Understanding the Zimbabwe situation through the human security lens

2005 - 2009

By

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Declaration

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ABSTRACT

The human security concept emerged as a result of contemporary global developments that triggered the manifestation of risks threatening the safety, survival and welfare of human beings. As such, there was need to widen the scope and meaning of security by shifting attention and resources away from state protection concerns towards other emerging areas important to human survival and well being.

Thus document review research was conducted to investigate whether the UNDP crafted human security concept is a plausible and feasible framework that can be utilised to better understand the situation in Zimbabwe. It uses this human security framework to identify the numerous threats to day to day survival for people, as well as evaluate inherent weaknesses of the human rights norms in promoting human security in Zimbabwe between the years 2005 – 2009.

The study identifies economic, food, health and political security problems for people living in Zimbabwe. It also assesses the impact of these problems on the wellbeing and daily survival of these citizens. In addition, the study highlights that the denial of basic human rights has also increasingly undermined the security of individuals in the country. Hence, these problems have militated against the majority of people's daily survival, progression and meaningful participation in the governance of the country.

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Acronyms

ADB	Africa Development Bank
AIDS	Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome
AIPPA	Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act
ARV	Anti-retroviral
AU	African Union
CFSAM	Crop and Food Supply Assessment Mission
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Programme
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
GAPWUZ	General Agriculture and Plantation Workers Union
HDI	Human Development Index
HIV	Human Immuno Deficiency Virus
HDR	Human Development Report
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICESCR	International Covenant Economic Social and Cultural Rights
ICAT	International Convention Against Torture
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund

MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MT	Metric Tonnes
MNC	Multinational Corporations
NANGO	National Association for Non-Governmental Organisations
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
OSISA	Open Society Initiative for South Africa
POSA	Public Order and Security Act
PVO	Private Voluntary Organisation
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UNAIDS	United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UN OCHA	United Nations Office of Humanitarian Affairs
USD	Unites States Dollar
WASH	Water Sanitation and Hygiene
WB	World Bank
WFP	World Food Programme

WHO	World Health Organization
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front
ZNLWVA	Zimbabwe National Liberation War Veterans Association
ZRP	Zimbabwe Republic Police

1.0   **CHAPTER ONE**

1.1   **INTRODUCTION**

Security is an essentially contested concept in terms of meaning, referent objects (who or what is being secured) the nature of the threat from which the object is being secured and means employed to protect the identified objects. Nevertheless, it could generally be understood as, freedom from danger, or fear involving the protection of some referent object by reducing its vulnerability and by eliminating or lessening threats to its survival or well being (Von Tigerstrom 2007:8).

Traditionally, the concept of security was state centric, prioritising the instruments and agencies of the state. The pursuit of military power being an end in itself since its main precedence is state sovereignty (Jolly R. and Basu Ray D 2006: 1). As such, the traditional field of security has been associated with conservative views which focus on order and stability and avoidance or management of conflict and change (Colak and Pearce 2009:1). However, contemporary global developments have led to the manifestation of risks that threaten the safety, survival and welfare of human beings. (Tow 2000: 1). In view this, the need to widen the scope and meaning of security through the human security concept became apparent.

The UNDP Human Development Report defines human security as '*freedom from fear and freedom from want*' characterised by 'safety from chronic threats such as hunger, disease, and repression as well as protection from sudden and harmful disruptions in the patterns of daily life – whether in

homes, in jobs or in communities'. It can be threatened in the following interrelated security areas, economic, food, health community, environmental, personal and political. The concept is considered to be an idea that can be contrasted with national security because it is an integrative approach based on the notion of participatory development and unity among people (UNDP 1994: 23-24). In addition, it shifts attention and resources away from military concerns towards other emerging areas important to human survival and well being (Von Tigerstrom 2002:43). Consequently, this research paper seeks to utilise the UNDP framework of human security to analyse the security threats to survival for people in Zimbabwe.

1.2   Aim of the study

The aim of the research paper is to use the human security concept to analyse the numerous threats to security for people in Zimbabwe. The study will identify the threats to economic, food, health and political security to human survival and evaluate the weaknesses inherent human rights norms in promoting human security in Zimbabwe.

1.3   Justification of the case study

Zimbabwe is experiencing dire economic, social and political challenges. Central to the crisis is prolonged political incumbency coupled with spiralling economic decline. This has given rise to severe social implications such as high unemployment rates, erosion of income security, chronic poverty levels, food shortages and malnutrition. In addition, the poor public services delivery system has in turn led to a declined confidence in the existing political system.

Hence, the state has resorted to the use of force to instil political legitimacy. This accounts for the increase in number of state sponsored human rights violations cases. As such, the human security concept will be utilised to have a comprehensive appreciation of interrelated threats to human survival in Zimbabwe.

Furthermore, there is an extensive overlap between the areas of human rights and security (Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy 2007:125). Ramcharan submits that human rights provisions define the meaning of security because national and international security cannot be achieved without respect for individual human rights and fundamental freedoms (2002:1-2). In addition, the moral imperative and normative quality inherent human rights laws could be used to explicitly define the threats to human survival and the responsible actors who have obligations or duties to address the identified problems (Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy 2007: 125).

These rights are defined in several key documents namely, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR 1948), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR 1966) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR 1966) constituting the bill of rights. The moral and legal appeal of human rights norms could be used to call for the end of poverty, hunger and arbitrary use of force and torture in Zimbabwe and the need for commitment from the government to respect and fulfil basic freedoms of human beings.

In view of this, the thesis argues that failure to respect, fulfil and protect human rights obligations has triggered insecurity in Zimbabwe. In fact, the country has been under international spotlight for consistently and systematically violating international human rights norms and values. The Zimbabwe government has used all legal instruments at its disposal to entrench its hegemonic position (Chikwanha 2009: 6.) This is evidenced by an increased number of cases of human rights violations in the form of politically motivated abductions, unlawful detentions, mistreatment and torture of individuals who belong or support the opposition political parties, human rights activists as well as journalists. It is important to note that the use of torture, inhuman treatment and intimidation causes psychological trauma, physical injury or death for targeted victims and generally encourages prejudice and discrimination. In addition, this culture of intolerance is particularly crippling the development of democratic principles in Zimbabwe since people are afraid to openly exercise the freedom of choice, speech or association for fear of being victimised.

1.4   **Research Questions**

1. What are the human security problems in Zimbabwe?

2. What are the weaknesses of the human rights system in promoting human security in Zimbabwe between 2005 - 2009?

1.5   **Explanation of chapters**

Chapter Two – Theoretical Perspectives

This chapter will focus on the theoretical framework. That is,

- basic components of the human security concept,

- differences between traditional and human security,

- link between human rights and human security,

- criticism levelled against this comprehensive concept.

Chapter three – Research Design and Methodology

The chapter will be an assessment of the various methods utilised to collect and evaluate data. That is, the methods' relevance to the study as well as challenges encountered during the research period. The chapter will also highlight the literature that would have been used as sources of information during the conduct of the research.

Chapter Four – Results, Analysis and Evaluation of Findings

This section of the thesis seeks to answer the following questions

1. What are the human security problems existing in Zimbabwe?

2. What are the weaknesses inherent the human rights system in promoting security in Zimbabwe between 2005 - 2009?

Chapter Five – Conclusions and Recommendations

This section will give a summary of the results of the study. In addition, it will give possible suggestions or a way forward to rectify the research problem. It will also outline any further work that could be conducted that might have emerged but could not be explored as it was beyond the scope of this study.

2.0   **CHAPTER TWO**

2.1   **THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES**

Traditionally, security meant protection of national interests, sovereignty and territorial integrity of states from external military threats. This interpretation excludes the security needs and concerns of human beings which include protection from the threat of diseases, hunger, unemployment, crime, social conflict, political repression and environmental hazards. It is against this background that the concept of human security was crafted to shift the focus from the state to the wellbeing of humanity (UNDP Report 1994: 24).

The concept of human security emerged as part of the holistic paradigm of human development cultivated by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in response to changes in the global security framework following the collapse of the Cold War and the emergence of globalisation. As such, the concept has been described as an effort to reshape the parameters of security in a more progressive manner that encompasses and focuses on ensuring security for the individual rather than the state as was the case during the bi-polar era.

Consequently, human security is centred on mitigating threats to the survival of human beings. The strength and appeal of this human security concept is in the growing inability of traditional concepts of security to generate responses to many of the new causes of insecurity today (Krauss 2005: 6) It has the benefit of a lively up to date understanding of a broad spectrum of threats to human survival. This all encompassing characteristic makes human security

applicable and appealing to all people across the world. Nevertheless, there are still doubts about and opposition to the concept ranging from its definition and ways of incorporating the framework into policy making processes. Despite these criticisms and challenges, the implementation of the human security framework as a policy tool has been gaining momentum within policy circles since 1994.

2.2   **Differences between state security and human security**

The table below presented by Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy (2007: 41) vividly illustrates the differences between the traditional approach to security and human security.

	State Security	Human-Centred Security
Security referent (object)	The state is the primary provider of security: if the state is secure, then those who live in it are also secure	Individuals are co-equal with the state. State security can be the means, not the end.
Security value	Sovereignty, power, territorial integrity, national independence	Personal safety, well-being and individual freedom. 1. Physical safety and provision for basic needs; 2. Personal freedom (liberty of association) 3. Human rights; economic and social rights
Security Threats	Direct organised violence from other states, violence and coercion by other states and from non-state actors	Direct violence: death, drugs, dehumanisation, discrimination, international disputes, Weapons of Mass Destruction, gendered violence. Indirect violence: deprivation, disease, natural disasters, underdevelopment, population displacement, environmental degradation, poverty, inequality, ethnic/sectarian oppression. Threats from identifiable sources (such as states or non-state actors) or from structural sources (relations of power ranging from family to the global economy).
By what means	Retaliation force or threat of its use, balance of power, military means, strengthening of economic might, little attention paid to respect for law or institutions.	Promoting human development: basic needs plus equity, sustainability, and greater democratisation and participation at all levels. Promoting human rights Promoting political development: global norms and institutions plus collective use of force as well sanctions in case of genocide, co-operation between states, and reliance on international institutions, networks and coalitions, and or international organisations.

