, structure and behavior as it arise and vertices where the parties come to have incompatible interests, values and goals. As mentioned earlier intra-state conflict refers to a conflict existing or occurring within the boundaries of a state, or between a government and a non-state group that takes place largely within the territory of the state in question.

2.3: Types of Conflicts

Dysfunctional conflict: This is reflected in its characteristics. It involves destruction and loss of lives, properties, investment opportunities hunger and starvation, diseases, insecurity, lack of legitimate law and order and when it leads to violence, wars, mass strike, massacres and other forms of disruption follows.

Functional/ Creative Conflict: This is a constructive way of expressing conflict. It reflects the differences and variety of human opinion and activity which exists in any free society. Where creative or functional conflict, which is a major source of innovations, new ideas, institutions and social change are suppressed altogether, a nation becomes static and stagnant.

Armed Conflict: When a conflict turn into open combat with at least 25 battles related deaths per year, then it is described as armed conflict. This is common between governments

(inter-state) or between governments and armed groups within the states or between opposed armed groups (intra-state).

2.4: The History of Conflict in Zimbabwe

The Dissident/Gukurahundi conflict

Zimbabwe between 1982 and 1986 experienced the most damaging intrastate conflict after the attainment of independence. The conflict was concentrated mainly in the Matabeleland north and south provinces in Zimbabwe as well as some parts of Midlands. The Gukurahundi left a lot of challenges to the survivors of the conflict. The challenges are multi-faceted and numerous. The full scale of the impact of the intra-state conflict on those who survived it has yet to forensically establish, as according to the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Zimbabwe 2003. However from recorded interviews, it is apparent that those years have left people a legacy of problems which include psychological, physical and practical difficulties.

The effects of the conflict are short term while others are long term effects, and the effects are complex. The effects were individual, familial and community as the conflict resulted in the deaths of hundreds of people as postulated by the CCJP. Many were either tortured, witnessed killings, were abducted or had their relatives abducted. The survivors showed both psychological and physical effects. Research has proved that victims of atrocities and intra-state conflicts are more often than not caught up in the vicious cycle of poverty. Thus the poverty is usually a direct loss of property, the death of a bread winner or a disruption of economic activities.

1987 Unity Accord

The church played an important role in facilitating peace talks between ZANU PF and PF ZAPU. The CCJP was instrumental in beginning dialogue between the two parties. Church leaders from Christian organisations approached the former President C. Banana to act as a mediator. The talks began in 1983 and came to an end with the signing of the Unity accord on December 22 1987. Thus the accord brought to an end the dissident issue or Gukurahundi operations which left many either dead, traumatized or maimed. The accord was elitist and failed to deal with the effects of Gukurahundi era especially at grassroots level as stipulated by the Centre for Peace Initiatives in Africa (CPIA) (2005). Human rights violations of the era continue to haunt the countries psyche.

Operation Murambatsvina 2005

An operation by government of Zimbabwe labelled Operation Murambatsvina began in May 2005, which was translated to mean “Operation Clean-up”. Its purpose was to clean up cities through removing illegal structures with the aim of getting rid of criminal elements from communities around the country, and the operation affected almost every part of the country. According to critics the operation was labeled a retributive exercise targeting MDC constituencies which had shunned ZANU-PF during the elections of 2005 as stipulated by Suwane (2005). Many people were left homeless as many dwellings were destroyed in many parts of the country. Thus vending stalls and small and medium enterprises were part of the destruction of buildings. The government of Zimbabwe did not make arrangements to create new housing for them or move people, thus the deliberate destruction of homes in a country that was faced with unemployment, collapsing resources and hunger greatly traumatized the nation as many people were displaced and left to fend for themselves.

Election Violence 2000, 2005, 2008 and 2013

The elections in Zimbabwe have been generally characterized by violence. Major political parties since 2000 that is ZANU-PF and MDC have been involved in violence with their target on political opponents before, during and after the elections. Enforced disappearance, torture, imprisonment, rape and murder were part of Human rights violations during the election period. Political violence victims suffered a number of social, physical and psychological consequences with short and long term effects. Thus it has actually left the nation with the need of peacebuilding framework.

2.5: Intra-state Conflict in Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe has experienced several conflicts, the war of independence was a civil war by any definition. The conflict began in the early 1960's and by late 1960's and throughout most of 1970's it had translated into an armed conflict. There were two liberation movements in Zimbabwe namely Zimbabwe National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) led by Robert Mugabe and its armed wing, Zimbabwe National Liberation Army (ZANLA) and Patriotic Front Zimbabwe National Peoples Union (PF-ZAPU) led by the late Joshua Nkomo and its armed wing known as people's revolutionary army (ZIPRA) fighting against the Rhodesian government led by the late Ian Smith. The Rhodesian forces killed thousands of civilians at refugee camps in Mozambique and in Zambia. PF ZAPU was based in Zambia and ZANU PF

was based in Mozambique, were scores of people killed by Rhodesian forces were black Zimbabwean refugees.

The war killed a number of people and displaced many people internally and outside the country as according to Tekere (2007). Kagoro (2005) states that the war ended with the Lancaster House Agreement and negotiated current constitution in 1979. Before independence in 1980 and immediately after independence ZANLA and ZIPRA forces were involved in fighting in their assembly camps while awaiting redeployment into the national army. There were no known causes of the conflict, soon after ex-ZIPRA group began to operate as dissidents in the Midlands and Matabeleland provinces were they began to terrorize people and security forces responded. About 3,750 civilians were killed or went missing, 680 homesteads were destroyed, 10,000 were detained and 2000 tortured according to the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Zimbabwe (1997). Peace only returned after the two parties ZANU-PF and PF-ZAPU signed a unity accord on December 22 1987 and merged their party into one single party.

The birth of an opposition party in 2000 known as Movement of Democratic Change (MDC) led by Morgan Tsvangirai a trade unionist occurred during the period the Zimbabwean government drafted a constitution and MDC opposed the draft constitution. According to Timbe (2007) who's of the view that after loosing in the referendum ZANU-PF began to mobilize itself to prevent an outcome similar nature in the next general elections. When the war veterans began with the forcible occupations of white commercial farms, the ZANU-PF government embraced this move to turn around its political fortunes. MDC, United Kingdom and the entire European Union condemned the government's occupation of white commercial farms. The United Kingdom (UK), European Union, the United States (USA) and other western governments, impose a travel ban on top officials from both government and ZANU-PF to demonstrate their displeasure. These travel bans are now known as sanctions because of their devastating nature on ordinary people and the economy have included other measures too.

During the 2000 presidential election campaign, there were 1,096 acts of violence and included 35 deaths as presented by the Media Monitoring Zimbabwe (MMPZ) (2009). However, according to the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Zimbabwe (2001), violence erupted during the pre and post parliamentary elections period and about 24 people were killed, seven of them white commercial farmers, and a number of others tortured.

The Zimbabwean Human Rights Watchdogs reported 1,221 acts of violence including 1 murder during the 2005 elections. In the 2008 harmonized elections, there were 8,558 incidents of political violence including murder, unlawful detention and arrests, abductions harassments, torture, assault and property destruction. Elections conducted in 2008 did not produce a conclusive winner at presidential level. Two political parties, thus ZANU PF and MDC-T signed a global political agreement (GPA) on 15th of September 2008 to form a Government of National Unity (GNU).

2.6: Causes of Intra-state conflicts in Zimbabwe

As everywhere in the world, intra-state conflicts in Zimbabwe are caused by human action and can be ended by human action. The major root causes include political, economic and social inequalities. Roots of social conflicts are associated with the struggle for maintaining or challenging a dominant power status, frustration generated by relative deprivation, repression of basic needs and differences in cultural norms and values as stated out by LeBaron (1997). Living a life of fulfilment and contentment is non-negotiable to man, therefore where the daily bread is threatened, probably there is bound to be conflict.

The causes of intra-state conflicts in Zimbabwe are numerous, interconnected and interrelated ranging from individual to group violation, to structural inequality and injustice. The causes of conflicts in Zimbabwe are either locally or are a result of transformations in internal structure. The issue of continuing economic decline and material insecurity are accompanied in the country by increase in political instability and conflicts. Thus the causes of intra-state conflicts are categorized into political, social and economic factors.

Poverty- Both conflict and poverty are related, that is poverty can cause conflict while conflict can lead to poverty based on the state of insecurity and bad governance. Poverty can be defined or implies some form of deprivation, in terms of resources or opportunities. Fearon and Latin (2010) are of the view that poverty increases the possibility of intra-state conflict, not by increasing opportunities of rebel recruitment as stated by Collier, but rather because poverty is generally associated with a weaker state both in terms of financial and military capabilities. They argue that a weaker state increases the chances of a rebel group's success in intrastate conflict. Collier and Hoeffler (2002), however, argue that poverty increases the likelihood of intra-state conflict onset by making it easier for the rebel groups to recruit fighters, because the economic benefits of joining a rebellion actually outweigh conventional economic activities in impoverished societies.

They argue that this is supported by analyses demonstrating that high male school enrolments reduce the risk of war in a country. Therefore, the explanations above determine that the process by which poverty increases the chances of intrastate conflict rests upon provision of greater incentive and opportunity to rebels.

More so, armed conflict cannot be sustained without material and financial support, therefore, poverty is unlikely to be a sufficient condition or reason to trigger intra-state conflict in Zimbabwe, but rather it may be an instrumental organization of collective violence when other conditions are in place. Key results of these studies has been the focus on poverty as the main cause of intrastate conflict, as demonstrated by Collier et al (2003) who stipulates that “the key root cause of conflict is the failure of economic development” and Sambanis (2002) is of the view that intrastate conflict is the problem of the poor.

However, though poverty is viewed as an underlying cause of conflict, the precise process by which poverty triggers intra-state conflicts continues to be a debatable issue. If therefore the saying is true that “a hungry man is an angry man”, then conflicts may for long be a part of Africa life owing to this situation of absolute poverty prevalent across the continent.

The Legacy of Colonialism: States that emerged out of violent struggle through liberation movements seem to have developed differently to those that emerged through peaceful handovers as argued by Clapham (2012), and this is very evident in contemporary political dynamics in Zimbabwe.

Africa has been under the yoke of colonialism since the 19th Century and during this colonial era, Africa experienced an exploitative, brutal and rough colonial administration. Colonialism terminated in Africa in 1994, none the less the physical departure of colonial powers does not make the continent free from the impact of colonialism. Thus the legacy of brutal colonial rule remains intact. One major legacy of colonialism is intra-state conflict which emanated from the arbitrary boundary made by colonial powers. Colonial powers blindly carve up borders of states and thereby merged together different ethnic groups and fragmented some ethnic groups, as a result it caused intrastate conflicts. The arbitrary division of ethnic communities and the subsequent occurrence of ethnic violence are the legacies of colonialism which ignored cultural differences during the creation of artificial state boundaries as argued by Alemazung (2010).

However, if all African ills are blamed on colonialism, the African state is in danger of allocating the blame of present government actions to the past era. By so doing, Zimbabweans and Africans at large play a prominent role in condoning bad governance or corruption on the premise of colonialism. Therefore persisting in using colonialism as an explanation for African ills gives the perspective that despite having gained independence, African states are powerless and to external influences, whether past or present.

Dysfunctional state: Political exclusion through single party state dominated authoritarian rule has been an important cause of Zimbabwe's deepening crisis. One state party for example in Zimbabwe we have ZANU-PF, which exhibits various gradations of exclusionary rule from fascist fundamentalist to narrowly base authority. Election processes are manipulated, tightly controlled or flawed. Opposition political parties are often not inclusive in the government as they have the monopolistic control of the machinery of the state. A good example is Mugabe in control of Zimbabwe.

Resource Control and Competition: The central role of states in determining resource distribution makes it a major target and when power is overcentralized, it becomes a reason for conflicts. Resource scarcity and control in Zimbabwe arise from the natural resources base, population pressures and environmental degradation.

Corruption: One of the major factors responsible for internal conflicts in Zimbabwe is the devastating impact of corruption. Corruption is the abuse of entrusted power for private gain. It can be classified as grand, petty and political, depending on the amounts of money lost and the sector where it occurs. Corruption manifested in the embezzlement and misappropriation of public funds, has paralyzed development efforts and caused debilitating immobilize in the march towards socio-economic transformation and political integration in Zimbabwe. Africa's resources have been badly managed over the years that masses are fed up with their leaders. This has provoked the militant nationalism against Africa leaders. The result expectedly is the unending conflict across African states. The African union itself acknowledges the debilitating impact of corruption on the political and socio-economic stability of Africa States. This perhaps explains the adoption of the Africa Convention on Preventing and Combating Corruption by the 2nd ordinary session of the Assembly of the Union on 11 July 2003. Among other things the convention is meant to promote and

strengthen the development in Africa by each state party, of mechanisms required to prevent, detect punish and eradicate corruption in the public and private sectors.

Economic Reform Programs: The June 2008 G8 summit is pointed out as a cause of conflict in Africa to include the legacy of colonialism, the support of the G8 for repressive regimes in the cold war, the creation of dept. traps, the massive failures of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) imposed by IMF and World Bank and the deeply unfair rule of the international trade. Introduction of fees for free services can promote social tensions, as has the removal of certain producer and consumer subsidies.

Problem of Political Liberalization: In Zimbabwe, attempt to liberalize political processes with multi party elections have been incomplete and fraught with difficulties. To Africa liberalization is risky as change of any sort can cause instability. During the processes for political liberalization, new elites and old ruling groups, fighting over public support, often resort to nationalist appeals as winner takes all approach to democracy often cause conflict. These increase conflict between different political, economic and identity interests groups as it is prevalent in Africa.

Inept Leadership: Zimbabwe has consistently suffered from the problem of inept leadership which in a way has actually retarded political integration and unity. Zimbabwe has reliably experienced the issue of clumsy authority which has impeded political combination and solidarity in every single African state. Given the heterogeneous synthesis of most African states, maybe what they required most are the excellences of managerial respect, political resilience and social equity. These fundamental fixings are to be given by the mainland's administration. Tragically be that as it may, the substances on ground in most African countries have uncovered that most African pioneers are weak, corrupt and unpatriotic. Aside from hindering national coordination and financial advancements, the states of mind of these rulers have started off boundless bleeding savagery.

2.7: Consequences of Intra-State Conflict

The toll of violence on individual, family and the country in a conflict situation makes life a constant process of adapting to basic insecurity and permanent crisis. Civilians mostly women and children are the major victims of conflicts. The people are prevented from meeting their daily basic needs and agricultural farms are destroyed creating shortage in full supply leading to hunger and starvation. In Africa, genocide and diseases are estimated to

have claimed at least 19.6 million lives since 1945. The number of refugees has increased from 2.5 million 19 conflicts to and in most cases leads to war which displaced people and make millions homeless.

Conflict situation have a very serious effect on the economy as conflict situations reorients resources from socio-economic development to military and also reduces investments and retard development. Total destruction of the social structure and infrastructures, human capital, local economic institutions and also create insufficient labor for production. Trade and economic activities are disrupted, thus economy collapses. Outbreak of diseases and violent crime and investment by the government will be drastically reduced.

Intra-state conflicts destroy the society social structure and coping mechanism as the women and children are the targets. Increase in insecurity, hostilities and outbreak of diseases are inclusive of effects of intra-state conflicts, for example the Gukurahundi and Operation Murambatsvina in Zimbabwe, left victims insecure up to today. Thus in 2005, ZANU-PF carried out Operation Murambatsvina, which was officially undertaken to remove vagrants and illegal dwellings and businesses. Actually some schools of thought claim that, the operation was more likely aimed to preempt mass protest against an expected increase of food prices in the face of deteriorating economic conditions and clamp down on key illegal markets, like foreign exchange.

An Afro-barometer survey of October 2005 revealed that 54% of all adult Zimbabweans experienced some effect of operation Murambatsvina. Which included the destruction of dwellings, eviction from homes, closure of businesses, loss of jobs and arrest for illegal trading. It has been noted that Harare and Bulawayo residents were reported among the highest numbers of home destructions roughly, 72% and 66% of all residents reported that their dwellings were destroyed.

Women and children in particular suffer unspeakable atrocities in intra-state conflicts. In the past decade, according to an estimate, up to two million of those killed in intra-state conflicts were children. Three times as many have been seriously injured and or permanently disabled and millions were psychologically scared by violence. Countless others have been forced to witness or even take part in horrifying acts of violence. The widespread insecurity and trauma due to the atrocities and suffering of the civilian population is another terrible legacy of these conflicts. Conflicts create extensive emotional and psychosocial stress associated with attack,

loss of loved ones, separation from parents and destruction of home and community. The psychological impact of war is an aspect poorly addressed by the governments, as are the root causes of conflicts, such as exclusion and polarization of groups, in their efforts to rebuild society and prevent a relapse of violence.

Sexual violence is another ruthless effect of intra-state conflict. Warring parties resort to rape and sexual slavery of women to humiliate, intimidate and terrorize one another, as in the recent conflicts. Rape has been a weapon of ethnic cleansing aimed to humiliate and ostracize women and young girls for bearing the enemy's child and to eventually destroy communities. Therefore intra-state conflicts have consequences or negative impacts on Human Security which focuses primarily on protecting people while promoting peace and assuring sustainable continuous development. Human security involves seven components which include economic security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security, thus intra-state conflict threaten all the seven components of security. As a result conflicts within a state threaten human security agenda.

2.2: Theoretical Framework

In this part, various theories which explain the causes of civil conflicts are reviewed and analyzed for their relevance in the Zimbabwean context of conflict and in general. There are several theories which tend to explain the causes of intra-state conflicts, and they have identified certain elements or conditions which make intra-state conflicts feasible. Zimbabwe has experienced a number of conflicts and no one has been prepared to handle them or prevent them. The researcher attempts to examine and analyze various theories relating to the causes of civil conflicts which include the Grievance Theory, Relative Deprivation Theory, Marxist Theory of Rebellion and identifies elements in the theories which are critical to the causes of civil conflict. The purpose is to identify natural and man-made elements that would make intra-state conflicts inevitable by so doing, the country can adequately prepare itself in preventing future intra-state conflicts before they occur. The presence of abundant natural abundant resources in Zimbabwe has been seen as a blessing, however theory predicts it as a source of its problems. Through knowing the risk posed by primary commodity, measures can be taken to eradicate or minimize the opportunities of intra-state conflicts.

2.8.1: Grievance Theory

Communities consists of different segments and some of these segments may have grievances that can lead them to violence in their aim to resolve the grievances. Rugumamu and Gbla

(2003) assert that the possibility of a conflict occurring is inherent in all communities. The divergence in views and interests among different groups of people is natural, but how divergences are expressed and managed will determine whether the conflict will be political peaceful or violent. The theory is based on how grievances are managed by those who feel aggrieved and those that promote inequalities and inflict injustices. Collier and Hoeffler (2000) identify the three types of grievance namely, hatreds between groups, political exclusion and vengeance. It has to be noted that hatreds between different religious groups and distinction between ethnic groups are believed to be one of the most frequent causes of intrastate conflicts.