Table 1.1 Traditional Vs Human Security

In view the above table it can be concluded that human security's central concern is the individual and the community rather than the state. Secondly, threats to people's lives include conditions that have not always been classified as threats to state security. Thirdly, the range of actors is subsequently expanded beyond the state alone. It identifies the role of non-state actors in providing security thus reducing unwarranted and excessive state discretion in the realisation of human rights. Moreover, human security is not just about protecting people but also seeks to empower people to fend for themselves (Tigerstrom 2002: 49).

2.3 Components of human security

The UNDP 1994 Global Human Development Report is generally considered to be the major international document that first articulated human security in conceptual terms and outlined proposals for policy and action. Nonetheless, the report does not give a concise internationally accepted and applicable definition of the concept. It underlines that human security has two major components. These are *freedom from fear* and *freedom from want*. In addition, it provides answers related to questions on security for whom, security from what and security by what means.

This report also classifies the list of threats to human security into seven categories: economic, food, health environmental, personal, community and political security discussed below.

1. Economic security

   "Economic security requires an assured basic income from productive employment and remunerative work or in the last resort from some publicly financed safety net." (UNDP 1994:25) However, high unemployment and underemployment rates, increasing insecurity of incomes due to high inflation rates and wide income disparities between the rich and the poor have exacerbated global poverty levels. As such, job and income security could at least be an assurance for dignified human survival.

2. Food Security

   Food security means that all people have both physical and economic access to basic food at all times. This entitlement to food could either be by growing it, buying or taking advantage of a public food distribution system by governments or international organisations. The report also adds that although the availability of food is a necessary condition of security, there are cases when people succumb to hunger and famine due to poor food distribution methods and lack of purchasing power (UNDP 1994:27). This indicator is measured by daily calorie supply as a percentage of basic human needs, the index of food production per capita and the trend of the food import dependency ratio (Ibid 1994:38).

3. Health security

   Health security refers to an individual's freedom of succumbing to deaths due to either poor nutrition or an unsafe environment such as exposure to polluted water which leads to diarrhoea. Therefore, the outbreak of infectious diseases becomes a threat particularly

to poor people who cannot afford to pay for basic health care. Furthermore, the report identifies the increasing spread of HIV and AIDS as another source of global human insecurity (UNDP 1994: 27-28). Health security as an indicator is measured by the child and maternal mortality rates as well as the percentage of the government's budget allocated to the health sector. In view of this, economic security becomes the gateway to achieving the *freedom of want* component of human security as access to food and health care could be assured by access to assets, work and an assured stable income.

4. Environmental Security

Security also involves the protection of the environment from irreversible degradation as a result of poor conservation methods or activities as deforestation and pollution. The UNDP point out that ongoing environmental degradation has exacerbated the intensity and occurrence of natural disasters like floods and droughts. It has also led to the increased number of cases of environmentally linked diseases as well as the depletion of essential resources such as water and arable land. However, the scale of these natural disasters is beyond the response-capacity of most humanitarian organisations including the United Nations which are described as slow, inadequate and uncoordinated leading to the loss of lives (UNDP 1994: 29-30). Moreover, most developing countries are experiencing ethnic and political tensions over access to scarce water bodies and arable land. Consequently, environmental degradation, pollution and resource depletion have become a threat to the survival of human beings.

5. Personal Security

   Personal security can be described as an individual's freedom from sudden and unpredictable crime and violence. Below is the UNDP list of several forms of threats to personal security.

   - Threats from the state (human rights violations, for example physical torture, political imprisonment, press censorship)

   - Threats from other states (war)

   - Threats from other groups of people (ethnic tension)

   - Threats from individuals or gangs against other individuals or gangs (crime, street violence)

   - Threats directed against women (rape, domestic violence)

   - Threats directed at children based on their vulnerability and dependence (child abuse)

   - Threats to self (suicide and drug use)

6. Community Security

   According to the UNDP, people derive security from their membership to a group. For example, a family, a community, an organisation, and a racial or ethnic group that provides cultural identity, a reassuring set of values, offer practical support, protection to the weaker members and collective ownership of assets and land. However, these traditional communities have been tainted with oppressive practices and tendencies particularly towards women. Moreover, there has also been an increase in ethnic clashes over scarce resources or limited access to opportunities such as social services and

employment prospects. Particularly, disadvantaged are the indigenous peoples' groups. Nonetheless, processes such as globalisation have led to widespread modernisation and respect for human rights. This weakens the cohesion and threatens the integrity of traditional communities and practices as cultures evolve adopt different external characteristics (1994:31).

7. Political Security

A society that respects and upholds basic human rights is considered to be one of the most important aspects of human security (UNDP 1994: 32). In spite of this, state repression continues to rear its ugly head globally. This is evidenced by the increased number of documented cases of political repression, detention and imprisonment, torture, ill treatment and disappearances by organisations such as Amnesty International. These threats to personal security are common in countries that direct a lion share of the country's budget towards the military (Ibid 1994: 33).

This categorisation is important because it sets the boundaries of the definition very broadly given that threats are constantly changing depending on the prevailing situation in a particular setting or country. Hence, a restrictive definition would not encompass all the possible unanticipated threats for which responses must be developed (Owen 2004:18).

2.4 Link between human security and human rights

Human security and human rights are considered to be mutually reinforcing and indispensible for each other. Human rights enrich the concept of human security by providing a sound conceptual and normative foundation thus making the concept more practical and operational (Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy 2007: 123, 130). Along this wave length, Ramcharan notes that international human rights norms define the meaning of human security, while the latter helps focus international law onto people centred concerns (2002:1). Thus, the human security concept identifies the rights at stake in a particular situation, while human rights answer the question on how human security should be promoted.

In addition, Alkire contends that human security is a relatively new concept and has not yet developed the degree of independent priority that has been achieved by human rights. That is, human security does not have the same correlative duties as the human rights doctrine (2003: 38). Human rights mobilise the language of duties and responsibilities by ensuring that the state is responsible for the realisation of citizens' rights. For instance, it is the duty of the state to ensure that domestic legal frameworks and institutions promote a culture of respect for human rights. Thus, the strong element of protection inherent rights instruments contributes to the overall security and well-being of individuals.

Furthermore, the human security concept also benefits from the well established and institutionalised human rights norms whose treaties have been adopted by UN member states. That is, the human rights' legal regimes, conventions, sanctions that compel states

to fulfil their responsibilities (Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy 2007:130-131). For instance, the close monitoring of human rights violations by international bodies, such as the UN Human Rights Commission and Amnesty International to name and shame governments that violate human rights encourages states such as Zimbabwe to account and address the existing human security problems in order to avoid a negative international reputation. Therefore, accountability gives credence to human security concept a policy framework.

Human security reduces excessive state discretion in the realisation of rights. For instance, Zimbabwe has more often than not, evoked principles of national sovereignty, territorial integrity to justify non-intervention for gross human rights violations. Hence, refocusing attention to the protection of people can adjust the political balance in favour of the protection of human rights by identifying the role of non-state actors in providing security in the international legal order. This change presents an opportunity to reconcile two conflicting principles of the UN Charter (state sovereignty Article 1 and protection of human rights Article 1.3) and have an impact on international law and UN action. In addition, states will no longer be able to use public emergency situations as opportunities to neglect human rights in the name of security. The ICCPR lists the right to self determination, judicial remedy, peaceful assembly, freedom of movement and the prohibition on war propaganda among the rights which can be withheld during a state of unrest (Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy 2007:127-130).

Furthermore, human security tenets also resolve the division between different first-generation civil and political rights and second-generation economic and social rights as

well as third generation cultural/collective rights. Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy point out that there is a strong correlation between *freedom of fear* and first generation rights, *freedom from want* and second generation rights, third generation rights and the right to development, health and environment (2007: 126,130).Thus, the human security paradigm argues for equity, right to economic, social and cultural rights. Consequently, it gives a fresh approach to balancing civil-political and socio-economic rights because it re-introduces the notion of indivisibility of all human rights.

Despite the above correlation-ship, there are challenges inherent the human rights system. Firstly, the ratification of international human rights instruments is the prerogative of the state. For example, Zimbabwe has not ratified the International Convention against Torture (ICAT 1976) hence there is no way these obligations can be imposed under international law.

Secondly, the enforcement and effectiveness of ratified human rights provisions remains a challenge because it requires political will and the existence of an independent judiciary. However, most countries do not have autonomous legal institutions to fulfil this requirement due to lack of political will, resources, or appropriate judicial culture. Moreover, states can derogate from some provisions in emergency situations (Article 4 ICCPR).

The human rights system has also been criticised for failing to provide effective remedies for violations of economic, social and cultural rights. States are permitted to

progressively ensure the realisation of economic, social and cultural rights (Article 2 of the ICESCR) and respect for the principle of state sovereignty prohibits external imposition of economic and social responsibility on erring states (Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy 2007: 136). On top of this, human rights provisions identify states as the sole duty bearers in the realisation of rights, excluding non-state actors. In spite of this, there is growing international recognition that activities of non-state actors such as multinational corporations are increasingly violating human rights. This has led to the Security Council Resolution 1373 (28 September 2001) which obligates states to freeze the assets of corporate entities that facilitate terrorist activities.