Then political exclusions can occur when a certain people are denied political rights and participation and also when minorities are not protected through constitutional provisions. The theory assumes that the existence of the so called grievances would lead to intrastate conflict. This is a very weak assumption as in real life, in every community, there are some grievances where even the majority may not get the same privileges but they do not all lead to a civil conflict. This is a very weak theory though, in every community, there are some grievances where even the majority may not get the same privileges but they do not all lead to a civil conflict. As such the premises of the theory are very weak in explaining the causes of civil conflicts. The theory does not show which grievances in fact result into a civil conflict and which ones do not. It actually down plays the role played by various mechanisms which maybe in place such as community leaders, church leaders and conflict management processes in solving grievances.

This theory can be applied in Zimbabwean context, thus there were elements of grievances resulting in dissident activities soon after independence in Matabeleland and Midlands provinces of Zimbabwe. A group of former ZIPRA ex-fighters began to terrorize people in those provinces and the security began to hunt them down in the process life's of innocent civilians abducted, tortured, killed and their property destroyed. The operation is known as the Gukurahundi. The dissidents had grievances although they were not enunciated, though the catholic commission for justice and peace argue that there were no identified causes. The ZANU-PF government had also confiscated commercial companies and projects belonging to PF-ZAPU. As a result PF ZAPU and the dissidents therefore had grievances which were addressed through the merging of the two parties under unity accord. However ZAPU has been revived by some elements who feel the unity accord has not benefited them giving rise

to a new dimension of grievances. Therefore the grievance theory is weak in that all communities have some sort of grievances but not all have experienced civil conflicts.

2.8.2: The Marxist Theory of Rebellion

Market crises lead to revolts amongst the peasantry and other classes who experience secondary exploitation, leading to alliances of all those who are exploited. In the event that market crises spread rebellious conflict to all classes and segments of society at the same time the situation assumes revolutionary character. The state and its policies, not the economy, become the crux and goal of class conflict. This is so because the state is held responsible for the economy as a whole. Working class divisions are basically ethnic and some internal which cause conflict prevent solidarity class action. The Marxist theory of rebellion, like the economic theory is based on the economic inequalities that prevail in a capitalist state. Schock 1996) describes the theory as Marxist ideology of class struggle which is viewed as a historical force on social change, political conflict and revolution. The higher the probability that a nation and its policies will be challenged violently by the poor workers, the higher the probability that a conflict will take course.

This theory compliments the liberation war in Zimbabwe in the 1970s and it can be referred to as a class struggle. The fighters were motivated to leave the country for Mozambique and other countries because of the raw deal they were getting as workers and as indigenous people. Thus the workers were basically indigenous blacks and did not own any means of production. But the treatment they got as workers including political exclusion motivated them to mobilize themselves around their difficult situation and this led to an intra-state conflict. Therefore, economic exploitation which creates a class of people, who are severely pushed into misery may use violence to challenge the impact of the exploitation.

2.8.3: Relative deprivation theory

This theory focuses on economic inequality. If people perceive that there is a gap between what they are currently getting and what they deserve to get, it actually creates discontentment as suggested by Steffensmeier et al (2005). Hypothesis stipulates that if the gap is too big for a reasonable group of people within a specific population then there is a chance that people will rebel. The theory refers to the assumed gaps between individual's value expectations and how they anticipate the value of their capabilities. The origin of the relative deprivation theory stresses the degree of the economic inequality in a community. Douma (2006) explains that the relative deprivation evolves from ones judgement regarding

his or her circumstance and status in the community, which will be followed by issues of discontent, anger, host of other emotional factors and resentment.

Thus this theory is relative in the Zimbabwean context in 2000 were the war veterans felt society owed them at least a farm, thus by so doing they mobilized themselves and invaded the farms owned by white commercial farmers. The war veterans felt society owed them for taking part in the liberation war of Zimbabwe and were not content with what they were getting putting into consideration the sacrifices they made in participating in war. The relative deprivation theory has an element of a class of people like in the Marxist theory of rebellion, and also economic inequality exists in the theory. Therefore this theory asserts that economic inequality causes intrastate conflict.

2.9: Summary

In analyzing the theories explaining the causes of intra-state conflicts it has been found that some theories and variables used are irrelevant in explaining conflicts which have occurred in Zimbabwe. However, certain theories do explain or are close enough to explaining the causes of civil conflicts relevant to Zimbabwe. In general, the theories explain the causes of conflicts in different parts of the world. However, amongst the theories themselves, there are others which are very strong in explaining most of the causes of intra-state conflicts and there are others which are very weak foundations and explain very little or are subject to much debate and challenge. Theories such as the grievance theory are weak in explaining the causes of intra-state conflicts. Its failure to single out or define which grievances result in intra-state conflicts leaves the theory very much ineffective and weak. All societies have grievances but not all of them have experienced civil conflicts.

Such a study provides as to how other countries can avoid and replicate internal conflict. However to a greater extent the theories provide theoretical premises, mirrors as it were, through which countries can view themselves and avoid civil conflicts by doing or not doing certain practices within their societies. Therefore stakeholders in Zimbabwe should consider these theories to come up with programs of action which will prevent civil conflicts in future by addressing the factors identified in various theories as the causes of intra-state conflicts.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0: Introduction

This chapter outlines or reveals the methodology and data collection technique that was used to collect data which ascertains the causes of intrastate conflict and its impact on Human Security Agenda in Zimbabwe. It justifies and describes the qualitative research methodology used to provide answers from the country under study. The chapter also provides the research design used to select relevant information and the personnel responsible for providing data for further analysis to the area under study. Finally it describes the data analysis procedures employed on the study.

3.1: Methodology

A qualitative method was employed which involved a systematic investigation that included an inductive, in-depth, non-quantitative study of causes of intra-state conflict and their impact on human security agenda. Burns and Grove (2003) describe a qualitative approach as a systematic subjective approach used to describe life experiences and situations to give them a meaning. Parahoo (1997) states that, qualitative research focuses on the experiences of people as well as stressing uniqueness of the individual. Qualitative research is referred to as a form of social enquiry that focuses on the way people interpret and make sense of their experience and the world in which they live in as stated by Holloway and Wheeler. Researchers tend to use the qualitative approach to explore the behavior, experiences, perspectives and feelings of people and emphasize the understanding of these elements. A person-centered holistic and humanistic perspective is adopted by researchers who use the qualitative approach to understand human lived experiences without focusing on the specific concepts. The underlining belief of qualitative research is that the world is neither coherent nor stable, it is also not uniform and therefore, truth as sought by quantitative researchers cannot be obtained because perspectives and understandings differ from group to group.

Qualitative research is defined as a means of exploring and understanding the meaning, groups or individuals ascribed to a social or human process as according to Thyer (2001). Thus the qualitative research approach was suitable for this study because the researcher

sought to understand the experiences of victims of intra-state conflicts in the focused area of study that is the causes of intrastate conflicts and their impact on human security agenda.

This research method was most suitable for the field under study, rather than the quantitative method since it drives interpretations and evaluations from the society's perspective. Rather than quantitative researchers who seek causal determination, prediction and generalization of findings, qualitative researchers instead seek illumination, understanding of human responses to a given situation as argued by Hoepfl (1997). The use of the qualitative approach was the researchers aim in this study.

3.2: Population and Sample Size

3.2.1: Sampling

Sampling is a process of selecting units from the population of interest so that the sample obtained will be used to generalize results from the population in which the sample was chosen as stated by William (2006). Thus in simpler terms sampling refers to a process of selecting a fraction of the population to represent the whole population. Not every member of the Zimbabwean population was quantifiable for reasons of cost and the possibility through the process of sampling.

3.2.2: Target Population

Target population is the aggregate of all possible elements for which results are required. It is that part of the population most suitable for giving out the required results for the research. Target or study population as according McMillan and Schumar (2010) is a group of elements or cases, whether individuals, objects or events that conforms to specific criteria and to which generalization of the result of the research intended to be withdrawn. Therefore, the study population consisted of the general population, at large more attention given to victims of intra-state conflicts in Zimbabwe, war veterans being the most important targeted population in the study as they have adversely been affected by a number of intra-state conflicts. The Government officials that is the Provincial Administrators, District Administrators and Town Councils, Office of the President, Ministry of Youth and Social Welfare were also part of the study population. Thus the above mentioned were the group of target population to which we intend to generalize the result of the research. The table below shows the targeted population.

Table 3.1: Target Population

Target Population	Number of targeted respondents
War vets	15
Government officials	15
Victims of intra-state conflicts	5
General population	20
Total	55

Source; Primary data.

3.2.3: Sample Size

A sample size as defined by Erikson (2008) is a portion of the population that will be used to respond to the research questions. Too large a sample might become unwieldy and too small a sample might be unrepresentative as observed by Cohen et al. therefore it would be difficult for the researcher to investigate all the people from which conclusions are to be drawn. By so doing the population constituted of 20 female participants and 35 male participants selected on different considerations and from different areas of Zimbabwe like Harare, Bulawayo and Midlands as those are the most affected areas by intra-state conflicts and represent different facets of opinions in the society.

3.2.4 Sample Design

A random sampling technique was used such that the sample of participants taken from the population would include participants from all dimensions of life in society. Thus the randomly sampled population was appropriate in carrying out this particular study. Under this method, a simple random sampling was done were the process of selecting a sample gave every unit a chance of selection. This simple random sampling complimented the snowballing method. As alluded by Blaxter et al (2006) it involves the selection of participants at random.