Moreover, Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy also highlight the contradiction between human rights provisions and human security. Human rights enforcement is characterised by a vertical relationship between the enforcing agent (courts or international tribunal) and the individual, while human security emphasises a horizontal relationship that reinforces the notion of empowering the individual and the community (2007:134).

2.5   Critic of the human security concept

Criticisms levelled against the concept of human security range from the failure to have an internationally applicable definition to issues related to difficulties encountered in incorporating the concept into policy making and implementation. Subject areas that have been subjected to contestation include, absence of a concise definition, a long list of who or what threats security, issues centred on the prerogative and responsibility to provide security and methods appropriate, or inappropriate in providing the security as well as

interests being protected since different countries and organisations have adopted diverse definitions (Henk 2005: 96)

The human security debate has been accompanied by substantial differences on its definition. There is no single definition of human security. This is a major handicap given that definitions do count when consensus is sought to implement the programme. Nevertheless, probability is very low that a globally accepted definition will be crafted in the near future (Tadjbakhsh 2005: 2). Therefore, it becomes difficult to have a clear understanding of the meaning of the concept.

The list of threats suggested by the UNDP report is often dismissed as a 'laundry' list of threats that categorises all social risks as threats. Owen also observes that, shifting the referent object of security to the individual implies that any threat to people's ability to survive constitutes a security threat. Subsequently, this results in an unmanageable long list of threats creating false expectations about assistance which the international community cannot deliver (2004: 16)

This dove-tails with Henk's comment that in as much as it is possible to generalise threats as any condition that produces fear and want, such a generalisation is subject to controversy since it does not clearly delimit who, or what can provide human security. Hence, it becomes difficult to determine threats to be prioritised by policy makers that pose immediate danger to the safety of human beings if all the risks are equated as imminent threats likely to undermine security (2005: 97). In view of this Owen also adds that if all

possible concerns encompassed in human security are securitarised, the ability to prioritise is rendered useless and none of the listed threats will be accorded the sufficient attention it deserves.

Thus, the concept of human security is presented as complex. That is, broad, diffuse and intractable. As such, it would require the involvement of different sectors in order to achieve the desired results. That is, consistent collaboration between citizens, civil society organisations, and commercial institutions, non-governmental and international organisations. However, past experiences have proved that it is difficult to devise an effective framework to achieve optimum collaboration across these sectors and institutions due to lack of political will to involve all stakeholders in policy formulation and implementation. The responsibility to encourage participation and manage the process rests with the government. In spite of this, many government officials in developing countries have few contacts with civil society organisations which are in some countries considered to be a security threat. In addition, government officials lack the necessary skills and motivation to openly involve NGOs and offer leadership when such partnership is encouraged.

Furthermore, Tadjbakhsh explicitly brings out the irony surrounding the human security concept. On one hand, the concept emphasises that security should be for the people by the people, but solutions are often sought in the increased responsibilities of states and of the international community. Moreover, discussions around human security put too little emphasis on the role of individuals as agents of change. Ideally, an expanded notion of

human security requires growing recognition of the role of people, of individuals and communities in ensuring their own security. On the contrary, there is notable absence of "people" as agents of change in international inter-state bodies (2005: 3).

Moreover, the emergence of terrorism as a security threat could reverse attention back to the old notion of the state being the prime focal point in the security debate. The post-September 11, 2001 era has witnessed an increase in defence expenditures of nation states supporting the war on terror campaign. The military actions and the counter- insurgency campaigns could lead to considerations to readopt the discourse of traditional state centric security (Tadjbakhsh 2005:4). In so doing, "….human rights have to be limited, truncated and reduced. We have to choose between security and human rights, between safety and liberty, between protection and freedom. Human rights can be traded off for more security, and ultimately security concerns trump over human rights" (Oberleitner 2003: 1).This has prompted critics of human security to argue that the imminent danger posed by terrorism as a threat supersedes the 'UNDP list of threats', hence this could be a sign that human security might have reached a dead end.

In spite of all the shortfalls and challenges associated with the human security concept, it remains an applicable and valid paradigm. It can be concluded that it is virtually impossible for the state to reclaim the traditional sole focus of the security concept because institutions such as the UN continue to draw the attention of policy makers towards the plight of human beings and to advocate for the maintenance of peace and promotion of human rights. In addition, the incorporation of other players, such as civil society

organisations, into the realm of security creates the checks and balances mechanism for resources allocated towards development in comparison with state security. As such human security will remain part of the international security debate.

3.0   **CHAPTER THREE**

3.1   **METHODOLOGICAL DESIGN**

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the methodological design of the research paper. It seeks to focus on the research design and extensively review issues related to instruments used to gather data, the type of data gathered, and an explanation of how data was analysed, as well as the methodological problems encountered during the study period. The aim of the research paper was to use the human security concept to analyse the numerous threats to day to day survival for people in Zimbabwe. The study identified threats to economic, food, health and political security and evaluated the inherent weaknesses of the human rights norms in promoting human security in Zimbabwe. Thus, the research paper availed an opportunity to obtain a more realistic feel and elaborate explanation of the human security problems in the country.

The research strategy was to a large extent unstructured and open to allow for the investigation of unexpected ideas which could only become apparent after the study began. For this reason, the research paper utilised qualitative methods to produce descriptive data. That is, a detailed description of the economic, political and social challenges encountered by people living in Zimbabwe thus making daily survival extremely difficult. The key element in this paper is that one country is focused on as a case study, hence there is no comparison.   Thus, the research was intuitive, subjective and deep while the data collected was rich and profound (Bouma and Atkinson 1995:

207). Therefore, the thesis tends to improve the understanding of the case status and gives in-depth descriptive information.

In addition, the research paper focused on the UNDP crafted human security framework as a plausible concept that can be utilised to understand the Zimbabwe situation. Meanwhile, data analysis was an ongoing process from the beginning to the end of the research work. As such, the use of scientific qualitative research methods helped determine the applicability of the human security framework and adds validity and authenticity that could help future researchers (Newman and Benz 1998:67).

The primary purpose of collecting data was to gather information that would help provide answers to the following evaluation questions:

1. What are the human security problems in Zimbabwe?
2. What are the weaknesses inherent the human rights system in promotion of human security in Zimbabwe between 2005- 2009?

Therefore, the study relied on both primary and secondary sources of data. Primary sources are regarded as sources of information written by people directly involved at a time the investigation was conducted. Hence, these resources form the basic and original material for providing raw evidence. On the other hand, secondary sources are those that discuss the period studied but are removed from the actual events. Therefore, secondary sources copy, interpret or judge material found in primary sources (Finnegan 2006: 142). The paper utilised official statistics related to unemployment rate, life expectancy,

mortality rates. For instance, the research paper utilised statistics from UN agencies as UNDP and FAO because they are collected using universally applicable standards to evaluate the status of human wellbeing in a particular country.

In order to collect relevant information related to the topic, the research utilised document review and analysis as the data collection method. Planning is essential and was prioritised during the use of these techniques to collect applicable and comprehensive information for the study. During the study, it became apparent that qualitative data analysis is an ongoing process, from the beginning to the end of the research work because different ideas were constructed, modified, refined, reorganised and in some instances rejected as inconsistent with the research topic.

In addition, the process of document review and analysis involved a broad and wide-based collection of resources such as textbooks, annual and special reports, government reports, official and unofficial records, private papers and publications as well as statistical collections related to the study. Reading, in-depth understanding, analysis and review of these documents was essential in order to compare different ideas articulated by various authors on the subject of human security. These secondary sources provided detail and excerpts utilised to formulate the analytical framework of the thesis thus adding value and authority to the study. Furthermore, secondary data avails and provides large representative samples well beyond the resources of the individual researcher. Hence, these sources are good for examining trends, exploring issues, present and past. As such, it was easier to concentrate on data analysis and interpretation (Adams and

Khan 2007: 117). Document review was utilised because it is cost effective as a data collection technique.

The literature and data sources consulted can be divided into different categories. The first focuses on the background information of the human security concept in general. The UNDP human security components, list of threats to human security and critique of the concept, the link between human security and human rights, as well as inherent weaknesses of the human rights paradigm in ensuring human security. The second category has literature on the Zimbabwe case study. That is, information relating to human security threats to economic, food, health and political security problems for people living in Zimbabwe and the human rights obligations being violated thus undermining the security of individuals living in the country.

There is extensive reading material that has been published on the concept of human security. The literature was selected with special attention and preference to those publications that address the thesis thematic area giving the pros and cons arguments in relation to the human security concept. Several official reports from the United Nations agencies the 1994 UN Human Development report, Commission on Human Security report (2003), UN Human Rights Instruments (ICESCR, ICCPR) and the African Charter. In addition, the research consulted publications by authors from the academia and humanitarian field practioners who have hands on practical experience in implementing human security projects in developing countries. These include, Alkire (2003), Krass (2005), Henk (2005), Oberleitner (2003), Owen (2005), Ramacharan

(2002), Tadjbakhsh (2005), Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy (2007) and Tigerstrom (2002). These authors portray the advantages and disadvantages of the human security concept.

Furthermore, literature regarding the Zimbabwe case study includes UN agencies reports and news flash, books and electronic articles by the academia and human development workers, country reports by human rights advocacy organisations and Zimbabwe news websites by journalists. These are, UN Organisation for the humanitarian affairs 2009 report, ILO (2005), FAO (2008) Special Report FAO/WFP Crop and Food Supply Assessment to Zimbabwe, ADB Zimbabwe Country Dialogue Paper (2007), Human Development Statistics Report 2007-2008, UNICEF (2007) The Zimbabwe Multiple Indicator and Monitoring Survey Results and the United Nations News Centre (2009).

Meanwhile, books, publications and electronic articles utilised to compile the research findings and analysis chapter were produced largely by political scientists with expertise and in depth understanding of the development process in Africa. These include the Akaderedolu-Ale (1990), An-Na'im (2001), Chikwanha (2007), Denniger (1996), Mbaya (2003), and Odinkalu (2001) Shiva Kurma (2004), Welch (1995). Organisational reports by various human rights organizations such as, Amnesty International (2008), Human Rights Watch (2008), Physicians for Human Rights (2009), OSISA (2007), and NANGO (2009) as well as journalist reports from the Zimbabwe situation (2009) an electronic news site. The news websites provided current and up to date information and statistics on human wellbeing in Zimbabwe.

On the other hand, it is worth noting that document review and analysis as a data collection technique is cumbersome, time consuming and impossible if appropriate books and journals on the subject are not available. In O'Leary's words, the process of document analysis requires thorough planning, broad resource gathering, comprehensive review, careful assessment, considerable reflection and refinement and appropriate analysis. In addition, document analysis is prone to two potential sources of bias. That is, the author of the documents being analysed and the researcher's view about what is (or not) important in relation to the topic under study (O'Leary 2004: 183; 178).

Furthermore, Clarke and Dawson also advise that document material requires careful handling because it should not be assumed that documents constitute independent and objective records of events or circumstances. Hence, there is need to develop an understanding of both the process by which a document is produced and the social, political and ideological context in which it is embedded. Meaning that not all documents reflect a straightforward, objective description of social reality, but by presenting a particular interpretation of events, they help construct a version of social reality (1999:85).

In addition, Finnegan is also of the view that document sources are not neutral asocial data because their selection and interpretation is affected by practical constraints as availability, access, time as well as the researcher's aims and viewpoint. Thus document sources have to be interpreted not just consulted by questioning issues such as who produced the document, when, how and for whom (2006:139;149). As such, the

researcher is encouraged to determine whether information is both valid and reliable. That is, based on concrete evidence not forgery because research is judged not only in terms of its validity, but also in terms of its relevance. For instance, a close reading of documents produced by human rights organisations in Zimbabwe reveals that their focus is only on documenting the human rights abuses committed by the state agencies. These organisations do not have sustainable projects aimed at assisting the rehabilitation of victims of political violence or changing the political situation for the better.

More importantly, it is also prudent to highlight that accessing reports and publications from organisations was difficult due to red tape and the fact that some reports are classified as 'sensitive' to be released to the public. For instance, the full version of Zimbabwe Multiple Indicator and Monitoring Survey Results 2009 report of a survey conducted by UNICEF in collaboration with the government of Zimbabwe is not available on the internet probably due to the fact that Zimbabwe considers the information as 'delicate' for public view. The government is very reluctant to release reports that divulge the deteriorating human security situation for fear of being reprimanded by the international community for neglecting the plight of the population.

Overall, there are inherent problems associated with the use of qualitative strategies in conducting research. It can be difficult to replicate the same research due to lack of a structured design or standardised procedures that are likely to produce the same results. (O'Neill 2002:2).

The process of data analysis was not confined to a particular stage of the research. It began at the start of data collection and continued through to the completion of the research report. That is, reading through the collected documents, books and articles on human security and taking note of the topics or categories to which the data is relevant in relation to the research topic. It is along this wave length that Boultron and Hammersley point out that there are different arguments about data being unstructured and structured. However, all data is structured in some way. For instance, documents are structured by the concerns and intentions of the writer. In addition, there is no simple recipe that one can follow when analysing unstructured data that will always be appropriate and guarantee good results. However, an essential step is a close reading of the data. That is, looking carefully at the data with a view to identifying significant aspects relating to the research topic (2006: 243-251).

In view of the above it can be concluded that qualitative methods are more appropriate when conducting research on moral and sensitive subjects (O'Neill 2000:2). The strategies utilised allow sensitive subjects to be approached in a cautious manner. As a result, qualitative methods are the most appropriate strategies for conducting research on human rights issues in settings such as Zimbabwe where human rights talk is considered to be a politically sensitive subject because it is considered to be an idea crafted by the West to be superimposed on developing countries as guidelines for governance.

4.0   **CHAPTER FOUR**

4.1   **RESULTS, ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION OF FINDINGS**

The chapter focuses on the economic, food, health and political security problems prevailing in Zimbabwe between 2005 – 2009. It also assesses the impact of these human security problems on the wellbeing and daily survival of the citizens. The UNDP framework also generally considers the plight of women who are immediately susceptible and further marginalised when confronted by these day to day survival challenges. This aspect will also be given special reference in this chapter. Furthermore, the chapter also endeavours to highlight that human rights violations undermine the security of individuals in the country.

4.2   Political Socio- Economic Background

Zimbabwe got its independence in 1980 following a protracted civil war against the British/ Rhodesia colonists. Thus the ZANU PF party assumed office during the same year having won the elections by a landslide victory. The party has consecutively won and retained political office until 1995 without facing any strong political opposition. Nonetheless, the MDC was founded in 1999 by members of a coalition of civil society groups, individuals and the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions. In n the aftermath, the ZANU PF party has been winning elections by a slender margin as a result of the competition from the opposition party. However, the MDC party has split into two separate parties following a dispute over participation in the 2005 senate elections. Currently, the main formation is led by founder president Morgan Tsvangirai (MDC-T), Zimbabwe's Prime Minister while the breakaway group is led by Arthur Mutambara

(MDC-M) the current Deputy Minister. The Prime Minister's position was created following the signing of the Global Political Agreement (GPA) to establish an inclusive government to bring the two rival parties to negotiate power sharing agreement following domestic and international pressure and an almost total collapse of the economy,. However, there are indications that President Mugabe is continuing to act as sole head of the government without sharing power under the pretext that the opposition parties promote foreign interests divergent from national interests. The government controls senior appointments in the public service, including the military, police and the public service commission. (OSISA 2009:2-5).

The causes to the Zimbabwe crisis are multifaceted ranging from issues related to political incumbency to economic mismanagement. On this wave length, Hendricks points out that Zimbabwe has been described as a failed state as a result of the government's resistance to democratisation, its reassertion of a narrow African nationalism, the government's repressive tactics, and the country's economic decline. The situation has been further compounded by the inability of the opposition movements to oust the ruling party through elections and a host of ineffective bilateral and multilateral state and civil society interventions. (Hendricks 2005: 1).

Kagoro describes the Zimbabwe situation as a multi-layered crisis whose first signs of collapse were heralded by an economic decline around the 1990s (2003:4). The crippling socio-economic effects of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank (IMF/WB) imposed Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) resulted in the mass impoverishment

of Zimbabweans since the policies had a very weak human development component. SAPs led to massive retrenchment of skilled and unskilled labour and of the civil service, the closure of many manufacturing industries, price increases, the deterioration of social services and rampant inflation rate (Maroleng (2005 7).

In addition, the Zimbabwe National Liberation War Veterans' Association (ZNLWVA) also confronted and accused the government of neglecting the plight of former war combatants. As such the government awarded these former combatants a one off payment of Z$50, 000 gratuities, monthly pensions and other social benefits further straining the country's fiscal base. To add on, the country's involvement in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) war in 1998 also compounded Zimbabwe's financial dilemma (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2002: 123). It is against this background that the Zimbabwean dollar lost its value against major international currencies. Ultimately, the weak fiscal base has in turn had serious negative repercussions on the buying power of Zimbabweans and financial ability to pay for health, education, food and other social amenities.

Moreover, there has been a decline in the number of human improvement projects being implemented in the country. Some projects were abandoned half way through the intended programme due to lack of funds or donor withdrawal from the projects. Zimbabwe is under sanctions from various international economic and political institutions. These sanctions have been imposed largely due to the increased cases of human rights violations. The European Union and United States of America imposed travel and business restrictions on the country's ruling elite and its immediate high

ranking officials. Meanwhile, the IMF, WB and other donor agencies and countries withdrew the balance of payments support and development aid, and the Commonwealth diplomatically isolated Zimbabwe from the coalition.

The result is a notable decline in the country's Human Development Index (HDI) which has plummeted from a rank of 130th in 1999 to 151st out of 177 countries in 2007. (HDI offers a broad measure of well being by examining a country's life expectancy, adult literacy, educational enrolment, and purchasing power parity) The HDI is considered to be a composite score of the well being of a country's people. Hence, the decline indicates the government's failure to deliver services and manage the economy leading to the impoverishment of 80 percent of its estimated 13.3 million population (UN 2007).

4.2   **Economic Security**

The concept of human security stresses that people should be able to take care ofthemselves. That is, have an opportunity to meet most essential needs and earn a living. Therefore, access to a basic income could at least be an assurance for dignified human survival (UNDP 1994: 25). As such, considerations relevant to this dimension of human security include income per capita, the structure of income distribution, the state of income adequacy especially amongst the low income earners and rural populations and the state of poverty, incidence and prevalence (Akeredolu-Ale 1990:19).

However, statistics published by UN OCHA in 2009 indicate that unemployment is pegged at 94 percent. This means that 480 000 people have formal jobs, a decline from

3.6 million in 2003. Statistics reveal that 6 percent of the population was employed in 2008, down from 30 percent in 2003 (UN OCHA 2009). The high unemployment rate is a result of the closure of more than 800 private and industrial (manufacturing) companies due to a depressed investment climate and a whole host of other factors related to the country's bad governance (Africa Development Bank 2007:3). In fact, the 2004 World Bank's 'Doing Business' Report ranked Zimbabwe 153rd out of 175 countries surveyed. Consequently, many people are increasingly insecure because jobs are difficult to find and keep (UNDP 1994: 25). Hence, the widespread unemployment amongst the young has imposed severe strain on the already lean resources of most households.