Purposive and snowballing were sampling procedures employed in the study. Snowballing being an effective technique for building up reasonable sample size as denoted by Denscombe, (1998). And purposive sampling involves handpicking of specific sample for research, as the technique is geared towards targeting people who have information about the

subject and it is noted that not everyone has information pertaining the study. Purposive sampling is a method that falls within the non-probability classification and is useful as it focuses on specific variables rather than general issues, and also helps to collect in-depth specific data from key informants. These distinct sampling methods enabled the researcher to get different views from people on the subject under study.

3.3: Data Gathering Methods

This part of the study identifies the data collection methods that the researcher employed in this research. Questionnaires, interviews and personal observation were employed as data collection methods for this research, and also to complement the findings the researcher made use of values, proceedings and norms of the area under study. Thus data collection methods are explained in detail below.

3.3.1: Interviews

An interview is a vocal communication between the researcher and the respondent in order to obtain information. A sequence of in-depth interviews based on a snow ball selection procedure was involved by the researcher, this included consulting a respondent on who to interview next. This was done due to the fact that the researcher did not quite have adequate information of the respondents who are victims of intra-state conflicts. According to Bhattacharjee (2012) postulated that interviews are a more personalized form of data collection than questionnaires and are conducted by trained interviewers using the same research protocol as questionnaire surveys, which is standardized set of questions.

Therefore the researcher used interviews to carryout the research, the researcher carried out twenty four interviews, thus five Government Officials, five War Veterans, four victims of previous intra-state conflicts and ten general public in cities and towns in Zimbabwe. An interview being a data gathering method, comprises of advantages and disadvantages of using it to gather data. The advantages of using an interview to gather data include the fact that it allows respondents to describe what is important to them and also useful for gaining insight and context into a topic. More so interviews permit direct contact between the respondent and the researcher hence one can be able to comprehend verbal and non-verbal cues through observation during the course of the interview. Having noted the advantages it is also of paramount importance to capture the disadvantages of conducting an interview as a method of gathering data.

This method is susceptible to interview bias, may seem intrusive to the respondent, time consuming and expensive as compared to other data collection methods. The method is based on the willingness of the respondents to co-operate and give correct answers. Thus interviews provided an in-depth analysis of the topic as well as the impact of conflicts on human security agenda.

3.3.2 Personal Observation

This is another technique used to gather data related to this study. An observation method involves the researcher in watching, recording and analyzing events of interest as according to Blaxter et al (2006). The observation technique provide the researcher the ability to collect data directly, provides a means of collecting substantial amounts of data in a relatively short period of time and some researchers go to the extent of capturing pictures of place or event of interest. Through observing the researcher was in a position to gather first hand information and was able to get the actual reality of the situation on the ground as compared to theory. Personal observation enables one to collect data when an event is occurring, thus direct evidence and the researcher do not rely on people for information.

As all other methods of gathering data, observation has its advantages which include collection of data by researcher where and when an event or activity is occurring, the researcher does not rely on peoples willingness to provide information and also the observer directly see what people do rather than relying on what they say they do. The limitations upon the technique are susceptible to observer bias, Hawthorne effect that is people tend to perform better when they know they are being observed and also it does not increase understanding of why people behave the way they do. In this case the researcher acted as a silent observer and acquired evidence of the causes of intra-state conflicts and the impacts of conflicts on human security.

3.3.3: Questionnaires

A questionnaire is a set of printed questions, usually with a choice of answers, devised for a survey or statistical study. A structured questionnaire with both open ended and close ended questions where considered an appropriate technique given the fact that it can evoke the feelings, beliefs, experiences, perceptions and attitudes of the ones directly affected by intra-state conflicts. This is a useful tool of data collection when you collecting information from a large number of respondents. The researcher managed to give out 55 structured questionnaires to the targeted population. Finn and Jacobson (2008) stipulates the advantages

of using questionnaires as a way of data collection, that's administration is comparatively inexpensive and easy even when gathering data from large numbers of people spread over a wide geographic area, it reduces the chance of evaluator bias as the same questions are asked of all respondents.

Adding on, people feel more comfortable responding to a survey rather than participating in an interview and finally tabulation of closed ended responses is an easy and straight forward process. Chattopadhyay and Seddon, (2002) denote that questionnaires enable quantitative data to be collected in a standardized way so that the data is internally consistent and coherent for analysis.

However Jacobson et al (2009) is of the view that questionnaires have their own restrictions when carrying out a research. They propounded that survey respondents may not complete the survey resulting in low response rates, items may not have the same meaning to all respondents, the size and diversity of sample will be limited by people's ability to read. Adding on the restrictions, the researcher is unable to probe for additional details, given lack of contact with responded, that is no one will never know who really completed the survey and also good survey questions are hard to write and they take time to develop and hone. To this end questionnaires played a pivotal role in enabling an in-depth understanding of the causes of intra-state conflicts and the impact of such on human security in Zimbabwe, highlighting peoples perceptions, views, trends and suggestions on the subject.

3.3.4: Document review or analysis

It is a formalized technique of data collection involving the examination of existing records or documents. The purpose of this method is to review a variety of existing sources for example documents, reports, data files and other written artifacts with the intention of collecting independently verifiable data and information. Thus the document review process provided with a systematic procedure for identifying, analyzing and deriving useful information from these existing documents which focused on the impact of intrastate conflicts on Human security agenda.

The merits of using this technique are that it is relatively inexpensive, good source of background information, unobtrusive, provides a behind the scenes look at a program that may not be directly observable and may bring up issues not noted by other means. However, the demerits associated with the technique are information may be inapplicable, disorganized,

unavailable or out of date. Also information could be biased and incomplete because of selective survival of information and it can be time consuming to collect, review and analyze many documents.

3.4: Ethical Considerations

Research is a public trust that must be ethically conducted, trustworthy and socially responsible if the results are to be valuable. Therefore the researcher's ethical considerations implored protection of participants, voluntary participation and confidentiality.

3.4.1: Voluntary Participation and Informed Consent

After agreeing to be interviewed, and also participant's informed, consent will be obtained before they complete the questionnaire. Informed consent is defined as the prospective subject's agreement to participate voluntarily in a study, which is reached after assimilation of vital information about the study as denoted by Burns and Grove. Thus participants will be informed about their rights to voluntary consent or decline to partake and withdraw participation at any time without penalty. The participants will be informed about the purpose of the study, the procedures used to collect data and assurance will be given that there will be costs involved.

3.4.2: No Harm to Participants

In any research that might be conducted runs a risk of injuring other people somehow as Babbie and Mouton (2008) adumbrates. Issues around the causes of intra-state conflict in Zimbabwe and their impact on human security agenda are very much sensitive politically, socially and economically. Thus questions are posed and respondents are required to release painful information concerning their circumstances, thus the researcher therefore considered this and asked questions in a way that would not provoke pain.

3.4.3: Confidentiality

The consent form reported that responses were going to be recorded, kept, processed and reported in confidentiality. Babbie and Mouton (2008) denote that in order to ensure confidentiality the researcher may identify person's response but promise not to do so in public. The researcher also assured respondents that the information provided will be kept private and confidential. The researcher remained neutral and non-judgmental during data collection, thus opinions of respondents were respected.

3.5: Summary

This section highlighted the research methodology that was used to guide the fieldwork of the research. Justification for the research methodologies and reason for the adoption of the case study design for the study were also included. From this approach, it is hoped that the research will investigate on causes if intra-state conflicts in Zimbabwe and the impact of intra-state conflicts on human security agenda.

CHAPTER IV

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.0: Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to interpret and analyse the data collected through the use of questionnaires and interviews as primary sources of research instruments in data collection and present the information in summarised form using graphs and pie charts. The information helps in achieving the research objectives and answering the research questions. Thus consideration was taken into account in relation to the sources and response rate regarding the research survey instruments administered.

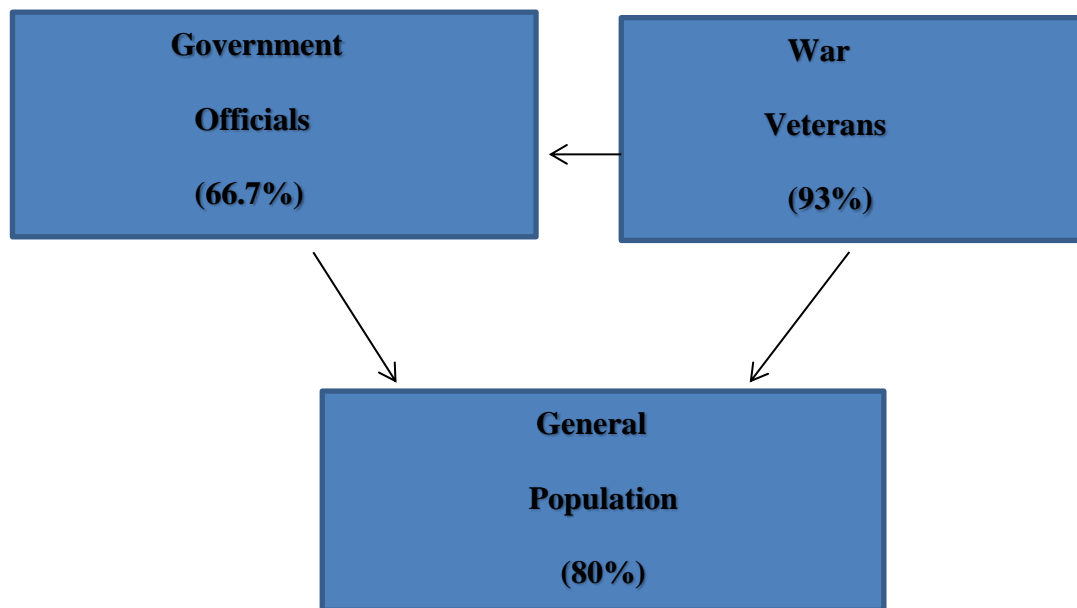
4.1 Data Presentation

Data presentation for this study is both descriptive and interpretive. The former is concerned with the presentation of useful data and information as acquired, whilst the latter entails deeper analysis. Key subjects or themes that emerge from the research are presented in separate sections for a focused appreciation of the investigation and its findings. Simple coherent and user friendly data presentation that elucidates on some of the technical terms or elements of the subject matter under consideration was used.

4.2 Data Analysis

Data analysis in qualitative research has been designated as simultaneous with data collection as stipulated by Merriam (2002). Data analysis has been stated by Marshall and Rossman (1995) as a process of bringing order, structure and meaning to the mass of data collected. MacQueen and Namey (2012) added that thematic analysis goes beyond counting explicit words or phrases, it focuses on identifying and describing both implicit and explicit ideas within the data, that is, construction of themes. Thematic analysis is the most commonly used data analysis method in qualitative research. This method of data analysis was therefore used to distil the acquired data in order to abstract the meaning and sense with regular attention to the research questions.

4.3 Response Rate to Questionnaires for target population



The above diagram reveals that the overall response rate for the intended participants directly and indirectly affected by intra-state conflicts from the population under study is 80%. This was a positive response as there was massive participation witnessed during the research exercise. The researcher came across challenges in engaging directly the victims of intra-state conflicts to testify their experience for fear of torture.

4.4: Response Rate Analysis

A total number of fifty-five (55) self administered questionnaires were issued. Eleven (11) of which were discarded or spoiled as they were incomplete and ineligible and others were not returned back. Therefore an overall response rate of 80% was obtained. The results obtained are tabulated in table 4.4 as shown below.

Table 4.4: Response Rate to Questionnaires

Targeted Group	Target Population	Actual Response	Response Rate%	Spoiled Questionnaires
Government officials	15	10	67%	5
War Veterans	15	14	93%	1
General Population	25	20	80%	5
Total	55	44	80%	11

Source: Primary Data.

ANALYSIS

The table 4.4 above is an indication of the 55 administered questionnaires by the researcher. 44 of the questionnaires were properly and fully answered thus representing a total of 80%. War veterans had the highest response rate because they are the ones who were most affected by the different types of intra-state conflict in the country as a result they have a much better understanding on the issue. Therefore the overall response rate was satisfying, as Saunders (2003) points out that a response rate of 60% and above is generally a representation of the population and any population lower than that should be well thought-out as biased and not fully-representative of the whole population. The researcher thereby considered the 80% total response rate as entirely justifiable and rational on the basis of creating conclusion and recommendations on this research. In fact, such a very high response rate enabled the researcher to acquire more justifiable results from the study's research.

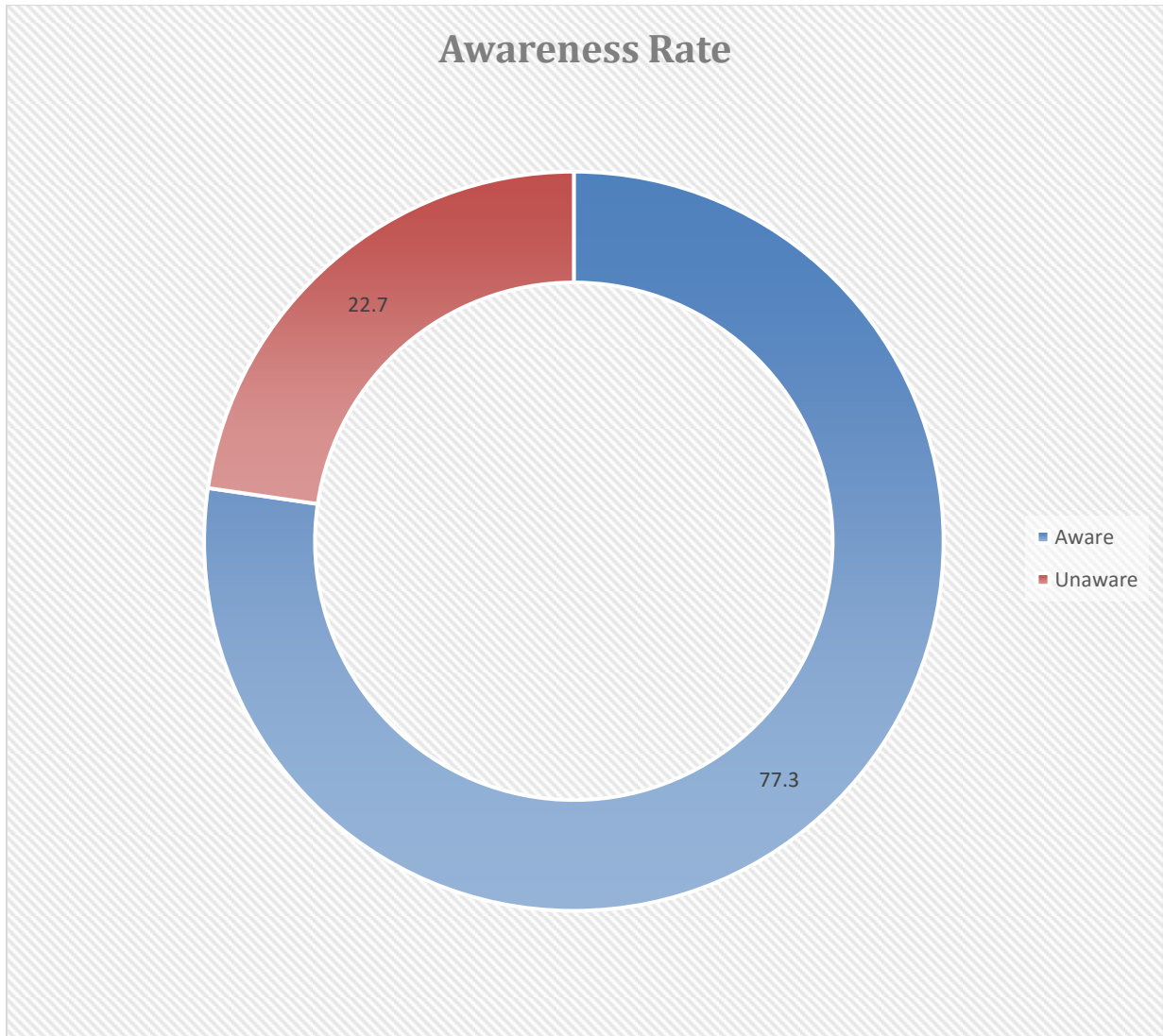
4.5 Awareness rate of intra-state conflict in Zimbabwe

Response

The response to the questions related to this topic, indicated that most people showed that they are well versed with the topic. Only a few show a lack of knowledge as to what intra-state conflict is. 77.3% of all the asked groups showed to have knowledge of what intra-state

conflict is. 22.7% totally agreed to the fact that they had no idea of what was being asked of them. Figure 1.1 below illustrates the awareness rate.

Figure 1.1



Source: Primary Data.

ANALYSIS

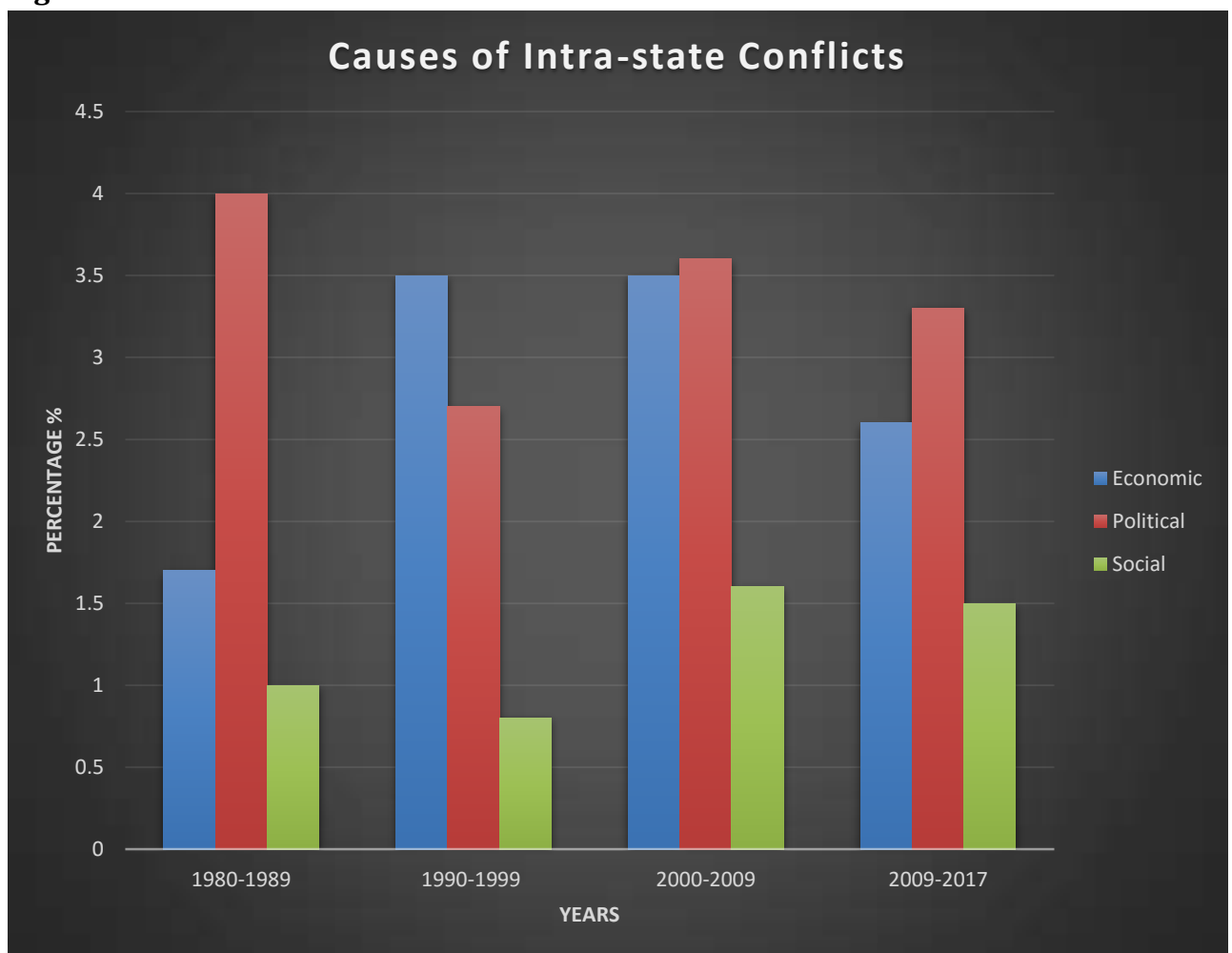
It is of surprise to know that some people have no idea what an intra-state conflict is, which popularly known as the civil conflict in Zimbabwe. The general population had a hard time in defining what an intrastate conflict is though most of them experienced a number of these conflicts in several occasions. Though after efforts of trying to explain they had an insight of what was being talked about. The same goes with some of the government officials who actually are supposed to know these things through the knowledge they get from their