Furthermore, the human security concept points out that stagnant nominal wages and high inflation rates erode the value and the purchasing power of incomes (UNDP 1994: 25). This is reflected by the deteriorating standards of living, particularly amongst the poor, as incomes fail to keep up with escalating prices of essential goods and services due to a high inflation rate pegged at 89.7 sextillion percent as at November 2008 (Mbaya 1993:41). High inflation rates have eroded the monthly salaries of civil servants pegged at a paltry US$100 (Zimbabwe Situation 2009). Statistics from the Consumer Council of Zimbabwe reveal that the monthly consumer basket for a family of six individuals is currently at US$566.83 (October 2009) an increase from US$424, 11 (May 2009) and US$396, 22 (February 2009). Food, rentals and transport constitute about 55 percent of the total amount. Therefore, the percentage that is considered to be formally employed has succumbed to impoverished living conditions due to meager incomes. Moreover, the proportion of the population living below US$1 dollar per day is at 80 percent an increase

from 56.1% (UNDP HDR 2007/2008). This includes pensioners whose monthly payments are pegged at US$25 by the National Social Security. This translates to less than US$1 per day for 140 000 beneficiaries on the government's payroll (Zimbabwe Situation 2009).

In addition, the failing economy has also affected rural households due to the reduction in the level of remittances sent from the city-based family members. This worsens poverty in the rural areas. As such, people are forced to accept casual unproductive work at commercial farms that has poor remunerations in a bid to earn an income (UNDP 1994: 25). In some instances, women and girls are engaging in prostitution as a desperate resort to earn cash. Wiggins 2003:29).

In view of the above, self employment also becomes the most feasible option in the human security realm. Nonetheless, the informal sector is even less secure since those at the bottom of the ladder find it difficult to make ends meet (UNDP 1994: 25). Therefore it is not surprising that approximately 3 - 4 million Zimbabweans out of the approximately 13 million total population earn a living through informal sector employment (International Labour Organisation report 2005). In some instances people are resorting to illegal survival tactics such as street vending, construction of illegal housing shacks, foreign currency dealings, prostitution and robbery.

However, the informal sector is not recognised in Zimbabwe, hence the government implemented Operation Murambatsvina in 2005. Officially, the programme was meant to

enforce planning and other municipal laws by curbing the rampant increase of illegal businesses, urban agriculture and backyard housing shacks. Nevertheless, a closer look at the situation would reveal that though these shacks had been erected to circumvent increasing urban housing shortages, the monthly tenant rentals had become a source of income, while urban agriculture had become a source of food for the low income households.

The clean-up campaign destroyed informal businesses and homes of approximately 700 000 people and excesses of the operation also affected an estimated 2.5 million people (Raftopolous 2006: 775). Homelessness has been identified as one of the severest effects of economic insecurity (UNDP 1994:26). Hence, the 2005 report by the UN appointed Special Envoy on Human Settlements Issues, Anna Tibaijuka, underlines that the operation was carried out in an unplanned and haphazard manner that not only breached national and international laws guiding evictions, but also unleashed chaos and untold human suffering. Hence, the operation was described as an act constituting crimes against humanity.

Meanwhile, land is a source of income in the rural areas from a human security perspective. Nonetheless, poorest farmers in the rural areas have little access to land. Moreover, those who have access to land often find it difficult to engage in profitable agricultural production due to lack of access to credit (UNDP 1994:25). Land redistribution has been distorted by political tendencies. Affiliation to the ZANU PF party has become the determining criterion to access land. Besides, women have failed to

benefit from the programme because of stringent customary practises that places them under the directorship of their husbands (Chikwanha 2009: 5). Moreover, access to credit lines for agricultural purposes from financial institutions has been difficult because the new farmers do not have anything to offer as collateral. This has, in a ripple effect, led to under-utilisation of land, low agricultural output as well as widespread food shortages.

Meanwhile, Bird and Busse are of the view that the land reform programme also created a new group of vulnerable people. The eviction and loss of jobs experienced by former farm workers produced a new vulnerable group that lacks access to essential services and are often chronically food-insecure. Moreover, this group does not have any disposable assets or transferable professional skills. Thus, these people are likely to become a group of hard to reach chronically poor even in the event of economic recovery (2007: 2).

It is against this background that the end result is increasing levels of poverty (UNDP 1994: 26). Widespread poverty has led to serious social problems. Past academic research has confirmed that poverty is multidimensional. That is, it manifests itself in many forms: illiteracy, ignorance, ill-health, malnutrition or even lack of voice in decision making within the household and in the public domain. Hence, the persistence of human poverty could be considered as a violation of human rights and a denial of basic entitlements to education, health, nutrition, and other constituents of decent living (Shiva Kurma 2003: 2). Therefore it is not surprising that members from most poor households are unemployed, illiterate, suffering from ill-health and malnutrition, and facing various forms of discrimination and social exclusion. In view of the above situation of low and

insecure incomes, many people tend to look for more support from the government. Nevertheless, the government lacks even the most rudimentary structures and financial resources to sustain social security programmes (UNDP 1994: 26).

4.3   **Food Security**

Food is a basic need essential for the survival of human beings. Food security means that all people have both physical and economic access to basic food. Access to food comes from access to assets, work and an assured income (UNDP 1994: 27). Chronic hunger is one of the greatest problems facing people in Zimbabwe**.** This has been due to bad economic and agricultural policies, adverse weather conditions, poor planning and forecasting capacity, pricing and distribution of food, emerging adverse trends such as HIV/AIDS that deplete and divert the much needed resources (labour and capital) from the agricultural sector. Since the year 2000, the deteriorating economic climate unavoidably affected agricultural production. The situation has been worsened by the use of traditional cultivation techniques and technologies that limit crop output and yields as well as an inappropriate land tenure system. This has resulted in rampant food shortages.

One of the prime causes of food shortages has been the decision by the government to implement the Fast Track Land reform programme in the year 2000. The reforms involved the taking over of about 4 500 commercial farms from white farmers and giving them to landless peasants (Chikwanha 2009: 5) Nonetheless, the impromptu manner in which the programme was carried out not only placed Zimbabwe under international spotlight for gross human rights violations, particularly the right to property ownership,

but is also one of the main causes of food insecurity in the country. Land reform grossly affected food production since the new land owners did not have the human and financial capacity to sustain commercial agricultural production.

In the aftermath, the country experienced consecutive years of hunger and famine evidenced by the high levels of malnutrition particularly amongst children, the elderly and persons living with HIV and AIDS. Therefore, more than half of Zimbabwe's estimated 13 million population resorted to having one meal a day or to survive on wild fruits because they did not have anything to eat (Human rights Watch 2008: 10). However, the ailing economy made it difficult for the government to respond effectively through the provision of food aid.

The situation has also been compounded by stringent legislation on the operations of food relief organisations whose activities have been confined to specific areas despite widespread vulnerability. The ZANU PF party is of the opinion that food distribution programmes could be utilised as a smokescreen to institute political leadership change in Zimbabwe, hence food has in some instances been used as a political weapon. For example, humanitarian food distribution programmes have been curtailed specifically to rural areas believed to constitute the majority of its supporters irrespective of widespread existence of vulnerable persons in the urban areas who have in the past leaned more towards opposition parties.

In as much as people in Zimbabwe have the capacity to produce enough maize (staple food) for domestic consumption. Harvests have been below self- sufficiency levels. This has in turn affected the basic elements of food security ranging from household nutrition (a family's ability to grow and buy enough food for a healthy life) to national grain reserves (Denniger 1996: 3). According to WFP the number of food - insecure people (those who cannot access a minimum of at 2 100 calories of cereal per day) averages between 5 million to 7 million, of whom about 60 to 70 per cent are children and women. The CFSAM report estimated that the 2006/2007 maize production was at 800,000 metric tons (MT), it deteriorated to 575,000 metric tonnes in the 2008/2009 leaving a shortfall of about 2-3 million tonnes of maize needed to cover the population's annual food requirements. Meanwhile, the U.N. Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs estimates that an additional 1.9 million people will also need food assistance between January and March 2010. Nevertheless, shortages in foreign currency made it difficult to either import adequate food or secure sufficient agricultural inputs such as seeds and fertiliser subsidies for farmers to increase food production.

Furthermore, the human security concept identifies lack of purchasing power as one of the main problems of food security (UNDP 1994: 27). As such, inadequate local production and insufficient imports lead to persistent food shortages and an escalating food prices beyond the purchasing capacity of most income earners. Mbaya also adds that these shortages and their effects are exacerbated by government's price control policy on key basic goods. The gazetted prices do not correspond with production costs leading to the emergence of the parallel informal market with exorbitant prices (2003:46). Thus,

even if food was available at the parallel market people can starve because they cannot afford it (UNDP 1994: 26).

As such, those households confronted by food shortages are inevitably forced to reduce expenditure on non-food expenses such as health care and education to ensure that there is sufficient food to eat. For instance, children drop out of school so that they help find work or take care of household chores while the adults go out to work. Statistics published by the National Child Labour Survey estimates that 25 per cent of the children aged between 12 and 15 in the country are working as domestic employees, car guards, or street vendors (Chikwanha 8: 2009). Meanwhile, some families in the rural areas have resorted to selling off assets such as livestock. Nonetheless, this compromises future security and deprives them of animal wealth. In addition, remittances are meager because livestock prices fall relative to food availability (Wiggins: 29).

To add on, persistent food shortages have also had a direct impact on households' nutrition levels. Deficiencies tend to be particularly serious among children under the age of five years, the rural populations and the urban poor. The level of malnutrition among children under the age of five has increased from 28 percent in 2005 to more than 31 percent in 2006 inevitably affecting the intellectual and physical development of these children (UNDP 2006, Human Rights Watch: 2008:10). This has largely been due to the fact that more than half of the estimated 13 million population has resorted to having one meal a day or to survive on wild fruits, particularly in the rural areas as a coping strategy (Human rights Watch 2008: 10).

Research has also confirmed that seasonal malnutrition seems to be the main problem for the rural populations. This is due to the almost total dependency of these communities on subsistence local food production, the lack of storage facilities, their low purchasing power and perennial need for cash. Therefore, there is a vicious circle in which the combination of seasonal fluctuations in local production and recurring poor harvests diminishes the capacity of the undernourished groups to acquire the resources and skills needed to transform local production possibilities (Akeredolu-Ale 1990:1). Hence, it can be concluded that the combined effects of persistent deficiencies in diet and recurrent food production shortfalls are tantamount to limited opportunities for improving people's lives.

This also paints a very grim picture against a background of a 33 percent HIV and AIDS prevalence rate that affects the 15- 49 economically productive age group. As people become increasingly desperate for food and other resources, they may engage in high-risk behaviour such as exchanging sex for food or cash leading to an increase in cases of sexually transmitted diseases and HIV infection. According to Save the Children Zimbabwe, girls as young as twelve years are engaging in prostitution for as little as a packet of biscuits. The situation particularly affects approximately 1.6 million orphans and vulnerable children, including more than 100,000 child-headed households (BBC News 2009).

In addition, for the approximately 1.3 million people living with HIV/AIDS, food shortages could lead to secondary infections due to poor nutrition (UNAIDS 2007). Moreover, the resulting increased costs of care - giving and loss of productive labour translate to income reductions and the erosion of purchasing power for affected households. This implies acute vulnerability to economic and physical shocks that perpetuate poverty particularly in female and child headed households.

4.4   Health Security

Health security refers to an individual's freedom of succumbing to death due to either poor nutrition or an unsafe environment (UNDP 1994: 27). On the contrary, people living in Zimbabwe continue to die from diseases such as malaria and cholera due to the poor health system. Deaths from these diseases could be overcome through improvements in environmental, living conditions and specific preventative actions. However, this is not possible because health accounts for 8.9 percent of the total government expenditure (UNDP 2009). This is way below the minimum 15 percent recommended at the 2001 Abuja Declaration by Africa's Heads of States. Therefore, the public health system is characterised by dilapidating infrastructure, shortages of essential supplies (medical drugs and equipment) and qualified health personnel due to brain drain, low motivation of staff attributed to poor salaries, weak planning and management capacities.

In view of this, approximately 100 children below five years are dying every day in Zimbabwe mostly from preventable diseases (UNICEF 2009). Moreover, cholera affected 97 821 people and caused the death of 4 266 as of May 2009 (WHO 2009).

According to UNICEF's water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH Cluster), 50 percent of the population lack sustainable access to a safe drinking water source. Thus, the water - borne disease was triggered by lack of access to safe drinking water and sanitation due to shortages of foreign currency to procure water treatment chemicals and maintenance of sewer systems. As such, the government sort assistance from humanitarian organisations to alleviate the cholera pandemic.

According to the human security concept, threats to health security are greater for the poorest people because they are more prone to malnutrition, poor reproductive health, immune deficiency and communicable disease, but lack access to health care facilities due either to non-availability of health care facilities or poor wages (UNDP 1994: 28). Access to health care has become very expensive. A research conducted by the Physicians for Human Rights reveals that private medical hospitals are charging $200 USD in cash for an initial medical consultation, $500 USD to secure an in-patient bed and $3,000 USD for a Caesarean section (2009:20).

Nevertheless, these medical fees are in sharp contrast with monthly salaries of farm workers. According to the General Agriculture and Plantation Workers Union (GAPWUZ) the current statutory wage is pegged at US$10 a month plus a food hamper for a general worker in the agricultural sector. Meanwhile, workers in the horticulture, timber and tea plantations are receiving US$33. Nonetheless, employers are not paying their workers regularly citing financial difficulties due to poor agricultural output that is affecting remittances (Zimbabwe situation 2009). These developments have placed

available health care facilities beyond the reach of most of the poor communities. As a result, 80 percent of the population seeks medical assistance from the traditional medical practitioners (UNOCHA 2008) who charge a minimal fee and the payment can easily be negotiated into an affordable token of appreciation depending on what the beneficiary can afford.

According to the UNDP, the situation mostly affects women who are likely to die at childbirth due to lack of access to safe and affordable family planning, basic support during pregnancy and delivery in the event of complications (1994:28). In fact, UNICEF (2009) reveals that one in two pregnant women in the rural areas are delivering at home and 39 percent are not accessing requisite medical facilities for delivery, while 40 percent are not attended to at birth by skilled medical personnel.

To add on, the human security concept underlines that the spread of HIV and AIDS is another source of health insecurity (UNDP 1994: 28). It is estimated that there are 3 000 deaths per week attributed to HIV/AIDS. The highest prevailing rates are found in Matabeleland South (20.8 percent) and Manicaland (19.7 percent) provinces where the food security situation is appalling (FAO 2008). Meanwhile, approximately 343,600 adults and 35,200 children under age 15 are in urgent need of anti-retroviral treatment. However, only 102 566 of the 480 000 estimated to be in urgent need of ARVs have access to medicines due to non availability of sufficient drugs. Moreover, disruptions in the supply of drugs, transport difficulties have also affected a constant access of ARVs

leading to the development of drug resistance strains and treatment failure which eventually causes premature mortality (Human Rights Watch 2008:10).

Furthermore, poor health delivery has affected mortality rates. According to UNICEF (2009), there is a 20 percent increase in the mortality rate for children under five years since 1990. That is, the under five mortality ratio increased from 82 per 1 000 live births in 2005 to 94 per 1 000 live births in 2009. Meanwhile, maternal mortality ratio has increased at an alarming rate from 283 per 100 000 in 1994 to 1 100 per 100 000 in 2005. Therefore, it is not shocking that life expectancy at birth fell from 62 years for both sexes in 1990 to 36 years in 2006 – 34 years for males and 37 years for females living in Zimbabwe (UNDP Human Development report 2007: Physicians for Human Rights 2009: 16).

4.5   Political Security

The ability to live in a society that respects and upholds basic human rights is one of the most important aspects of human security. However, reported cases of state sponsored political repression, systematic torture, ill treatment or disappearances are on the increase particularly in non-democratic countries (UNDP 1994: 32). Consequently, cases of human rights violations are on the increase because the ZANU PF party's has resorted to using restrictive legislation, electoral fraud, torture, political repression and propaganda to maintain political power in view of waning political support and legitimacy. Torture and political violence has physical, psychological and social health impacts on the

individual targeted victims which could lead to death. In addition, it results in the dissemination of fear and terror throughout the communities and entire country (OSISA 2007:7). The widespread sense of fear is likely to hinder the implementation of transitional justice, national healing programmes since people are afraid to share information or speak out on the violations meted against them.

According to the UNDP, human rights violations are most frequent during periods of political unrest (1994:32). As such, indications are that conflicts over land and intolerance for political opposition are at the locus of the violation of human rights in Zimbabwe. The arbitrary use of power by the state on these issues has had a multiplier effect with regard to disrespect for citizens' freedoms and autonomy. Many of the rights that are violated include the right to life and decent standard of living, the right to freedom of expression, association and assembly, and the right to choose leaders and to participate in political life (Chikwanha 2009:1).

In addition, the UNDP points out that state security apparatus (police or army) can be used agents of repression (1994: 33). The period prior to the 2008 presidential and parliamentary elections was characterised by widespread repression, violence and intimidation perpetrated by state organs, the police, army, intelligence officers, former war veterans, and youths from the national service programme in contravention of people's entitlements to human rights. OSISA points out that state sponsored torture and political violence are calculated tactics to deter opposition parties to participate in national elections or referenda. Hence, the ZANU PF party introduced political re-

indoctrination camps in both urban and rural areas where people were instructed to vote for the ruling party or risk having homes destroyed exclusion from food aid and agricultural subsidy programmes. This poses as a threat to the development of democratic practises in the country (2007: 7). In some areas schools were forced to close due to escalating violence meted out against teachers believed to be opposition party sympathisers. According to UNICEF (2009) approximately 94 percent of these schools in rural areas remained closed as of February 2009. These recurrent cases of torture, violence and abuse are perpetuated by the culture of intolerance and impunity cultivated by the government's failure to bring perpetrators to justice and government's continued denial of these human rights abuses (Amnesty International 2008:2).

Moreover, victims of torture and violence are, in some instances forced to either deny or delay accessing medical care while in police custody or due to fear of continued harassment. In addition, medical research has proved that these victims also suffer from depression, anxiety and post traumatic stress disorder. Worsening the situation is the poor medical services characterised by shortages of drugs and medical personnel to assist these people (OSISA report 2007: 33-38).

Furthermore, UNDP underscores that undemocratic governments also try to exercise control over ideas and information (1994: 32). People's freedom of speech and association is limited in the interest of public order and state security through the Access to Information and the Protection of Privacy Act. The law also requires journalists to get accreditation and demands that media companies pay exorbitant application fees to

operate in the country. Failure to comply risks a two-year imprisonment term. Both local and foreign journalists have been arrested or deported for writing articles that were considered politically provocative and inciting public unrest. This leaves the government as the dominant player in the print media with its two main daily newspapers, The Herald and The Chronicle (Chikwanha 2009:6-7).