respective organizations. However most of the targeted population that is 77.3 as shown in the diagram above, are aware of the intra-state conflicts in Zimbabwe especially those based in Bulawayo and Midlands as they were the most affected by the Gukurahundi and Murambatsvina era.

4.6: Causes of intra-state conflicts in Zimbabwe

Intra-state conflicts in Zimbabwe have been and are fueled up by political, economic and social factors. Political and economic factors being the most driving factors as compared to social factors. Figure 1.2 below elaborates further on the causes of intra-state conflicts basing on the past conflicts that have affected the country.

Figure 1.2



Source: Primary data 2017

Analysis

From *Figure 4.6* above it can be concluded that the causes of intra-state conflicts are divided into three categories that is economic factors, political factors and social factors. The research shows that most of the intra-state conflicts in Zimbabwe are fueled up by political rather than economic and social factors. From 1982-1987 the country was wracked by extreme violence the so called Gukurahundi, which was a conflict that was fueled up by political factors whereby suggested anti-government elements among the Ndebele community were identified and eliminated in acts of ethnic and political cleansing by the Shona military, rather than social and economic factors. Still on the 1980-1989 era the economic factors can't be left unsaid as they led to 1998 Food Riots. The riots were sparked by sudden increases in the price of mealie-meal, which is the staple food in Zimbabwe and other basic food items between 17% and 42% citing inflation and the decline in the value of the Zimbabwean dollar. It was an eruption of anger over deteriorating living conditions and charges of corruption and economic mismanagement.

1990-1999 the country experienced political and economic upheaval, economic factors being the drivers of the conflicts that covered the era and political factors also had an input. Market reforms in 1990s were attempted, though the policies failed to deal with the problem at hand. Thus a forty percent devaluation of the Zimbabwean dollar was allowed to occur and price and wage controls were removed. Growth, wages, employment and social service spending contracted sharply, inflation did not improve and the deficit remained above target and many industrial firms for example textiles and footwear, closed in response to increased competition and high interest rates. Therefore the incidence of poverty increased during this era. Unfair distribution of land in the country is considered to be an economic factor fueling up conflict in the country. In the late 1990s, although many white farmers had evacuated Zimbabwe after independence, those who remained behind continued to wield disproportionate control of sectors of the economy that is land or agriculture. That is they owned something like 70% of arable land yet their population was less than 1%. Therefore respondents show that a calculated move of forceful land distribution began. This act turned the breadbasket of Africa into one of Africa's most food insecure state.

2000-2009 both economic, social and political factors contributed to the conflicts that emerged in this era. Factors such as unfair practice in the conduction of election, that is corruption and rigging, economic decline it shrunk by 50% from 2000-2007 that is shortages of basic commodities in the country for example bread due to poor wheat harvest.

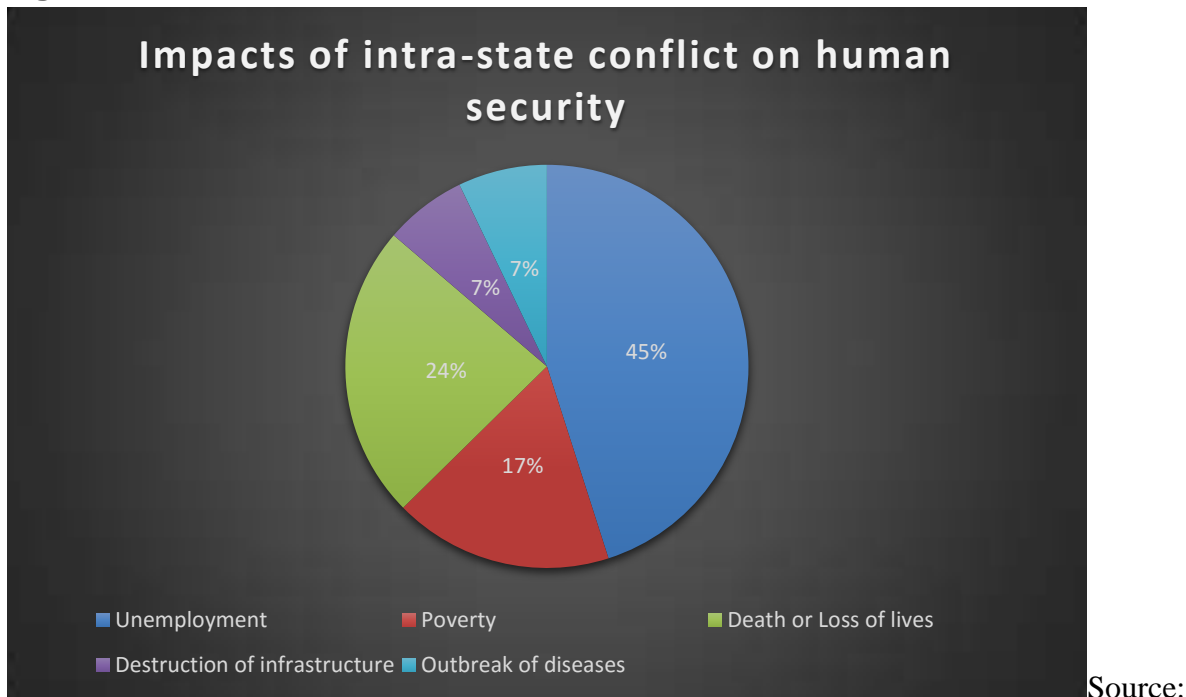
Unemployment and poor sanitation in the country are said to be other causes of conflict in the country. The conflicts include the 2002 elections, Operation Murambatsvina and finally the 2008 elections. Finally the 2010-2017 era the political factors take a lead as this era is made up of the 2013 elections which were not peaceful and also the 2016 Tajamuka era. Therefore intra-state conflicts in Zimbabwe are categorized under political, economic and social factors as causal factors of intra-state conflicts in the country.

Of all the eras of intra-state conflict discussed above, corruption is the main cause of conflict in the country. It manifested in the misappropriation and embezzlement of public funds which has paralysed development efforts. Thus mismanagement of resources over the years has provoked the militant of nationalism against their leaders.

4.7: Impacts of intra-state conflicts on human security.

The escalation of conflicts leads to the conflict process repeating itself and the structural changes also persists. Human security is divided into seven components that is economic security, health security, personal security, community security, political security, environmental security and food security. Human security has been negatively affected by intra-state conflicts which have weakened the people's access to human security requirements which include food, shelter, health and personal protection. It has also hindered economic growth through weakening and destroying institutions. Figure 1.3 shows the impacts of intrastate conflicts on human security.

Figure 1.3



Primary data

Analysis

From figure 1.3 above, it is clear that intra-state conflicts have negative impacts on human security which focuses primarily on protecting people while promoting peace and assuring sustainable continuous development. The toll of violence on individual, family and country in a conflict situation makes life a constant process of adapting to basic insecurity and permanent crisis. Research showed that conflict situation have a serious impact on the economy as it reorients resources from socio-economic development to military and reduces investments and retards development. Thereby leading to poverty in the country, as well as increase in unemployment.

Destruction of infrastructure is one of the impacts of intra-state conflicts on human security. Human security entails that human beings are entitled to shelter as a basic need for their safety and protection. However conflicts have negative impacts on the infrastructure as seen during the “Operation Murambatsvina” which deprived people from their right to shelter. Human security was tempered with as the government did not move people or build homes for them as an alternative of destroying their homes. Rather people were left homeless and household safety and security was compromised as a result of the operation and other intra-state conflicts. During this period peoples homes were destroyed all in the name of cleaning

up which wasn't true. The picture below shows the impact of the operation on human security.



Source: The Herald 2005

People were left leaving in the open, reasons cited during the research were, inability to secure alternative accommodation because of the scarcity and cost, shortage of buses and bus fare to ferry displaced people to their rural areas and also others had nowhere to go.