In view of these incessant human rights violations, Chikwanha highlights that there is an emergence of new personalities and institutions that either draw attention to the abuses and violations, assist with humanitarian needs or document the human rights abuses (2009:9). These organisations also continuously condemn these human rights violations and abuses at domestic, regional and international forums. Nevertheless, the ZANU PF party denies all these reports as allegations aimed at discrediting the party to rally for international pressure to remove it from office.

In view of the above discussion, it can be concluded that, failure to have a stable and assured income will in a chain reaction lead to food insecurity, inability to afford and access adequate and appropriate health care as well as influence political processes by actively participating in the governance processes.

4.6   Weaknesses inherent the human rights system in promoting human security in Zimbabwe

Human rights are civil liberties that humans have because they are human beings independent of varying social circumstances and degrees of merit (Shestack 1998: 3). There are legal instruments that entitle individuals to those rights and fundamental freedoms that are vital to human wellbeing and survival (Dersso 2008:6). This interweaves with the notion of human security that seeks to create political, economic, social, cultural and environmental conditions in which people can live knowing that their vital rights and freedoms are secure. Hence, the 1994 UNDP report underlines that human security oriented policies promote human rights because the concept is people centred. It is concerned with human lives and dignity, the ability to exercise many choices and access to market and social opportunities (UNDP 1994: 23).

Therefore, human security is about basic needs of people necessary for the accomplishment of personal potential. These basic needs have been reformulated and reframed into human rights. Thus, human rights are interests protected by law and threats towards human fulfilment. Denial of these can be considered as human rights violations (Orberleitner 2003:4-10). Nonetheless, there are limitations inherent the domestic, regional, continental and international human rights systems. Moreover, there is no universally accepted and applicable definition of human rights just like with the human security concept. As such, it could be argued this could be the immediate stumbling block inherent human rights instruments.

Human rights are defined in several key documents namely, the UDHR 1948, the ICCPR 1966 and the ICESCR 1966 constituting the bill of rights to which Zimbabwe is a signatory. Also applicable to the Zimbabwe case is the African Charter on Human and People's Rights and SADC treaty. These rights bespeak the minimum conditions (first, second and third generation rights) necessary for human well-being, advancement, promotion and protection within the human security realm (Dersso 2008:6). The protection of these rights is a primary obligation of the state thus the state is held accountable in the event of violations through the illegitimate use of power.

In as much as there is notion that the human security paradigm reinforces the notion of indivisibility of all human rights, fulfilment of these rights is dependent upon the availability of adequate resources, particularly financial. Therefore, no country can assure good quality education for every child, maternal benefits for every mother, safe drinking water, adequate nutrition or health care for all without adequate resources. Hence, the need for effective economic policies to generate growth, ensuring adequate allocations to the appropriate sectors and assessing how the money is spent, where it goes, and on whom it is spent (Shiva Kurma 2004: 7). Thus, effects of a nine-year consecutive economic malaise combined with powerful political interests and corruption have distorted patterns of public investments and expenditures detrimental to the interests and security of the marginalised in Zimbabwe. For example, eight percent of the annual budget is directed towards the Ministry of Defence, the national security apparatus on the basis that military or border security guarantees human security (NANGO 2009).

Moreover, political leaders are of the view that human rights are Western impositions inimical to national traditions, sovereignty and development (Zelela and McConnaughay (2004: 42).

Nonetheless, Zimbabwe has obligations to fulfil its correlative obligations concerning human rights and these are, 'to avoid depriving', 'to protect from deprivation' and 'to aid the deprived'. This is commonly known in human parlance as the obligations 'to respect', 'to protect', and 'to fulfil' human rights (Article 26 of the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties (adopted 22 May 1969 entered into force 27 January 1980). The obligation to respect rights requires the Government and thereby all of its agents to desist from carrying out, sponsoring or tolerating any practice, policy or legal measure violating the enjoyment of human rights protected in international instruments. Concurrently, the obligation to protect obliges the state and its agents to prevent the violation of rights by any other individual or non – state actors. Meanwhile, the obligation to fulfil also entails that states have a duty to take appropriate legislative, administrative, budgetary, judicial and other measures towards the full realisation of human rights.

It is along this wave length that any approach to the protection of human rights in Africa takes the constitution as its point of departure. The constitution is a foundation of the legal system and a protocol of survival and continuity for any social group. It sets forth the general parameters of executive, legislative and judicial powers. In addition, it is a framework of fundamental principles of humanity and respect for human rights (Udombana 2005: 169).

Nevertheless, constitutionalisation of human rights has failed to guarantee their respect in practice. For example, the Zimbabwe constitution has provisions that uphold freedom of expression and assembly, but the Access to Information Privacy and Publicity Act (AIPPA) of 2005 controls every aspect of the media and restricts freedom of expression. In addition, the Public Order and Security Act (POSA) restricts individuals' freedom of assembly by stipulating that organisers of public meetings seek police permits seven days prior to any event. Failure to comply results in criminal prosecution as well as civil liabilities. This controversial bill was enacted to replace the inherited colonial Law and Order Maintenance Act (Chikwanha 2009: 7).Generally, the constitution is weak and out-dated since it continues to be subjected to recurrent piece-meal amendments amounting to nineteen to date.

In addition, people especially the poor have very limited access to justice and legal aid. The judiciary system lacks institutional independence and financial autonomy, with judges holding their offices at the sufferance of the executive (Udombana 2005: 171). The situation is compounded by adverse structural and contextual factors such as political instability, economic underdevelopment, poor training of the judiciary personnel as well as poor quality and exorbitant legal services (An-Na'im 2001: 173). Thus, it can be noted that developed and transparent state institutions are paramount for promoting human rights by ensuring that people obtain recourse and redress in the face of injustice.

Furthermore, Zimbabwe has obligations to fulfil rights stipulated in the ICESCR which it ratified in 1991. Amongst the list of rights provided for in the ICESCR is the right to food (Article 11). In this case, the government has an obligation to take appropriate strategies towards ensuring the realisation of this right. According to the General Comment No. 12 the right to adequate food is indivisibly linked to the inherent dignity of the human person. The right to food is defined as the right of everyone to have physical and economic access at all times to food in adequate quantity and quality or to means of its procurement. It outlines in detail basic premises, the normative content of the right, states' obligations, violations, and implementation at the national level, as well as international obligations (paragraph 4).

Nonetheless, violations of the Covenant occur when a State fails to ensure the satisfaction of, at the very least, the minimum essential level required to be free from hunger. In determining which actions or omissions amount to a violation of the right to food, it is important to distinguish the inability from the unwillingness of a State party to comply. Should a State party argue that resource constraints make it impossible to provide access to food for those who are unable to secure such access, the State has to demonstrate that every effort has been made to use all the resources at its disposal in an effort to satisfy, as a matter of priority, those minimum obligations. This follows from Article 2.1 of the Covenant, which obliges a State party to take the necessary steps to the maximum of its available resources, as previously pointed out by the Committee in its General Comment No. 3, paragraph 10. A State claiming that it is unable to carry out its obligation for reasons beyond its control therefore has the burden of proving that this is the case and

that it has unsuccessfully sought to obtain international support to ensure the availability and accessibility of the necessary food (General Comment No.12 :paragraph 17).

On the contrary, the government of Zimbabwe has continually been in a state of denial that the country is facing food shortages. Hence, they are slow to declare an emergency and initiate relief programmes. As such, the government has failed in most seasons to formulate strategies to import sufficient grain to feed vulnerable groups. In addition, continued denial has often delayed the Consolidated Appeals Process (a planning and resource mobilisation tool primarily for emergency response) by the UN humanitarian office for food aid. Moreover, the appeals are launched without correct statistics of the number of people considered to be vulnerable. Ultimately, this has forces agencies such as the WFP to reduce monthly food rations. For instance during the 2008/09 season, monthly provisions were reduced from 10 kg of cereal to 5kg due to an unanticipated overwhelming response by people in need of food aid (WPF 2009). In addition, it has been virtually impossible to extend food relief and supplementary feeding to the urban areas where there are equally vulnerable groups.

Furthermore, violations of the right to food also occur through the direct action of States or other entities insufficiently regulated by States. These include, the formal repeal or suspension of legislation necessary for the continued enjoyment of the right to food, denial of access to food to particular individuals or groups, whether the discrimination is based on legislation or is pro-active, the prevention of access to humanitarian food aid in internal conflicts or other emergency situations, adoption of legislation or policies which

are manifestly incompatible with pre-existing legal obligations relating to the right to food (General Comment no 12 paragraph 19)

In June 2008, the Minister of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare announced a three months blanket suspension of operations by humanitarian organisations alleging that most of the NGOs were in breach of their terms and conditions of registration stipulated under the Private Voluntary Organisations (PVOs) Chapter 15:07. The government was adamant that these food relief organisations were using food distribution activities as a smokescreen to campaign for the opposition party, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) prior to the June 2008 presidential rerun elections (BBC News 2008). In view of this, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Louise Arbour underlines that the decision to deprive people of food because of an election can be considered as an extraordinary perversion of democracy and a serious breach of international human rights law.

In addition, Zimbabwe is a state party to the ICESCR and other international and regional human rights instruments which contain provisions related to the right to health, it has committed itself to respect, protect and realise the right to health. The central formulation of the right to health is spelt out under Article 12 of the ICESCR. This commitment includes taking steps directed towards the progressive realisation of the right to health, including ensuring access to essential drugs and affordable and accessible health services.

The UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights which monitors the ICESCR, established in its General Comment 14 that the right to health is closely related

to and dependent upon the realisation of other human rights, as contained in the International Bill of Rights, including the rights to food, housing, work, education, human dignity, life, non-discrimination, equality, the prohibition against torture, privacy, access to information, and the freedoms of association, assembly and movement. These and other rights and freedoms address integral components of the right to health. Hence, the right to health cannot be understood in isolation of other basic necessities that constitute living a decent life.

In addition, General Comment 14 outlines that health facilities, goods and services must be affordable for all. Payment for health-care services, as well as services related to the underlying determinants of health, has to be based on the principle of equity, ensuring that these services, whether privately or publicly provided, are affordable for all, including socially disadvantaged groups. Equity demands that poorer households should not be disproportionately burdened with health expenses as compared to richer households.

Consequently, violations of the right to health occur through the direct action of states or other entities insufficiently regulated by states. The adoption of any retrogressive measures incompatible with the core obligations under the right to health constitutes a violation of the right to health (General Comment 14). The Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe diverted to other sectors US$7, 3 million dollars provided by the Global Fund to fight HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria. As a result of this breach of trust, aid agencies

resolved not fund humanitarian agencies through Zimbabwe's central bank (OCHA 2009).

Furthermore, people in Zimbabwe are continuously exposed to incessant violence, repression and intimidation. Compounding the situation is the fact that Zimbabwe has not ratified the International Convention against Torture (1975). Hence, its obligations cannot be imposed under international law. Further worsening the situation is the lack stringent human rights enforcement mechanisms at continental and international level. For example, the African Human Rights Commission only issues recommendations in response to reports on cases of human rights violations. Adoption of these recommendations is depended on political will of the state party concerned to rectify the anomalies. In addition, Zimbabwe was not reprimanded for blocking the fact finding mission by Manfred Nowak, UN Special Rapparteur on torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment by denying him entry into the country at the last minute (UN News 2009). This invalidates the notion that accountability and responsibility inherent the human rights realm that supposedly curbs excessive use of state powers to enhance human security.

In addition, partnership and participation lies at the heart of the rights approach to security. On the contrary, there is lack of political will to involve all stakeholders in policy formulation and implementation in Zimbabwe. Particularly important is the participation of women. However, active engagement and participation of women in decision making has been hindered by paternalistic cultural tendencies. The percentage

of educated women is lower than that of men. Hence, their contributions are viewed as marginal and substandard. Despite having well-established organisations representing women's concerns, there are far too few women meaningfully involved in influencing strategic policy decisions.

Moreover, the consultation process has to also include NGOs, civil society organisations, academia and the private sector. The responsibility to encourage participation and manage the process rests with the government. In spite of this, many government officials have few contacts with civil society organisations which are considered to be a security threat. In addition, these government officials lack the necessary skills and motivation to openly involve NGOs and offer leadership when such partnership is encouraged (Shiva Kurma 2004: 9).

In addition, the impact of the numerous human rights-oriented NGOs on the realisation of human rights has been very limited. These organisations, located and operating in urban areas, lack connection with the situation on the ground and are essentially driven, not from below but according to donor agendas. They are solely depended on overseas funding and do not have a membership base. They exclude the participation of the grassroots whose interests they purport to advance. Moreover, there is no constituency-driven obligation or framework for popularising the language of human rights (Odinkalu 2001: 186-187). As such, these organisations have failed to change popular attitudes and government practices in relation to human rights. To add on, Welch is also of the view that monitoring, analysing and documenting human rights violations cases only

ameliorates rather than transforming the human rights situation (1995: 185). Thus, it can be concluded that these organisations have failed to articulate and channel demands to respect, protect and fulfil human rights obligations and evoke responses from the political processes.

In spite of these hurdles in the realisation of human rights, it can be pointed out that human rights are not dependent on recognition by the state, people can claim them even when the law denies those rights (Heyns 2001: 16). Thus, the moral appeal of human rights has been used for varying purposes, from resisting torture and arbitrary incarceration to demanding the end of hunger and unequal treatment of women. Commitments underlying human rights take the form of demanding that certain basic freedoms of human beings be respected, aided and enhanced (Shiva Kurma 2003 : 6). Nonetheless, the idea of collective responsibility calls for social and political maturity among people because past experiences have proved that collective responsibility can end up being nobody's responsibility due to lack of accountability.

5.0   **Conclusions and Recommendations**

In human security terms, wellbeing starts from the recognition that people are the most active participants in determining their security. It seeks to promote people's participation in decision making processes and places all people on a pedestal of equal partnership (Rankhumise and Mahlako 2005: 5). As such, it involves considering individuals as ends and not means while the state is treated as a means and not an end. Thus, it could be noted that the impoverishment of the majority of people in Zimbabwe cannot only be comprehended in economic terms, but has also been aggravated by exclusion from the political decision making processes. Moreover, one requires political clout in order to access adequate and sufficient food, health care and political security. Thus, it could be concluded that these daily survival threats are interlinked, In the Zimbabwe case, one's political orientation is the central the determining factor to a secured survival.

Compounding the human security situation in the country is the dismal failure by the government to uphold human rights instruments such as the ICESCR and ICCPR which are considered as central in the realisation of human security. The non realisations of these basic human rights and freedoms has been amongst other issues, due to the enactment of stringent legislation, an ineffective judiciary that is largely controlled by the executive, and an overall lack of resources and political prowess amongst the populace to enable them to demand the fulfillment of these basic freedoms.

In addition, the research findings underlined that human rights research is considered a 'sensitive' topic linked to efforts of regime change in Zimbabwe. Thus, political

intolerance, state sponsored repression, intimidation and torture (aspects that threaten citizens' political security) remains prevalent in the country in spite of the formation of the unity government.

In view of the above, Sheehan notes that, security concerns of the individual can be directly addressed rather than having to be tackled via the state. Hence the usual constraints on action are overcome (Sheehan 2005: 52-56). For example, donor and humanitarian agencies are increasingly engaging non-governmental organisations in implementing programmes and projects aimed at improving the day to day survival and welfare of people in Zimbabwe. This is happening at a time when state resources are dwindling and the private sector is being promoted for delivering social services on the grounds of supposedly being more efficient and effective.

Furthermore, based on the results of this study, it can be concluded that the rights based approach to human security changed the notion of national sovereignty. Instead of being perceived as a means of isolating the state against external involvement or scrutiny, sovereignty is increasingly defined as a normative concept of responsibility. Thus, evoking the principle of national sovereignty and territorial integrity (often the case for Zimbabwe) requires the establishment of a system of governance based on democratic and popular citizen participation, constructive management of social diversities, respect for fundamental human rights, an equitable distribution of national wealth and opportunities for development (Cilliers 2004: 39). In this context, human rights can be regarded as having a status potentially similar to peremptory norms which cannot be

overridden, not even through a social contract (constitution) or with consent of the persons concerned. As such, the concept of human rights could become the ultimate guarantor of popular sovereignty (Heyns 2001: 17)

In addition, it can also be noted that human rights have a strong retrospective character. The concept is based on the premise that lessons are learnt from past mistakes. Thus, new political dispensations often resolve not to repeat the mistakes of the past even if new mistakes are being made (Ibid 2001: 18). In view of this, Zimbabwe's government of national unity is presently negotiation the implementation of transitional justice programmes. That is, deal with perpetrators of past human rights abuses and addressing the needs of victims in order to encourage the process of reconciliation and transformation towards a just and humane society (Boraine 2004: 365). Nevertheless, this aspect requires further investigation to determine whether it is feasible to institute transitional justice programmes in Zimbabwe bearing in mind the experiences, failures and challenges encountered by other countries such as South Africa.

It is from the Zimbabwe study that it can be concluded that the human security concept is a plausible and useful concept whose framework can be superimposed on a case study to have a better understanding of the economic, social, political and environmental situation. Hence, it can be highlighted that individual security in the form of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms could be the basis for national security. In fact, Ramcharan underlines that lack of freedom undermines the creative capacity within people and impoverishes them. People are highly disposed to get inspiration to create and

produce for the betterment of their daily lives in a society that respects their fundamental human rights and freedoms (2002: 2).

Nonetheless, accessing information related to the human security and human rights situation in Zimbabwe from the government's perspective was difficult. Most of the reports that spelt out the deplorable situation related to the economic, food, health and political security situation in Zimbabwe are produced by NGOs. The government dismisses these reports as false information being utilised to incite and institute leadership regime change in the country. Nevertheless, these reports reflect the actual situation in the country which can be confirmed by a state visit to the country.

In conclusion, human dignity and self respect are fundamental requirements of human nature. Thus, civil and political rights are necessary for economic development and redistribution of wealth while civil and political rights are necessary to preserve social order and social and cultural rights (Howard 1983: 76-78). Poverty is a major threat to human survival, dignity and security for people living in Zimbabwe. Nonetheless, regardless of widespread distress, increased cases of torture and arbitrary executions, Zimbabweans have translated discontent into despair rather than action. The impoverished and marginalised population has failed to revolt against the incumbent. Instead, it has been forced to interact with the state on a tactical basis in order to ensure daily survival. As such, it is against this background that the society must seek to ensure that the basic necessities of life are provided to all based on human dignity, equality and freedom contrary to the present scenario in which it is based on political affiliation. In

fact, political research has proved that equity is more important than equality. That is people do not mind economic inequality as long as there is the conviction that the populace is getting a fair share.

6.0   **<u>Bibliography</u>**

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