Health security aims to guarantee a minimum protection from diseases and unhealthy lifestyles. However healthy security has been compromised due to ongoing conflicts in the country. High death rate and outbreak of diseases escalates during and after an intra-state conflicts, which in this case is categorized as impacts of intra-state conflicts. For example during the Gukurahundi and the operation Murambatsvina era in Zimbabwe have left victims unsecure up to today. Outbreak of diseases such as cholera and spread of HIV hit the population in large numbers and led to death. Therefore it is of importance to note that intra-state conflicts or conflicts in general tend to have an impact on the human security. The short term impacts of the intra-state conflicts were devastating to the Matabeleland population during the Gukurahundi with an estimation of 20,000 people murdered and thousands more

suffering physical and psychological wounds from their experience at hand of the fifth brigade. High death rates were due to murder during conflicts and also due to failure to get treatment from clinics and hospitals.

Unemployment rates escalated due to conflicts that have taken place in the country. Research shows that most companies shut down during conflicts thereby leaving a large number of the population unemployed. The most affected ones were those in the informal sector as their jobs were affected by the operation clean up. This led to skills flight that is skilled and experienced personnel migrated from the country to neighboring countries in search for greener pastures, leaving the country brain-drained due to conflicts that have emanated in the country.

It has been common knowledge that Zimbabwe's education system prior to 2000 was deemed one of the best on the African continent. It was built on the basis of strong stable state that pursued a socialist ideology and deliberately adopted a strategy dubbed 'Education for All' (EFA) aimed at addressing the colonial imbalances and extending access to education to previously disadvantaged black children. However according to research findings the welfare of children especially in terms of their ability to attend school is a basic fundamental right which was affected by the intra-state conflicts. From the information solicited from respondents some observations are clear. The large numbers of children not attending school observed are a result of reasons which include relocation to new residential areas, inability of families to pay fees for new schools and also because areas where the displaced families had been relocated do not have schools or schools are full due to mostly the operation clean up. Thus interpretation above rely on assumption that socio-demographic criteria such as elderly headed household, female headed or presence of disabled members in the household are good proxy indicators for potential vulnerability. Other factors apart from pupil dislocation also include teacher dislocation, failure of children to sit for exams, problems of accessing schools due to persistent fuel shortages coupled with increased transport cost.

Conflict and fragility have a mutually reinforcing relationship, which in turn perpetuates extreme poverty. The illegitimate governing institutions and ineffective delivery of key services in fragile states contribute to extreme poverty. These corrupt or exclusionary institutions can lead to economic and social disenfranchisement which are two of the most common drivers of internal conflict and instability. In turn armed conflict further exacerbates extreme poverty, as it destroys assets, undermines livelihoods and diverts public resources

from economically productive investments. Conflicts can have long lasting negative impacts on poverty eradication that is, it takes an average of 14years to restore economic growth trajectories in countries that experienced intra-state conflicts as shown by data drawn from the World Banks's 2011, World Development Report.

Therefore the impacts of intra-state conflict on human security are that it leads to poverty, loss of lives that is high death rates, destruction of infrastructure, affects the education system in the country and also leads to outbreaks of diseases. Human security is tempered with in a country were there are intra-state conflicts.

4.8: Summary

The above discussion has clearly documented the analysis of the causes and impacts of intrastate conflicts in Zimbabwe. While some findings assisted in answering the research questions, some findings brought new insights on the consequences of intrastate conflicts on human security. The chapter presented and analyzed the research findings regarding the economic, political and social causes of intra-state conflicts in Zimbabwe.

CHAPTER V:

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter marks the end of the study and presents answers to the research questions and solutions to better ways to minimise or eradicate intra-state conflicts and promote human security in Zimbabwe. Summary of the study and conclusions would be drawn and recommendations proffered for future purposes.

5.1 Summary of the Research

The findings of this research has revealed that intra-state conflicts is the most common form of conflict today. As it describes sustained political violence that takes place between armed groups representing the state and one non-state group. Such violence is usually confined within the borders of a single state, but usually has significant international dimensions and holds the risk of spilling over into bordering states. Such conflicts in Zimbabwe are fuelled up mainly by political and economic factors rather than social factors which include political, social and economic inequalities, extreme poverty, economic stagnation, poor government services, high rates of unemployment, climate change and environmental degradation to mention but a few.

Zimbabwe has been encompassed by a number of conflicts which include Gukurahundi, food riots, 2002 elections, operation Murambatsvina and all other elections that have been conducted in Zimbabwe turn out to be more violent than peaceful thereby are classified under intra-state conflicts. The land reform programme is also an intra-state conflict that took place in Zimbabwe and it was driven by political factors. Of all the intra-state conflicts, that have been discussed above it is true to conclude that political and economic factors play a huge part to being the causal factors of conflicts in the country. One can ask what led to the Gukurahundi, Murambatsvina, Food Riots and above all violent elections since the attainment of independence.

Intra-state conflicts have left a great negative effect on human security in the country. Human security being defined as a dynamic and practical policy framework for addressing widespread and cross cutting threats facing government and people. It is recognised that

threats to human security vary considerably across and within countries and at different points in time. Thus the application of human security calls for an assessment of human insecurities that is people-centred comprehensive context, specific and preventive. This approach assist to focus on current and emerging well being of individuals and communities. The effects of intra-state conflicts on human security include increase in the rate of unemployment, outbreak of diseases such as cholera, typhoid and spread of HIV&AIDS escalated, loss of lives and injuries, causes underdevelopment, destruction of infrastructure for example homes, schools clinics and industries.

Intra-state conflicts also damaged investment confidence that is investors lost confidence in investing in a country were there was political instability and economic instability as well thereby leading to investors pulling out in so doing killing the economy of the country. Intra-state conflicts have weakened the people's access to human security requirements which include food, shelter, health, education and personal protection which are essentials that a country should guarantee its population of. A number of attempts have been made to deal with the effects brought about by the intra-state conflicts but however efforts have been side lined by the declining economy.

5.2 Conclusions

It can be concluded that:

- Failure of the social contract which is the view that social stability is based on a hypothetical social contract between the people and the government. People accept state authority so long as the state delivers services and provides reasonable economic conditions thus employment and incomes. With economic decline or stagnation and worsening state services, the social contract breaks down and violence results. Hence high and rising levels of poverty and decline in state services would be expected to cause conflict
- Many groups of people who fight together perceive themselves as belonging to a common culture. For that reason there is a tendency to attribute conflicts to primordial ethnic passions which makes them seem intractable. In conflicts political leaders may deliberately rework historical memories to engender or strengthen this identity in the

competition for power and resources for example the conflict in Matabeleland in post independence, Ndebele identity was used to advance political identity.

5.3 Recommendations

As an exit from the issue of intra-state conflicts that have bothered Zimbabwe, it is adept to offer some significant proposals in view of an intensive examination of the reasons for the issue. In this shrewd, two major broad solutions might be explored regarding to safeguard Zimbabwe out of intermittent conflicts. To reduce the likelihood of conflicts in the country it is essential to promote inclusive development, reduce inequalities between groups and tackle unemployment. These are committed and genuine authority and eradication of poverty. Based on the above findings, it directed the researcher to proffer viable solutions as recommendations that can help minimise and or eradicate intra-state conflicts in future:

5.3.1 Committed and Sincere Leadership

Zimbabwe as a state needs committed and sincere leaders that will lead by example and who act as good, responsible and responsive fathers to all the component sections and peoples in their countries so as to promote peace and harmony within the country. There is a need to secure inclusive government from political, economic, and social perspectives and a flourishing economy so that all major groups and most individuals gain from participation in the normal economy. From a political perspective, inclusive government is not simply a matter of democracy; majority based democracy can lead to oppression of minorities. Conflict is greatest in semi-democracies or governments in transition and least among established democracies and authoritarian regimes. Democratic institutions must be inclusive at all levels for example, voting systems should ensure that all major groups are represented in government. This can be done in a number of ways:

5.3.2 Even distribution of resources

Zimbabwean leaders must ensure an even distribution of resources among the various geopolitical zones in the country. Marginalization of one unit/ group should not be allowed in order to win the support and cooperation of all and sundry and to avoid any feeling of alienation.

5.3.3 Promotion of rule of law

Leaders should also endeavour to promote the rule of law. This involves equal access to justice by all citizens irrespective of their status, respect for court decisions by the government and influential, and conduct of free and fair periodic elections among others. When and where leaders promote the rule of law as indicated above, there are a guarantee of peaceful coexistence among people and a peaceful transition of power from one government to the other. Succession dispute related conflicts that are very rampant in Africa may thus be easily eliminated.

5.3.4 Protection of Fundamental Human rights

African leaders should also promote, protect and guarantee the fundamental human rights of their citizens. In particular, the fundamental rights of freedom of speech, association and religion should be guaranteed. People should be free to assess and criticize the performance of government without fear of persecution. Opposition must be tolerated while the fourth realm of government, the press, must not be censored. In this wise governments would always be kept on her toes to provide qualitative and sincere leadership in their countries.

5.3.5 Eradication of Poverty

Without much controversy, one may boldly declare that poverty is the root of all evils in Africa. A poor man, who has been economically humiliated and financially traumatized may not be said to be in his right senses. Hence, it may be apt to observe that a hungry man is a mad man. He can steal, kill, maim and destroy. Poverty can demean a man and affect his psychology negatively. Hence a major policy instrument for peace and stability in Africa that is riddled with wars and conflicts is the eradication or at worst, a reduction of the monster of poverty. This can be achieved in a number of ways as suggested below:

5.3.6 Provision of gainful employment for the youths

Governments in Africa should also strive to provide gainful employment for all their citizens especially the youths. Industries and factories should be established to absorb the teeming graduates of higher institutions of learning in African countries. Government should also encourage farming through mechanized agriculture. Modern farm implements and technology should be provided for farmers at cheap prices. Apart from eradicating the problem of

hunger, this will no doubt equally enhance the economic empowerment of youths and eradicate idleness.

5.3.7 Adequate remuneration of civil servants

Government workers should be adequately remunerated while promotion should also be based on competence and performance. Their salaries should be enough to sustain their families. This will go a long way at reducing the incidence of misappropriation and embezzlement of public fund that have always starved African governments the much needed fund for development.

It is essential to support inclusive and accountable governing institutions in order to overcome poverty, conflict and fragility. Building resilience to crisis, such as the outbreak of conflict, amongst vulnerable populations can help them to climb out of extreme poverty. This can be done by building population's adaptive capacity to endure and recover from shocks and stresses.

5.3.8 Preventive Diplomacy

This is the action to prevent disputes from arising between parties, to prevent existing disputes from escalating into conflicts and to limit the spread of the latter when they occur. In a conflict situation, all possible means should be encouraged to avoid it degenerating into Conflict through the use of the following:

- ✓ **Collaboration:** In a conflict situation, one can work together with the aggrieved party to avoid the situation resulting into Conflict.
- ✓ **Compromise:** Sometimes to avoid conflicts, compromised is advised for peace to reign. That gives enough time for reconciliation.
- ✓ **Forging new ground:** In a Conflict situation, the stake holders can come together to work together. It may also be the case that civil society may find new spaces for engagement with the citizen base as a consequence of the splits and quarrels within and between ZANU PF, and a weak adherence to the rule of law and compromised judiciary has had an adverse effect on Zimbabwe's economy, resulting in socio-economic deprivation for the majority of Zimbabweans.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE GUIDE FOR GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

Topic: *Examining the causes of intra-state conflicts in Zimbabwe and their impacts on Human Security Agenda.*

NB: Some questions require you to tick in the appropriate box while others will ask for a written response

1. Sex or gender

[] Male

[] Female

2. How long have you been employed by the government?

[] 5 years and below

[] 6 to 15 years

[] 16 to 25 years

[] more than 25years

2. Are you familiar with intra-state conflicts that have affected Zimbabwe?

[] Yes

[] No

If yes which ones have you witnessed-----

3. In your own view, what have been/are the causes of intra-state conflicts in Zimbabwe?

- a) -----
- b) -----
- c) -----
- d) -----

4. Do you think intra-state conflicts have impacts on human security?

[] Yes

[] No

If your answer is yes, please explain how

5. Which group of people do you think has been or is affected the most by intra-state conflicts?-----

6. As government officials what steps have you taken to minimize or eradicate intra-state conflicts in Zimbabwe?

7. What are the challenges that you have come across in trying to deals with the impacts of intra-state conflicts in the country?

8) How have you been of help to victims of intra-state conflicts in the country?

9) According to you, what do you think should be done to minimize or eradicate intra-state conflicts in Zimbabwe?

APPENDIX 2: QUESTIONNAIRE GUIDE FOR WAR VETERANS

Topic: *Examining the causes of intra-state conflicts in Zimbabwe and their impacts on Human Security Agenda*

N.B: Some questions require you to tick in the appropriate box while others will ask for a written response

1. Sex or gender

[] Male

[] Female

2. How old are you?

[] 16-30yrs

[] 31-45yrs

[] 46-60yrs

[] 61yrs and above

3. For how long have you been a war veteran?

4. Are u familiar with intrastate conflicts that have affected Zimbabwe?

[] Yes

[] No

If Yes specify-----

4. In your own opinion what do you think are the causes of intra-state conflicts in Zimbabwe?

a) -----

b) -----

c) -----

d) -----

5. Do you think intra-state conflicts have an impact on Human Security Agenda?

[] Yes

[] No

6. If yes, what are the impacts?

7. As war veterans, have you made any efforts to deal with the causes of intra-state conflicts?

[] Yes

[] No

If so what efforts have you done?

8. What do you suggest should be done to ensure that intra-state conflicts are reduced or eliminated in Zimbabwe?

9. In your own view, what do you think the Government of Zimbabwe should do in order to eradicate conflicts in the country?

10. In your view, what recommendations can you proffer on how intra-state conflicts can be managed as part of the human security agenda?

APPENDIX 3: QUESTIONNAIRE GUIDE FOR GENERAL POPULATION

Topic: *Examining the causes of intra-state conflicts in Zimbabwe and their impacts on Human Security Agenda*

N.B: Some questions require you to tick in the appropriate box while others will ask for a written response

1. Sex or gender

[] Male

[] Female

2. How old are you?

[] 16-30yrs

[] 31-45yrs

[] 46-60yrs

[] 61yrs and above

3. Are u familiar with intrastate conflicts that have affected Zimbabwe?

[] Yes

[] No

If Yes specify-----

4. In your own opinion what do you think are the causes of intra-state conflicts in Zimbabwe?

a) -----

b) -----

c) -----

d) -----

5. Do you think intra-state conflicts have an impact on Human Security Agenda?

[] Yes

[] No

6. If yes, what are the impacts?

7. Do you think the legislations protecting human security are effective?

[] Yes

[] No

Explain your answer

8. What do you suggest should be done to ensure that intra-state conflicts are reduced or eliminated in Zimbabwe?

9. In your own view, what do you think the Government of Zimbabwe should do in order to eradicate conflicts in the country?

10. In your view, what recommendations can you proffer on how intra-state conflicts can be managed as part of the human security agenda?

REFERENCE LIST

- Blaxter, L, Hughes, C, & Tight, M. (2006), **How to Research: Open Up Study Skills**, Open University Press.
- Boeije, H. (2010), **Analysis in qualitative research**, London: Sage Publications Limited.
- Clapham, C. (2012), **From Liberation Movement to Government: Past legacies and the challenge of transition in Africa**. Johannesburg: The Brenthurst Foundation.
- Collier, P. and Hoeffler, A. (2004). "Aid, Policy and Growth in Post-Conflict Countries". *European Economic Review, Elsevier*, vol. 48(5), pages 1125-1145, October.
- Collier, P. and World Bank. (2003). ***Breaking the conflict trap: civil war and development policy***. Washington, DC, New York: World Bank; Oxford University Press.
- Collier, P. (2000). "**Doing Well out of War: An Economic Perspective**," in Mats Berdal and David M. Malone (eds.), *Greed and Grievance: Economic Agendas in Civil Wars*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Collier, P, and Hoeffler, A. (2002). "**Greedy and Grievances in Civil War**," World Bank Policy Research Working Paper No. 2355. The World Bank, Washington, DC.
- Commission on Human Security.(2003). *Human Security Now: Final Report*, New York: CHS.
- Douma, P. (2006). Poverty Relative Deprivation and Political Exclusion as Drivers of Violent Conflict in Africa. *J. Sci. World Afr.*

Fearon, J.D., Kasara, K. & Laitin, D.D. (2010). *Ethnic Minority Rule and Civil War Onset.*:*Amer.*

Human Security Report Project (HSRP), "Persistent Armed Conflict: An Increasing Threat?" in *Human Security Report 2012: Sexual Violence, Education, and War: Beyond the Mainstream Narrative* (Vancouver: Human Security Press, 2012), 180

Human Rights Watch (2015) 'Central African Republic: Amid Conflict, Rape', Available at: <<https://www.hrw.org/news/2015/12/17/central-african-republic-amid-conflict-rape>> [Accessed 24 January 2016].

Kagoro, B. (2005). **Constitutional Reform as Social Movement** – A Critical Narrative of the Constitution- Making Debate in Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe Injustice and Political Reconciliation, Harare: University of Zimbabwe Press.

LeBaron, M. and Nike, C. (1997). "Negotiating Intractable Conflict: The Common Ground Dialogue Process and Abortion." *Negotiation Journal*, Vol. 13, No. 4, pp. 341-363.

Makumbe, J. & Compagnon, D. (2000). **Behind the Smokescreen**: the Politics of Zimbabwe's 1995 General Elections Harare: UZ Publications,

Mlambo M, Kamara A, & Nyenda, M (2009). *Financing Post-Conflict Recovery in Africa: The Role of International Development Assistance.*

Marshall, L. and Rossman, B. (1995), *Research Methods in qualitative research*, NY: Harvard University Press.

Moorcraft, P. (2011) **Mugabe's War Machine**: saving or savaging Zimbabwe?, Pen and
Sword Military.

Media Monitoring Project Zimbabwe (MMPZ). (2009). *The Propaganda War on Electoral
Democracy*, Harare: MMPZ.

Nardirir, A. (2010) *Perspectives of Literature Review and Methodology*. McGraw Hill

Rugumamu, S. and Gbla, O. (2003). *Studies in Reconstruction and Capacity Building in
Post- Conflict Countries in Africa: Sierra Leone and Uganda*. African
Building Capacity Foundation.

Rugumamu, S. & Gbla, O. (2003). *Studies in Reconstruction and Capacity Building in Post-
Conflict Countries in Africa: Sierra Leone and Uganda*.
African Building Capacity Foundation.

Sachikonye, L. (2011), **When a State Turns on its Citizens**. 60 years of Institutionalized
Violence in Zimbabwe. Political Culture: Jacana Press.

Sambanis, N. (2002). **Do Ethnic and non-Ethnic Civil Wars Have the Same Causes?** A
Theoretical and Empirical Inquiry. World Bank

Tekere, E.Z. (2007). **A life time struggle**. Harare: Southern Africa Printing and Publishing
House.

The Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Zimbabwe (1997). *Breaking the Silence
Building True Peace: Report on Disturbances in Matabeleland and the Midlands 1980
to 1988*, Harare; The Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Zimbabwe.

The Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Zimbabwe (2001). *Crisis of governance:
Report on Political Violence in Zimbabwe*, Harare: The Catholic Commission for Justice and
Peace in Zimbabwe.